

THE TRUTH  
ABOUT  
FLORA MACDONALD

BY  
The Late ALLAN REGINALD MACDONALD, Esq.,  
OF BELFINLAY AND WATERNISH

*EDITED*  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION  
BY  
DONALD MACKINNON  
PORTREE, SKYE

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*Inverness:*  
THE NORTHERN CHRONICLE OFFICE

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1938

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

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**I**T is only just to Mr MacDonald's memory that I should explain that the MS. of "The Truth About Flora MacDonald," as it came to me, was not quite complete, though he had been engaged on it to within a few weeks of his death. When Mrs MacDonald entrusted me with the editing of it she placed at my disposal all her husband's papers, letters, and documents relating to Flora MacDonald. My work has consisted of revising what was already in an advanced state of preparation, of completing what was unfinished from the material left by Mr MacDonald, of verifying all the references, and of supplying the illustrative notes at the end of each section from his papers. Such changes, as I have thought it needful to make, have been limited to the correction of obvious slips and to such alterations, as I have felt quite sure, from my intimate knowledge of Mr MacDonald, he would himself have made if they had been suggested to him. The additions which I have made to Mr MacDonald's work are limited to one or two notes in which I have given information that has become available since his death, and to Appendix IV, in which I have supplied notes on the Illustrations in the book. With these exceptions the work is wholly that of Mr MacDonald.

I have to record my thanks to Mrs MacDonald for committing to me the care of her husband's great work on our Hebridean heroine and for much generous help on many points. Her thanks, as well as my own, are tendered to William Malcolm MacDonald, Esq., of Rammerscales, Dumfries, for a photograph of an unpublished letter of Flora MacDonald; to Charles S. Bayne, Esq., Salisbury Square House, Fleet Street, London, for photographs of the relics of Prince Charles Edward Stuart and Flora MacDonald; to the Northern Counties Publishing Company, Ltd., Inverness, for the loan of illustrations in their possession; to the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for supplying a photograph of the portrait of Flora MacDonald by Allan Ramsay; to Angus MacDonald, Esq., Beaumont Crescent, Portree, for a photograph of the Memorial Window in St Columba's Episcopal Church, Portree; to L. F. Powell, Esq., Oxford. Hector H. MacKenzie, Esq., Edinburgh (late Factor for North Uist), and George M. Fraser, Esq., Factor for Lord MacDonald of Sleat, Portree, Skye, for much profitable assistance and helpful advice in

many things; and, finally, to Mr MacKenzie, Manager of the *Northern Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> for his unfailing kindness and courtesy while the book was going through the press.

DONALD MACKINNON.

Portree, Skye,  
May, 1938.

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NOTE.

Since going to press a copy of Flora MacDonald's Marriage Contract was discovered in Waternish House, and is inserted as Appendix V. See X. References and Notes, 1.

D. M.

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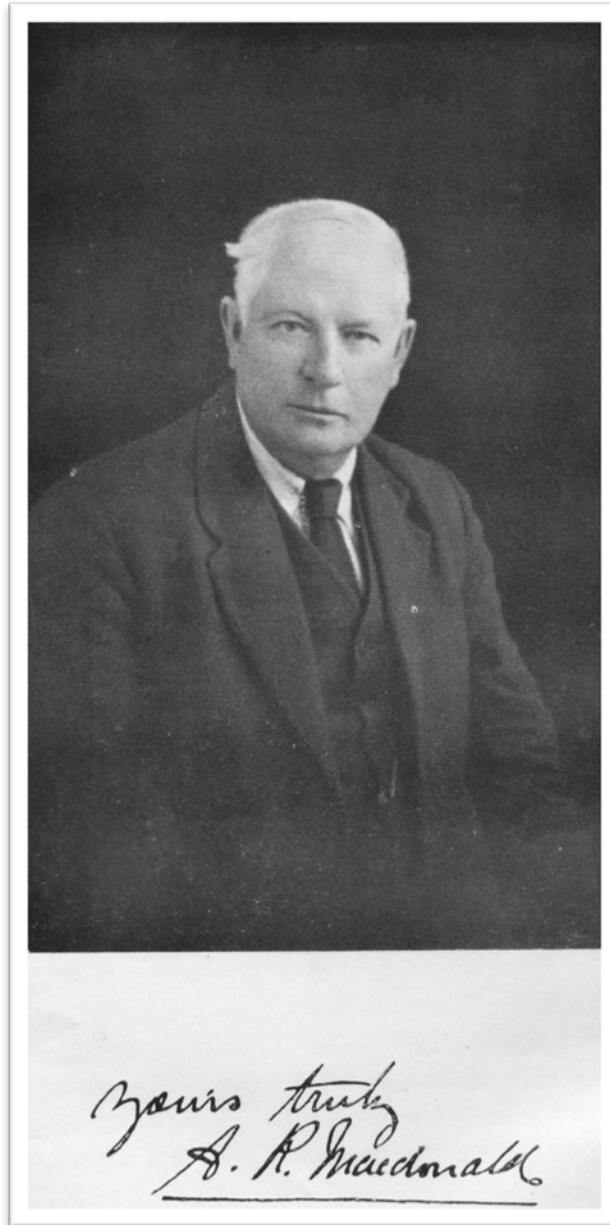
<sup>1</sup> *Northern Chronicle* (1881—1969).

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**Plate I.—ALLAN REGINALD MACDONALD OF BELFINLAY AND  
WATERNISH.**



## INTRODUCTION

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### Allan Reginald Macdonald

Of Belfinlay and Waternish.

**A**LLAN REGINALD MACDONALD was born on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1864, at Hay, about thirty-two miles from London, Middlesex. Ontario, Canada. His father, Patrick MacDonald, had emigrated to Canada a few years before the birth of Allan. He was sixth in descent from James MacDonald, first of the family of Belfinlay in Benbecula, a cadet branch of Clanranald. This James was a nephew of Angus Og MacDonald, first of the family of Milton, and consequently a first cousin of Ranald MacDonald, the father of Flora MacDonald. Angus MacDonald, second of Belfinlay, was a second cousin of our Hebridian heroine. Thus the subject of this memorial sketch was the great-great-grandson of her second cousin.

James MacDonald received a charter of Belfinlay and other lands in Benbecula in 1682, and although his son, Angus, excambed in 1720 with his uncle, Donald MacDonald, third of the family of Benbecula (who five years later succeeded to the Chiefship of Clanranald), his lands of Belfinlay for lands in Arisaig, the family has always been styled "of Belfinlay." Allan R. MacDonald was proud of his Belfinlay ancestry. Of Ranald, fourth of Belfinlay, through whom his family had a direct connection with the stirring events 1745-46, he often spoke to his friends, who could see that he was profoundly impressed and inspired by his ancestor's loyalty to, and self-sacrifice for, "bonnie Prince Charlie." the portrait<sup>1</sup> of this Belfinlay of Jacobite fame hangs in the dining-room in Waternish House. The following account of him was found among Mr MacDonald's papers:-

Ranald IV of Belfinlay joined Prince Charles Stuart's standard as second Captain of the Clanranald Regiment at the age of seventeen years. At Culloden he was shot through both ankles, which rendered all chance of his escape hopeless. After the Highland army fled from the field, he was stripped of all his clothes by the English soldiers. As he lay naked and helpless there the soldiers passing by knocked him on the head with the butt of their muskets. On the afternoon of that fateful day the Countess of Findlater (Lady Sophia Hope, daughter of Charles 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Hopetoun) was driving in her coach and six with

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV, p. 118.

other ladies over the field of the dead and wounded. Belfinlay, thinking that they were going to drive over his body, raised his head and had the further indignity of getting his face flicked by the coachman's whip as if he were a dog. During the night he crawled about, seeking a place of shelter from the rain and sleet, until the skin came off his hands and knees. On the forenoon of the next day he was an eye-witness of the wounded Highlanders being shot by the orders of the Duke of Cumberland. Ranald was fortunately saved from the same fate by Lieutenant James Hamilton of Cholmondley's Regiment, who carried him on his horse to a neighbouring farmhouse, whence he was conveyed to Inverness in a cart with wounded English soldiers who kept cursing him for being a rebel. At Inverness he was taken to hospital and given a blanket with which to cover himself, but when it was ascertained he had not been a soldier in Cumberland's army, he was deprived of his blanket. He was then removed to the cellar of a house, occupied by a Widow Anne MacKay, whose maiden name was MacLeod, a native of Skye. He was confined there with Major Robert Nairn, who subsequently escaped through the assistance of sympathising Inverness ladies. Belfinlay, however, being unable to walk, could not avail himself of the means of escape, offered to him. And so he lay in Widow MacKay's cellar until the Act of Indemnity set him free. From the cruel and inhumane treatment he received at the hands of the Hanoverians he ultimately died. The gallant Belfinlay was described by Bishop Forbes as "a tall, strapping, beautiful young man." He died on 27<sup>th</sup> September, 1749.

Allan R. MacDonald's great-grandfather, Allan MacDonald, VI of Belfinlay, sold his Estate in Arisaig in 1763, and leased the lands of Keppoch from Clanronald. He was married to Jean MacKinnon of Corry, by whom the blood of "the manly, sanguinary, truly noble MacKinnons" was introduced into the Belfinlay family. Their son, also Allan by name, entered the Army in 1799, receiving a commission in the 55<sup>th</sup> Regiment. In January, 1808, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. He served in the West Indies, the

Plate II.—THE MACDONALDS OF BELFINLAY AND WATERNISH.



1. Ranald MacDonald of Belfinlay.
2. Major Allan MacDonald of Waternish.
3. Captain Allan MacDonald of Waternish.
4. Captain Allan R. MacDonald of Waternish.
5. Major Allan MacDonald of Waternish.

**Plate II — The MacDonalds of Belfinlay and Waternish.**

Netherlands and Ireland, and retired, after twenty-one years' service, as senior Major of his regiment. In 1827 he purchased from Clanranald the Estate of Moidart, and in 1833 he acquired from Lord Glenelg the Estate of Waternish, adjoining his wife's patrimony, the Estate of Ardmore. In 1834 Major Allan MacDonald sold Moidart, and took up residence at Waternish, which still remains in the possession of the family.

In 1819 Major A. MacDonald had married Flora, daughter of Patrick Nicolson of Ardmore, grandson of the Rev. Donald Nicolson, M.A., last Episcopal Minister of Kilmuir, Skye, and Chief of the Nicolsons. Patrick Nicolson, an enterprising merchant in South Uist and Skye, farmer, and landowner, was married to Catherine MacAlister, niece of Allan MacDonald (the husband of Flora MacDonald) and daughter of Mrs MacAlister (Anne of Kingsburgh), who helped to entertain the Prince at Kingsburgh House on the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> June, 1746. It will thus be seen that the subject of our sketch inherited Jacobite traditions, not only through his Belfinlay ancestry, but also through his MacAlister forbears. In fact many of those who helped the Prince to make his escape from the Long Island and Skye to the Mainland had in some way or another a place in Allan R. MacDonald's genealogical tree.

Major Allan MacDonald's family consisted of three sons: Patrick, Allan and Donald. Donald died young. Allan entered the Army, obtaining a commission in the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment as Ensign in 1848. He joined his regiment in Tasmania, where he remained with it until 1855. In 1857 he attained to the rank of Captain, and in the same year retired from the Army with the sale of his commission. The eldest son, Patrick, renounced his right of succession to the Estate of Waternish, which was subsequently bequeathed to his brother, Captain Allan. Major MacDonald died in 1855, and when Captain Allan retired from the Army in 1857 he settled at Waternish. He devoted his time to the improvement of the Estate and added to his patrimony by the purchase of the fine Island of Rona in Uist. Captain MacDonald was a keen sportsman, kept a yacht, and had the finest pack of terriers in the Highlands. He was a J.P. and a D.L. of the County of Inverness. "The Captain," as he was familiarly known in Skye and the Isles, was a typical Highland gentleman, true to the best traditions of his race. He died unmarried in 1905.

## II.

The foregoing brief history of the family of Belfinlay shows that Allan R. MacDonald came of ancient and honourable lineage. He possessed all the strength of character, temperament, and outlook of the stock from which he sprang. After the death of his father, Patrick MacDonald, in Illinois, U.S.A., in 1874, he came to Waternish to live with his uncle. Waternish was his home ever after.

Young Allan went to school at Stein, Waternish, then taught by a distinguished master, who afterwards became a master in Berwick. When his teacher left Skye, Allan accompanied him to his new school, where he remained for some time. He afterwards attended Larchfield Boys' Private School in Helensburgh, conducted by Mr Thomas Bayne, a noted Literateur and an Examiner for Glasgow University. After he finished school he returned to Skye to assist his uncle in managing his Estates of Waternish and Ardmore. In 1886 he became proprietor of a part of the Waternish Estate. "Mr Allan," as he was known in Waternish, was married in 1895 to Miss Edith Bayne, the eldest daughter of the head of his old school. His married life was singularly happy. Four children were born of the marriage. Allan Reginald and Flora (twins) were born in 1897. Donald Ronald was born in 1900 and Edith Margaret Belfinlay in 1908. They are all married except the elder son, Major Allan Reginald, who, on the death of his father, succeeded to Waternish. He is the eleventh representative of the family of Belfinlay.

After old Captain MacDonald's death in 1906, Mr Allan R. MacDonald took over the management of the Estate. He was now a very busy man. But he found time to devote himself to the welfare of his tenants and of the people of Skye. He interested himself in military affairs and for a time he was an officer in the Lovat Scouts. He was for many years a member of the Parish Council of Duirinish and of the School Board of Duirinish. He was also a member of the County Council of Inverness-shire, on which he did much useful work. He never lost interest in County or local affairs. His amiable character and genial courtesy endeared him in a high degree to all those with whom he came into contact on the various committees and boards of which he was, at one time or another, a member.



**Plate III — Waternish House.**

### III.

Mr MacDonald's intellectual interests were centred in history, especially Highland and Island history. In fact to most people, outside Skye, he was known only as an accurate and painstaking historian and antiquarian; his genealogical knowledge was astonishing. He was a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland for many years.

As an impressionable lad he grew up amid surroundings which were well fitted to awaken and to foster a love for history. Skye reeked of memories of clan jealousies and feuds. Scarce a strath or field, castle or cot in the Island but could tell of many "old forgotten far-off things." In his youth, wherever he went in Skye he made his way into the confidence of the old people who knew and were not reluctant to tell the traditions of their districts. And those traditions were tales of fights between the MacDonalds and the MacLeods, of Lochaber cattle-lifters, of the Jacobite Rebellions of the '15 and '45, of Lady Grange and the mystery which surrounded her abduction

and retention in Skye, of Flora MacDonald and Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and of the early emigrations to the Colonies. In the families he visited he was shown miniatures of the soldiers who went forth from Skye to fight for their King and Country. He listened with rapt attention as he was told with pride of the military achievements of the Island's sons. Thus his mind became steeped in historical lore.

At this early stage of his life, he came into contact with two ladies, whose knowledge of the history of the families, not only of Skye, but of the whole of the Western Isles, deeply impressed him, and from whom he acquired much genealogical information. One was Miss Anne Nicolson of Stein, his grandmother's cousin and life-long companion. The other was Miss Flora Downie MacKinnon of Duisdale House, Sleat. "Miss Flory," as she was affectionately known in Skye, was a daughter of the Rev. John MacKinnon of Strath. Of her Sir Archibald Geikie wrote in his "Scottish Reminiscences": "She knew the pedigree and history of every family in the West Highlands." Before Mr MacDonald became burdened with the cares of a landlord and of public life he gathered much valuable information from Miss Nicolson and Miss MacKinnon. Of his association with these ladies he had happy recollections. It was an important and interesting feature of his youth. It was at that time he laid the foundation of the historical, genealogical and antiquarian work for which he afterwards became distinguished.

It must not be imagined, however, that Mr MacDonald's work was based on traditional information only. It is true that in his day no one possessed a greater store of oral information about Skye and the Isles than he did, but he never made use of information which was not supported by documentary sources. He was not, strictly speaking, a student of records, but at the same time, when his other duties permitted, he spent much time in research work in Edinburgh, and, through the late Mr D. Murray Rose, he had access to the historical documents in Somerset House, London. He was familiar with the records preserved in Dunvegan Castle and elsewhere in Skye. Mr MacDonald himself was absolutely sincere in his search for the truth of any historical subject in which he was interested. Thus he was not slow to pour contempt on any writer whose statements were unsupported by documentary evidence. He could not endure slipshod work. All his own historical and antiquarian work was conducted with meticulous care.

Mr MacDonald was a voluminous writer. He must have written thousands of letters to the press on historical and antiquarian subjects. The Scotsman, the *Glasgow Herald*, *Northern Chronicle*,

and the *Oban Times* were among the papers to which he contributed. His own knowledge was so full and exact that he allowed no occasion to pass without severely criticising inferior work in the department of history which he had specially made his own. It may be admitted that, had he devoted as much time to constructive as to critical work, Highland history would have been greatly enriched. The amount of his private correspondence with friends who shared his interests was astounding. He placed freely and ungrudgingly his unique knowledge at the service of all those who applied to him. As the writer has good reason to know, no one could be more ready than Mr MacDonald to assist others in their studies of topics in which he was an authority. He loved his work and derived great happiness from it. He never expected and never received pecuniary reward. To him it was a labour of love.

#### IV.

It must be regarded by his friends as little short of a tragedy that his work on Flora MacDonald was not published by himself. He was acknowledged authority on the Jacobite Rebellions of the '15 and the '45, particularly as these affected the Western Highland, and Island,. In the heroine of the '45 he was specially interested. She was, as already noted, a blood-relation, as was also her husband, Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh. He inherited many relics which belonged to her. He also possessed not a few reminders of the Prince's visit to Kingsburgh House on Sunday evening, 29<sup>th</sup> June, 1746. These included the bed in which the Prince slept, and in which also Dr Samuel Johnson slept on Sunday night, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1773.

Mr MacDonald made a special study of the life-history of Flora MacDonald, and gathered much information about her and those who took part with her in helping the Prince to escape from the Long Island to Skye and afterwards to the Mainland. He read widely on this subject. He made extensive researches for many years in State Records and in many obscure sources. In fact he spent a life-time, with indefatigable persistence, connecting information from unpublished records and manuscripts, with the result that he left behind him a vast accumulation of material dealing with Flora MacDonald's history.

From trustworthy documents, which were in his own family, Mr MacDonald early recognised the unreliability of the Rev. Alexander MacGregor's biography of Flora MacDonald, published in 1882, and republished many times since unrevised. In the light of the authoritative and first-hand information which he had collected, he

set himself the task of correcting the errors perpetrated, not only by Mr MacGregor, but by every subsequent writer on the subject. Thus Mr MacDonald's work, "The Truth About Flora MacDonald," is to a great extent a critical review of books on the heroine. It is, however, a valuable critique. In it he not only exposes the inaccuracies of the various works to which he refers, but furnishes documentary evidence for the replacement of error by fact. Mr MacDonald never demolished a position, historically untenable, without erecting in its place a structure possessing a sure and firm foundation. "The Truth About Flora MacDonald" is not the work of a day. It grew with the years. It is the result of a painstaking examination and elucidation of facts, gathered in the way already indicated, and consequently it brings many new facts to light and puts new light on many points hitherto obscure. Thus it is a notable contribution to Jacobite literature.

Mr MacDonald was frequently asked to give his views regarding the controversy over the portraits of Flora MacDonald. He wrote a paper on the subject, but unfortunately it has been lost, and it is impossible to ascertain what his views were. Regarding the alleged oil painting of Flora MacDonald which was on view at the Scottish Exhibition in Glasgow and London in 1931 he gave an interview at Inverness to a Press representative. He said: "I have seen it stated that there are more than twenty portraits of Flora MacDonald. I have not seen them all. The best known is that by Allan Ramsay, for whom she sat in London in 1749. This portrait is in the Bodleian Library<sup>1</sup> at Oxford; there is a copy in Edinburgh, and another in Inverness Town Hall. Flora married on November 6, 1750, at Armadale, Skye. At recent public exhibitions held in Scotland and London there has appeared a copy of a portrait alleged to represent Flora MacDonald, and to have been painted by Ramsay in 1752. I cannot believe that she paid two visits to London for the purpose of having her portrait painted, and there is no evidence that I have come across, despite extensive research, to show that Ramsay ever visited Skye to carry out this purpose. I maintain that the copy of the portrait shown at these recent public exhibitions is not that of Flora MacDonald but of Miss Clementina Walkingshaw, the mistress of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. The original of this portrait is in Crieff. This portrait was entered in the catalogue as that of Flora MacDonald. The Bodleian Flora shows us a woman of quite a sober look. Flora had a certain gravity all the time. There is also the matter of the position in which she sat for the picture at the time. In what I

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<sup>1</sup> It is now (1938) placed in The Ashmolean Museum.

claim to be none other than a portrait study of Miss Walkingshaw there is quite a different pose. There is a picture of Flora and the Prince in a cave. The thing never happened.”

Everything Mr MacDonald wrote about Flora MacDonald had one great aim, and that was to vindicate her character. The last article which he penned was to clear her memory from the foul slanders of a writer in a London magazine. This was Baroness Orczy, from whose pen a series of articles, entitled “Royal Romances,” appeared in the *North China Herald* in 1934. These re-appeared in the *Windsor Magazine*. One of the series of “Royal Romances” was “Flora and the Bonnie Prince,” an absurdly fictitious account of Flora MacDonald’s adventure with the Prince. As a writer in the *Oban Times* pointed out at the time: “The ‘Romance’ was so far from fact, that it was to the ordinary Highlander, and indeed to any schoolboy, a composition to be laughed at, rather than one deserving serious contradiction.” But Flora MacDonald’s descendants were deeply pained, and Mr MacDonald on their behalf wrote a reproving refutation of the article, but, alas! he passed away before it appeared in print.

## V.

Mr MacDonald took part in the Glasgow Historical Pageant in June, 1928. As a lineal male descendant, through the Clanranald family, of Reginald son of “the mighty Somerled of the Isles,” he led the Clan Donald. He was dressed in the tartan uniform of Prince Charles’ officers as worn by Lord Ogilvy and officers of the Forfarshire Regiment, and by his own predecessor, Ranald MacDonald of Belfinlay, who was severely wounded at the Battle of Culloden. He wore a brooch made from the Prince’s Parisian shoe-buckle, which the Prince gave to Flora MacDonald after he had changed into his Betty Burke garments. He also wore another brooch containing strands of the Prince’s and Flora MacDonald’s hair.<sup>1</sup> The Pageant was not altogether a success on account of the bad weather. It had fatal consequences for Mr MacDonald.

He returned home from the Pageant exhausted and suffering from a heavy cold. In a few days he was down with pneumonia, and although he recovered from this severe illness he was never the same again. He never regained permanent health. In March, 1936, Mr MacDonald’s weakness increased, and, on the advice of his doctor,

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<sup>1</sup> See Plates VI, XI; Appendix IV.

he went to Inverness for treatment. The change seemed to do him good, but he collapsed suddenly and passed away on the 11<sup>th</sup> of the month. His remains were taken to Waternish, and on the 14<sup>th</sup> he was laid to rest in the family burial place in the old Graveyard of Trumpan in the presence of a large gathering of his tenants and friends.

Allan Reginald MacDonald was the most kindly of men, the most considerate of landlords, and the staunchest of friends. Whenever, in the future, his name is mentioned in his beloved Island of Skye, it will be mentioned with honour.

EDITOR.

Plate IV—FLORA MACDONALD IN 1749.



*Flora macdonald*

By Courtesy of the Curators of the Bodleian library, Oxford.

# The Truth About Flora MacDonald

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## I.

### Ancestry and Early Life.

**F**LORA MACDONALD, the heroine of the "Forty-Five," was the most illustrious woman the Highlands and Islands have produced. She was born into a family whose claim to high rank could be established both on the male and on the female side. Through her father she derived her descent from the Chiefs of Clanranald and from the House of Dunnyveg in Kintyre, while on her mother's aide she had a pedigree stretching back to the Chiefs of Sleat. She was thus a true daughter of the great Clan Donald, founded by the "mighty Somerled of the Isles." Flora MacDonald could also establish, through both her father and her mother, a connexion with the powerful ducal family of Argyle and the Royal House of Robert II, King of Scotland.

Her father was Ranald MacDonald of Balivanich in Benbecula and of Milton in South Uist. He was the son of Angus Og, a younger son of Ranald MacDonald,<sup>1</sup> the first of the family of Benbecula, and fourth son of Allan IX of Clanranald, who lived round about 1600. Ranald MacDonald of Balivanich and Milton was thus a great-grandson of Clanranald. His paternal grandmother was Margaret, grand-daughter of Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of Colin, Earl of Argyle. Ranald held Balivanich as part of the patrimony of the Benbecula family, and he received a life-tenure of Milton in 1704 from his Chief, Allan XIV of Clanranald.

Ranald MacDonald of Balivanich and Milton was advanced in years when he married, as his second wife, Marion,<sup>2</sup> daughter of the Rev. Angus MacDonald, M.A., son of John MacDonald of the family of Grinish in North Uist, who could show a direct descent from Hugh, the founder of the House of Sleat. Ranald MacDonald and his father-in-law were first cousins, of the same age, and died<sup>3</sup> within a year of each other. Mr Angus MacDonald, known as the "Ministear Laidir" (the "Strong Minister"), on account of his great bodily strength, was a man of culture and great force of character. He had been Minister of the Island of Oigha, Argyleshire, before the Revolution, but having conformed to Presbyterianism<sup>4</sup> he was admitted to South Uist in 1680, where, according to tradition, his

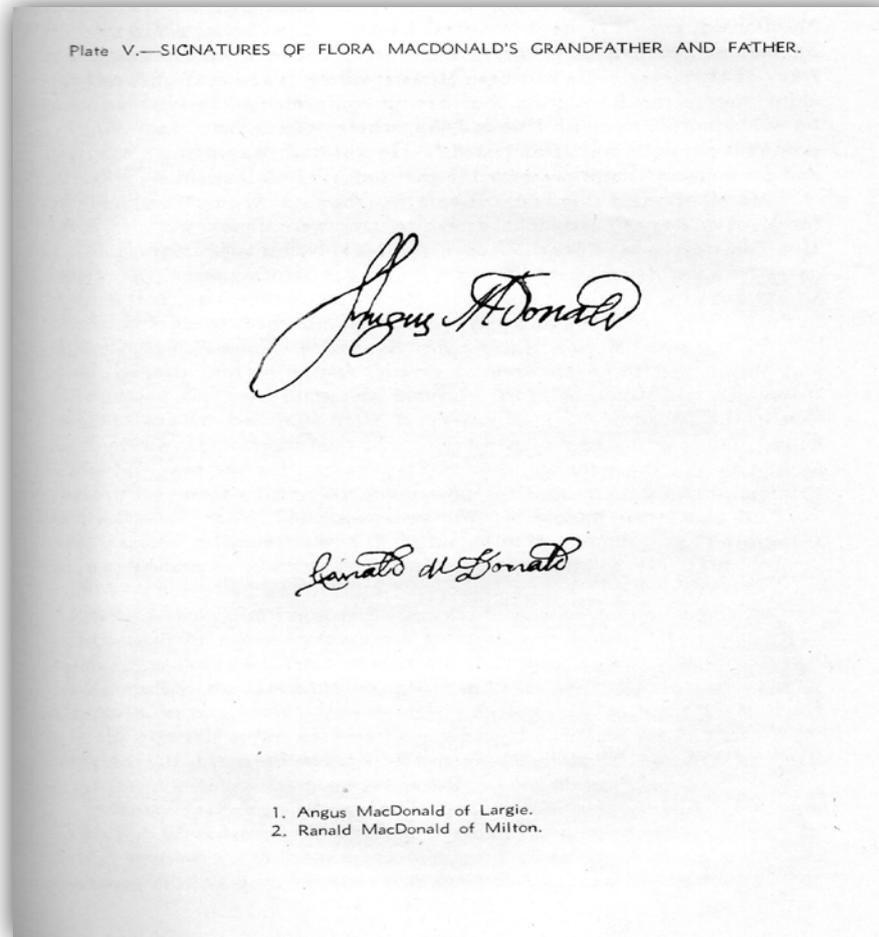
powerful physique was often tested.<sup>5</sup> He was both feared and respected, and, his memory is still preserved in the traditions of South Uist.

Mr MacDonald was married to a daughter of Angus MacDonald of the MacDonalds of Largy in Argyleshire, who were descended from John Mor Tanistear, son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his wife, Princess Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert II. Angus MacDonald of Largy was a Captain in the Royalist Army under Montrose, and distinguished himself in the Civil Wars in Scotland and in Ireland. He died before 1687.<sup>6</sup>

By his wife, Marion MacDonald, Ranald MacDonald of Balivanich and Milton had three children. Angus, the elder son, succeeded to Balivanich and Milton in 1740. Ranald, the other son, was accidentally shot in the Island of Cara, Argyleshire, after attaining the age of manhood. He and a young relative were told that there was only one gun for the two of them for the day. They rushed for the gun and while struggling with one another for possession, the gun, which was loaded, went off and killed Ranald.<sup>7</sup> The youngest child, Flora, was born at Milton in 1722. Ranald MacDonald died in the following year at Balivanich, the Benbecula home of the family, when Flora was about a year old.

Ranald was a prosperous Tacksman and left Balivanich and Milton well stocked with cattle and sheep. A kinsman of the family crossed over from Skye to South Uist, and, coveting Milton, carried off the young widow to Skye and married her in 1728. Marion MacDonald's abductor was Hugh MacDonald of Kingsburgh. He was the third son of Somerled MacDonald of Kingsburgh, fourth son of Sir James Mor MacDonald, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Sleat. Hugh had been an officer in the French Army, and had recently returned from France. He was accounted one of the strongest men in the Isles, and, although blind of an eye, he was a deft swordsman. Not having a fixed home of his own, he settled down with Marion MacDonald in South Uist and took over the management of Balivanich and Milton for her and her children. In this capacity he acted the part of a

**Plate V.—SIGNATURES OF FLORA MACDONALD'S  
GRANDFATHER AND FATHER.**



**1. Angus MacDonald of Largie. 2. Ranald MacDonald of Milton**

faithful husband and stepfather. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>8</sup> states that Hugh MacDonald and his wife, after their marriage, took up residence in Armadale, Sleat, Skye. This was not the case. Hugh MacDonald did not become tenant of Armadale<sup>9</sup> until November, 1745, seventeen years after his marriage.

On the subject of Flora MacDonald's education a good deal of fiction has been written. As a matter of fact nothing definite is known about her girlhood. It is said that she shared in the educational advantages enjoyed by the children of Clanranald at Nunton,<sup>10</sup> but of this we have no proof. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>11</sup> says that she was sent in 1740 to Edinburgh by Lady Margaret MacDonald<sup>12</sup> of Sleat to be educated at a Ladies' Boarding School, where she remained for three or four years. It is true that Lady Margaret was her friend, but there is no truth in Mr MacGregor's statement. It is at variance with what Captain Felix

O'Neill<sup>13</sup> told Bishop Forbes. During the Prince's wanderings in South Uist Captain O'Neill visited Milton on several occasions in quest of information for the Prince regarding the movements of the Skye Militia in that quarter. He met Flora MacDonald and her brother, with whom he became very friendly, and from whom he acquired much family history.<sup>14</sup> He was thus in a position to know the facts. In his report<sup>15</sup> to the Bishop he says that Flora MacDonald had not been out of the Islands of Uist and Skye "till about a year before the Prince's arrival," when she paid a visit "of ten or eleven months" to her maternal relatives at Largy in Argyleshire. Bishop Forbes also records that one of the numerous visitors who called upon Flora, when she was a prisoner on board the "Bridgewater" off Leith in 1746, said to him that "one could not discern by her conversation that she spent all her former days in the Highlands."<sup>16</sup> That our Hebridean heroine was at a Ladies' Boarding School in Edinburgh for three or four years was simply a figment of Mr MacGregor's brain.

Of this much we can be sure. Flora MacDonald received her early education in her native Uist. When she appears, in her twenty-fourth year, on the stage of history she is a well-bred and refined young lady.<sup>17</sup>

When Hugh MacDonald and his wife with their family<sup>18</sup> left Milton in 1745 for Armadale in Sleat, Skye, Flora accompanied them. She went back, however, to Milton in the beginning of June, 1746, "in order to visit her brother-german, who had about that time taken up house."<sup>19</sup>

During the next few weeks, in one of the most romantic episodes in British History, she acts a part which won for her a place among the heroines of history.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> According to "Clan Donald" (Vol. III, pp. 277-278) Ranald MacDonald of Benbecula was married five times, but according to "Highland Papers" (Vol. IV, p. 227) he was married four times only. Both these authorities are agreed his first wife was Margaret MacDonnld of Dunnyveg and the Glens. A Sasine Record, bearing the date 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1625, gives Margaret MacDonald as Ranald's wife at that date. She was the daughter of Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg and the Glens, whose mother was Agnes, daughter of Colin, Earl of Argyle. Margaret was the grandmother of Ranald MacDonald, father of Flora MacDonald.

<sup>2</sup> Ronald MacDonald's first wife was Marion, daughter of John MacLeod, XIV of Dunvegan, and widow of his cousin, Donald MacDonald, XIII of Clanranald. She died in 1710 ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 232-233).

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Angus MacDonald's mothor was Flora, sister of Angus Og, father of Ranald MacDonald of Balivanich and Milton. Thus the Rev. Angus MacDonald and his father-in-law were first cousins. Ranald died at Balivanich, Benbecula, in

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1728. The Rev. Angus MacDonald died at Campbeltown, Kintyre, in 1724, on his way back to South Uist, after visiting his wife's relations at Largy ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 610).

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., in "Memorials of the '45" (p. 75), Mr Compton MacKenzie in "Prince Charlie and His Ladies" (p. 73), and others maintain that the Rev. Angus MacDonald was Episcopalian Minister of South Uist. According to the Records of the Synod of Argyle there was only one Episcopalian Minister in the Uists in 1694—The Rev. Alexander Cooper of North Uist, who was deposed for non-conformity, but having conformed to Presbyterianism afterwards, he was admitted into the Presbyterian Church on 12<sup>th</sup> June, 1690. If Mr Angus MacDonald had not conformed to Presbyterianism the Synod of Argyle would have dealt with him as they did with Mr Cooper.

<sup>5</sup> "Clan Donald Journal," Vol. I, p. 2; "Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ," Vol. VII, p. 195.

<sup>6</sup> "Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 383-384.

<sup>7</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 51) gives a different version of how young Ranald MacDonald lost his life. He writes: "He [Ranald] on one occasion paid a visit to his relatives at Largie, where the gallant youth lost his life by the bursting of a blood vessel. It is said that he strained himself by rowing a boat against an adverse wind, and this caused his death, to the deep regret of a numerous circle of relatives and friends."

<sup>8</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> The lands of Armndale were life-rented by Lady Margaret MacDonald, who was the daughter of Donald I of the MacDonalds of Castleton, and widow of John MacKinnon of MacKinnon. She was the dowager of Sir Donald MacDonald, 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet of Sleat, who died in 1718. Lady Margaret died in 1738, when Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh (whose wife was a niece of Lady Margaret) took a seven years' lease of Armadale. The lease expired at Whitsunday, 1745 (Judicial Rental of the Barony of MacDonald).

<sup>10</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor and others erroneously state that Clanranald lived at Ormickett at this time. As a matter of fact Ormickett was burnt down accidentally on the day of the Battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715, and was never rebuilt. Clanranald lived after 1715 at Nunton in Benbecula.

<sup>11</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 62-68.

<sup>12</sup> Lady Margaret MacDonald of Sleat was the fourth daughter of Alexander, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Eglinton, and his wife, Lady Susanna Kennedy, celebrated for her great beauty and varied accomplishments. Lady Margaret became the second wife of Sir Alexander MacDonald, 7<sup>th</sup> Baronet of Sleat, on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1739. She was a woman of great charm and beauty, and was greatly beloved in Skye. A strong Jacobite, she did everything in her power to help the Prince during his wanderings in the Isles. She died in London on 30<sup>th</sup> March, 1799.

<sup>13</sup> See II. References and Notes, 1 (2).

<sup>14</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 804.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Bishop Forbes writes: "Her behaviour in company was so easy, modest, and well-adjusted that every visitant was much surprised ... she talks English (or rather Scots) easily, and not all through the Earse (Gaelic) tone. She has a sweet voice and sings well; and no lady, Edinburgh bred, can acquit herself better at the tea-table than what she did in Leith Road. ... She is the delight of her friends and the envy of her enemies" ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 116-117)

<sup>18</sup> Hugh MacDonald and Marion had at least four children. Two sons died young at Armadale ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. III, p. 532). A son, James, was an officer in the Dutch Service ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 112; "Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 582). A daughter, Annabella, married Major Alexander MacDonald of Cuidreach, with issue. Her descendants are given incorrectly by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 180), who says she was a daughter, instead of a sister, of Flora MacDonald. Annabella's family and descendants, down to the present time, are given in "Skye Pioneers and 'The Island'" [i.e., Prince Edward Island] by Malcolm MacQueen (a descendant), Winnipeg, Canada. Major

Alexander MacDonald was V of the Macdonalds of Cuidreach, who were descended from Hugh, youngest son of Donald III of the MacDonalds of Castle Camus, afterwards known as the MacDonald of Kingsburgh ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 511-513).

<sup>19</sup> Lyon in Mourning, Vol. 1, p. 296.

## *Meeting the Prince*

## II.

### Meeting the Prince.

**A**FTER Prince Charles Edward Stuart was finally defeated at Culloden on Wednesday, 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1746, he set out for the West of Inverness-shire, and arrived at Borrodale in the district of Arisaig on Sunday, 20<sup>th</sup>. He remained in the neighbourhood of Borrodale until the following Saturday, when he sailed from Lochnanuagh with four friends<sup>1</sup> in an eight-oared boat, manned by eight boatmen.<sup>2</sup> They landed at Roshinish in Benbecula, seven miles from Nunton, the home of Clanranald, all Sunday morning, 27<sup>th</sup> April. The Prince's wanderings in the Long Island from that Sunday morning until Friday night, 20<sup>th</sup> June, do not concern us here.<sup>3</sup>

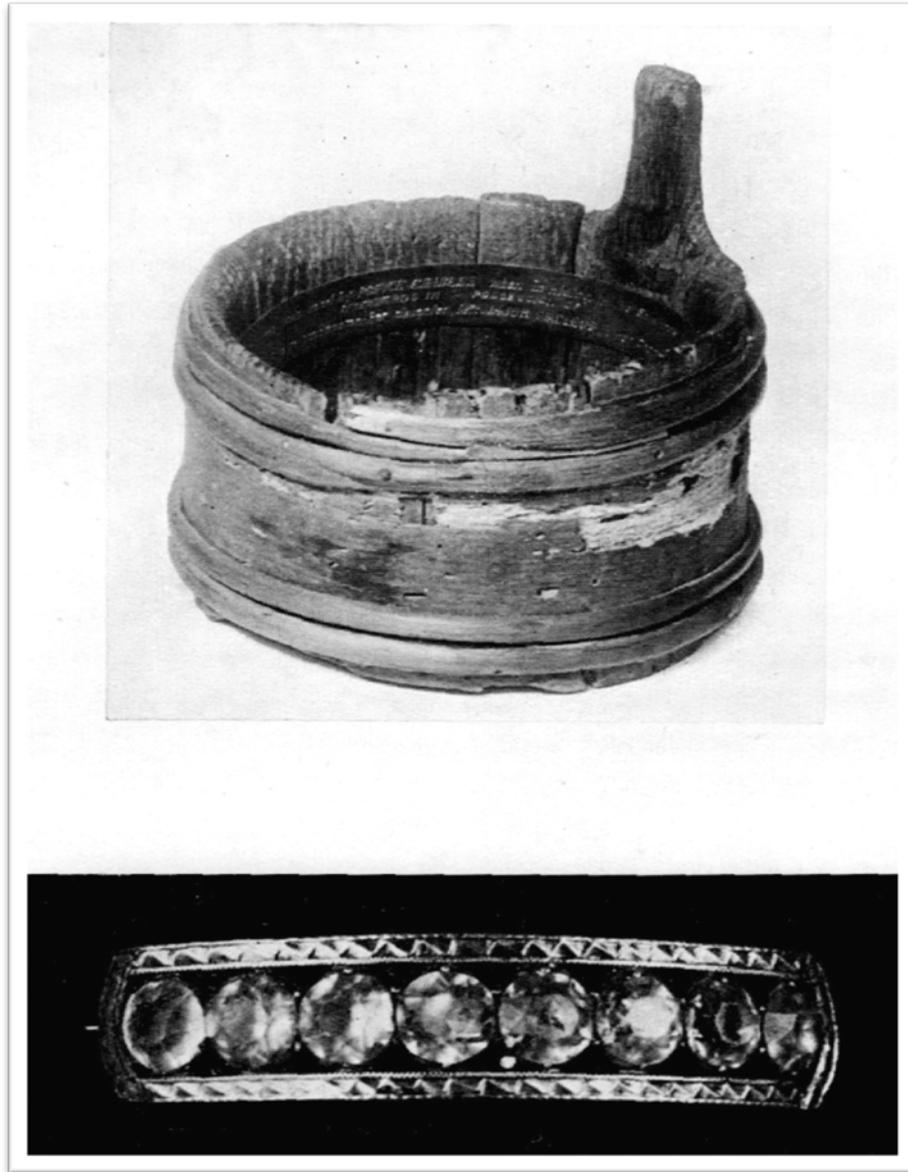
Flora MacDonald first met the Prince about midnight on Friday, 20<sup>th</sup> June. There is no truth in Ewald's statement in his "Life of Prince Charles Edward"<sup>4</sup> that she had met him in Edinburgh, and had danced with him at Holyrood. Such an event could not have taken place. Her first meeting with him took place at her brother's shieling at Alisary<sup>5</sup> on the farm of Milton, South Uist.

The generally accepted accounts of this meeting do not agree with those of Captain O'Neill<sup>6</sup> and Neil MacEachen<sup>7</sup>, who were present. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor gives an altogether erroneous account.<sup>8</sup>

The Prince, accompanied by Captain O'Neill and Neil MacEachen, crossed the mountains from Loch Boisdale, where he had been hiding, and arrived at Alisary about midnight. At that season of the year there is scarcely any night at all in the Outer Isles, and there was a full moon all that night. The Captain left the Prince and Neil MacEachen at a little distance from the shieling and went forward to warn Flora MacDonald of their arrival. "I quitted the Prince at some distance from the hut," O'Neill tells us in his Journal,<sup>9</sup> "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," continues O'Neill, "If I 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." This account agrees with Flora MacDonald's own declaration to Bishop Forbes,<sup>10</sup>

that it was O'Neill who brought the Prince to her, when she was at her brother's shieling. There and then Flora was asked if she would be willing to convey the Prince across the Minch to Skye.

How did it come about that such a proposal was made to Flora MacDonald? According to all the available evidence at our disposal, it would appear that up to the moment the proposal was made to her she knew nothing of the scheme that was on foot for getting the Prince safely out of South Uist to Skye, and the part she herself was expected to play. It is clear that the plan<sup>11</sup> for enabling the Prince to evade the clutches of his enemies was actually suggested by her stepfather, Hugh MacDonald, who had met him on his first landing in Moidart from France on 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1745, and had conversed with him, but refused to join his standard,<sup>12</sup> He was in command of one of the Independent Companies<sup>13</sup> in Benbecula at this time. Bishop Forbes states on the authority of Donald MacLeod, "the pilot," and Captain Malcolm MacLeod of Brae, Raasay,<sup>14</sup> that Captain Hugh MacDonald "was the grand contriver in laying and executing the scheme for the Prince's escape in woman's cloathes from the Long Island to the Isle of Sky."<sup>15</sup> According to Neil MacEachen, Captain Hugh "sent one of the country gentlemen, in whom he could repose a great deal of trust, to tell the Prince privately that, as it seemed now impossible for him to conceal himself any longer in the country, if he would venter to be advised by him, though an enemy in appearance yet a sure friend in his heart, he would fall upon a scheme to convoy him to the Isle of Skay, where he .was sure to be protected by Lady Margaret MacDonald."<sup>16</sup> The scheme planned by the Captain .was that his stepdaughter, Flora MacDonald, should go to her mother to Armadale in Skye until the Militia were away from the neighbourhood of Milton; that the Prince, disguised in female

**Plate VI — PRINCE “CHARLIE” AND FLORA MACDONALD RELICS.**

1. Coggie or wooden pail in which Flora MacDonald carried goat's milk to Prince Charlie in the Shieling at Alisary in South Uist.
2. Gold Brooch, which is the fourth part of a shoe buckle, worn by Prince Charlie and given to Flora MacDonald after he had disguised himself as her spinning maid. Betty Burke.

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attire was to accompany her as a spinning maid for her mother, and Neil MacEachen was to take charge of them both.<sup>17</sup>

When the Prince heard of the plan suggested by Captain Hugh it “pleased” him “mightly,” and he seemed very impatient to see it put in execution.<sup>18</sup> Without losing any time the Prince and his companions, O'Neill and MacEachen, made their way from their hiding-place at Corrodale to Alisary, and the plan proposed by her

step-father was made known to Flora, and she was asked, as already stated, if she would escort the Prince to Skye.

There are different accounts as to how Flora MacDonald received the proposal of her midnight visitors. Neil MacEachen says “she joyfully accepted of the offer without the least hesitation.”<sup>19</sup> But Captain O’Neill, on the other hand, states that she “declined” the proposal, “saying Sir Alexander MacDonald was too much her friend to be the instrument of his ruine.”<sup>20</sup> He pointed out to her that Sir Alexander was not in Skye and that “she could with the greatest facility convey the Prince to her mother’s house, as she lived close to the waterside.” Although she was assured that such a course as was suggested to her could not possibly implicate Sir Alexander MacDonald, who was at the time at Fort-Augustus, she still hesitated, not only on account of the many risks and dangers of such a daring enterprise, but chiefly for fear “of losing her character in a malicious and ill-natured world.”<sup>21</sup> O’Neill represented to her that, instead of having her character blackened, it would be made immortal by such a noble and humane deed on her part in the Prince’s then distressing circumstances. “But if,” he declared, “you will still entertain fears about your character, I shall (by an oath) marry you directly, if you please.”<sup>22</sup> The Prince having assured her of “the sense he would always retain of so conspicuous a service,” she “at length acquiesc’d.”<sup>23</sup>

Captain O’Neill’s account is probably correct. Flora MacDonald herself states in her Journal that she “had (with some difficulty) agreed to undertake the dangerous enterprise.”<sup>24</sup>

Flora extended hospitality to her visitors. In a wooden bowl, or “coggie,” which is still in existence,<sup>25</sup> she offered cream, or as tradition has it goat’s milk, to the Prince, which he accepted. Neil MacEachen, who supplies much interesting information omitted in the other narratives, tells that he “took two or three hearty go-downs” of it, “and that his fellow-travellers swallowed the rest.”<sup>26</sup>

Having gained her consent to escort him out of Uist to Skye, the Prince, with his companions, went back to the mountains of Corrodale. Flora MacDonald returned to Milton to make arrangements to go to Nunton to her friends, the Clanranalds.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The Prince’s friends were:-

- (1) Captain John William O’Sullivan. He was born in County Kerry in Ireland in 1700. He was educated in France and Rome for the priesthood. He joined the French Army and served in Italy and on the Rhine. He entered the household

of the Prince about 1744, and accompanied him to Scotland, acting as his Adjutant-General and also as his private adviser during the '45 campaign. He was with him during his wanderings in the Long Island until 20<sup>th</sup> June. After parting with the Prince he escaped to France ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. 1, p. 298). He was knighted towards the end of 1746, and was created a baronet of Ireland in 1753. The date of his death is unknown.

- (2) Captain Felix O'Neill. He was of Irish extraction and was born in Rome. He served in the Spanish Army until 1744, when he joined a French-Irish Regiment as Captain. He came across from France shortly before the Battle of Culloden ("Lord George Murray and the Forty-Five," p. 177), and joined the Prince's staff. He accompanied the Prince to the Long Island, and was with him until 28<sup>th</sup> June. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor gives a very incorrect account of his movements after he parted with the Prince ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 111). We have, however, a very detailed account of his wanderings from the 28<sup>th</sup> June until his arrest about the middle of July in Benbecula in the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. I, pp. 373-374). He was confined in Edinburgh Castle until 1747. His Journal is given in the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. 1, pp. 102-108, 365-379).
- (3) Father Allan MacDonald. He was a native of the Isles and belonged to the MacDonalds of Clanranald. He went out with the Clan at the beginning of the '45 Rebellion, and continued as Chaplain until the end of the campaign. He accompanied the Prince to the Isles, and acted as his Confessor. He was captured in South Uist after he separated from the Prince on 20<sup>th</sup> June, and was sent with other Jacobite clerical prisoners to London on board the "Furnace." He was released after June, 1747 ("Prisoners of the '45," Vol. I, p. 224), and crossed to France. He went to Rome in 1748, where he lived for many years. It is not known when he died.
- (4) Donald MacLeod. He was a native of Galtrigill, in the parish of Duirinish in Skye. Having gone to Inverness for a cargo of meal in the spring of 1746 he was taken prisoner there by a company of MacDonalds of Glencoe. He was released, however, by the intervention of the Laird of MacKinnon, Iain Dubh, who, unlike the other Skye Chiefs, joined the Prince. Donald MacLeod, having met Aeneas MacDonald, the Paris banker (brother of Donald IV of the MacDonalds of Kinlochmoidart, in whose house at Kinlochmoidart the Prince stayed from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> August, 1745, when he set out for Glenfinnan), went with him to Barra to recover and bring to Inverness the gold which had been landed on the island in the previous December. On their return to the mainland they heard of the disaster at Culloden and that the Prince was expected any day at Borrodale. On Donald's arrival at Borrodale he met the Prince, who asked him to go with a message from him to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod. Donald refused. The Prince then asked him if he would pilot him "through the islands." Donald replied that "he most willingly undertook to do his best in the service he now proposed." From 21<sup>st</sup> April to 20<sup>th</sup> June Donald MacLeod proved a faithful follower of the Prince. He was arrested in Benbecula in July, and carried to London on the "Furnace." He was released in June, 1747. His narrative of the Prince's wanderings is given in the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. I, pp. 154-186, 268-269). His wife was Catherine, daughter of John V of the MacDonalds of Glenaladale ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 264). She was a cousin of Flora MacDonald. Donald MacLeod died at Galtrigill in September, 1740. The date given in Dr Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five" is wrong. An excellent account of Donald MacLeod, under the title "Prince Charlie's Pilot," was published in 1913 by Dr Evan M. Barron, of the "Inverness Courier."

<sup>2</sup> The boatmen were:-

- (1) John MacDonald. He was a son of Lauchlan MacDonald of Dremisdale, South Uist, and a nephew of Alexander MacDonald, the Bard. Lauchlan MacDonald of Dremisdale and his brother, James, paid a visit to the Prince when he was hiding in the hills of Corrodale. These MacDonalds were near relatives of Flora MacDonald.

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- (2) Roderick MacDonald. He was a brother of John, and both were Lieutenants in Clanranald's Regiment.
  - (3) Lauchlan MacMhuirich.
  - (4) Roderick MacAskill.
  - (5) Murdoch MacLeod. He was a son of Donald MacLeod of Galtrigill. He was at school at Inverness, and ran off to Culloden, where he fought on the side of the Prince. Having safely escaped from the battlefield, he followed the Prince to Borrodale, where he met his father, and became a member of the Prince's crew.
  - (6) Duncan Roy.
  - (7) Alexander MacDonald.
  - (8) Edward Burke. He was native of North Uist, and had been a chairman in Edinburgh before the Rebellion. He acted as servant to Alexander MacLeod of Muiravonside, Advocate, Edinburgh (son of John MacLeod, Advocate, Edinburgh, grandson of Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera), who was aide-de-camp to the Prince. Burke acted as the Prince's guide from Culloden to Borrodale, and became one of the crew that ferried him to the Long Island. He remained with the Prince until 20<sup>th</sup> June. After the Prince crossed the Minch to Skye Edward Burke went to North Uist, and, after hiding there for several weeks, he crossed from Lochmaddy to Skye. From Skye he made his way to the mainland, where he met his old mentor, Alexander MacLeod of Muiravonside, who was himself a fugitive, hiding among the hills of the Western Highlands. He remained with him until the Act of Indemnity was passed in 1747, when he returned to Edinburgh to follow "his old business" ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 199). He died in Edinburgh on 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1751.

<sup>3</sup> Fairly accurate accounts of the Prince's wanderings in the Long Island from 27<sup>th</sup> April to 20<sup>th</sup> June may be found in "The Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart" (Vol. III, pp. 200-210; Vol. IV, pp. 1-45) by W. Drummond Norie, and in "Memorials of the '45" (pp. 20-40) by the Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., late of Kiltarlity.

<sup>4</sup> "Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart," by A. C. Ewald, Vol. II, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Alisary was on the slopes of Sheaval, a hill rising to the north-east of Milton. In summer the Milton cattle were driven there to graze. Flora MacDonald was at Alisary looking after her brother's cattle, for he was from home, and not, as Mr W. Drummond Norie ("Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Stuart," Vol. IV, p. 51) and Mr Compton MacKenzie ("Prince Charlie and His Ladies," p. 78) suggest, for the purpose of meeting the Prince, the shieling at Alisary being quieter and more secluded than Milton. The Editors of "The Prisoners of the '45" (Vol. III, p. 59) erroneously state that Flora MacDonald met the Prince at Ormiclett in South Uist.

<sup>6</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Neil MacEachen was descended from the MacEachens of Howbeg in South Uist, who traced their origin to Hector, second son of Roderick III of the MacDonalds of Moidart and Clanranald ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 239-240). It is very doubtful, however, if the MacEachens were really MacDonalds. There is reason to believe that they were MacLeans and not MacDonalds. Neil MacEachen was born in Howbeg in 1719. It is said that when a mere boy he was taken to France by Mr Ænens MacDonald, the Paris Banker, with whom the Prince lodged before he set out on his expedition to Scotland. Neil spent some years in Paris, where he was educated at the Scots College for the priesthood. He could speak French fluently. Although he had returned to his native South Uist before the '45, he did not take any active part in the Rebellion further than assisting in the escape of the Prince from the Long Island to Skye. Young Clanranald, it would appear, did not consider him of sufficient standing in the Clan to confer on him an appointment in the Clanranald Regiment, for which he chose the officers. Old Clanranald attached him to the Prince when he was hiding in South Uist, but he did not accompany the Prince to Lewis. The account of the Prince's wanderings in the Hebrides, published first in "The New Monthly Magazine" for 1840, and afterwards in "Origins of the Forty-Five," by Dr Blaikie, is said to have been by Neil MacEachen,

and consequently is a document of first-rate importance on all matters coming under his own observation.

<sup>8</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 97-104.

<sup>9</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 106, 371.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>11</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor claims the honour of first suggesting the plan for rescuing the Prince for Lady Clanranald and Flora MacDonald at a meeting of the friends of the Prince in the home of Clanranald ("Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 97-100), but MacGregor's claims are definitely contradicted by Neil MacEachen and others who had first-hand knowledge of the matter ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 176, 186-188, Vol. II, p. 186; "Origins of the Forty-Five," pp. 249-250). There is not a shred of evidence for Mr W. Drummond Norie's statement that "it was mainly due to Flora MacDonald's influence that her step-father, Captain Hugh MacDonald, was induced not only to aid and befriend the man he had come to arrest, but actually to suggest the idea by the adoption of which his escape was made possible" ("Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart," Vol. IV, pp. 48-49).

<sup>12</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>13</sup> The Independent Companies were raised for service for the Government in the Highlands and Isles during the '45. In Skye Sir Alexander MacDonald raised two companies, and Norman MacLeod of MacLeod raised four companies—in all, 600 men.

<sup>14</sup> See VI. References and Notes, 11.

<sup>15</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 176.

<sup>16</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," pp. 249-250.

<sup>17</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 176, 297.

<sup>18</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 250.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>20</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>25</sup> See Illustration.

<sup>26</sup> "Origin of the Forty-Five," p. 251.

## *Preparations for Escape*

**Plate VII—SIGNATURES OF SOME OF THOSE WHO BEFRIENDED THE  
PRINCE IN THE ISLES.**



1. Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale.
2. Old MacDonald of Clanranald.
3. Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare.
4. Donald Roy MacDonald of Baleshare.
5. Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh.

## III.

## Preparations for Escape.

**F**LORA MACDONALD, on whom now the safety of the Prince depended, lost no time in setting out for Nunton in Benbecula to arrange the details of the enterprise upon which she had entered. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor, whose account<sup>1</sup> of the events of the next seven days is most confused and inaccurate, says that she was accompanied by Neil MacEachen, but in this he is contradicted by Neil himself.<sup>2</sup> Being without a passport, Flora MacDonald was made a prisoner at Creagorry on the Benbecula shore, and was kept there over Saturday night, 21<sup>st</sup>. On the following morning, however, she was released by her step-father, Captain Hugh MacDonald, who commanded one of the Companies that guarded the ford.

The Prince, who had returned to the mountains of Corrodale with O'Neill and MacEachen, as already stated, was anxious to know how Flora had fared on her journey from Milton to Nunton. He despatched Neil about eight o'clock in the evening to find out what had happened, giving him at the same time "strict orders to be back next day [22<sup>nd</sup>] at four in the afternoon, under pain of gaining his displeasure for ever."<sup>3</sup> On arriving at Carnan Iochdar, on the shore of the South Ford, Neil MacEachen saw that the tide was full in and that parties of Sir Alexander MacDonald's Militia were guarding the ford, making it impossible for him to cross. The Militia arrested him and kept him a prisoner until the following morning, when he was sent across the ford to Captain Hugh MacDonald, with whom, to his great surprise, he found Flora MacDonald sitting at breakfast.<sup>4</sup>

Flora MacDonald informed Neil that she had been prevented from going on to Nunton, but that she was leaving in about half an hour for Clanranld's house to make the necessary arrangements. He was urged to return immediately to the Prince with instructions to proceed from Corrodale to Roshinish in Benbecula, where he would be met by his friends with everything necessary for the voyage to Skye.<sup>5</sup> Neil himself informs us that he "posted off immediately, and arrived at the Prince at the hour he had appointed, and found him under the same rock where he had left him."<sup>6</sup> The Prince was so overjoyed to see Neil that he ran to meet him, and took him by the hand, asking what news he had from Miss Flora.<sup>7</sup> Faithful Neil delivered Flora MacDonald's message, and, without any delay, "they set out for Roshiness."<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile Flora had arrived at Nunton and discussed with the Clanranalds the proposal made to her by the Prince. For some reason, unknown to us, Captain Hugh MacDonald's plan did not commend itself to Clanranald. Flora then suggested another plan. O'Neill who had been sent by the Prince to Nunton to enquire why "she did not keep her appointment"<sup>9</sup> at Roshinish, tells in his Journal that Flora MacDonald informed him that "she had engaged a cousin of hers in North Uist to receive" the Prince "into his house, where she was sure he would be more safe than in the Isle of Sky."<sup>10</sup> In this O'Neill is entirely corroborated by Flora MacDonald herself. She informed Dr Burton<sup>11</sup> that during her "stay at Clanranald's house, which was till the Friday, June 27<sup>th</sup> .... in which interval another scheme was proposed, that the Prince should go under the care of a gentleman to the northward."<sup>12</sup> This was Hugh MacDonald of Baleshair,<sup>13</sup> whom the Prince had met, and who had been supplying him with newspaper's sent over from Skye by Lady Margaret MacDonald. O'Neill sent a boy with this information to the Prince.<sup>14</sup> Nothing, however, came of this alternative scheme for the rescue of the Prince, as Hugh MacDonald "refused the important trust from fear of the great dangers attending it."<sup>15</sup>

Hurried preparations were now made to carry out the original plan. The Nunton ladies made the articles of dress required. These consisted of a flowered calico gown, sprigged with blue, a light-coloured quilted petticoat, a mantle of dun camlet, "made after the Irish fashion," with a large hood, a cap, broad apron, shoes and stockings.<sup>16</sup> Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale had already provided Flora with the necessary passports, and an open letter to her mother at Armadale. The letter<sup>17</sup> was in the following terms:-

My Dear Marion,—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 please you, you can keep her till she spin all your lint, or if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Niel Mac Eachainn along with your daughter and Betty Burke to take care of them.

I am,

Your dutiful husband.

HUGH MACDONALD.

June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1746.

During this time the Prince lived in great misery at Roshinish, for he was feverishly anxious to depart for Skye, the enemy being everywhere. On the morning of the 27<sup>th</sup> Lieutenant John MacDonald,<sup>18</sup> who had been one of the crew that brought the Prince from the mainland to Benbecula two months before, and Ensign Roderick MacDonald arrived to tell that the boat, “a shallop of nine cubits,”<sup>19</sup> was ready for the crossing to Skye. The Prince, who was anxious that not a moment should be lost, sent Neil MacEachen at once “to hurry the ladys from Nunton,”<sup>20</sup> while he and the MacDonalds went to Rueval<sup>21</sup> to watch their coming. On Neil’s arrival at Nunton he “sent off O’Neill directly to the place where he had left the Prince,”<sup>22</sup> while he himself and the Clanranald party went round by boat to the appointed place at Roshinish.

It was late in the evening of the 27<sup>th</sup> June before Neil MacEachen arrived with his company at Roshinish. They were met by the Prince, who, Neil informs us, “welcomed them ashore, and handed the Lady Clan[ranald] to the house.”<sup>23</sup> Miss Margaret MacDonald of Clanranald<sup>24</sup> and Angus MacDonald of Milton,<sup>25</sup> Flora’s brother, were also in the party. The Prince and O’Neill were in the act of preparing supper, which “consisted of the heart, liver, kidneys, etc., of a bullock or sheep,” roasted “upon a wooden spit,”<sup>26</sup> when their friends arrived. Soon they sat down to supper, Flora MacDonald sitting on the Prince’s right hand and Lady Clanranald on the left.<sup>27</sup>

The Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>28</sup> incorrectly states that Flora MacDonald had not met the Prince until that evening. “Although the Prince,” he writes, “had been for such a long time a haunted fugitive on that island, yet Flora studiously avoided meeting him until that evening.” He goes on to say: “Flora, quite contrary to the general impression, had never had a sight of him until Lady Clanranald had introduced her to him that night as the young lady who was ready to sacrifice her life for his safety.” As we have seen, Flora had met the Prince for the first time at Alisary six days before she again met him at Roshinish.

Again, Mr MacGregor<sup>29</sup> writes: “When the homely Royal repast was over, Lady Clanranald suggested that it was now time to begin the business for which they had met, and to get the Prince robed in his new habiliments. To the no small amusement of all present, Flora unloosed the parcel, and produced the newly-made-up antique dress of Betty Burke. She explained to the Prince that he must now assume the character of that Irish spinning-maid, to suit the passport which she had procured for him. He laughed heartily at the idea, though he had previously been furnished by O’Neill with some

description of his new dress.” “His Royal Highness,” Mr MacGregor continues in the same recklessly incorrect strain, “then retired with O’Neill to the cleft of a rock in the neighbourhood to get robed in his new vestments. After an absence of twenty minutes he returned, when to the no small merriment of the ladies, he stood before them as a tall, awkward Irish servant.” In all this MacGregor is simply drawing on his imagination.

What are the facts? Neil MacEachen, who was present, tells that when “the supper was scarce began” one of Clanranald’s herd-boys came with the news that General Campbell<sup>30</sup> was landing with a strong force of men within three miles of them. The party at once broke up in a panic. “The supper thus ended,” writes MacEachen, “all run to their boat in the greatest confusion, everyone carrying with him whatever part of the baggage came first to his hand, without either regard to sex or quality, they crossed to Lochisguiway,<sup>31</sup> and about five in the morning landed on the other side, where they had supper.”<sup>32</sup> O’Neill, who was also present, writes: “.... we had not long been [at Roshinish] when we had an account that General Campbell was just landed with 1500 men. We now were apprehensive we were betrayed and instantly got to our boat and put to another place, where we arrived at daybreak.”<sup>33</sup>

After they had finished their supper in the early morning of Saturday, 28<sup>th</sup> June, a messenger was despatched to Nunton for news, and word was brought back about eight o’clock that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson<sup>34</sup> had arrived there and that Lady Clanranald must return home “before twelve of the clock otherwise that her home should suffer for all.”<sup>35</sup> Lady Clanranald and her daughter at once took leave of Flora MacDonald and the Prince, and hurried back to Nunton.”<sup>36</sup>

When the Clanranalds left, Flora MacDonald informed Captain O’Neill that it was impossible for him to accompany the Prince to Skye. She had a passport for three persons, and she insisted that the third person must be Neil MacEachen, who was to act as her manservant. “The Prince,” writes O’Neill in his Journal,<sup>37</sup> “intreated the young lady that I should accompany him, but she absolutely refused it.” Then the Prince declared that he would not go unless O’Neill went with him. Flora MacDonald, however, would not give in to the Prince. She pointed out that O’Neill’s ignorance of “the language of the country” would be sure to make “the common people” suspicious regarding him, and that his presence “might endanger them.” Very reluctantly O’Neill agreed to remain behind.

Captain O'Neill then left with Angus MacDonald of Milton, and made his way to South Uist.<sup>38</sup>

After everyone had departed but those who were to cross “over the sea to Skye” with the Prince, Flora MacDonald brought forth the female garments which had been prepared at Nunton, and requested the Prince to put on his disguise. Alone with her and with Neil MacEachen, the Prince changed into his Betty Burke dress. Flora MacDonald and Neil MacEachen, the former an actor in, and the latter an eye-witness of, the scene, have left us simple and unembellished accounts of what actually took place. Dr Burton of York took the following account<sup>39</sup> “from the mouth of Flora MacDonald”: “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.” Neil MacEachen wrote:<sup>40</sup> “The company being gone, the Prince, stript of his own cloaths, was dressed by Miss Flora in his new attire, but could not keep his hands from adjusting his head dress, which he cursed a thousand times.”

There are other glaring inaccuracies in Mr MacGregor's account of those last days of the Prince's wanderings in the Long Island. After the Prince had donned his Betty Burke garments—an event which, according to this writer, took place late on Friday evening, 27<sup>th</sup> June—he is said to have been left alone “to meditate in his lonely solitude.”<sup>41</sup> Flora MacDonald is made to leave Roshinish at midnight to go to Milton to bid farewell to her brother. All this, and much more to which reference might be made, is utterly at variance with the evidence already produced from the narratives of the persons concerned, and must be regarded as undiluted fiction.

The Prince proposed to carry a pistol under his petticoat. Flora MacDonald argued that “if any person should happen to search them the pistol would only serve to make a discovery.”<sup>42</sup> The Prince replied: “Indeed, Miss, if we happen to meet with any that will go so narrowly to work in searching as what you mean they will certainly discover me at any rate.”<sup>43</sup> He was unable to persuade Flora MacDonald to allow him carry the pistol. So he had to content himself with “a short heavy cudgel, with which he design'd to do his best to knock down any single person that should attack him.”<sup>44</sup>

Now they were ready for the crossing, but they thought it advisable to wait for the approach of the evening. They moved to the shore where their boat was moored, and made a fire, round which they sat in the rain.<sup>45</sup>

“Here,” writes Neil MacEachen, “they were alarmed by five wherries, the same, as they supposed, that landed the Campbells the night before in Benbecula, supposing, by taking this precaution, to keep the Prince from making his escape.”<sup>46</sup> Immediately the fire was extinguished; and each one rushed off to find a hiding place in the heather. There they remained until the boats sailed past in a southerly direction.

At eight o'clock<sup>47</sup> on Saturday evening on the 28<sup>th</sup> June the party stepped into the boat, and set out to sea in the direction of Skye.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> “Life of Flora MacDonald,” p. 104-112.

<sup>2</sup> “Origins of the Forty-Five,” p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, p. 296; “Origins of the Forty-Five,” p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> “Origins of the Forty-Five,” pp. 252-253.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, p. 107; “Origins of the Forty-Five,” p. 256.

<sup>10</sup> Neil MacEachen does not refer in his Journal to this alternative scheme planned at Nunton.

<sup>11</sup> Dr James [Actually, John] Burton was a York doctor, who was arrested on suspicion of having gone to the Prince’s headquarters at Lancaster to kiss his hand. He was sent to London and was a fellow prisoner with Flora MacDonald in Mr Dick’s house. He was ultimately discharged on the Attorney-General’s decision that there was not enough evidence to convict him (“Prisoners of the ‘45,” Vol. I, p. 218).

<sup>12</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup> Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare was a son of Ranald MacDonald, a natural son of Sir James Roy MacDonald, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Sleat. Hugh, unlike his brother, Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, did not join the Prince openly, but he was a secret sympathiser. His mother was Marion, daughter of Donald MacDonald, XIII of Clnaranald. Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat and Lady Clanranald (Margaret, daughter of William MacLeod of Bernera, eldest son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera and Katherine, daughter of Sir James Mor MacDonald) were both great-grandchildren of Sir James Mor MacDonald of Sleat, and so were near relatives of Hugh of Baleshare. Clanranald and Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare were first cousins, being the sons of two sisters. Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare and Hugh MacDonald of Armadale (the step-father of Flora MacDonald) were also first cousins, Ranald of Baleshare and Somerled of Kingsburgh being half-brothers (sons of Sir James Mor MacDonald of Sleat). They were all more or less closely related to Flora MacDonald. Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare died in 1769, aged 63 years.

<sup>14</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297, 330.

<sup>17</sup> The historic letter is given in MacGregor’s “Life of Flora MacDonald” (p. 106). It is also given in the “Lyon in Mourning” (Vol. II, p. 32) without the date. Mr MacGregor says that he read the letter, which was in the possession of Miss Mary MacLeod, Stein, Waternish, Skye (a granddaughter of Flora MacDonald), but it must have been a copy, for the original was destroyed by Captain Hugh MacDonald at Armadale the day after Flora MacDonald was taken prisoner (“Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. II, p. 32).

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<sup>18</sup> See II. References and Notes, 2 (1). Ensign Roderick MacDonald belonged to the Glengarry family ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 329; "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 260).

<sup>19</sup> A boat of about twenty-four feet.

<sup>20</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 259.

<sup>21</sup> Rueval is a hill, 400 feet high, in Benbecula, and commands a view of the surrounding country.

<sup>22</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 259.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Margaret MacDonald was the younger daughter of Clanranald, and was known locally as "Peggie Clanranald." She lived in South Uist at Ormiclett, where she died in 1826 in her eighty-eighth year ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 235).

<sup>25</sup> Angus MacDonald of Milton did not identify himself openly with the Prince, but he sympathised with him. There is no ground for Mr MacGregor's statement ("Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 103-104) that he was displeased with his sister for undertaking to rescue the Prince. He took possession of the Prince's pistols and handed them to his step-father, Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, pp. 32, 46).

<sup>26</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 297.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 109.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>30</sup> John Campbell of Mamore, who succeeded as Duke of Argyle on the death of his cousin, the third Duke, in 1761. He had command of the troops in the West Highlands and Islands in 1745. He landed in Benbecula on his return from St Kilda, where he had been looking for the Prince. As a rule, he was kind to the Jacobite prisoners that passed through his hands. He died in 1770.

<sup>31</sup> Loch Uisgebhadh.

<sup>32</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 260.

<sup>33</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>34</sup> Captain John Ferguson was the fourth son of George Ferguson in Inverurie. There is nothing known of John's early life, but in 1746 he was in command of H.M.S. "Furnnce." He treated the Jacobite prisoners under his charge with unrelenting cruelty. Captain Felix O'Neill, who was one of his prisoners, tells that he treated him with the barbarity of a pirate," and ordered him "to be put into a rack and whipped by his hangman" because he would not say where he thought the Prince was ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 374). Captain Ferguson was promoted in 1746 by the recommendation of the Duke of Cumberland to be Captain of H.M.S. "Nightingale," a new frigate just launched. He died in 1767 ("Records of Clan Ferguson," p. 260).

<sup>35</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 260.

<sup>36</sup> On arrival at Nunton Lady Clanranald found General Campbell and Captain Ferguson there. The latter subjected her to a brutal examination. She excused her absence by saying that she had been visiting a sick child ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 279, 298). Her story does not seem to have been questioned at the time, but a few days thereafter she and Clanronald were arrested and taken to London ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 305; Vol. III, p. 33).

<sup>37</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>38</sup> Rev. Alexander MacGregor erroneously states ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 111) that Captain O'Neill was arrested after he parted with the Prince at Roshinish. As a matter of fact, he was not captured until the middle of July, after he had returned from Skye, where he had gone to join the Prince, but finding that he had left the Island for the mainland O'Neill went back to Uist, where he was arrested. See II. References and Notes, 1 (2).

<sup>39</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I., p. 208.

<sup>40</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 260.

<sup>41</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 111.

<sup>42</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> He had his cudgel, which he called his “crab stick,” at Kingsburgh House, and told Flora MacDonald that it possessed a charm which protected him. “No enemy dare attack me while I have my crab stick” (“Memorials of the ‘45.” Appendices, p. xv) . See IV. References and Notes, 37.

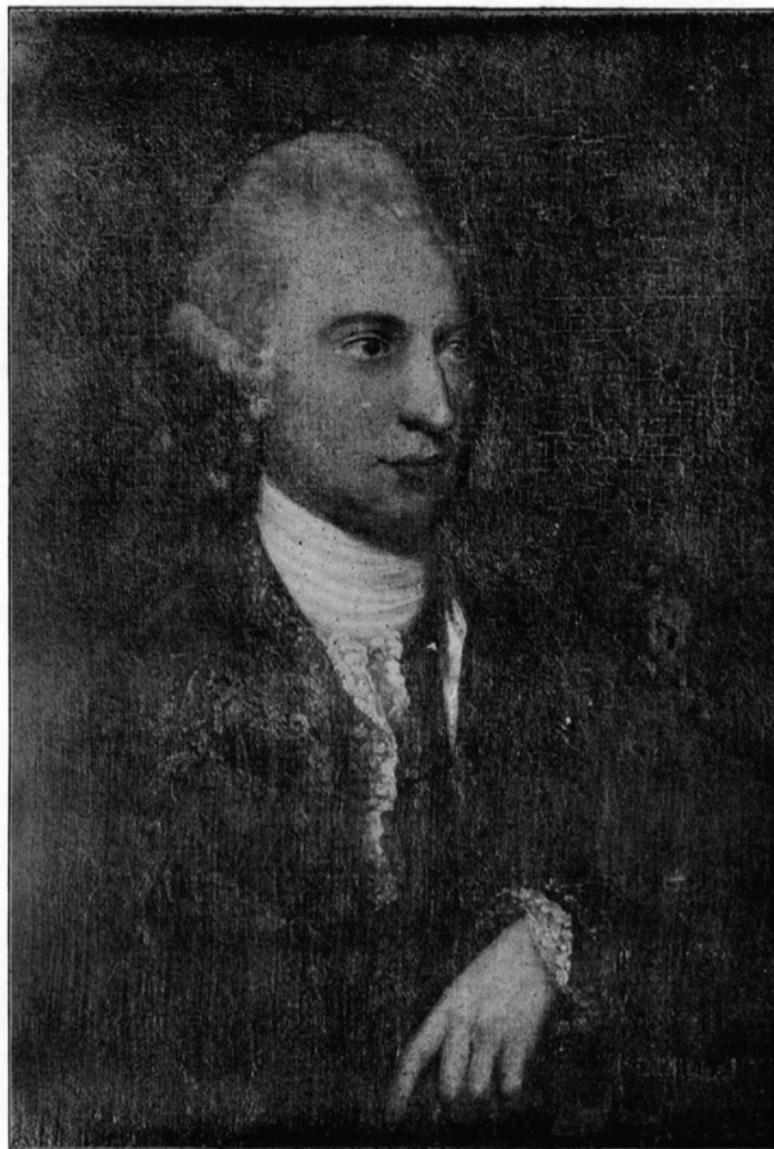
<sup>45</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>46</sup> “Origins of the Forty-Five,” p. 260.

<sup>47</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I, pp. 208, 329.

*The Crossing to Skye*

Plate VIII—SIR ALEXANDER MACDONALD, 7<sup>th</sup> BARONET OF SLEAT.



*Alex<sup>r</sup> Macdonald.*

## IV.

### The Crossing to Skye.

**T**HE boat<sup>1</sup> with the Prince and his company made for the MacDonald country in Skye, where they knew they would be befriended by Lady Margaret MacDonald, who, in numerous ways, had already proved that at heart she was a true Jacobite.

When they set sail from Benbecula the evening was clear.<sup>2</sup> About a league from the shore the sea became rough and then tempestuous.<sup>3</sup> The wind, according to Neil MacEachen,<sup>4</sup> was from the West, and was accompanied by a thick fog, which “robbed them of the sight of all lands.” During the night the wind changed from West to North-East, and blew so strong that the voyagers were at the mercy of the wind and waves. It is not true, however, that a thunder-storm swept the Minch that night, as stated by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor,<sup>5</sup> and that “at one time the party became painfully alarmed as to their safety.” The boatmen, weary with rowing, allowed their boat to drift until the dawn of day. The Prince, notwithstanding the storm, sang several songs<sup>6</sup> to entertain the company and seemed to be in good spirits.

Overcome with fatigue, Flora MacDonald fell asleep, and the Prince “carefully guarded her, lest in the darkness any of the men should chance to step upon her.”<sup>7</sup> When day dawned the fugitives found themselves off the coast of Skye, a considerable distance to the south of Dunvegan Head.<sup>8</sup> They rowed in the direction of Waternish Point, but the wind blew so strongly against them that the rowers could scarcely make any progress. With great difficulty “the poor men,” writes Neil MacEachen, “almost ready to breathe out their last at length made the point of Watersay.”<sup>9</sup> At Ardmore, “where they thought to have landed,” they were fired at by a party of MacLeod Militia, but they pulled away as fast as they could out of their range. Flora MacDonald told<sup>10</sup> Dr Burton they “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.”

Much nonsense has been written about this incident in the Prince’s voyage to Skye. Robert Chambers in his “History of the Rebellion”<sup>11</sup> says that Flora MacDonald and the Prince lay “down at the bottom of the boat to avoid the bullets,” and the Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>12</sup> repeats this story, with the addition that the bullets

“struck and riddled their sails” and that one of the bullets “cleft the handle of the helm, and grazed one of the steermen’s fingers.” But had anything like that occurred it is certain that either Flora MacDonald or Neil MacEachen would have mentioned it.

At a point three miles beyond Ardmore they got into a small sea-cave near a waterfall, where they rested themselves for an hour, and at the same time revived their drooping spirits with a plentiful repast of bread and butter, while the water that fell from the top of the rock furnished them drink.<sup>13</sup>

As the Militia had failed to get them to come to the shore at Ardmore, a messenger was sent to warn the small township of Unish at the Point of Waternish of their approach; and the alarm, which their appearance at this place occasioned in the township, quickly obliged them to put out to sea again. It was very fortunate for them that the sea under the lee of the Waternish cliffs was calm, and thus the sailing boats at Ardmore and Unish were prevented from pursuing them and taking them prisoners.

From Waternish Point the boat crossed the mouth of Loch Snizort to Trotternish, where a landing was effected in the little bay of Kilbride at a spot called Ault a’Chuain, “within a cannon shot,” says Neil MacEachen,<sup>14</sup> “of Sir Alexander McDonald’s house,” at two o’clock on Sunday afternoon, 29<sup>th</sup> June.

Although the coast of Trotternish was watched by a detachment of Militia, under the command of Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod,<sup>15</sup> whose headquarters were in the vicinity of Monkstadt,<sup>16</sup> Sir Alexander MacDonald’s residence, the boat, containing the Prince and his friends landed unobserved. Accompanied by Neil MacEachen, Flora MacDonald made for Monkstadt, leaving the Prince in the boat, and not sitting on a trunk on the shore, as stated by Rev. Alexander MacGregor,<sup>17</sup> Neil MacEachen<sup>18</sup> says that “having kept the Prince in the boat as well as they could [he and Flora

**Plate IX—LADY MARGARET MACDONALDS OF SLEAT.**



MacDonald] went to the house, leaving strict orders with the boatmen not to stir from it till they came back, or some word from them, and in case their curiosity led any body thither I who might perhaps take the liberty to ask who was the person kept in the boat, to answer Miss MacDonald's maid, and to curse her for a lazy jade, what was she good for, since she did not attend her Mrs." Fortunately for Betty Burke, not one of the Militia strolled to the shore that afternoon. While Lieutenant MacLeod and four of his

men were at Church, the rest of the detachment took the opportunity of having a quiet sleep, and thus the Prince was allowed to remain unmolested.<sup>19</sup>

As Flora MacDonald and Neil MacEachen approached Monkstadt House they met one of Lady Margaret MacDonald's servants.<sup>20</sup> Flora told her to inform Lady Margaret that she "was come to see her ladyship in her way to her mother's house."<sup>21</sup> Lady Margaret knew her errand, for Mrs MacDonald<sup>22</sup> of Kirkibost, North Uist, who had arrived the day before at Monkstadt, had informed her that the Prince was likely to cross to Skye. After a brief interview with Lady Margaret, Flora MacDonald was ushered into the dining-room, where Mrs MacDonald of Kirkibost, Mr Alexander MacDonald<sup>23</sup> of Kingsburgh, Factor to Sir Alexander MacDonald, and Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod, who had just returned from Church, were sitting at dinner. Flora was closely questioned by Lieutenant MacLeod regarding the movements of the Prince, but she answered every question that was put to her with such calmness that any suspicions he might be disposed to entertain were entirely disarmed.<sup>24</sup>

After dinner Lady Margaret and Mr Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh held a conference in the garden as to the best course to take for the Prince's safety. The former was greatly agitated and could scarcely think of anything but the disgrace that would fall on Sir Alexander MacDonald if the Prince were captured while under her protection.<sup>25</sup> While the discussion was going on in or near the garden Captain Donald Roy MacDonald<sup>26</sup> appeared on the scene. He was one of the two of "Sir Alexander MacDonald's following" that joined the Prince. He had been wounded in the leg at Culloden. Under the care of Dr John MacLean<sup>27</sup> of Shulista, afterwards of Cuidreach, he had made a good recovery, although he was still lame. Some time after the arrival of Mrs MacDonald of Kirkibost at Monkstadt with the news that the Prince was likely to cross from Uist to Skye, Lady Margaret sent a messenger with a letter to Donald Roy to Shulista, asking him "forthwith to repair to Mouggistot without loss of a 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."<sup>28</sup> The Captain, who immediately left—riding on Dr MacLean's horse—for Monkstadt, informs us that "when near Mouggistot he spied Lady Margaret and Kingsburgh walking together, and talking in a serious way, above the garden."<sup>29</sup> When Lady Margaret saw him she ran to meet him, "spreading out her hands and saying, 'O Donald Roy, we are ruined for ever.'"<sup>30</sup>

Various plans for the safety of the Prince were discussed. Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh pointed out that the first thing “to be done was to get the Prince away from the boat. Neil MacEachen was sent to the Prince “to carry him to the back of a hill, a long mile from the house of Mungstot,”<sup>31</sup> where he was to remain until Kingsburgh came to him. It was finally decided that the Prince should go to Portree, and from there to Raasay.<sup>32</sup> After this decision Captain Donald Roy MacDonald left for Totrome, near Portree, to find Rona,<sup>33</sup> the eldest son of MacLeod of Raasay, to arrange about getting the Prince to Raasay, and afterwards to Seaforth’s country, which was free of Government troops.

Flora MacDonald had been chatting<sup>34</sup> with Lieutenant MacLeod in the dining-room of Monkstadt House, while Lady Margaret, Kingsburgh, and Donald Roy MacDonald were discussing matters outside, and did not know what arrangements had been made for the Prince’s safety. After a time MacDonald of Kingsburgh joined the party in the dining-room, but did not stay long. Supplied by Lady Margaret with a bottle of wine, a glass and biscuits for the Prince,<sup>35</sup> he took his departure for the spot where Neil MacEachen had left the Prince. Kingsburgh, with some difficulty,<sup>36</sup> located the Prince, who greeted him warmly.<sup>37</sup> They sat down for a while to give the Prince time to partake of the much-needed refreshment Kingsburgh had brought him, and to hear the plans that had been arranged for his escape. Between eight and nine o’clock in the evening they started on their walk to Kingsburgh House. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor, whose account<sup>38</sup> of this day’s happenings is entirely at variance with contemporary records, says that the Prince spent Sunday night in a cave, and that MacDonald of Kingsburgh slept in Monkstadt House. But this was not the case. They walked on that Sunday evening to Kingsburgh.

Flora MacDonald’s personal share in the escape of the Prince ended when she delivered him to Lady Margaret MacDonald and Mr Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh. He had been under her care from eight o’clock on Saturday morning, 28<sup>th</sup> June, until about two o’clock on Sunday afternoon, 29<sup>th</sup> June—thirty hours altogether.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The crew of the boat consisted of:-

- (1) John MacDonald. See II. References and Notes, 2 (1). He sat at the helm during the crossing to Skye. He was drowned before 1760 in the Minch, when crossing from Uist to the mainland.
- (2) Roderick MacDonald. See II. References and Notes, 2. (2).
- (3) John MacMhuirich. Flora MacDonald calls him MacMerry (“Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. III, p. 22).

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- (4) Duncan Campbell.
- (5) Roderick MacDonald. He belonged to the Glengarry family, and had been an Ensign in Clanranald's Regiment. Flora MacDonald does not mention him, but Neil MacEachen gives him as one of the crew ("Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 260).
- (6) Alexander MacDonald. He is given as a member of the crew by Alexander MacDonald, the Bard, who also says that in addition to the forementioned MacDonalds there were "some other Uist hands" ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 329). Probably the "other Uist hands" were John MacMhuirich and Duncan Campbell.
- <sup>2</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I. p. 299.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 261.
- <sup>5</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 118.
- <sup>6</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 299, 306.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 299.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 330.
- <sup>9</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 261. By Watersay Neil MacEachen means Waternish.
- <sup>10</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 299.
- <sup>11</sup> "History of the Rebellion," 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, p. 297.
- <sup>12</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 115.
- <sup>13</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 261.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod (not John MacLeod, as stated by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor in "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 117) was a son of Donald MacLeod of the MacLeods of Balmeanach, descended from John Borb MacLeod, VI of the MacLeods of Dunvegan. Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod was a nephew of Kenneth MacLeod, progenitor of the MacLeods of Armadale (see "MacLeod of Armadale," by Rev. Donald MacKinnon, Portree). In 1757, when the Fraser Highlanders (the 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment) were raised for service abroad, he obtained a Lieutenant's commission in that Regiment. He was present at Quebec in 1760 under General Murray and was wounded. Before retiring from the Army he had the rank of Captain. MacInnes in the "Brave Sons of Skye" (pp. 112-118) confuses him with Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod of the MacLeods of Crackinish in Minginish, Tacksman of Vattin in Duirinish. Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod of Balmeanoch died in 1772. His death was intimated in the "Scots Magazine" thus: "April 7. At his house of Balminnoch, in the Isle of Skye, Alexander Macleod of Balminnoch, Esq.; Captain in the late 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Col. Fraser's)."
- <sup>16</sup> Monkstadt was on the shores of Loch Choluim Cille, now drained, in Kilmuir, Trotternish. The MacDonalds of Sleat lived there after they left Duntuilm Castle and until Armadale Castle was built. Monkstadt House is still occupied.
- <sup>17</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 116; "Memorials of the '45," Appendices, pp. x, xxi, xxxiii.
- <sup>18</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," pp. 262-263; "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 300.
- <sup>19</sup> The Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., in "Memorials of the '45" (p. 58), quoting from the MacAlister MSS., says that there were "40 or 50" militiamen on the shore at the time the Prince landed, but if that were the case it would have been impossible for him to have escaped undetected. Mrs MacDonald of Kirkibost, who landed in Waternish on the day before the Prince landed in Trotternish, had been "at all pains imaginable to keep all the soldiers' hands from examining her person too closely" ("Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 263).
- <sup>20</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol I, p. 300; "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 263.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> Mrs John MacDonald of Kirkibost was a sister of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Strath, Skye, and a granddaughter of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Kilmuir. See X. References and Notes, 10.
- <sup>23</sup> Mr Alexander MacDonald belonged to the MacDonalds, who came afterwards to be designated "of Kingsburgh." They were descended from James MacDonald of

Castle Camus, son of Donald Gruamach MacDonald, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron of Sleat. Alexander was the son of Donald MacDonald of Beuddiburgh and his wife, Margo ret, daughter of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Kilmuir. Thus Alexander MacDonald and Mrs John MacDonald of Kirkibost were first cousins. He was born in 1689. He obtained a tack of Knockcowe and Kilvaxter in Kilmuir in 1722, four years after he became Factor for the Trotternish Estates of Sir Donald MacDonald. He became Tacksman of Kingsburgh in 1734, and was the first of the family to occupy this historic place ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 504-507).

<sup>24</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 300; Vol. II, p. 17 n. See Boswell's "Tour to the Hebrides" —18 Sept., 1773, where, however, the officer is not identified.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18; "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 263.

<sup>26</sup> Captain Donald Roy MacDonald was a son of Ranald MacDonald of Baleshare, North Uist, natural son of Sir James Mor MacDonald, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Sleat. Donald Roy was thus a brother of Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare. When the Prince landed in 1745 Donald Roy was at Monkstadt with Sir Alexander MacDonald, who kept him from joining the Jacobite Army. When he heard of the Prince's victory at Prestonpans he set out at once to join him. He overtook the MacKinnons of Strath near Crieff and accompanied them to Edinburgh, where he joined Keppoch's Regiment. After the Battle of Falkirk he got a Captain's commission in Clanranald's Regiment, in which he served at Culloden, where he was wounded. Returning to Skye, he was much consulted by Lady Margaret MacDonald as to plans for the safety of the Prince, and had arranged a scheme for hiding him on the island of Flada Chuan, off Kilmuir. His Journal is given in "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. II, pp. 4-35).

<sup>27</sup> Dr John MacLean was a son of Neil MacLean, "Surgeon in Trotternish," descended probably from the MacLeans of Boreray, North Uist. He was born in 1708, and according to the Rev. Alexander MacGregor ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 121 n.) he was a noted classical scholar. He was Tacksman of Shulista in 1733 (Judicial Rental of the Barony of MacDonald), and was still there in 1746. He afterwards became Tacksman of Cuidreach. When Allan MacDonald (Flora MacDonald's husband) was deprived of the Factorship of Trotternish in 1766, Dr John MacLean succeeded him in the office. He was married twice. One of his two wives was Margaret Nicolson of the Nicolsons of Scorrabreac, and she was the mother of most of his children—eleven sons and one daughter. They were:-

- (1) Neil, settled in North Uist.
- (2) Alexander, who was a Minister in New England.
- (3) Hector, Captain in the 74<sup>th</sup> Regiment.
- (4) Donald, studied Physics in Edinburgh, and was afterwards a "Surgeon's mate" in the American War. He ultimately settled in Trumisgarry, North Uist.
- (5) Angus joined the 76<sup>th</sup> Regiment or MacDonald's Highlanders as Ensign in 1778, and was promoted Lieutenant on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1770. After the Regiment was disbanded in March, 1784, at Stirling he was placed on half pay, and took up residence in Lochmaddy, of which he took a lease in 1789.
- (6) Lauchlan, afterwards Sir Lauchlan MacLean of Sudbury, England.
- (7) Archibald.
- (8) Malcolm was a Captain in the Army, and died near Shulista in Kilmuir about 1830.
- (9) Alexander.
- (10) Allan.
- (11) James.
- (12) Margaret, married a Mr MacGregor, Tacksman of Skirinish, Trotternish, with issue, a daughter and son, in 1766.

Dr John MacLean died on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1793.

<sup>28</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 264.

<sup>32</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> The eldest son of MacLeod of Raasay was usually styled "Rona". This was John, afterwards IX of the MacLeods of Raasay. He was married to Jane, daughter of Angus MacQueen of the MacQueens of Rigg. Angus MacQueen's eldest son, Archibald, was a Lieutenant under Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, and was married to a sister of Rona ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 18).

<sup>34</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 300; Vol. II, p. 17 n.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18; "Origins of the Forty-Five," p. 264.

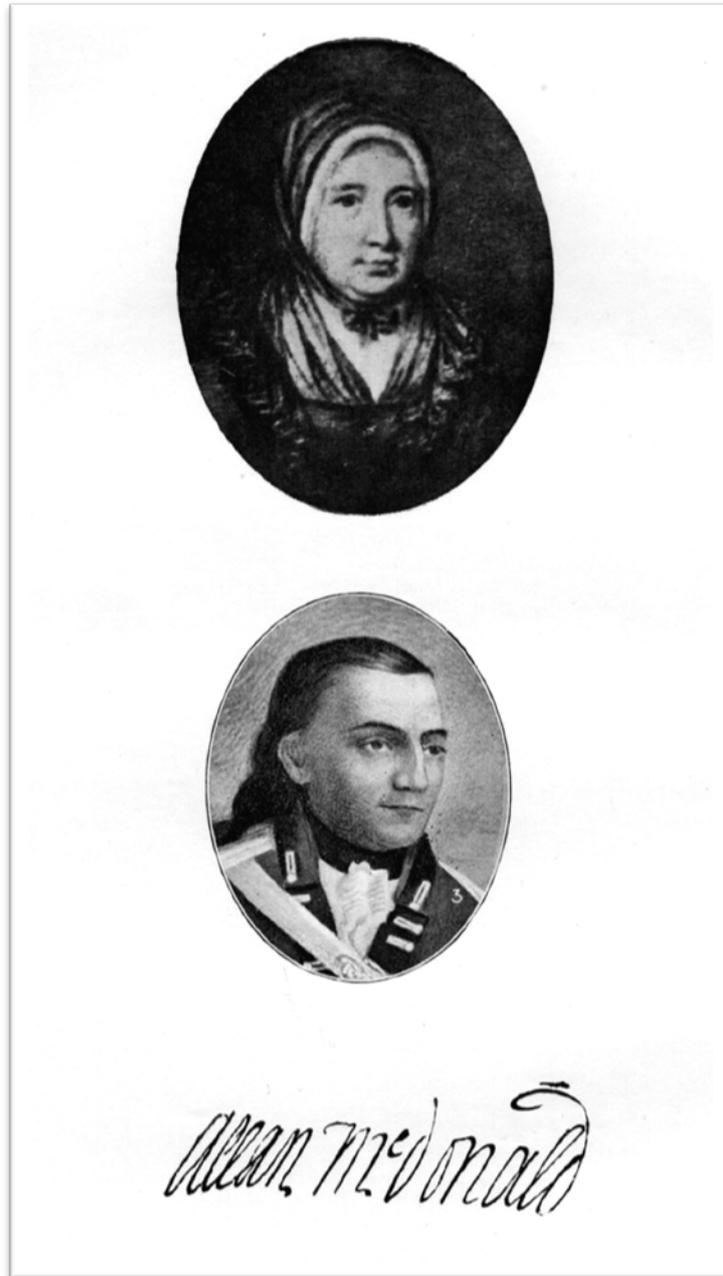
<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> According to Boswell's account "when Kingsburgh approached, he [the Prince] started up, and advanced, holding a large knotted stick, and in appearance ready to knock him down, till he said, 'I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your highness.' The Wanderer answered, 'It is well,' and was satisfied with the plan"—18 Sept., 1778.

<sup>38</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 124-125.

*At Kingsburgh House*

**Plate X—THE MACDONALDS OF KINGSBURGH.**



1. Anne of Kingsburgh.
2. Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh (Flora MacDonald's husband).

## V.

## At Kingsburgh House.

FLORA MACDONALD, although pressed to remain overnight at Monkstadt House, did not do so, as averred by Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>1</sup> and other writers.<sup>2</sup> She excused herself on the ground that she wished to be with her mother at Armadale while the country was in such an unsettled state.<sup>3</sup> Lady Margaret provided her and Mrs MacDonald of Kirkibost with ponies. Accompanied by Neil MacEachen,<sup>4</sup> they overtook the Prince and Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh at Uig, but they soon parted company. The riders took the common road, while the pedestrians took a shorter path, but both parties arrived at Kingsburgh about the same time.

The account of what took place at Kingsburgh House as given by Mr MacGregor is not in accordance with the narratives<sup>5</sup> taken down by Bishop Forbes from the lips of Mr and Mrs MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and with the information in the MacAlister MSS.,<sup>6</sup> written by one who had first-hand knowledge of what took place there on that memorable occasion.

Arriving at Kingsburgh House at such a late hour on Sunday night, they caused quite a sensation there. Mrs MacDonald, who had retired to rest for the night, was informed by one of the maids that Kingsburgh had come home and brought some company with him. "What company?" asked Mrs MacDonald. "Milton's daughter, I believe," said the maid, "and some company with her." "Milton's daughter," replied Mrs MacDonald, "is very welcome to come here with any company she pleases to bring. But you'll give my service to her, and tell her to make free with anything in the house; for I am very sleepy and cannot see her this night."<sup>7</sup> Then Kingsburgh himself went to his wife's bedroom and told her of the guest he had brought with him. Mrs MacDonald immediately dressed and was soon introduced to the Prince.

Kingsburgh's daughter, Anne,<sup>8</sup> and her husband, Mr Ranald MacAlister of Skirinish, were on a visit to Kingsburgh House at the time. Mrs MacDonald roused her daughter, who at once began to prepare supper for their Royal guest. She afterwards brought it into the room, laid the cloth and waited at the table.<sup>9</sup> The Prince seemed rather distressed at seeing Mrs MacAlister attending at the table, and kept asking her to sit down with them. But Mrs MacDonald told him that she must not sit down, as the servants would not be allowed to come into the room so long as he was in the house.<sup>10</sup> Supper

consisted of roasted eggs, collops, bread and butter, and “good English beer,” of which he took “two or three small tumblers.”<sup>11</sup> The Prince partook of a good meal, and, according to the MacAlister MSS., “he took a hearty glass after it.”<sup>12</sup>

One of the MacAlister MSS. has preserved for us a fragment of the conversation which took place at supper between the Prince and Flora MacDonald. It is as follows: If Miss Flora, said he, you was much afraid this day when they were firing upon us from the point. I am not free of fear yet said she. They may come after us here. O fie Miss Flora you I never see a Mac Leod dare to search a Mac Donald house. Do you know that my crab stick that lies in the corner there has a charm that no enemy dars attack me while I have my crab stick. I wish it may be so said she, as it is not unlike, but you may be in greater danger than you have been this day.”<sup>13</sup>

After supper the Prince and Kingsburgh were left alone, and made merry over a succession of punch bowls until the early hours of the following morning.<sup>14</sup> Before retiring to rest “the travel-stained wanderer” was bathed “from head to foot” by his host, assisted by Neil MacEachen, and he went to bed in comfort and slept until noon next day.

Next morning Mrs MacDonald went to Flora MacDonald’s bedroom to get “an account of the adventure.”<sup>15</sup> Among other things Flora told Mrs MacDonald that “there was not any other probable way of saving the Prince but that single one which had been used, and that it had the appearance of a desperate attempt at best: that Lady Clanranald provided them with women’s cloathes for the disguise, and that she had contributed all in her power for preserving the Prince out of the hands of his enemies.”<sup>16</sup>

It was early afternoon on Monday (30<sup>th</sup> June) before the Prince awoke from his slumbers. Kingsburgh supplied him with a suit belonging to his son-in-law, Mr Ranald MacAlister, which fitted him perfectly. He would not, however, take the first one that was offered to him, as it was “too ornate” and “another less showy was substituted.”<sup>17</sup> As he was seen arriving at Kingsburgh in female attire, he must also leave it in the same dress. So Mrs MacDonald, helped by Mrs MacAlister, dressed him with his Betty Burke garments, but it is unbelievable that a well-bred and educated Skye lady, such as Mrs MacDonald was, would have used the English which Bishop Forbes,<sup>18</sup> followed by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor,<sup>19</sup> puts into her mouth, or would have behaved, as she is said<sup>20</sup> to have done, when helping the Prince to dress himself. After bidding the Kingsburgh ladies an affectionate farewell, the Prince was conducted

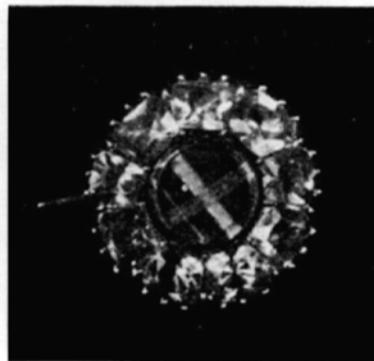
by his host to a hill near Kingsburgh House, and there he discarded his female garments, and was dressed in Ranald MacAlister's clothes. Here again the Rev. Alexander MacGregor's account<sup>21</sup> is not in accordance with Bishop Forbes' narrative, which agrees with the MacAlister MSS.

**Plate XI—PRINCE "CHARLIE" AND FLORA MACDONALD  
RELICS.**

Kingsburgh Bowl



Kingsburgh Bowl



Paste Brooch containing strands of Flora MacDonal'd's  
and of Prince Charlie's hair.

Flora MacDonald and Neil MacEachen left Kingsburgh early in the day, probably before the Prince came down from his bedroom, and awaited his arrival at Portree.

Before the Prince left Kingsburgh House he parted with a lock of his hair for a keepsake for Mrs MacDonald and her daughter, Mrs MacAlister. The story of the hair-cutting has been variously told.<sup>22</sup> The account in the "Lyon in Mourning"<sup>23</sup> is as follows: "After Miss Flora had got up, Mrs MacDonald told her that she wanted much to have a lock of the Prince's hair, and that she behoved to go into his room and get it for her. Miss Flora refused to do as she desired, because the Prince was not yet out of bed. 'What then,' said Mrs MacDonald, 'no harm will happen to you. He is too good to harm you or any person. You must instantly go in and get me the lock.' Mrs MacDonald, taking hold of Miss with one hand, knocked at the door of the room with the other. The Prince called, 'Who is there?' Mrs MacDonald, opening the door, said, 'Sir, it is I, and I am importuning Miss Flora to come in and get a lock of your hair to me, and she refuses to do it.' 'Pray,' said the Prince, 'desire Miss MacDonald to come in. What should make her afraid to come where I am?' When Miss came in he begged her to sit down on a chair at the bedside, then laying his arms about her waist, and his head upon her lap, he desired her to cut out the lock with her own hands in token of future and more substantial favours. The one half of the lock Miss gave to Mrs MacDonald and the other she kept to herself." The story, as recorded by Bishop Forbes, does not agree with the version given in the MacAlister MSS.<sup>24</sup> Mrs MacAlister says that Flora MacDonald<sup>25</sup> was not present when the hair-cutting took place, that she had left for Portree, and that it was she herself who cut the Prince's hair at her mother's suggestion. It does not appear that Bishop Forbes' information was received at first-hand, which may account for the discrepancy between his story and that of Mrs MacAlister, who would not have said that she cut the lock if she had not done so.

Another incident, connected with the Prince's stay at Kingsburgh House, about which Flora MacDonald's biographers are not agreed, is the folding of the sheets in which he slept. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>26</sup> writes: "The old lady<sup>27</sup> and Flora went to the bedroom just left by the Prince, folded up the sheets, and took possession of one each, and there pledged themselves to preserve them folded up and unwashed until their dying day when these relics would become their winding sheets. Such was really the case." As already noted, Flora MacDonald left early in the day for Portree, and could not have been present at the sheet-folding, which was carried out by Mrs

MacDonald and her daughter, Mrs MacAlister. The MacAlister MSS. leave no doubt as to Mrs MacDonald having reserved the whole of the sheets for herself. "Were it true," as Dr MacDonald of Kiltarlity points out in "Memorials of the '45,"<sup>28</sup> that the division had been made, Flora would surely have mentioned the fact to Dr Johnson and his biographer in the course of their visit to Kingsburgh in 1773, especially as the former went to sleep in the very bed in which Charles had lain twenty-seven years before." Mrs MacDonald of Kingsburgh preserved the sheets and desired her daughter to see her buried in them, which was actually done.<sup>29</sup> At Mrs MacDonald's death half the sheets came into Flora MacDonald's possession.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> The myth that Flora MacDonald remained over night at Monkstadt House has been repeated by almost everyone writing on the subject.

<sup>3</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 127) says that the ladies were accompanied by "two young men who were well acquainted with the hill-riding path," but for this statement there is no authority.

<sup>5</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 74-77, 117-122.

<sup>6</sup> "Memorials of the '45," Appendices, pp. xiii-xvi, xxiii-xxv, xxxvi-xl.

<sup>7</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> Anne was the wife of Ranald MacAlister of Skirinish of the MacAlister of Barr and Cour ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 196-197). After Ranald MacAlister's death she married Lauchlan MacKinnon of Corry. She was the writer of two of the MacAlister MSS., one of which is dated 1802. Her son, Colonel Matthew MacAlister of Glenbarr, is the author of the third, which was written later.

<sup>9</sup> "Memorials of the '45." Appendices, p. xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.

<sup>14</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 119.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> "Memorials of the '45," p. 66.

<sup>18</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 120.

<sup>19</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 120.

<sup>21</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 134-135.

<sup>22</sup> See "Prince Charles Edward," by Cuthbert. Hadden, pp. 244-245; "Life of Flora MacDonald," by MacGregor, p. 134; "Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart," by W. Drummond Norie, Vol. IV, p. 76.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>24</sup> "Memorials of the '45," Appendices, p. xxv.

<sup>25</sup> Mrs MacDonald must have given Flora MacDonald, when she became her daughter-in-law, a few strands of the Prince's hair, which she got set in a box-ring. The ring was in the possession of the Misses Miller, Edinburgh, who were direct descendants of Annabella, half-sister of Flora MacDonald.

<sup>26</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 184.

<sup>27</sup> Mrs MacDonald of Kingsburgh was by no means an old lady at this time. As she died in 1750 at the age of sixty-three years she would have been only fifty years of age at the time of the Prince's visit to Kingsburgh.

<sup>28</sup> P. 70.

<sup>29</sup> Boswell wrote: “Old Mrs MacDonald, after her guest had left the house, took the sheets in which he had lain, folded them carefully, and charged her daughter that they should be kept unwashed, and that when she died, her body should be wrapped in them as a winding sheet. Her will was religiously observed”—18 Sept., 1778.

*At the Inn of Portree*

## VI.

### At the Inn of Portree.

CAPTAIN DONALD ROY MACDONALD, having made arrangements<sup>1</sup> for conveying the Prince from Portree to Raasay, went to the Inn of Portree to await his arrival. Flora MacDonald and Neil MacEachen<sup>2</sup> had arrived at the Inn earlier in the day. The Prince, accompanied by Kingsburgh's herd-boy—MacQueen by name—and by no one else,<sup>3</sup> walked<sup>4</sup> in drenching rain the whole way<sup>5</sup> to Portree. The herd-boy, on arrival at Portree, was sent by the Prince to the Inn to enquire about Donald Roy MacDonald. Charles MacNab, the Innkeeper, brought word to Donald Roy that a boy was waiting outside with a message for him. On going out he found MacQueen, who informed him “there was a gentleman a little above the house that desired to speak with him.”<sup>6</sup> Donald Roy went at once to the Prince, “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.”<sup>7</sup> Then they went in to the Inn, where they had a dram. The Prince was soaked to the skin and had to change, Donald Roy giving him his own kilt. At the Inn he partook of a much-needed meal, and expressed a desire to stay there all night. The Captain pointed out to him it would be unsafe for them to stay all night in a public-house, and with considerable difficulty persuaded the Prince to leave. They were at the Inn for about two hours altogether.

The parting of the Prince with Flora MacDonald took place in the Inn, and not on the shore of Portree Bay, as stated by some writers.<sup>8</sup> “With tears in his eyes,” writes the Rev. Alexander MacGregor,<sup>9</sup> “he laid hold of the heroine's hands, and bade her a tender and affecting farewell. He ardently thanked her for enabling him to escape from the wall of fire by which he had found himself surrounded, and which he never would have got over without her intrepidity and generous aid. He then handed her his portrait in a golden locket, while he tenderly saluted her, and said in affecting tones, that he yet hoped to meet her at the Court of St James, where he should be able properly to reward her self-denying heroism—and her ardent devotion and loyalty to her unfortunate Prince.” Such is Mr MacGregor's highly coloured account. Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, who was present at the historic parting, describes the farewell thus: “The Prince now began to bid farewell to Miss

MacDonald and Neil MacEachen ... 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 like words, 'For all that has happened I hope, Madam, we shall meet in St James's yet.'"<sup>10</sup> Donald Roy MacDonald makes no mention of a tearful parting, and does not say that the Prince gave a gold locket with his portrait to Flora MacDonald. In this, as in other incidents in the life-history of the heroine, Mr MacGregor's vivid imagination has led him into error.

The Prince having said farewell to Flora MacDonald in the early hours of Tuesday morning (1<sup>st</sup> July) left the Inn with Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, as his guide, and walked to the appointed spot on the shore of Portree Bay, where Captain Malcolm MacLeod<sup>11</sup> of Brae, Raasay, was waiting with a boat to carry him over to Raasay.

The further adventures of the Prince in Skye and afterwards on the Mainland are outside the scope of this book. It may be mentioned, however, that although the Prince lived for over forty years, after the parting scene in the Inn at Portree, he never communicated with Flora MacDonald or with any of those friends in the Hebrides to whom he owed his life and liberty.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately Neil MacEachen's Account breaks off when the party was on the way from Monkstadt House to Kingsburgh House. Our main authority for what took place at Portree is Captain Donald Roy MacDonald.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Donald Roy MacDonald is wrong in stating that MacEachen accompanied the Prince with the herd-boy from Kingsburgh to Portree ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 21). There was no one with the Prince but Kingsburgh's herd-boy, who was not aware of his companion's identity.

<sup>4</sup> Dr George Menary says that Kingsburgh "supplied Prince Charlie with a horse to carry him the seven miles to Portree" ("Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden," p. 288). This was not the case. Contemporary accounts are all agreed that he walked to Portree.

<sup>5</sup> Captain Donald Roy MacDonald gives the distance between Kingsburgh and Portree as eleven miles ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 22); the MacAlister MS. makes the distance "ten long Scotch miles" ("Memorials of the '45," Appendices, p. xlii); and Dr Archibald MacDonald "fourteen long miles" (Ibid., p. 71). The distance by the path, which the Prince took, is eight and a half miles.

<sup>6</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 136, and "Flora MacDonald in Uist," by Jolly, pp. 76-77. J. P. MacLeod in "Flora MacDonald in America" (p. 17) seems to suggest that they parted on the shore. The farewell is shown in pictures as having taken place on the shore, as, for example, in the picture, "Parting of Flora and Ascanius" ("Ascanius: or, The Young Pretender," p. 154).

<sup>9</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 136.

<sup>10</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Captain Malcolm MacLeod of Brae, Raasay, was the eldest son of John I of the MacLeods of Rigg, who was second son of Alexander VII of the MacLeods of Raasay ("History of the MacLeods," p. 391). He had been a Captain in the Prince's Army. He was married to a Miss MacQueen ("Bishop Forbes' Journals," p. 236), with issue, although MacKenzie in his "History of the MacLeods" and other writers state that he died unmarried. He accompanied the Prince from Portree to Raasay, and from Raasay to Portree and on to Strathaird, where he parted with him on 4<sup>th</sup> July. He was arrested ten days thereafter in Raasay by MacLeod of Talisker, taken to Portree, and put on board the "Furnace," which brought him to London (Tilbury Fort) on 1<sup>st</sup> November. He was set free on 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1747, and travelled with Flora MacDonald to Edinburgh. Dr Johnson and Boswell met him in Skye and Raasay in 1778, and the latter informs us that he was then "sixty-two years of age, hale and well proportioned." He adds: "I never saw a figure that gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman" (8 Sept., 1773). His own Narrative of his capture is given in the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. III, pp. 123-128).

# *The Capture of Flora Macdonald*

## VII.

### The Capture of Flora Macdonald.

**A**FTER Flora MacDonald had accomplished the task which had been entrusted to her, she, accompanied by Neil MacEachen,<sup>1</sup> left Portree on the following day (1<sup>st</sup> July) for the home of her mother at Armadale<sup>2</sup> in Sleat. There she remained, unmolested, for about ten or eleven days. According to the Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>3</sup> and others,<sup>4</sup> she paid a visit to Uist after seeing her mother at Armadale and before her arrest, but for this alleged visit to Uist there is no documentary evidence. It would have been well nigh impossible for her to go to, and return from, Uist to Sleat within a week in those days. Bishop Forbes' says that she was arrested in Sleat "about eight or ten days after" she arrived there from Portree. She was actually captured on 12<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>5</sup>

Donald MacDonald of Castleton<sup>6</sup> sent her a message to meet Captain John MacLeod<sup>7</sup> of Talisker at Castleton, four miles from Armadale, who desired to question her. Against the wishes of Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, who was at Armadale,<sup>8</sup> and other friends, she set out for Castleton, but it does not appear that she reached her destination to be interrogated by Captain MacLeod, for she was captured on her way there, and hurried on board the sloop-of-war "Furnace," commanded by Captain Ferguson. The "Furnace" sailed for Applecross Bay, where Flora MacDonald, realising that it was useless to conceal any longer the circumstances of the Prince's escape, told the whole story to General Campbell.<sup>9</sup>

On 7<sup>th</sup> August she was transferred to the "Eltham," commanded by Commodore Smith. By the orders of General Campbell, she was not only treated with the greatest respect, but was even allowed, when the ship was off Armadale, three weeks after her arrest, to go ashore and bid her mother and friends farewell. She was also allowed to take with her a female servant, Kate MacDonald, who generously offered "to run all risques with the captive lady."<sup>10</sup>

Flora MacDonald was taken by the "Eltham" to the castle of Dunstaffnage, near Oban. She was kept for a few days at Dunstaffnage, where she was treated with great kindness by Neil Campbell, the Governor, and his wife. From there she was taken to Leith by way of Glasgow, and put on board the "Bridgewater," under Captain Knowler, who "used her with the utmost decency and politness."<sup>11</sup>

Flora MacDonald was kept at Leith from her arrival in September until the 7<sup>th</sup> November, 1746. In Leith she was visited by many people of all classes. One Edinburgh lady said to her: "O Miss, what a happy creature are you who had that dear Prince to lull you asleep, and to take such care of you with his hands spread about your head, when you was sleeping! You are surely the happiest woman in the world!"<sup>12</sup> Another of her visitors said to her: "I could wipe your shoes with pleasure, and think it my honour so to do, when I reflect that you had the honour to have the Prince for your handmaid. We all envy you greatly."<sup>13</sup> A third visitor, who had to stay on board because the roughness of the sea prevented her from going ashore, asked if she might be allowed to sleep with Flora MacDonald so that she might have it to say that she had the honour of lying in the same bed with that person who had been so happy as to be guardian to her Prince."<sup>14</sup> The lady's desire was gratified. Other ladies pressed her to dance with them. "But with all their importunity they could not prevail with her to take a trip. She told them that at present her dancing days were done, and she would not readily entertain a thought of that diversion till she should be assured of her Prince's safety."<sup>15</sup> Doubtless all this was somewhat harassing to this typically Highland girl, who had not been further away from the Isles than Kintyre, and it must have been good news to her when the "Eltham" was ordered to proceed to the Port of London.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> After Flora MacDonald's capture Neil MacEachen's movements are difficult to trace. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor's statement that he was made a prisoner is not correct ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 150). Dr W. B. Blaikie says in "Origins of the Forty-Five" (p. lxxiii) that he evaded capture and that in September he rejoined the Prince at Arisaig and in the ship "L'Heureux" accompanied him to France. From his letter to Flora MacDonald from Paris in February, 1749, it is clear that he returned to Scotland after the passing of the Act of Indemnity in 1747, and that he met her in Edinburgh during that winter or the following spring. He was back again in Scotland in the summer of 1749 ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 360), when he visited Bishop Forbes in Leith. He returned again to France and joined the French Army, first; as a Lieutenant in the Regiment d'Albanie and afterwards in the Scots Regiment of Lord Ogilvy. After the Peace of Paris in 1763 Ogilvy's Regiment was disbanded, and Neil MacEachen passed the rest of his life first at Sedan and afterwards at Sancerre on a pension of something like £80. He died at Sancerre in 1788. His only son became the famous General of Napoleon—Marshal MacDonald, Duke of Tarentum, who visited Howbeg in South Uist in 1825.

<sup>2</sup> According to the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. I, p. 302) Flora MacDonald went to Armadale from Portree "cross the country." The Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., states that "she set out by boat" from Portree "for the home of her mother and step-father at Armadale" ("Memorials of the '45," p. 79).

<sup>3</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> "Flora MacDonald in Uist," by Jolly, p. 81; "Flora MacDonald in America," by MacLean, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 302.

<sup>5a</sup> State Papers in Public Record Office, London.

<sup>6</sup> Donald MacDonald of Castleton was the son of John II of the MacDonalds of Castleton and great-grandson of Sir Donald MacDonald, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet of Sleat. He commanded one of the Skye Independent Companies during the '45. He afterwards became a Colonel in the British Army. He died about 1760. The succession of the Castleton family is not given correctly in "Clan Donald" (Vol. III, pp. 518-519).

<sup>7</sup> Captain John MacLeod of Talisker was IV of the MacLeods of Talisker, descended from Sir Roderick Mor MacLeod, XIII of Dunvegan. In 1745 he joined one of the Skye Independent Companies. He afterwards joined the Scots Brigade in Holland, and rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel. He entertained at Talisker Thomas Pennant in July, 1772; Dr Johnson and Boswell in September, 1773, and John Knox during his tour of the Western Isles in 1786. He died in 1800 ("History of the MacLeods," pp. 284-287).

<sup>8</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> "Declaration of Miss MacDonald, Applecross Bay, July 12, 1746" (State Papers, Public Record Office, London).

<sup>10</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 115.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116. It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of her arrival in Leith, but according to the "State Papers" in Record Office, London, she was on board the "Bridgewater" in Leith Roads on 21<sup>st</sup> September. According to the "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. I, p. 116), she arrived in Leith at "the beginning of September."

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

*A Prisoner in London*

## VIII.

### A Prisoner in London.

**F**LORA MACDONALD sailed on the “Eltham”<sup>1</sup> for London on 7<sup>th</sup> November. 1746, amid the cheers of thousands of the people of Edinburgh and Leith who came to see her depart. The “Eltham” brought her as far as the Nore, where, according to her own account,<sup>2</sup> she was on the 28<sup>th</sup> November transferred to the “Royal Sovereign,” which conveyed her to the Tower of London. She disembarked on 6<sup>th</sup> December.

After a short confinement in the Tower she was “put into the custody of Mr Dick, a Messenger,” who became later on the guardian of Old Clanranald,<sup>3</sup> Captain John MacKinnon<sup>4</sup> of Elgol, Captain Malcolm MacLeod<sup>5</sup> of Brae, Raasay, Æneas MacDonald,<sup>6</sup> the Paris Banker, Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale,<sup>7</sup> and Dr Burton of York.<sup>8</sup>

In Mr Dick’s house the prisoners enjoyed the privileges of freedom. Flora MacDonald was allowed to go to see friends, accompanied by Mr Dick’s daughters. We even read of Æneas MacDonald “concerting a jaunt to Windsor” with her, but just as they were about to go, Æneas MacDonald was taken from Mr Dick’s house to Newgate, where he was confined.<sup>9</sup> She received great attention from all ranks of society in the capital, and even Frederick, Prince of Wales, visited her. It is said that he asked her why she had dared to assist a rebel against his father’s throne. She told him “that she would have done the same thing for him had she found him in like distress.” The Rev. Alexander MacGregor states that “the Prince was so struck with this reply and her artless manner, that he afterwards interested himself to procure for her every comfort.”<sup>10</sup> There does not seem to be any truth, however, in the statement that he helped her to get her freedom.

Lady Primrose,<sup>11</sup> widow of the third Viscount Primrose, and a daughter of the Rev. Peter Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh, was Flora MacDonald’s best friend in London, and promoted a money testimonial in her behalf, which reached a figure in the region of £1500.

By the Act of Indemnity, which was passed in 1747, Mr Dick’s prisoners were liberated, with the exception of Flora MacDonald, on 4<sup>th</sup> July of that year. For some unknown reason, she was not set free until a few days thereafter.<sup>12</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor says that on receiving her freedom “she particularly interested herself in

behalf of Old Kingsburgh, a State prisoner in Edinburgh.”<sup>13</sup> For this statement there is no authority. Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh was set at liberty “upon Saturday July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1747, Upon his preferring a petition to the Justiciary Lords, wherein he pled the benefit of the Indemnity.”<sup>14</sup> He was thus set free before Flora herself.

As soon as she received her freedom she set her face towards Scotland.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Alexander MacGregor (“Life of Flora MacDonald,” p. 148), J. P. MacLean (“Flora MacDonald in America,” p. 18), Mrs .Wylde (“Autobiography of Flora M’Donald,” Vol. II, p. 7), and Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D. (“Memorials of the ‘45,” p. 80) state that Flora MacDonald was brought as far as the Nore on the “Bridgewater,” but it seems clear from the “Lyon in Mourning” that it was on the “Eltham” she sailed from Leith for England on 7<sup>th</sup> November.

<sup>2</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> This was Ranald XVII of Clanranald. He did not come “out” with the Prince, who earnestly pressed him to come to his assistance. He was friendly to the Prince, however, and “became privy to the schemes for his escape that were afterwards concocted by his friends.” He was arrested with others and taken to Fort Augustus about 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1746 (“More Culloden Papers,” Vol. V, p. 124), where he was detained for some time. He was afterwards taken to London, where he was kept until 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1747. Clanranald died on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1766, aged 74 years.

<sup>4</sup> Captain John MacKinnon of Elgol was the son of Roderick I of the MacKinnon of Sculamas, a younger brother of Lauchlan MacKinnon I of the MacKinnonn of Corry, great-grand-nephew of Sir Lauchlan MacKinnon, XIV<sup>th</sup> Chief of the MacKinnons. Dr Blaikie is wrong in saying that Captain John was a nephew of John MacKinnon, Chief of the MacKinnons (“Origins of the Forty-Five,” p. 450). He was only a distant relative. Captain MacKinnon was married to a sister of Captain Malcolm MacLeod of Brae, Raasay, with issue:- Neil, William, Charles, Donald. As a result of privations, undergone during the Rebellion, he became “afflicted with a lameness from the top of the thighs down,” and he and his family found themselves in very straitened circumstances (“Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. III, pp. 193-197). Through Jacobite friends he was taken to Bath, where “he had the best advice and was treated with the greatest care till his death.” He died on 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1762, aged 48 years. His friends erected a tombstone over his grave in Bath with the following inscription:- “Here lies John Mackinnon, of the Isle of Sky, an Honest Man, who died in Bath, May 11, 1762.”

<sup>5</sup> See VI. References and Notes, 11.

<sup>6</sup> He was the fourth son of Ranald III of the MacDonalds of Kinlochmoidart, descended from John, son of Allan IX of Clanranald. He went to France as a young man, was educated there, and afterwards became a Banker in Paris. He was one of the “Seven Men of Moidart,” who accompanied the Prince to Scotland in 1745. He was with the Prince until some time before the Battle of Culloden. It was he who procured Donald MacLeod of Galtrigill as guide for the Prince [see II. References and Notes, 1 (4)]. Æneas MacDonald surrendered himself to General Campbell on 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1746. He was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle and afterwards in Edinburgh Castle. Later on he was taken to London and committed to the custody of Mr Dick. He was expressly exempted from the Act of Indemnity. He was found guilty of high treason on 3<sup>rd</sup> July, having the day before attempted to escape from Newgate Prison. He was tried again on 10<sup>th</sup> July, and finally on 10<sup>th</sup> December, when the Jury found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy. On 18<sup>th</sup> December he was sentenced to death, but being virtually a French subject, he received the King’s pardon under the Great Seal on condition that he would leave His Majesty’s Dominions and live abroad. He regained his liberty on 11<sup>th</sup>

December, 1749. He retired to France, where he was killed during the French Revolution.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale was the son of Donald MacDonald of Benbecula, who became XVI of Clanranald, and a step-brother of Old Clanranald. Politically he was opposed to the Rising of the '45, and used all his power to dissuade the Prince from persisting in the attempt. When danger threatened the Prince, however, he showed himself a friend indeed. On suspicion of harbouring the Prince, he was arrested, and taken to London. The Presbytery of Uist petitioned the Government on his behalf, and in due course he was released. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of John II of the MacDonalds of Castleton, and widow of Sir James MacDonald of Sleat. Her sister, Florence, was Mrs MacDonald of Kingsburgh. Their aunt, Margaret, was the mother of John MacKinnon, Chief of the MacKinnons. Mrs MacDonald of Boisdale was the step-mother of Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and she was also a second cousin of his father, Sir Donald MacDonald. The Sleat MacDonald pedigree is a curious tangle of this period, and is not given correctly in "Clan Donald" (Vol. III). Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale died in 1768.

<sup>8</sup> See III. References and Notes. 11.

<sup>9</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol I, p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Rev. Alexander MacGregor ("Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 149), Mr W. Drummond Norie ("Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart," p. 83 n.), and Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D. ("Memorials of the '45," p. 82) have taken Lady Primrose to be the widow of Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, who was executed at Carlisle on 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1746. Lady Primrose died two days later ("Prisoners of the '45," Vol. I. p. 101) and could not therefore befriend Flora MacDonald in 1747.

<sup>12</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 146.

<sup>13</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 82

*Her Return to Skye*

## IX.

### Her Return to Skye.

**I**N the company of Captain Malcolm MacLeod of Brae, Flora MacDonald travelled by post-chaise from London to Edinburgh, where they arrived on Sunday evening, 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1747.<sup>1</sup> They travelled as Mr and Mrs Robertson, brother and sister, stopping on their way North at York to visit Dr Burton, who, as already stated, had been one of their fellow-prisoners at Mr Dick's house. Flora remained in Edinburgh for some considerable time, and did not return to Skye until the summer of the following year.

During this, her first stay in the capital, Flora MacDonald attended school. It has been already pointed out that the Rev. Alexander MacGregor<sup>2</sup> and other writers<sup>3</sup> assert erroneously that she was at school in Edinburgh during her girlhood for three or four years. It is definitely known that soon after her arrival from London in 1747 she went to the School of Mr David Beatt,<sup>4</sup> a Jacobite Schoolmaster. In a letter, dated September, 1747, to Mr James Burnet of Barns, Peeblesshire, Mr Beatt writes: "As I have entered with Miss Flory M'Donald, who waited five weeks for my return to Town, and who needs very much to be advanced in her writing, confines me to daily attendance, and must do so till she is brought some length in it, which obliges me to keep the Town close."<sup>5</sup> It is not known who was responsible for the arrangements for her attendance at Mr Beatt's classes. Lady Margaret MacDonald had not yet left Skye to take up residence in Edinburgh for the education of her family. In fact, Flora MacDonald had returned to Armadale and was making ready for her marriage before Lady Margaret left Monkstadt in 1750.

Although she had been in Edinburgh since 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1747, she did not meet Bishop Forbes<sup>6</sup> until 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1748. On Thursday, 13<sup>th</sup> August, at the house of Lady Bruce in Leith, it was arranged that Mr James MacDonald,<sup>7</sup> Joiner, Leith, "should lay himself out to get, ... a meeting with Donald MacLeod [of Galtrigill], Miss Flora MacDonald, and any others if they came in his reach."<sup>8</sup> Mr James MacDonald agreed, but he was unable to arrange a meeting. On 19<sup>th</sup> November Dr Burton of York, who had come to Scotland "purposely to make enquiry about matters relating to the Prince's affairs,"<sup>9</sup> was in Edinburgh, and was visited by Bishop Forbes, who received from him the Journal,<sup>10</sup> which he had taken "from the mouth of Miss Flora MacDonald." Having read the Journal, the Bishop requested Dr Burton to ask her several questions, which the Doctor did. Her

answers<sup>11</sup> were given in writing to the Bishop by the Doctor on 23<sup>rd</sup> November.

Her first interview with the Bishop took place on Saturday, 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1748. On that day she, along with Captain Donald Roy MacDonald, who had come to Edinburgh towards the end of the year to visit the Bishop “at the express desire of Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh,”<sup>12</sup> dined with Lady Bruce at her house in the Citadel of Leith. Bishop Forbes, who was one of the company, “took the freedom to ask particular questions at Miss MacDonald in presence of the company about the Prince landing with her at Sky.”<sup>13</sup>

The Bishop had another interview with Flora MacDonald on Saturday, 12<sup>th</sup> March, in his room at Lady Bruce’s house. He desired to see her in order to check the accuracy of the letter which her step-father, Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, had written to her mother about Betty Burke, and a copy of which he had received from Captain Donald Roy MacDonald. She was able to supply the Bishop with what was missing in the copy of the famous letter, given to him by Captain Roy MacDonald.<sup>14</sup>

On 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1748, Flora MacDonald left Edinburgh for Argyleshire with Miss Peggie Callander. On her way there she was nearly drowned, “the boat having struck upon a rock; but (under God) a clever Highlander saved her.”<sup>15</sup> She reached Skye about the beginning of July, and “waited upon her mother and the worthy Armadale.”<sup>16</sup>

All her biographers state that Flora MacDonald returned to Skye immediately she was released from prison in London. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor, who seems to have been the originator of this story, writes a graphic, but entirely incorrect, account<sup>17</sup> of her return and of the receptions given in her honour at Scalpay, Raasay, Scorrabreac, Kingsburgh, Flodigarry and Monkstadt. It was impossible for her to have paid her friends in Skye all the visits mentioned by MacGregor. For one thing, there was not sufficient time at her disposal for all the alleged visits and receptions during her first home-coming. One at least of the families she is supposed to have visited was not in existence at the time. If the visits ever took place, Mr MacGregor misplaces them, and, so far as they are historically true, belong to the period immediately after her marriage to Allan MacDonald in November, 1750. Her first visit to Skye was of short duration. Bishop Forbes in a letter,<sup>18</sup> dated 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1748, to Dr Burton of York, writes that Flora MacDonald was expected back to Edinburgh at the end of the month. But she herself in a letter<sup>19</sup> to the Doctor says that she does not intend returning south until

September. She did not return to Edinburgh so soon as Bishop Forbes expected. In fact, she did not return until September. She remained in Skye for about two months.

One or two errors perpetrated, by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor, in connection with this first visit of Flora MacDonald to Skye after her release, may be noticed.

For example, he informs his readers that Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, "in honour of his fair namesake, got up a splendid banquet, to which all the principal families in the Island were invited, together with a number of Government officers still sojourning in Skye." Mr MacGregor continues: "The festivities extended over four days, when high and low were entertained in a manner that did credit to the friendly generosity and hospitality of the great Mac Dhomhnuill of the Isles."<sup>20</sup> If Mr MacGregor had taken the trouble of consulting trustworthy sources of information he, would have discovered that it was impossible for Sir Alexander to have entertained Flora MacDonald on her return to Skye, for he died at Bernera Barracks, Glenelg, on 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1746, when she was on her way to London as a State prisoner. His son and successor, Sir James MacDonald, known in his day as the "Scottish Marcellus." was only five years old at his father's death.

Another strange error committed by Mr MacGregor has reference to Allan MacDonald, the future husband of Flora MacDonald. He states that on her return she visited Flodigarry, where Allan MacDonald resided.<sup>21</sup> At this time Flodigarry was in the possession of the Martins, a cadet branch of the Martins of Bealach and Duntuilm. According to the Judicial Rental<sup>22</sup> of Trotternish for 1733 Martin Martin had the Tack of Flodigarry at this time. It had been granted to him by Sir Alexander MacDonald at Whitsunday, 1732, for nineteen years. Thus it is shown that Flodigarry was in Martin's possession until Whitsunday, 1751. Allan did not come into possession of Flodigarry until Martin left at Whitsunday, 1751,<sup>23</sup> six months after Allan had married Flora MacDonald. Mr MacGregor informs us that while visiting at Monkstadt House Flora MacDonald "took suddenly and seriously ill."<sup>24</sup> Lady Margaret and the whole family "became painfully alarmed," as this was the first "illness from which Flora had ever been known to suffer. If Flora was thus suddenly and seriously struck by illness, one would have thought she would have afterwards communicated the fact to Dr Burton of York, with whom she corresponded regularly. The story of the illness is not corroborated in any of the letters of this period or in any accounts of the heroine's life that have yet come to light.

Flora MacDonald returned to Edinburgh in September, 1748, as already noted. From Edinburgh she went on 6<sup>th</sup> November<sup>25</sup> to York to the Burtons, and after staying with them for two nights, she continued to London. She was still in London in March, 1749, when she received a letter<sup>26</sup> from Neil MacEachcn, who was then in Paris. By a letter,<sup>27</sup> dated at York on 10<sup>th</sup> June, 1749, from Dr Burton to Bishop Forbes, we know that she was proposing to leave London in June to come north to Edinburgh. Dr Burton writes: "I heard of Miss Flora lately. She was very well but thin. She intends for Scotland in this month, and goes to Springkell to Sir William Maxwell's; promises to let me have the pleasure of her company here for ten days." Apparently she spent the winter of 1749-50 in the south of Scotland and in Edinburgh with her Jacobite friends. She visited Bishop Forbes for the third time on 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1760, when he "asked her particularly about the names of those who were on board the boat with the Prince (when in the female dress) from the Long Island to the Isle of Sky."<sup>28</sup>

The precise date of her return to Skye for the second time is unknown, but she seems to have arrived at Armadale some time in June, 1760, for on 11<sup>th</sup> July Bishop Forbes was writing to her at Armadale. She came back to Skye to mourn, with her mother and step-father "the loss of two hopeful youths."<sup>29</sup> For the next few months Flora MacDonald remained in Skye.

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#### REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, pp. 144-145.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 63-66.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Wylde in "Auto-biography of Flora MacDonald" (Vol. I, p. 27), J. P. MacLean in "Flora MacDonald in America" (pp. 10-11), William Jolly in "Flora MacDonald in Uist" (p. 24), W. Drummond Norie in "Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart" (Vol. IV, p. 47), and Prof. Magnus MacLean in "The Active Gael" (p. 196).

<sup>4</sup> It was David Beatt who officially proclaimed King James VIII in front of Holyrood Palace, immediately after Prince Charles had made his triumphal entry into Edinburgh on 17<sup>th</sup> September, 1746 ("History of the Rebellion," 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, p. 90; "Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart," by W. Drummond Norie, Vol. II, pp. 64-65).

<sup>5</sup> Mr W. Forbes Gray in "Scotsman," 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1927.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Forbes was a native of Rayne, Aberdeenshire, where he was born in 1708. He studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. in 1726. Ordained Priest in June, 1735, he was appointed Assistant to Rev. William Law, Episcopal Minister, Leith, in December, 1735. He afterwards became his colleague. Forbes sympathised with the Prince, and, with other Episcopal clerics, set out to join his standard, but was arrested at St Ninians, Stirling. He was imprisoned at Stirling Castle and afterwards in Edinburgh Castle until 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1746. After his release he began the formation of the collection of "Journals, Narratives and Memoranda" relating to the Prince and known as the "Lyon in Mourning," published in three volumes by the, "Scottish History Society." Forbes was chosen

and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness in 1762. He was elected Bishop of Aberdeen in 1767, but another man was appointed. He died on 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1775. Rev. J. B. Craven published in 1886 "Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert. Forbes, M.A., of the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness, and of the Diocese of Ross and Argyle, 1762 and 1770." A second Edition was published in 1925.

<sup>7</sup> James MacDonald was the third son of Donald II of the MacDonalds of Sartle, descended from Sir James Mar MacDonald, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Sleat. He was a nephew of Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale, step-father of Flora MacDonald. He was one of the few MacDonalds from Skye that took an active part in the '45 Rebellion. His house in Leith was a meeting-place of the Skymen who had been "out" in the '45 and of other Jacobites. In May 1746, Raasay was invaded by Captain Ferguson and his soldiers. Raasay House was burnt to the ground, but the windows, which were made of oak, were carefully preserved and put on board a ship-of-war for sale. When the ship arrived at Leith Mr James MacDonald, who was a third cousin of MacLeod of Raasay, went on board and bought the windows, "which were all done with crown glass" ("Lyon In Mourning," Vol. I, p. 177), that he might be able to return them to his relative.

<sup>8</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 286-303.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

<sup>12</sup> Captain Donald Roy MacDonald met Bishop Forbes for the first time on Tuesday, January 9th, 1749 ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II; p. 4). On his way to Edinburgh he visited Ranald MacDonald of Belfinlay at Arisaig about 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1747, and received from him the "Narrative," given in "Lyon in Mourning" (Vol. II, pp. 3-4).

<sup>13</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>17</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 154-158.

<sup>18</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.178.

<sup>20</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 156.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>22</sup> Judicial Rental of the Barony of MacDonald, taken by Mr Alexander MacDonald Kingsburgh in 1733.

<sup>23</sup> That Allan MacDonald did not get possession of Flodigarry until Whitsunday, 1751, is indirectly confirmed by a letter, dated at Kingsburgh, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1751, by Flora MacDonald to Messrs Innes & Clerk, Merchant., London, requesting them to forward to her the sum of £627, lodged with them for her behoof by Lady Primrose ("History of the Rebellion," by Chambers, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, p. 317 n.). It is evident that this money was required to help to take over the Tack and stock of Flodigarry at Whitsunday. See Appendix II (1).

<sup>24</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 321 n.

<sup>26</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," pp. 158-159.

<sup>27</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. II, p. 324.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 21-22.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

*Married Life at Flodigarry and  
Kingsburgh*

## X. Married Life at Flodigarry and Kingsburgh.

**F**LORA MACDONALD was married to Allan MacDonald at Armadale<sup>1</sup> on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1760, The announcement of the marriage in the “Scots Magazine” of the time is as follows:-

Nov. 6, 1750. At Armadale in Sleat, Allan Macdonald, eldest son of Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh, married to Miss Flora Macdonald, daughter of Ronald Macdonald of Milton, deceas'd. This is the young lady who aided the escape of the young Chevalier.

For some unknown reason Flora MacDonald did not tell her friends in the south of her marriage. Bishop Forbes in a letter<sup>2</sup> to Mr Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh on 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1751, writes as if he were somewhat hurt that the wedding should have taken place without his knowledge. He writes: “Pray make an offer of my best wishes, in the kindest manner, to my worthy Mrs Flora MacDonald, and tell her, from me, that I looked for some few lines under her own hand to let me know her marriage day, which I and some others are quite ignorant about.” The Bishop informed Dr Burton, who replied;<sup>3</sup> “I heartily wish my worthy Flora as happy as it is possible to be on this side the grave, and that she may live to see her children’s children so too; and also peace upon Israel, which God grant that we may soon see and we be saved. Amen,”

The marriage festivities were conducted on a very large scale, and, if we can believe Mr MacGregor,<sup>4</sup> “lasted for the greater part of a week.” This writer informs<sup>5</sup> us that “the bride” was “robed in a dress of Stuart tartan with which she was presented when in London by a lady friend, on condition that she would wear it at her marriage,” Mr MacGregor does not tell where he obtained this information, but the dress which has been preserved by her descendants as her wedding dress was made of black silk.<sup>6</sup>

Allan MacDonald was the elder son of Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh,<sup>7</sup> Chamberlain to Sir Alexander MacDonald for the Barony of MacDonald. He was educated at Edinburgh at the expense of Sir Alexander.<sup>8</sup> After he had completed his education he returned to Kingsburgh, where he assisted his father in his duties as Chamberlain. According to tradition, Allan was a handsome young man, with a “powerful frame, and was ever foremost in all daring and athletic feats.”<sup>9</sup> When the Skye Independent Companies were

formed Allan MacDonald became a Lieutenant under Captain John MacDonald<sup>10</sup> of Kirkibost, North Uist. When the Prince was in Skye in 1746 Allan was with his Regiment at Fort Augustus, the headquarters of the Duke of Cumberland. Mr MacGregor,<sup>11</sup> who was not sufficiently well informed about these matters, was of the opinion that Allan, like his father, was involved in the Prince's escape from Skye, but that he "was never captured." All the evidence at our disposal proves that Allan was, as stated above, with the Government troops at Fort Augustus. After the '45 Lady Margaret MacDonald<sup>12</sup> endeavoured to get a commission for him in a Regiment that was being raised for the Dutch service. It is not known whether she was successful in obtaining a commission for him or not. If he entered the Dutch service in 1747 he could not have remained there more than three years, as his marriage with Flora MacDonald took place, as already noted, in November, 1750.

After their marriage Flora MacDonald and Allan went to reside at Kingsburgh, and not at Flodigarry, as most writers assert. At Whitsunday, 1751, Flodigarry became vacant,<sup>13</sup> and was given to Allan MacDonald. The early years of their married life were spent at Flodigarry. There five of their seven children<sup>14</sup> were born. They were: Charles, Anne, Alexander, Ranald, and James. John and Fanny were born at Kingsburgh.

Old Kingsburgh, through age and infirmity, gave up the office of Chamberlain in 1755, and was allowed a yearly pension of £50. Allan succeeded him as Factor. Mrs MacDonald<sup>15</sup> of Kingsburgh died in March, 1759, and it would appear that soon after her death Allan and Flora removed from Flodigarry to Kingsburgh.<sup>16</sup> Allan was not a man of business, and on account of his mismanagement of affairs he was deprived of the Factorship some time before the death of Sir James MacDonald, which took place at Rome on 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1766. Although he lost the office of Factor, he retained the Tack of Kingsburgh. Under date 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1767, he writes<sup>17</sup> to Mr John MacKenzie of Delvine,<sup>18</sup> the Edinburgh Law Agent for the Barony of MacDonald, to use his influence with the new Baronet, Sir Alexander MacDonald, to procure for him a new lease of Kingsburgh. "Now Dr Sir," Allan MacDonald writes, "if I have not intyrely merited your displeasure, will you put in a favourable word for me to help throw the getting me a lace of this Tack which would encourage me to go on chearfully with any little improvements, and help the education of my family who are now growing men & women on my hands, the oldest boy being fifteen years, & the lassie thirteen & so on to the youngest—in short was there anything in the world thrown in my way which woud help their own & mothers suport I woud chearfully submitt to any

slavery to better them and the doing of it would be friendly.” Allan’s request was favourably considered, and he obtained a new lease of Kingsburgh, but the rent was increased considerably.<sup>19</sup> His affairs did not improve, and eventually he and his wife decided to “follow the rest of our friends who have gone this three years past to America.”<sup>20</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1772, old Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh died. His death was recorded by Bishop Forbes<sup>21</sup> thus:

Isle of Sky, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1772, died the hospitable, disinterested and worthy Alexander Macdonald of Kingsborrow, aged 83.

Let all the world say what they can,  
He liv’d and died an honest man.

About nineteen months after Kingsburgh’s death Flora MacDonald and her husband, Allan, entertained Dr Johnson and his friend, Boswell. The visitors arrived at Kingsburgh from Portree on Sunday, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1773. Allan MacDonald was at the door to welcome them, and “with a most respectful attention supported” Dr Johnson into the house. The great Englishman was delighted at the reception accorded him and wrote: “We were entertained with the usual hospitality by Mr Macdonald and his lady, Flora Macdonald, a name that will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, with honour.”<sup>22</sup> Of Allan MacDonald Boswell wrote; “Kingsburgh was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander, exhibiting ‘the graceful mien and manly looks’ which our popular Scottish song has justly attributed to that character. He had his tartan plaid thrown about him, a large blue bonnet, with a knot of black ribband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duflil a tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold button holes, a bluish philabeg, and tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance.”<sup>23</sup>

Flora MacDonald, who was at this time fifty-one years of age, had just returned from the mainland. She told her visitors that on her way back to Skye, she had heard “that Mr Boswell was coming to Skye, and one Mr Johnson, a young English buck, with him.” Boswell states that Dr Johnson “was highly entertained with this event.” He describes Flora as “a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred.”<sup>24</sup>

Dr Johnson was put to sleep in the very bed<sup>25</sup> in which the Prince slept on the night of his memorable visit to Kingsburgh twenty-nine

years previously. It is said that he stated at breakfast next morning that “he would have given a good deal rather than not have lain in that bed.” Dr Johnson left on the bedroom table a slip of paper on which he had written the Latin words, “Quantum cedat virtutibus aurum”<sup>26</sup>—“With virtue weighed, what worthless trash is gold.”

At breakfast Flora MacDonald related to Dr Johnson the part she played in helping the Prince to escape from the Long Island to Skye. Dr Johnson listened to her story” with placid attention,”<sup>27</sup> and when she had finished he said: “All this should be written down.” On Monday, 13<sup>th</sup> September, the distinguished visitors left Kingsburgh for Dunvegan, Allan MacDonald himself accompanying them in his boat across Loch Snizort to Greshornish.<sup>28</sup>

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor states the marriage took place at Flodigarry (“Life of Flora MacDonald,” p. 159). The Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D. of Kiltarlity, makes the same mistake in his “Memorials of the ‘45” (p. 82). The original Marriage Contract is in Abbotsford, Melrose. It is dated 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1750, and extends to five folio pages, each being signed “Flory Macdonald.” It sets forth that, albeit the parties are already married, yet the several articles agreed on at and before their marriage on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1750, have not been extended in due form and that “this is an implement of the said articles.” Flora MacDonald, who on her part assigns £700 to her husband, is secured in life-rent of £50. In the event of separation, Allan MacDonald and his father bind themselves to pay her £40 sterling yearly. The document was written by Dr John MacLean and is duly signed and witnessed (“Scotsman,” 11<sup>th</sup> May. 1937).

<sup>2</sup> “Lyon in Mourning,” Vol. III, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> “Life of Flora MacDonald,” p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Flora MacDonald’s black silk marriage dress was in the possession of Miss Emily Livingston, Edinburgh (a great-great-granddaughter), until her death a few years ago. After her death it was taken by a relative to Vancouver, Canada.

<sup>7</sup> See IV. References and Notes, 28.

<sup>8</sup> In the Lord MacDonald Charter Chest, Portree, there are receipts for money paid by Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat for the education of Allan MacDonald in Edinburgh, bearing date 1739.

<sup>9</sup> “Brave sons of Skye,” p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> John MacDonald of Kirkibost, North Uist, was the son of William, “The Tutor,” third son of Sir Donald MacDonald, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baronet of Sleat. He was thus a first cousin of Sir Alexander MacDonald of the ‘45. He received a Tack of the lands of Kirkibost, North Uist, from his cousin, Sir Alexander, in 1740, and some time thereafter he was appointed Factor on the Estate in North Uist. He commanded one of the Skye Independent Companies during the ‘45. He was married before 1745 to a sister of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Strath (see X. References and Notes, 10). Captain John MacDonald and his wife had issue, as follows:-

1. Margaret, confirmed by Bishop Forbes at Kinellan, near Strathpeffer, on 19<sup>th</sup> August, 1762 (“Journals of Bishop Forbes,” p. 220). She married Donald V of the MacDonalds of Rigg, with issue. She is given in “Clan Donald” (Vol. III. p. 541) as having died unmarried.
2. Jane, whose name is not given in “Clan Donald,” married John VI of the MacKinnons of Kyle, with issue:-
  - (1) Rev. Donald MacKinnon, died on 26<sup>th</sup> December. 1797, aged 26 years.

- (2) Dr Farquhar MacKinnon of Kyla ("MacLeods of Arnisdale," p. 19).
- (3) Captain Neil MacKinnon ("MacLeods of Arnisdale," p. 26).
- (4) Major Alexander MacKinnon, died without issue in Edinburgh on 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1849.
- (5) Margaret, married with issue.
- (6) Isabella, married without issue.
- (7) Flora, married; issue, if any, unknown.

<sup>11</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 143.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Lady Margaret MacDonald to President Forbes, dated from Monkstadt 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1747 ("More Culloden Papers," Vol. V. pp. 189-190).

<sup>13</sup> See IX. References and Notes, 23.

<sup>14</sup> A document, preserved among other relics of Flora MacDonald in Dunvegan Castle, gives the names of her children with the dates of births, as follows:-

3. Charles, born 22<sup>nd</sup> October, 1751, at eleven o'clock, old style.
4. Anne, born on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1754, at eleven o'clock, new style.
5. Alexander, born on 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1755, at twelve o'clock.
6. Ranald, born on 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1756, at three o'clock in the morning.
7. James, born on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1757, at three o'clock in the morning.
8. John, born on 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1759, at five o'clock in the afternoon.
9. Fanny, born on 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1766, at eight in the morning.

See Appendix III.

<sup>15</sup> Mrs MacDonald of Kingsburgh died on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1759. The notice of her death in the "Scots magazine" is as follows:-

Mar. 18, 1759. At Kingsburgh, in the isle of Sky, in the 63<sup>rd</sup> year of her age, Mrs Florence Macdonald, daughter of John Macdonald of Castletoun, and wife of Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh.

<sup>16</sup> After Allan MacDonald removed to Kingsburgh in 1750 Lieutenant John Martin, son of Martin Martin, who had Flodigarry from 1732 to 1751, became Tacksman, and, according to an unpublished Pedigree of the Martins, purchased the stock from Allan. John Martin was Tacksman of Flodigarry until Whitsunday, 1790, when the Rev. Æneas MacAulay, Schoolmaster of Portree, became Factor for Trotternish and Tacksman of Flodigarry. After leaving Flodigarry Lieutenant John Martin retired to Greenock, where he died unmarried. He had three illegitimate sons, mentioned in "Clan Donald" (Vol. III. p. 560).

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Allan MacDonald to John MacKenzie of Delvine. See Appendix II (2).

<sup>18</sup> John MacKenzie, W.S., Law Agent for the Barony of MacDonald, was the son of John MacKenzie I of the MacKenzies of Delvine. He was the third son of Sir Kenneth MacKenzie, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baronet of Coul, and purchased the Estate of Delvine in Perthshire in 1705. His son, John, born in 1709, was the Law Agent. Although he was not the heir to Delvine, he came into possession of it, by an arrangement with the heir. He showed many kindnesses to Flora MacDonald and her husband, Allan. He died in 1778.

<sup>19</sup> Letter from Flora MacDonald to the Duke of Atholl, dated at Kingsburgh 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1774. The original letter is in Blair Castle. See Appendix II (4).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Among these friends were her step-father, Captain Hugh MacDonald of Armadale; her mother, if still in life; her half-sister, Annabella, with her husband, Alexander MacDonald of Cuidreach, and family.

<sup>21</sup> "Lyon in Mourning," Vol. III, p. 262. The death of Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh was announced in the "Scots Magazine" thus:-

Feb. 18, 1772. At Kingsburgh, in the island of Sky, in the 83<sup>rd</sup> year of his age, Alexander Macdonald, Esq. of Kingsburgh. Our readers will remember this gentleman's hospitality to the young pretender in 1746, his sufferings on that account, and his bold avowal of what he had done, when in a situation that would have intimidated a man of less resolution.

<sup>22</sup> "A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland"—12<sup>th</sup> Sept., 1773.

<sup>23</sup> "A Tour in the Hebrides with Dr Johnson"—12<sup>th</sup> Sept., 1773.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

*North Carolina*

## XI.

## North Carolina.

**T**HIRTEEN months before Dr Johnson and Boswell had visited Kingsburgh Flora MacDonald and her husband, Allan MacDonald, had announced finally to Mr MacKenzie of Delvine their decision to emigrate. Flora wrote<sup>1</sup> from Kingsburgh on 12<sup>th</sup> August, 1772, to Mr MacKenzie: The best of the inhabitants [of Skye] are making ready to follow their friends to America while they have anything to bring there; and among the rest we are to go especially as we cannot promise ourselves but poverty and oppression, having last Spring and this time two years lost almost our whole Stock of Cattle and horses; we lost within these three years, three hundred and twenty seven heads, so that we have hardly what will pay our Creditors which we are to let them have and begin the world again, anewe, in a other Corner of it." At the time of Dr Johnson's visit they were making preparations for crossing the ocean, and eleven more months saw them away from Kingsburgh.

In August, 1774, Flora MacDonald, her husband, and two sons,<sup>2</sup> Alexander and James, sailed in the ship, "Baliol," from Campbeltown, Kintyre, for Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, in North Carolina. They were accompanied by their daughter, Anne, her husband, Alexander MacLeod<sup>3</sup> of Lochbay, Skye, and their children, with eight servants, "indentured for five years' service."<sup>4</sup>

Many of Flora's countrymen, including some of her own relatives, had preceded her to North Carolina, and on her arrival there she and her husband received a great welcome from them.

The MacDonalds settled down, first of all, at Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, until, after a survey of the surrounding country, they would fix on a final home. After six months at Cross Creek<sup>5</sup> they removed to Mount Pleasant, now called Cameron's Hill, where Allan MacDonald had purchased a large tract of land, the record of the transaction being still preserved in the Court House at Fayetteville. He soon sold his estate at Mount Pleasant, and removed further west to Ansoil County, where he purchased land from one Caleb Touchstone. He named his new estate Killegrey.

The new home was situated in the heart of the pinery region, and in every direction stretched the great pine forest. Here Flora MacDonald began "the world again, anewe." The plantation

consisted of 475 acres, of which they cleared eighty. A dwelling-house was built, also barns and a kitchen. A grist mill, “the yearly income of which kept the whole Family in bread,”<sup>6</sup> was built. Allan cleared thirty acres of a smaller plantation which he had, and, cultivated 3 good orchards of peach, apple and other fruits.” On this smaller plantation he built a farmhouse and barn, probably for his “indentured servants”<sup>7</sup>—five men and three women.

Soon after their settlement at Killegrey the American War of Independence broke out, and Allan MacDonald became involved in it along with many others. He took the side of the Loyalists, and was offered a commission as Captain of the 6<sup>th</sup> Company of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, whose headquarters were at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was also appointed recruiting officer for North Carolina, where there were many Highlanders. So successful was he as recruiting officer that he was given the rank of Brigade Major. His son, Alexander, joined the Loyalist Forces as Lieutenant, and his son, James, also joined up, although not at the outbreak of the War. A terrible disaster overtook the Highlanders as they were on their way to Brunswick, at the mouth of Cape Fear River, whence they were to embark for Halifax in Nova Scotia. Leaving Cross Creek on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1776, the Highlanders, fifteen hundred strong marched to Moore’s Creek, where they found themselves confronted by the enemy. They were determined to force their way through a narrow and dangerous defile and cross a bridge, which was held by a force numerically superior to theirs. The Highlanders rushed upon the bridge, but only one or two reached the other side, and were instantly shot. In the darkness great confusion took place among the Highlanders, who were slaughtered right and left. The dead and wounded were plunged into the river or piled in heaps on the bridge. Eight hundred and fifty of the Highland force were taken Prisoners. Captain Allan MacDonald and his son, Lieut. Alexander, were among them. James, somehow, managed to escape.<sup>8</sup> The battle of Moore’s Creek took place on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1776. After this disaster the Highlanders entered upon a period of terrible suffering and persecution.<sup>9</sup>

Flora MacDonald was turned out of her home at Killegrey, which was plundered before her eyes. She was stripped of everything she possessed, except “sundry articles.” which she managed to hide. Kenneth Black<sup>10</sup> in Cross Creek took her into his home, but even there she was not allowed to live in peace. She was summoned to appear before the Committee of Safety to answer for alleged seditious conduct. According to Captain Alexander MacDonald’s Letter-Book<sup>11</sup> she exhibited a “spirited behaviour” before the

Committee. Allan MacDonald wrote with evident pride to tell his cousin, Captain Alexander MacDonald, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, how she had defied the inquisitions of the 'rebels.' She was in great destitution and "in a very sickly, tender state of health,"<sup>12</sup> and had to sell many of her most treasured possessions, such as her silver plate and jewellery, which she had somehow managed to conceal from the rebels. In this way she was able to get the money which she required for her return to the homeland.

After his capture at Moore's Creek Allan MacDonald was closely confined in Halifax,<sup>13</sup> Virginia. On 11<sup>th</sup> April, 1776, the North Carolina Provincial Congress decided to allow him "on parole," but he was not permitted to go "without the limits of the town of Halifax."<sup>14</sup> On 22<sup>nd</sup> April he, together with fifteen Captains, one Lieutenant, five minor officers, and their Chaplain, Rev. John Bethune,<sup>15</sup> was sent to Philadelphia. On 28<sup>th</sup> June he was permitted, "after signing a parole and word of honour," to go to Reading in Berks County, Pennsylvania. On 9<sup>th</sup> July the Congress resolved to allow his son, Alexander, to reside with him. Next year on 6<sup>th</sup> April, he wrote;<sup>16</sup> "Your Petitioner and Son are now nigh fourteen Months Prisoners of War, and were above four Months of those, in close confinement, removed from one gaol to another, and different places of confinement, in North Carolina Virginia, & Maryland, till they arrived in Philadelphia, from there—they were admitted on Parole, to reside at Reading, in the County of Berks, where they now are. From whence I am hopefull, it will be certified by his Excellency General Mifflin, Commanding Officer there and the County Committee, that they kept closs to their Parole, without giving the smalest offence to any person whatever. ... Your Petitioner expects, you will exchange him, & Son for officers of the like denomination, or order them to New York on Parole, till duly Exchanged," On 18<sup>th</sup> July Allan MacDonald sent another Petition to Congress. "I am here," he wrote,<sup>17</sup> "with one of my Sons, Seventeen months a prisoner. My wife is in North Carolina 700 miles from me in a very sickly, tender State of health, with a younger Son a Daughter and four grandchildren. Two sons in our Service of whom I heard little or nothing since one of them had been wounded in the Battle of Bunkers Hill, and two in Britain, of whom I heard no accounts since I left it. Them in Carolina I can be of no service to in my present state, but were I Exchanged I would be of service to the rest if in Life." It would appear that this last appeal by Allan MacDonald moved Congress to release him and his son, for on 21<sup>st</sup> August he was "permitted to go unto New York to negotiate an exchange for himself and his son, a lieutenant in the same service."<sup>18</sup>

In New York Allan MacDonald was given temporary command of a Company of Provincials, and at the same time he helped to recruit Highlanders there for Loyalist service. Some time in the autumn of 1778 he rejoined his Regiment, the Royal Highland Emigrants, in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

While he was in New York he did everything in his power to obtain a permit for his wife to leave North Carolina, where she was in great straits, as already pointed out, and in constant danger of her life. At last in March, 1778, permission was given to the wives and families of a number of officers to leave the country. Flora MacDonald left Carolina and made her way to New York, where she joined her husband. From New York she accompanied him to Nova Scotia. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor,<sup>19</sup> followed by the Rev. Archibald MacDonald,<sup>20</sup> of Kiltarlity, and Mr Compton MacKenzie<sup>21</sup> and others, maintains that she sailed from Charleston to her native land in 1779. But Flora MacDonald herself in a letter<sup>22</sup> (hitherto unpublished) says that she sailed from Nova Scotia. She remained in Nova Scotia for about a year before she, at Allan's request, turned her face towards her native land. On the voyage home she showed that she retained all the heroic courage which so remarkably distinguished her early years, for her daughter, Mrs MacLeod, used to tell that a French Privateer having attacked them, and all the ladies being shut in the cabin, Flora MacDonald "alone could not be repressed, but came upon deck, and endeavoured by her voice and example to animate the men for the action. She was unfortunately thrown down in the bustle and broke her arm, which caused her afterwards to observe in something like the spirit of poor Mercutio that she had now risked her life on behalf both the house of Stewart and that of Brunswick and got very little for her pains."<sup>23</sup> She arrived in this country late in 1779.

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Flora MacDonald to Mr John MacKenzie of Delvine. The original letter is in the National Library, Edinburgh. See Appendix II (3).

<sup>2</sup> Flora MacDonald's eldest son, Charles, was in the East India Company's Service. Ranald, her third son, was a Lieutenant in the Marine Service. John, her youngest son, was at the High School, Edinburgh, under the care of Mr John MacKenzie of Delvine. Fanny was left behind with friends in Scotland (Letter to MacKenzie of Delvine, 12<sup>th</sup> August, 1772; Letter to the Duke of Atholl, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1774; Petition to Congress, 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1777), The Rev. Alexander MacGregor in "Life of Flora MacDonald" (pp. 168-169), Miss MacQueen in "Scots Magazine" (Vol. XII, p. 258), Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., Kiltarlity, in "Memorials of the '45" (p. 92), Mr Compton MacKenzie in "Prince Charlie and His Ladies" (p. 156), and other writers are wrong in thinking that Fanny had gone to North Carolina with her parents. Allan MacDonald's Petition to Congress definitely states that two of the family were left in Britain, of whom they had not heard since they left its shores.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander MacLeod of Lochbay was an illegitimate son of Norman MacLeod, XIXth Chief of MacLeods of Dunvegan. He was an officer in the Navy for twenty-two years before he settled in 1766 in Lochbay, which he received from his father, Norman MacLeod of Dunvegan. In 1767 he became Factor for the MacLeod Estates. He married Anne, daughter of Flora MacDonald, in 1770-1771 (not in 1775, the date given by Mr Compton MacKenzie). On the death of his father in 1772 Alexander MacLeod gave up the Factorship of the MacLeod Estates. He emigrated to North Carolina in 1774, where he purchased land in Moore County, and named it Glendale. There he established his home, furnished with the valuable furniture which he brought out from Skye. His Library consisted of 800 volumes (Loyalist Papers in Public Record Office, London). Like his father-in-law, he became involved in the American War of Independence, and was given the rank of Captain in the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment. He was present at the Battle of Moore's Creek, but escaped being taken prisoner. When his Regiment was disbanded he received the rank of Major, and retired on half pay. According to "Clan Donald" (Vol. III, p. 511), he fought in the European Wars, in which he is said to have greatly distinguished himself, and risen to the rank of Major-General. As a matter of fact; he was not on active service except in North Carolina. After his return to Skye he lived for a time at Dunvegan Castle. He died at Lochbay in Waternish, and was buried in the north-east corner of the old Church in the Kilmuir Burial Ground, Dunvegan. His daughter, Mary, who died unmarried at Stein, Waternish, in the fifties of last century, erected a tombstone over his grave with the following inscription: "In Memory of Major Alexander MacLeod of the North Carolina Highlanders, who died February 1797," "1797" should have been "1799."

<sup>4</sup> Loyalist papers in Public Record Office, London.

<sup>5</sup> Miss MacQueen in her excellent articles, entitled "A Highland Tragedy," in "Scots Magazine" (Vol. XII, pp. 260-261), writes that at Cross Creek Flora MacDonald's daughters "No doubt attended the seminary kept by Jenny Stenhouse, the Scottish schoolmistress," but Flora did not have her daughters with her at Cross Creek. Anne was married and was with her husband at Glendale, Moore County, and Fanny had been left behind in Scotland.

<sup>6</sup> Loyalist Papers.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Loyalist Papers give most tragic accounts of the cruel treatment meted out to the Highlanders after the battle of Moore's Creek.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Black was a native of Jura, whose father, Malcolm Black, emigrated from Jura to North Carolina in or about 1740. He settled in Cumberland County. Kenneth Black befriended Flora MacDonald, and for the part he took on the side of the Loyalists he was ruthlessly murdered by the rebels. His son, Archibald, married Flora, daughter of Captain John Martin, of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, who had gone from Skye to North Carolina in 1771. He died in Nova Scotia.

<sup>11</sup> "Letter-Book," p. 387.

<sup>12</sup> Petition of Allan MacDonald to Congress. See "Flora MacDonald in America," by MacLean (pp. 69-70).

<sup>13</sup> "Flora MacDonald in America," p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> The Rev. Alexander MacGregor confused Halifax, Virginia, with Halifax, Nova Scotia. "Flora MacDonald in America," p. 66.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. John Bethune [or Beaton] was the son of Angus Beaton, son of John Beaton of Brebost, Skye ("Historical and Genealogical Account of the Bethunes," p. 81). Angus Beaton was married to Christina, daughter of Donald Campbell of Scalpay, Harris, who befriended the Prince during his wanderings in the Long Island ("Memorials of the '45," pp. 24-26). Rev. John Bethune was born in 1751. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen. Emigrating to North Carolina, he became Chaplain to the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment at the outbreak of the American War of Independence. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Moore's Creek and suffered untold hardships at the hands of the rebels. On regaining his

liberty he settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was largely instrumental in organising a corps, made up of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. After the end of the War in 1782 he took up residence in Montreal, where he exercised great influence on British citizens of all creeds. He organised the first Presbyterian Congregation in Montreal, and acted as its first pastor. He then removed to Glengarry, and was the pioneer of Presbyterianism in that region. He was a man of great zeal and piety and carried on missionary work unceasingly. He died at Williamstown on 23<sup>rd</sup> September, 1815. One of his sons, Rev. John Bethune, D.D., was Principal of M'Gill College and Dean of Montreal. Another son, Rev. Neil Alexander Bethune, was Bishop of Toronto ("Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae," Vol. 7, pp. 626-627; "Clerical Sons of Skye." pp. 61-63).

<sup>16</sup> Petition of Allan MacDonald to Congress.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Flora MacDonald in America." p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 169.

<sup>20</sup> "Memorials of the '45," p. 92.

<sup>21</sup> "Prince Charlie and His Ladies," p. 156.

<sup>22</sup> Letter to Donald MacDonald III of the MacDonalds of Rammerscales. He was a grandson of Donald, son of Ranald MacDonald I of the family of Benbecula. Donald MacDonald of Rammerscales was thus a second cousin of Flora MacDonald's father. He was a merchant in Glasgow. He died suddenly on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1781 ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 286; Private Family History of the MacDonalds of Rammerscales). See Appendix II (5).

<sup>23</sup> "History of the Rebellion," by Robert Chambers, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, p. 317.

*Back Again to Skye*

## XII.

### Back Again to Skye.

ON her arrival in this country from Nova Scotia Flora MacDonald took up her abode in London,<sup>1</sup> where she spent the winter and spring (1779-1780), probably with Jacobite friends. In May, 1780, she came north to Edinburgh, where she stayed with Mrs John MacKenzie<sup>2</sup> of Delvine, and other friends.<sup>3</sup> She remained in Edinburgh until the following July, when she left for Skye.

An account of her journey from Edinburgh to Skye is given in her letter<sup>4</sup> to Mrs MacKenzie from Dunvegan on 12<sup>th</sup> July. She writes: "I arrived at Inverness the third day after parting with you in good health and without any accidents, which I always dread. My young Squire continued always very obliging and attentive to me. I staid at Inverness three days. I had the good luck to meet with a female companion from that to Skye. I was the fourth day, with great difficulty at Raasay, for my hands being so pained with the riding. I have arrived here a few days ago with my young daughter."

Flora MacDonald and her daughter, Fanny, who had joined her mother, probably at Raasay, arrived at Dunvegan early in July. Fanny was now fourteen years of age, and is described by her mother as "a stout Highland 'Caileag,' quite overgrown of her age."<sup>5</sup>

At Dunvegan, where she remained for some time with her daughter, Mrs MacLeod, Flora MacDonald waited for a favourable opportunity to cross the Minch to Uist.

The exact date of her crossing to Uist is not known, but we find her during the next year (1781) at Balranald and at Kirkibost in North Uist. At Balranald she was the guest of Donald MacDonald, Factor for the MacDonald Estate of North Uist, who was her own and Allan's second cousin.<sup>6</sup> At Kirkibost she lived with Mrs MacDonald,<sup>7</sup> widow of Alexander MacDonald, late Factor for North Uist.

From North Uist she went to Milton, her brother's home, and from there back to Skye. In an undated letter,<sup>8</sup> which she sent to Mrs MacKenzie of Delvine, and which seems to have been written early in 1782, she says: "I am now in my brother's house on my way to Skye, to attend my daughter, who is to ly-in in August."

For the next five years her movements cannot be followed with any degree of certainty. Of this much we can be sure that until

Allan's return from America she had no fixed home of her own. From Halifax on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1781, Allan MacDonald wrote<sup>9</sup> to Donald MacDonald of Balranald: "I do think Flory judged right to take the world with as little trouble as possibly she can and her plan of liveing will be as comfortable as Sandy<sup>10</sup> and honest Peggy MacLeod<sup>11</sup> can make it."

Meanwhile Allan MacDonald was with his Regiment at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Flora mentions in a letter<sup>12</sup> that she has heard from him from Halifax. "I received a letter," she writes, "from Captain Macdonald, my husband, from Halifax, the 12<sup>th</sup> Nov. '81. He was then recovering his health, but had been very tender for some time before." On 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1781, Allan wrote<sup>13</sup> to Donald MacDonald of Balranald, informing him of the fortification of the harbour "as we expect very early in the spring to be besieged here." In the course of the following year he was sent with his Company to Cape Breton to guard the entrance to Sydney Harbour. In 1783 he returned to Halifax, and in October of that year the Regiment was disbanded and the officers placed on half-pay. At the conclusion of the War Allan MacDonald received 3000 acres of land in Nova Scotia as a Captain's regimental grant. On this land "he built a little neat hut, and cleared a few acres of ground, but was obliged to give up his little improvements for want of cash, which hurt him so much as he had no other place of residence or abode, having lost all his property in North Carolina."<sup>14</sup>

In 1784 he returned to this country and went to London to present his case to the Government. "Your memorialist," he wrote,<sup>15</sup> "expects that the Hon. Board of Commissioners will look to and commiserate the Misfortunes of an old Gentleman worn out with fatigue and service." His claim for compensation amounted to £1341, but he was only allowed £440. He expected to return to Nova Scotia. In pleading his case he said he wished "as soon as possible to return and cultivate and sett down on his Regimental grant of lands," but probably the amount of compensation he received from the Commissioners was insufficient to enable him to make a fresh venture at his age in Nova Scotia. In any case he did not return to America. He joined his wife in the Isles, and there is a tradition that after his return he settled down with her in South Uist in the neighbourhood of Milton.

Allan MacDonald never again, as Tacksman, occupied Kingsburgh. The story<sup>16</sup> told by Mr MacGregor, and he is only one of many writers, who repeat, with slight variations, the same story, that on Allan MacDonald's "arrival at Portree" from America, "he was

met by his affectionate wife, and a numerous party of friends, to welcome him,” and that “he made no delay in reaching Kingsburgh, which, during his absence in America, was left open for his return,” is entirely mythical. As a matter of fact after the MacDonalds left Kingsburgh for North Carolina, William MacLeod<sup>17</sup> of Ose in Bracadale obtained a lease of Kingsburgh. In 1790, when, according to Mr MacGregor, Allan MacDonald is in possession of Kingsburgh, we find William MacLeod<sup>18</sup> writing to Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat for permission to assign his Tack of Kingsburgh to his son, Roderick, afterwards Captain in the 74<sup>th</sup> Regiment. It does not appear that William MacLeod’s request was granted, for when his lease expired Captain Alexander MacDonald of Cuidreach,<sup>19</sup> who was married to Annabella, half-sister of Flora MacDonald, took Kingsburgh, and died there on 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1795.

In all their letters of this period, Allan MacDonald and his wife, Flora, designate themselves “late of Kingsborrow,” which they would not do if they were again living in Kingsburgh. Their son, John, writing to his mother, on 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1787, addresses the letter<sup>20</sup> to “Mrs Macdonald, late of Kingsborrow, South Uist, by Dunvegan,” which proves that at that date they were still in South Uist.

In 1787 the Tack of Peinduin became vacant through the death of the Rev. William MacQueen of Snizort.<sup>21</sup> Allan MacDonald and Flora succeeded him there through the help of their youngest son, John, who was in the service of the East India Company. In a letter<sup>22</sup> to his mother from the Streights of Sunda, John writes: “I have ordered £100 to be given to you immediately for your and Fanny’s use, and £40 to Anny. I have also ordered two thirds of the interest of £1400 to be given to you annually and one third to Anny. If Fanny marries with her parents’ consent she is to have £100.” So once again Flora MacDonald was settled in Skye, not far from her beloved Kingsburgh, which, as stated, was tenanted by her half-sister, Annabella, and her husband.

At Peinduin Flora and Allan lived together until 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1790, when she died after a lingering illness. Her death was intimated in the “Scots Magazine” thus:

4 March, 1790. At Isle of Sky, Flora Macdonald, spouse to Captain Allan Macdonald, late of Kingsburgh.

In a letter, dated at Cuidreach, 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1790, from Dr John MacLean<sup>23</sup> to his son, Sir Lauchlan MacLean of Sudbury, the following statement occurs: “Nothing has occurred since I wrote you except the death of the famous Mrs Flora MacDonald, sometime of

Kingsburgh. She suffered much distress for a long time<sup>24</sup> in my neighbourhood at Peindoun.” Dr MacLean’s letter clearly proves that Flora did not have her home at Kingsburgh and that she did not die there. She was buried with her husband’s kindred, the MacDonalds of Kingsburgh, at Kilmuir.

Her daughter, Fanny, married Lieutenant Donald MacDonald,<sup>25</sup> son of Captain Alexander MacDonald and his wife, Annabella, half-sister of Flora MacDonald, in 1790, and lived at Kingsburgh. Allan MacDonald, after his wife’s death, made his home at Kingsburgh with his daughter and son-in-law. Here he passed away on 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1792. His death was recorded in the “Scots Magazine” thus:

20 Sept. 1792. At Kingsburgh, in the isle of Sky Capt. Allan Macdonell, late of the 84<sup>th</sup> foot.

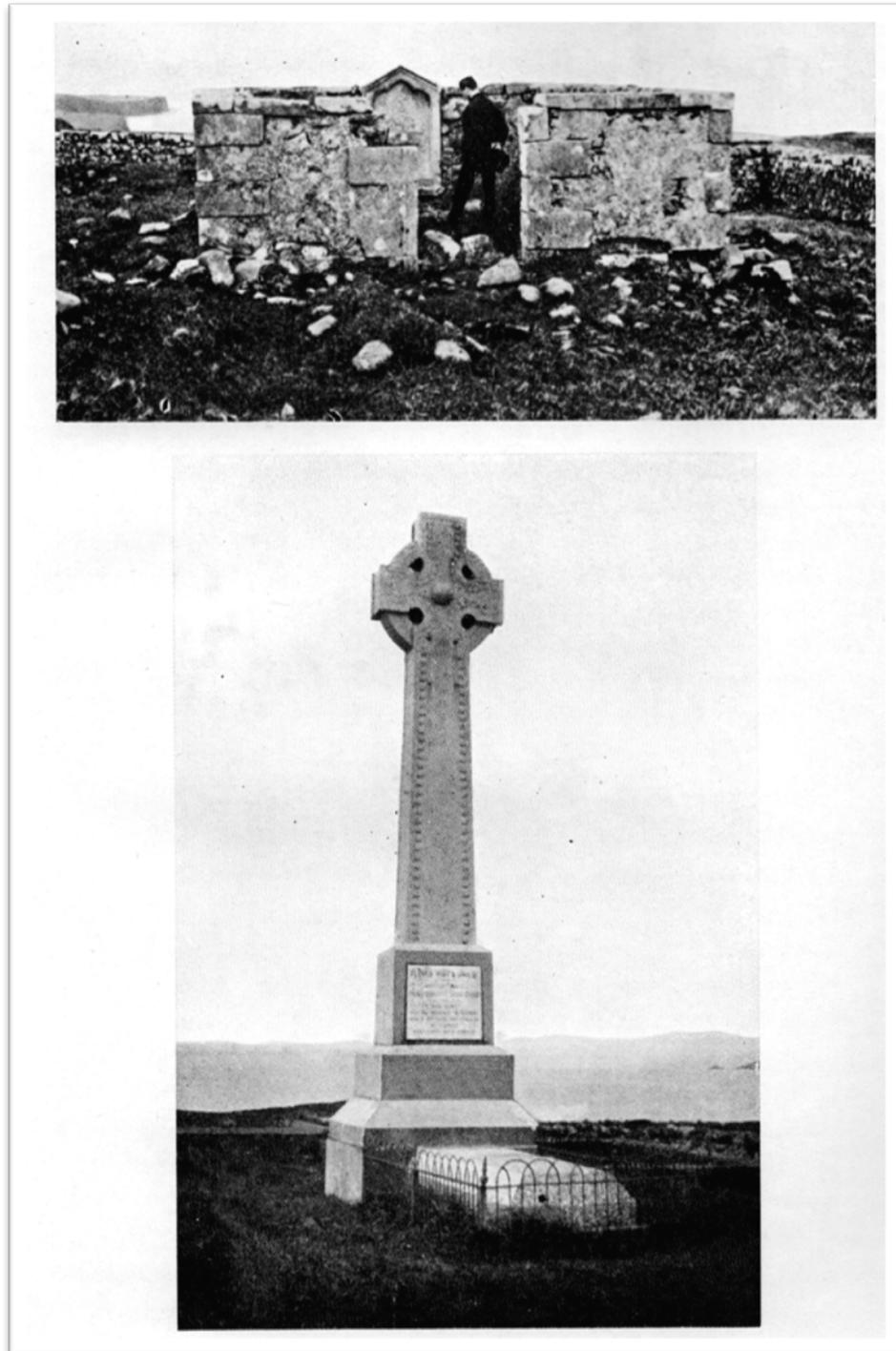
He was buried with his wife in the Kingsburgh burial place in Kilmuir. Their son, John—Colonel John MacDonald of Exeter—erected a thin marble slab, set in a freestone frame, over their grave, with the following inscription:-

In the family mausoleum at Kilmuir lie interred the remains of the following members of the Kingsburgh family, viz.:—Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh, his son Allan, his sons, Charles and James, his son John and two daughters; and of Flora Macdonald, who died in March, 1790, aged 68—a name that will be mentioned in history, and, if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour. “She was a woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence.” So wrote Johnson.

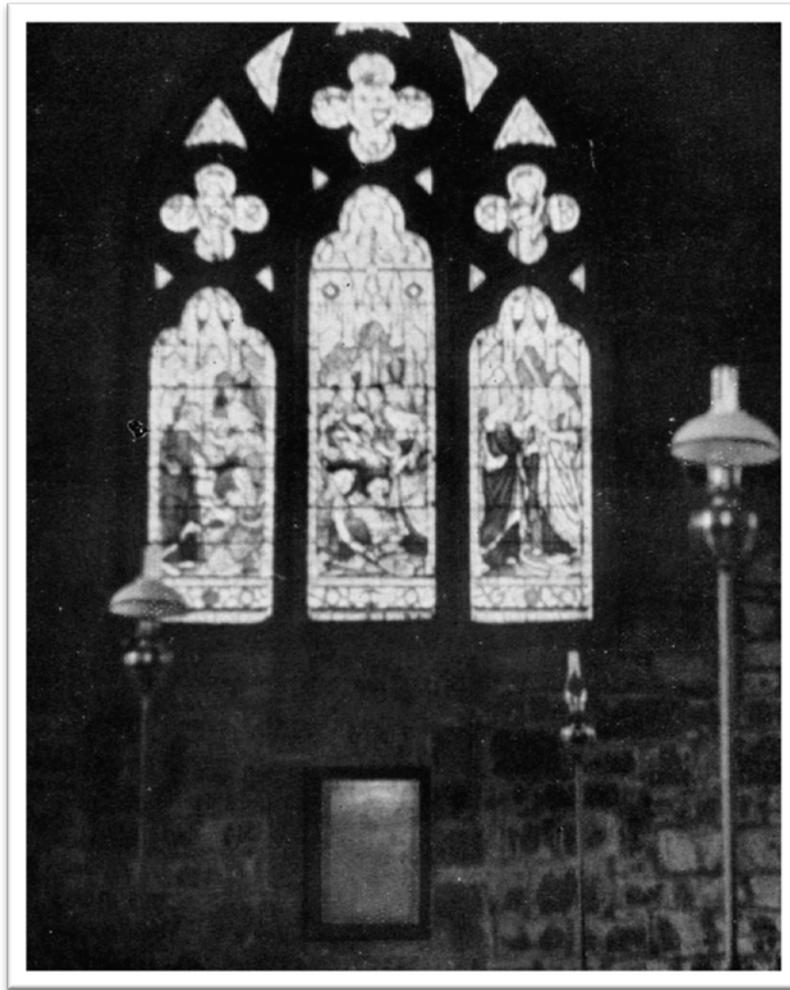
Within a few months, after this slab was set up, every fragment of it was carried away by tourists. An Iona Cross was erected on 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1871.

It was blown down and broken to fragments during a storm in December, 1873. A new Iona Cross was erected in 1880, and still stands. It bears the following inscription:

FLORA MACDONALD  
 Preserver of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.  
 Her name will be mentioned in history.  
 and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with  
 honour.  
 Born at Milton, South Uist, 1722.  
 Died at Kingsburgh, Skye, 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1790.<sup>26</sup>

**Plate XII—THE KINGSBURGH BURIAL PLACE, KILMUIR, SKYE.**

1. The Kingsburgh Burial Place in Kilmuir, Skye, showing marble slab placed over Flora MacDonald's grave by her son, Colonel John MacDonald of Exeter.
2. Iona Cross over Flora MacDonald's grave, Kilmuir, Skye.

**Plate XIII—MEMORIAL WINDOW IN ST COLUMBA'S CHURCH, PORTREE.**

There is a statue to her on Castle Hill, Inverness, the capital of the Highlands, which has the following Gaelic inscription under her name:

Fhad 's Dh'fhasas  
Flur air machair  
Mairidh Cliu na  
H-ainnir chaoimh.

Then follows Dr Johnson's noble tribute.

In Portree, in the Episcopal Church, there is a memorial to Flora MacDonald in the form of a stained glass window. The subject of the window is Esther delivering her countrymen. The first light shows Esther receiving the news of the King's edict, the centre light shows her appeal to the King, and that on the right shows the King with Esther receiving Mordecai. In the lights above are figures of angels, the MacDonald arms, and the words: "If I perish, I perish" (Esther iv. 16). On a brass tablet the heroine's history is epitomised thus:-

To the glory of God, and in memory of Flora MacDonald, daughter of Ranald the son of Angus MacDonald the younger, Milton, South Uist. She was born in 1722, and was married November 6th, 1750, at Flodigarry, Isle of Skye, to Allan VII in descent of the Kingsburgh MacDonalds, Captain 34<sup>th</sup> Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, who served with distinction through the American War of Independence. She died March 6<sup>th</sup>, 1790, and was buried in Kilmuir, Isle of Skye. She effected the escape of Prince Charles Edward from South Uist, after the battle of Culloden in 1746, and in 1779, when returning from America on board a ship, attacked by a French privateer, encouraged the sailors to make a spirited and successful resistance, thus risking her life for both the Houses of Stuart and Hanover. This window was dedicated to the memory of Flora MacDonald in the year of our Lord 1896 by one of her great grandchildren, Fanny Charlotte, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. Henry, and daughter of Captain James Murray MacDonald, grandson of Flora MacDonald.<sup>27</sup>

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REFERENCES AND NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Flora MacDonald to Donald MacDonald, Merchant in Glasgow. See Appendix II (5).

<sup>2</sup> John MacKenzie of Delvine died in 1778.

<sup>3</sup> There were several MacDonald families from Uist and Skye resident in Edinburgh at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Flora MacDonald to Mrs MacKenzie of Delvine. See "Life of Flora MacDonald" (p. 171).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Donald MacDonald of Balranald and Flora MacDonald were the grandchildren of two brothers, Donald MacDonald of Knocknantorran and the Rev. Angus MacDonald of South Uist respectively, who were the sons of John V of the MacDonalds of Griminish ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 484, 490). Donald MacDonald of Balranald and Allan MacDonald were the grandchildren of two sisters, daughters of the Rev. Donald Nicolson of Kilmuir, Skye ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, pp. 504, 488).

<sup>7</sup> Mrs MacDonald of Kirkibost was Catherine, daughter of MacLean of Boreray, North Uist. She was Alexander MacDonald's second wife, and was thus the step-mother of Donald MacDonald of Balranald ("Clan Donald," Vol. III; p. 488).

<sup>8</sup> Letter given in "Life of Flora MacDonald" (p. 172).

<sup>9</sup> Letter given in "Memorials of the '45" (Appendices, pp. lii-iv).

<sup>10</sup> Captain Alexander MacLeod was a son of James MacDonald (Allan MacDonald's brother), Tacksman of Knockcowe. He died in the Island of St Kitts in the West Indies in the British service ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 506).

<sup>11</sup> Peggy MacLeod was a daughter of Major Roderick MacLeod of Balmeanach. She was the wife of James MacDonald of Knockcowe, and sister-in-law of Allan MacDonald ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 506).

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Flora MacDonald to Mrs MacKcnzie of Delvine. See "Life of Flora MacDonald" (p. 172).

<sup>13</sup> Letter published in "Memorials of the '45" (Appendices, p.liii).

<sup>14</sup> Loyalist Papers.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 173.

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<sup>17</sup> Mr J. P. MacLean in "Flora MacDonald in America" (p. 82). Colonel John MacInnes in "Brave Sons of Skye" (p. 23), Mr Alexander MacKenzie in "History of the MacDonalds" (p. 272), the Revs, Archibald MacDonald and Angus MacDonald in "Clan Donald," (Vol. III, p. 617), Mr Alexander Nicolson in "History of Skye" (p. 248), the Rev. Arch. MacDonald, D.D., in "Memorials of the '45" (p. 93), Mr Compton MacKenzie in "Prince Charlie and His Ladies" (p. 160), Mr William MacKenzie in "Iochdar-Trotternish" (p. 116), Mr Alexander Cameron in "History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye" (p. 122) and others. Mrs Wylde makes Flora MacDonald write her Auto-biography at Kingsburgh House in 1787.

<sup>18</sup> William MacLeod of Ose was descended from Alexander MacLeod of Minginish, younger brother of Sir Roderick MacLeod XIII of the MacLeods of Dunvegan. An account of his son, Captain Roderick MacLeod, killed at Assaye, is given in "Brave Sons of Skye" (p. 149).

<sup>19</sup> Captain Alexander MacDonald's obituary is given in "Scots Magazine" thus; "Oct. 19, 1795. At Kingsburgh, in the isle of Sky, Capt. Alexander Macdonald, of the late North Carolina, Highlanders." See I. References and Notes, 18.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix II (6).

<sup>21</sup> Rev. William MacQueen, Minister of Snizort, died at Peinduin on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1787 ("Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ," Vol. 7, p. 179).

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix II (6).

<sup>23</sup> See IV, References and Notes, 27.

<sup>24</sup> Rev. Archibald MacDonald, D.D., in his "Memorials of the '45" (p. 94) says Flora MacDonald died after a "short" illness, but Dr John MacLean should know, as he was her medical attendant.

<sup>25</sup> Donald MacDonald, as a young man, emigrated to North Carolina, arriving there at Christmas, 1774. His parents had emigrated in 1771. His grandfather, Captain Hugh MacDonald, gave him a large plantation. He served as a Lieutenant in the North Carolina Highlanders. His grandfather died in 1780 in North Carolina, and he seems to have returned to this country in 1783. He and his wife afterwards emigrated to Australia. See "Skye Pioneers and "The Island"" (p. 134).

<sup>26</sup> As proved by the obituary in "Scots Magazine" and Dr John MacLeod's letter, Flora MacDonald died at Peinduin and not at Kingsburgh, as stated on the statue.

<sup>27</sup> The place of Flora MacDonald's marriage and the date of her death are given incorrectly on the tablet.

# *Appendices*

# Appendices

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## *APPENDIX I.*

### **DID FLORA MACDONALD HAVE TWO CHILDREN WHO DIED IN NORTH CAROLINA?**

In his “Life of Flora MacDonald”<sup>1</sup> the Rev. Alexander MacGregor writes: “While residing here [Killegrey], a severe typhus fever attacked the younger members of the family, and two of Flora’s children died, a boy and a girl, aged respectively 11 and 13.” Mr MacGregor received this information from James Banks, Esq., Fayetteville, North Carolina. Other writers<sup>2</sup> copied the story from Mr MacGregor, without ever questioning its authenticity.

There is ample contemporary documentary evidence in existence which proves that Flora MacDonald did not have two children who died of typhus fever at Killegrey in North Carolina. The story has no foundation in fact.

First of all, there is Allan MacDonald’s letter,<sup>3</sup> dated at Kingsburgh, 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1767, in which he refers to his “poor wife and seven children.” So that on 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 1767, Flora MacDonald had seven children, and only seven. The youngest of the seven was Fanny, who was born on 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1766.

Then there is Flora MacDonald’s own letter,<sup>4</sup> dated at Kingsburgh, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1774, to the Duke of Atholl, in which she mentions all her children, except her daughter, Anne, who had married Captain Alexander MacLeod of Lochbay in 1770-1771. She wrote: “... but before I go [to America] would wish to have one or two boys I have still unprovided for in some shape or other off my hands. The oldest of the two called Alexander is bordering on 19 years of age ... your Grace’s doing something for him would be the giving of real relief to my perplexed mind before I leave (with reluctance) my native land &: a real piece of charity... Lady Margaret MacDonald ... got my oldest boy, Charles, an officer into the East India Company’s Service, and my Lady Dowager Primrose having Rigged him out & paid for his passage. Another called Ranald, I have in the Maren Service, a Lieutenant, through good Capt: Charles Douglas of the Ardent ship of War. A third called John, my good and worthy friend, Mr MacKenzie of Delvine, took two years by passed off my hands

and keeps him at the high school of Edinburgh, where he promises to do well had I this boy off my hands before I leave the Kingdom I could almost leave it with pleasure, even tho' I have a boy and a lassie still depending on the protection of kind providence." From this letter it is clear that in 1774 Flora MacDonald's family consisted of seven children. Three years later Allan MacDonald, writing from Reading, Pennsylvania, under date 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1777, accounts for all his family, seven in number. He wrote:<sup>5</sup> "I am here with one [Alexander] of my sons Seventeen months a Prisoner. My Wife is in North Carolina 700 miles from me in a very sickly tender State of health, with a younger son [James], a Daughter [Anne] & four Grand Children. Two Sons [Charles and Ranald] in our Service of whom I heard little or nothing since one [Ranald] of them had been wounded in the Battle of Bunkers Hill. And Two in Britain [John and Fanny] of whom I heard no accounts since I left it." Thus in July, 1777, Flora MacDonald's seven children are alive, and there is no mention of other children, dead or living.

In 1774, when Flora left Skye for North Carolina, she was fifty-two years of age, which precludes the possibility of her having had two children born in America. But the children, who are said to have died in North Carolina, were thirteen and eleven years of age, and would have been born in 1761 and 1763 respectively. Their place in the family would have been between John and Fanny, but Allan's letter of 1767 definitely proves that at that date there were only seven children in his family.

Finally, there is Allan's claim in 1784 for compensation from the Board of Commissioners, appointed to deal with the losses of Loyalists in North Carolina during the War of American Independence. In his statement,<sup>6</sup> he pleads that he "lost the strength of his family in the cause of his King and Country." He goes on to say that "one son [Lieutenant Alexander] was lost at sea on a voyage for his health."<sup>7</sup> Captain Ronald was also "lost at sea."<sup>8</sup> He further pleads that he lost "his Estates, the only means of supporting himself and his old wife and daughter in his latter days." Had he suffered the loss of two children in North Carolina, as alleged by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor, he would have undoubtedly mentioned it in a claim which it would have tended to strengthen.

Clearly the North Carolina story is mythical. If two children, connected with Flora MacDonald, died there, they must have been grandchildren—possibly two of the children of her daughter, Anne, and Major Alexander MacLeod. In any case they were not the children of Flora MacDonald.

Plate XIV— Letter of Flora MacDonald

I am, Sir, your very humble servant  
 Please meditate  
 I have tried for many days to write to you  
 but my health is so weak -

The balance of faithful guide of  
 Grace Darling in 1845 17-6  
 She was afterwards married  
 to MacDonald of Kingsburgh  
 a King's coroner -

to my residence in the aboriginal - it was  
 some things to be sent to that place.  
 I beg therefore that you would do and the  
 power to convey them to my Cousin Boy  
 take full opportunity to case to of pro-  
 bably offer for that quarter. I had them  
 to accommodate or failing of that to send them  
 to my. I propose to transmit to you by  
 the Canada I shall wish to visit you the  
 night or to get it here with my pen or you  
 then to our own give it to Boy Dalry.  
 I beg to hear from you it comes. I mean  
 to remove from this place as soon as possible  
 your answer. I beg your pardon for taking the  
 freedom to give you this trouble. Your  
 affectionate & devoted friend  
 that is only consideration that I wish  
 me to take this freedom -



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NOTES AND REFERENCES.

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Flora MacDonald," p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> "Flora MacDonald In America" (p. 78), "Memorials, of the '45" (p. 91), "Prince Charlie and His Ladies" (p. 156). Mr Compton MacKenzie says it was her two youngest children Flora MacDonald lost in North Carolina.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II (2).

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix II (4).

<sup>5</sup> See "Flora MacDonald in America" (pp. 69-70).

<sup>6</sup> Loyalist. Papers.

<sup>7</sup> Allan MacDonald's statement regarding Alexander disposes of this story purveyed by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor, and repeated by Mr Alexander MacKenzie, the Clan Historian, and other writers, that he went down, along with his brother, Ranald, in the French prize-ship, "Ville de Paris," in 1782. The "Ville de Paris" did not, however, founder as alleged. She was subsequently commissioned in the Royal Navy.

<sup>8</sup> Ranald was placed in charge of the "Ville de Paris," captured at the Battle of Eustati in 1782, and was lost at sea some time afterwards, but not in the manner stated by the Rev. Alexander MacGregor.

## *APPENDIX II.*

(1)

**LETTER FROM FLORA MACDONALD TO MESSRS INNES &  
CLERK, MERCHANTS, LONDON.**

Aprile 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1751.

Sir,

Few days agoe yours of the 26<sup>th</sup> March Came to hand. by which I understand my Lady Primrose hath Lodged in your hands for my behoof £627 Sterg, Bod that her Ladyship had in view, to add more, of which you would aquent me So as to send a proper Discharge to my Lady, which I am ready Doe bow Soon you are pless'd to advise me and as I am to have Security, to my friends satisfaction, on Sir James McDonald's estate its design'd, the whole shou'd be payed next may to John McKenzie of Delvin writter att Edinr, of which my father in Law spook w Kenneth McKenzie attorney who will give you proper derections, at the same time I shall be glad to hear from you as oft as you pleas, in order I may observe such derections as my Lady will be pleas'd w give you concerning me. I was uneasie befor the recipt of your Letter that my Lady was not well, haveing wrott frequently to her Ladyship, but has had no turn, Please be so good as to offer my bumble Duty to my Lady, & Mrs Drelincourt, and I am Sir Your most humble Servt.

Flora McDonald.

(2)

**LETTER FROM ALLAN MACDONALD TO JOHN  
MACKENZIE, ESQ., OF DELVINE.**

Jan, 22<sup>nd</sup> 1767.

Dr Sir

By a letter I had from Duncan M'Donald I am informed you seemd not pleased at my leeveing Edr without waiting of you, which own shoud have been done. But so it happens that you entertain such Bad nosions of me (God knows for what) that I intend not to be offitious to you further than my business requiers. It is true, and I own; that my Conduct hath been foolish in many steps of my by passed Life. But weis me the loss is intyrelly to myself and family.

Therefore it would be greater Charity in any man who professes friendship for me, my poor wife and seven children to recommend me to the man on whom all my dependence is And to fix him so my friend, that the groundless Backbiteings of my evil wishers may not gain ground on him to my Disadvantage; This would be acting both friendly and Charitably and continuing the old kindness to me as to my father before me, which he'll not forget to his last moments. What offence have I given that cannot be forgiven, God is my witness that I went with integrity and one honest heart about my Dr Deceased master's business, while I managed it for Eleven years, and tho I fell so deeply in his arrears, yet I hope you have so much charity for me, as firmly to believe I had no Dishonest plan at heart; But I am afraid some malicious stories hath been told him in this country of both me and my father which I believe was the motives of his not consulting my father in the smallest degree about the last Sett of this Country—But men who knew less of the situation of his Country and the State of ye people than either of us.—God—forbid that I should complain of my Dr friend, as the hardships I underwent then were not his doings, yet I cannot forget my own melancholy State at that time; Being in the first place (I may venture to Call it) persecuted for thinking of a Lieutenantsie to my son, which I should have taken as it would now be of infinite service to the Boy, and ease the Country of a number of Idle vagabonds who are a loss on the Industrious part of it.—Secondly I proposed to give up the factory while I was in condition to pay of the arrears I was then due my master, being I think about £360 strl for I plainly sawe the Droveing of that year have but a gloomie aspect. But after all this, the factory was kept in my hands, and that very year haveing Twenty Eight hundred Cattle bought; and after disposing of them and Ballanceing the Transactions of the Season, there plainly appeared £1354 13s—of a Ballance that my List of Buying includeing the Driveing expence exceeded my list of Selling—But next year I was called to Edr to settle accotts and help in the drawing up of a plan for the incomeing Sett; This I faithfully executed with my father and Hugh M'Donald's assistance, from my books, my knowledge of the Country and State of the people—going and returning from Edr at my own expence; and after all was deprived of the factory that very year after my misfortune & almost utter ruine when I had a fair chance of making up a good part of my Loss; nay, there were proclamations at ye Church doors to give me no Cattle on my Credit as non of my Bills would be taken but to give the Cattle to Charles M'Sween a cheating fellow who was introduced to Sir James under the character of a good honest dealer, but that very year trip't of with himself to Antigua haveing his pockets lined with honest mens money, and was

bck to Carrie of Slate rents along with ye rest—for which you had his Bills.—yet I never will blame the best of men for this .as I am fully convinced it was not his own doings, his over good nature haveing yielded to men of very weake parts and little knowledge in the management of Bussiness—whose enveyous temper inclined to bring me and my father as Lowe as posibly they coud. Now Dr Sir if I have not intyrelly merited your displeasure, will you not put in a favourable word for me to help throw the getting me a lace of this Tack which would encourage me to go on chearfully with my little improvements, and help the education of my family who are now growing men & women on my hands, the oldest boy being fifteen years, & the lassie thirteen & so on to the youngest—in short was there anything in the world thrown in my way which woud help their own & mothers suport I woud chearfully submitt to any slavery to better them and the doing of it woud,be friendly—and as I have paid the best part of my Bond I am hopefull with the asistance of God I will have it all clear against August next and August comes a twelf month—only if Interest is asked of me it will hurt me much, and be a means of stoping me from puting my poor family in a way of doing for themselves—and if youl advise me to appear at Edr in March or Aprile when Sir Alexr comes down from London I will surely be there to gett up my Bond and pass security for the Ballance untill it is paid and to try what will be done for my weake family with the asistance of friends—hopeing youl not take this freedom amiss I am with my father and florys good wishes—Dr Sir—

Your obedient Servt

Allen: M:Donald.

Kingsborrow Jany 22<sup>nd</sup> 1767.

It is natural for people to think and believe that I am a good Deal the Better of my father yearly as he receives £50 a year of yr family— But believe you me telling truth when I say that the rents of the Tack of Mouggestot eates up the whole pension and £20 more So yt he is a Loser yet by haveing it, therefor all he pays me yearly by way of Bord wedges which he himself indeed proposed is £14 10s Sterling for himself and servent—and should he not pay a farthing he woud be excessive welcom with me.—I will expect you'l give me your advice and let me know if you think I shoud appear at Edinr the end of March or beginning of Aprile.

(3)

LETTER FROM FLORA MACDONALD TO JOHN MACKENZIE,  
ESQ., OF DELVINE.

Dr Sir

This goes by my Son Johnie who thank God tho I am missfortunat in othere respects is happy in his haveing so good a freind as you are to take him under his protection, he seemed when here to be a good natured bidable Boy, without any kind of Vices, make of him what you please and may the Blessing of the almighty attend you alongs with him which is all the return I am able to make for your many and repeated freindships shown to me and this family; of which there will soon be no remembrance in this poor miserable Island, the best of its inhabittance are making ready to follow their freinds to America, while they have any thing to bring there, and among the rest we are to go, especially as we cannot promise ourselves but poverty and oppression, haveing last Spring and this time two years lost almost our whole Stock of cattle and horses; we lost within these three years, three hundred and twenty seven heads, so that we have hardly what will pay our Creditors which we are to let them have and begin the world again, anewe, in a othere Corner of it. Allen was to write you but he is not well with a pain in his Side this ten days past. Sir I beg of you if you see any thing amiss in the Boys conduct to let me know of it as some Children will stand in awe of ther parents more than any body Else.

I am with my respects to you and Mrs McKenzie,

Sir with esteem

Your most obedient humble Servant

Flora mcdonald.

Kings; agust the 12

1772

## (4)

**LETTER FROM FLORA MACDONALD TO THE DUKE OF  
ATHOLL.**

Kingsburgh in the Isle of  
Sky 23 April 1774.

My Lord

Necessity often forces both sexes to go through many transactions contrary to their inclinations. Such is the present one as nothing but real necessity could force me to give your Grace this trouble, & open my miserable state to your Lordship's view with the hopes of getting some comfort through your wonted goodness of heart to many who have been in less tribulation of mind than I am at present.

The case is as follows—my husband by various losses & the education of our children (haveing no other legacy to leave them) fell through the little means we had, so as not to be able to keep this possession, especially as the rents are so prodigiously augmented; therefore of course must contrary to our inclination follow the rest of our freinds who have gone this three years passed to America; but before I go would wish to have one or two boys I have still unprovided for in some shape or other off my hands. The oldest of the two called Alexander is bordering on 19 years of age, hath a pretty good hand writeing, as this letter may attest, went through the most of the classicks & the common rules of Arithmetick, so that he is fitt for whatever providence and the recommendation of well wishers may throw in his way; your Grace's doing something for him would be the giving of real relief to my perplexed mind before I leave (with reluctance) my native land & a real piece of charity.

I cannot with any kind of modesty apply to my known freinds they haveing shown repeated acts of Freindship & generosity already—Lady Margaret Macdonald and my good freind the counsellor haveing got my oldest boy Charles ane officer into the East India Company's Service, & my Lady Dowager Primrose having Rigged him out & paid for his passage. Another called Ranald I have in the Mareen Service a Lieutenant through good Capt: Charles Douglas of the Ardent Ship of War, his interest with some about the Admiralty. A third called John, my good & worthy freind Mr Mackenzie of Delvin took two years by passed off my hands, & keeps him at the high school at Edinburgh where he promises to do well. Had I this boy off my hands before I leave the Kingdom I could almost leave it with pleasure, even tho' I have a Boy and a lassie still depending on the protection of kind providence.

This freedom I am hope full your Grace will forgive as nothing; but the care of my family could prevail with me to use such.

Mr Macdonald though he once had the honour of a little of your Grace's acquaintance could not be prevailed upon to put pen to paper therefore I with the assistance of what remained of the old resolution, went through this bold task. And with the prayers of a poor distressed woman (once known to the world) for the prosperity of your family

I am, with the greatest esteem & respect

Yr. Grace's most obedient Servant

Flora mcdonald.

(5)

**LETTER FROM FLORA MACDONALD TO DONALD  
MACDONALD, ESQ., MERCHANT, GLASGOW.**

Edinr May 17—1780.

Sir—

Youl be surprised to be troubled wt a letter from one personally unknown to you. I am Mrs MacDonald late of Kingsborrow in Sky. I came lately from London to this place. I crossed to there from Nova Scotia. I have been during the winter in London & was in very bad health.

I left your friend Mr Kenneth Macdonald Cuidreach in Nova Scotia in Septr last in good health & Spirits—my nephew Cuidreachs son who often said, he was much indebted to you & family for many civilities—

It is recommended to me my Physicians to make all possible speed to the highlands for the benefits of the goat Whey. I mean to go to Sky by Inverness as being the most expeditious way. I propose to take up my residence in the Longisland—I have some things to be sent to that place.

I beg therefore that you would do me the honour to convey them to my Cousin Boysdale first opportunity. In case no opportunity oflera for that quarter to send them to Lochmadie, or failing of that to send them to Sky: I propose to transmit them to Glasgow by the Canal. I shall either remit you the freight or lodge it here wt any person you chuse to name or give it to Boysdale. I beg to hear from

you in course. I mean to remove from this place as soon I receive your Answer. I beg your pardon for asking the freedom to give you this trouble. Your connection wt some of my friends in South Uist is only consideration that emboldens me to take this freedom—

I am,

Sir

Your very humble Servt.

Flora mcdonald.

Please direct for me at Mrs Macdonalds laboratory lawnmercat.<sup>1</sup>

(6)

**LETTER TO FLORA MACDONALD FROM HER SON JOHN.**

[Addressed to

Mr Macdonald

late of Kingsburgh

South Uist

By Dunvegan]

My dear Mother,

I have just time to-tell you that I am recalled to Bengal, I am now proceeding to Prince of Wales Island to Survey the same, and then to Bengal. The vessel waits for this. God bless you and yours. Direct to me to the care of Lieut. Col. Peter Murray Adjutant General Fort William. Inform my father of my change of place and my brothers and sisters. I have ordered £100 to be given to you immediately for your and Fanny's use and £40 to Anny. I have also ordered two thirds of the Interest of £1400 to be given to you annually and the other one third to Anny.—If Fanny marries with her parents' consent she is to have £100.—My child (handsome to the last degree) her Aunt Carries home this year—she will be better off with her than with any othor person as she is rich and fond of her—In her Mother I lost the best of women—I must stop, I am in good health—In 2 months more I will write you.

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<sup>1</sup> A Mrs Charles MacDonald had a chemist's shop in the lawnmarket, Edinburgh, In 1780.

Your Affectionate son

John Macdonald

On board the Ravensworth Indiaman Streights of Sunda.

5<sup>th</sup> May 1787.

The London Indiaman carries this, no time to read it over God  
bless you.

**Plate XV—SOME OF FLORA MACDONALD'S FAMILY.**

1. Captain Charles MacDonald, VIII of Kingsburgh, eldest son of Flora MacDonald.
2. Captain James MacDonald, fourth son of Flora MacDonald.
3. Colonel John MacDonald of Exeter, youngest son of Flora MacDonald.
4. Colonel John MacDonald's second wife (Frances Maria Chambers).

## *APPENDIX III.*

### **THE FAMILY AND DESCENDANTS OF FLORA MACDONALD.**

Flora MacDonald and Allan MacDonald were married at Armadale on 6<sup>th</sup> November, 1750 (Old Style), with issue as follows:-  
I. CHARLES.—He was born at Flodigarry on 22<sup>nd</sup> October, 1751. He was a Captain in the Queen's Rangers. He was married in 1787 to Isabella, daughter of Captain James MacDonald of Aird and his wife, Catherine,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Ranald III of the MacDonalds of Kinlochmoidart ("Clan Donald," Vol. III, p. 301). Captain James MacDonald of Aird was the oldest son of William I of the MacDonalds of Aird, Skye (third son of Sir Donald MacDonald, 3rd Baronet of Sleat). Captain Charles MacDonald and his wife, Isabella MacDonald, had no family. He died in 1795.

II. ANNE.—She was born on 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1754, at Flodigarry. She was married in 1770-71 to Captain Alexander MacLeod of Lochbay, illegitimate son of Norman MacLeod, XIX of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, with issue as follows:-

1. Norman, who was a Lieutenant in the 72<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders, was killed in a duel at Fort-George. He was unmarried.

2. Allan, who was a Lieutenant in the Army, was killed in the Peninsular War. He was unmarried.

3. Flora, who married a Mr MacKay, Forres, with issue.

4. Mary, who died unmarried in Stein, Waternish, Skye, on 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1858.

Anne, wife of Alexander MacLeod of Lochbay, died in 1884.

III. ALEXANDER.—He was born on 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1755. He was a Lieutenant in the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, and was taken prisoner with his father at the Battle of Moore's Creek in North Carolina on 27<sup>th</sup> February, 1776. Released in 1778, he appears to have joined the Navy. He was lost coming home to Britain "for the benefit of his health" in 1781. He was unmarried.

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<sup>1</sup> Her name is given Margaret in "Clan Donald" (Vol. III, p. 301).

IV. RANALD.-He was a Captain in the Navy. He was on board the "Princessa" at the battle of Eustati in the West Indies in 1782, and was placed in charge of the "Ville de Paris," which was captured from the French. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor and other writers allege that the "Ville de Paris" was lost at sea with all on board. The "Ville de Paris" was not lost, however, as she was afterwards commissioned in the British Navy. Ranald was lost at sea subsequently in some other ship-of-war. He was unmarried.

V. JAMES.-He was born on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1757. He, like his brother, Alexander, fought in the American War of Independence, but escaped being captured at the Battle of Moore's Creek. He afterwards joined Colonel Tarleton's British Legion. After the War he returned to Skye. He took Flodigarry, and was known as "Captain" James MacDonald of Flodigarry. He married Emily, daughter of James III of the MacDonalds of Heisker and Skeabost ("Clan Donald," Vol. III. p. 496), and his first wife, Emily, daughter of Captain Alexander V of the MacDonalds of Cuidreach and his wife, Annabella, half-sister of Flora MacDonald. Captain James and Emily MacDonald had issue as follows:-

1. James Somerled, Lieut.-Col. of the 45<sup>th</sup> Madras Native Regiment of Infantry. He died unmarried in London in January, 1842, and was buried in Kensal Cemetery.

2. Allan Ranald, Captain in the 4<sup>th</sup> Bengal Native Infantry. He was married to Leila, daughter of General Smith, of the Bengal Army, with issue:-

(1) Reginald Somerled, of the Colonial Office, who married Zaloe, daughter of Sir William Grove, an English Judge, and died In 1877, leaving issue:-

(a) Zeila:Flora, married Colonel Duff Baker, R.A.

(b) Leila, married.

(2) Ellen, died young in Florence.

(3) Leila Flora, married Marshal Canrobert, and died in 1895, leaving a family of five.

3. John, died young.

4. Flora, died unmarried.

5. Charlotte, died unmarried.

6. Jessie, married Ninian, son of George Jeffrey, New Kelso, Lochcarron, with issue:

(1) Captain James Jeffrey, married Mary Irwin, and died in 1875, leaving issue, a daughter, who married a Mr Dixon, Shipowner, Liverpool.

(2) Captain George Jeffrey, of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Light Infantry, married Annie, daughter of Colonel William Geddes, H.E.I.C.S., with issue:-

(a) Georgina Amilia, married.

(b) Jessie.

(c) Flora Wylde, died in infancy.

Captain George Jeffrey died in China in 1868.

(3) William John Jeffrey, Magistrate in Demerara, married Sophia, widow of Rev. William Hamilton, of the Episcopal

**Plate XVI—TWO OF FLORA MACDONALD'S GRANDCHILDREN.**



1. Lieutenant-Colonel James Somerled MacDonald of Flodigarry, eldest son of Captain James MacDonald of Kingsburgh.
2. Miss Mary MacLeod, "Miss Mary Major," daughter of Major MacLeod, Lochbay.

Church at Leguan, Demerara, with issue:

- (a) A son, died In Infancy.
- (b) A daughter, died in infancy.

(4) Allan Ranald Jeffrey, married with issue, Allan Ninian Charles.

(5) Thomas MacKenzie Jeffrey, lost at sea, unmarried.

(6) Alexander Lauchlan Jeffrey.

(7) Ninian Jeffrey, died in infancy.

(8) John Jeffrey, died in infancy.

(9) Amelia MacDonald Jeffrey, died unmarried In 1864.

(10) Agnes Johanna, married Ranald Livingstone of Drimsynie, Argyleshire, with issue:-

(a) Major Ronald Livingstone MacDonald, 3<sup>rd</sup> Seaforth Highlanders. He assumed the name MacDonald, bought Flodigarry, and built the present Flodigarry House. He died unmarried.

(b) Alexander William Livingstone.

(c) Emily Nina.

(d) Mary Francs.

(e) Flora Charlotte.

VI. JOHN.—He was born on 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1759. He was Lieut.-Col. of the Clan Alpine Regiment and Commandant of the Royal Edinburgh Artillery. He contributed largely to the literature of his profession and was an F.R.S. He married, first, Mrs Doyle, a widow, daughter of General Salmond, with issue, two children, who died young. He married, secondly, Frances Maria, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Chambers (Dr Johnson's friend). Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Bengal, with issue:-

1. Major Robert MacDonald, Indian Army, married, with issue, a son, Somerled, who died young.

2. Captain John MacDonald, Indian Army, married, with surviving issue:-

(1) Herbert Chambers MacDonald, Lieut.-Col., 108<sup>th</sup> Regiment. He married first and had issue:-

(a) Clarence Herbert MacDonald, Major, 86<sup>th</sup> Berar Infantry, who married, with issue, several children. He married for the second time, and had issue:

(b) Percy Edward.

(c) Hugh.

(d) Annie Flora.

(e) Adrea Louisa.

(f) Annabel Gladys.

(2) Flora, married Col. Cooke. Q.M.G., Madras Army, with issue.

3. Allan MacDonald, died young.

4. William Pitt MacDonald. Major-General, Indian Army, married twice, with issue:-

(1) Reginald MacKenzie MacDonald, General, Madras Army, married, with issue:

(a) Neville Douglas.

(b) Arthur Gabell.

(c) Clarence Reginald.

(d) Emily Florence.

(e) Flora Mary.

(f) Ethel Clanranald.

(g) Grave Elizabeth.

(2) John Collins MacDonald, General In Madras Army, married, with issue:-

(a) Reginald Percy, Captain in the Army.

(b) Walter Douglas.

(c) Fanny Julia, married Robert Watson.

(d) Florence, married John Barras, with issue.

(e) Alice Maud.

(3) Charles Frederick MacDonald.

(4) James Ochterlony MacDonald.

(5) Rev. Reginald Chambers MacDonald, Vicar of Frampton, Dorchester.

(6) George Edward Russell MacDonald.

(7) Rev. Grant William MacDonald.

(8) Henrietta Frances MacDonald.

(9) Caroline Eliza MacDonald.

(10) Catherine Austen MacDonald, married Rev. W. Johnson, with issue.

(11) Ellen Maria MacDonald, married Colonel Chalon.

(12) Alice Susan, married Rev. J. Smith, Madras, with issue.

5. Charles Edward MacDonald, Indian Civil Service, married, with issue:-

(1) John MacDonald. Major-General, married, with issue:

(a) Captain Charles MacDonald.

(b) Reginald MacDonald.

(c) Flora MacDonald.

(d) Annie MacDonald.

(e) Agnes MacDonald.

(2) A daughter, married with issue.

6. James Murray MacDonald, Captain in Indian Army, married Augusta Charlotte, daughter of General Adney, with issue:-

(1) Augustus V. MacDonald, married, first, Mrs Thompson, widow of Leslie Thompson, Esq., New Zealand, with issue:

(a) Rev. Ranald Adney MacDonald, New Zealand.

He married, secondly, Annie, daughter of F. Sutton, Esq., M.P., New Zealand, with issue:-

(b) Captain R. H. MacDonald.

(c) Flora Amy Augusta MacDonald.

(d) Allan Augustus MacDonald.

(2) Fanny Charlotte, married Lieut.-Col. R. E. Henry. She presented to St. Columba Episcopal Church, Portree, a window in memory of Flora MacDonald.

7. Reginald MacDonald, Lieutenant in 17<sup>th</sup> Lancers, married Miss Morris, with issue, a daughter, Amy, unmarried.

8. Flora Frances MacDonald, married Edward Wylde, of the Royal Navy. she was the authoress of "Autobiography of Flora MacDonald" in two volumes, 1870. She died without issue.

9. Henrietta Louisa Lavinia MacDonald, married Benjamin Cuff Greenhill of Knowle Hall, Somersetshire, with issue:-

(1) Lavinia Flora Henrietta, married Edward Amphlett, with issue:-

(a) Edward Greenhill Amphlett, married, with issue, and died in 1930.

(b) A daughter.

(2) Flora, married Thomas Hussy, with issue.

(a) Clare, married, with issue.

Lieut.-Col. John MacDonald died at Exeter on 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1831, and is buried in the Cathedral there.

VII. FRANCES or FANNY.—She was born at Kingsburgh on 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1766. She married Lieutenant Donald MacDonald, son of Captain Alexander MacDonald V of the MacDonalds of Cuidreach ("Clan Donald," Vol. III. p. 513), and his wife, Annabella, half-sister of Flora MacDonald. Frances and her husband were first cousins. Her husband's niece, Emily, was her sister-in-law (wife of her brother, Captain James MacDonald of Flodigarry). The MacDonalds of Cuidreaeh are not given correctly in "Clan Donald" (Vol. III, p. 513). Frances and Donald MacDonald had a family, but they all emigrated to Australia.

## *APPENDIX IV.*

### **NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.**

#### Plates

I. Mr Allan Reginald MacDonald in his sixty-fourth year. Reproduced from a photograph taken in Glasgow during the week of the Pageant in June, 1928.

II. The MacDonalds of Belfinlay and Waternish.

1. Ronald MacDonald. IV of Belfinlay, in the uniform of a Captain in the Prince's Army in 1745. The pointing in Waternish House (of which the illustration here shown is a reproduction) is a copy of the original portrait by William Robertson, who painted the portrait of Flora MacDonald in the Art Galleries, Glasgow. L. F. Powell, Esq., Oxford, sends the following interesting note on Ranald MacDonald's portrait: "It was a print of the original painting—the Waternish picture is copy—that Boswell found at Corrichatachin when he and Dr Johnson visited it in September, 1773. Boswell in his 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides' (7 September, 1773) wrongly describes It as a print of Macdonald of Clanranald, with a Latin inscription about the cruelties after the battle of Culloden.' MacDonald of Clanranald was killed at Sheriffmuir and there is no known print of his with a Latin inscription, such as Boswell describes. There is such a print of Ranald Macdonald of Belfinlay in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh. The original painting, from which the print was engraved, and the engraving itself, were commissioned by Bishop Robert Forbes. See 'Lyon in Mourning' (Vol. II, pp. 326-327). The engraving was reproduced by James Caulfield ('Portraits, etc., of Remarkable Persons' (1820). Vol. IV, facing page 50), who stated erroneously that Ronald was executed at London on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1746. He actually died at Kinlochmoidart on 27<sup>th</sup> or 28<sup>th</sup> September. 1749, after returning from Edinburgh, where he had received treatment for his wounds. See 'Lyon in Mourning' (Vol. II. p. 365)."

2. Major Allan MacDonald of Waternish in the uniform of the 55<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Reproduced from a painting in Waternish House.

3. Captain Allan MacDonald of Waternish, known in Skye as "The Captain." Reproduced from a photograph taken in 1854.

4. Mr Allan Reginald MacDonald as a young man.

5. Major Allan R. MacDonald of Waternish as a Lieutenant in the Cameron Highlanders in 1922.

III. Waternish House. Waternish House was built by Major Allan MacDonald after he had acquired the Waternish Estate from Lord Glenelg in 1833. The old Waternish House, which was completely demolished, stood on the same site, but faced the north-east, with an avenue leading to it from the Trumpan Road. The present house faces the south-west. Major MacDonald devoted his time to his Estate, planting trees and beautifying it in many ways. His son, Captain Allan,

extended the woods round Waternish House, and carried out many improvements on the House and Estate.

IV. Flora MacDonald in 1749. This is the best known portrait of Flora MacDonald, find was painted by Allan Ramsay in 1749 during her second visit to London, and shows her at the age of twenty-seven years. During Flora MacDonald's stay in London with Lady Primrose after her release from detention in 1747, she was painted by several artists, but the number of portraits which can be accepted as authentic is not extensive. One of the 1747 portraits is in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh. It was painted by Richard Wilson (1714-1782), and may be accepted as a genuine portrait of the heroine. There is also the Robertson portrait in Glasgow. In Armadale Castle, Skye, there is a pastel sketch by a French artist, and also a fine miniature, both of which are genuine, for they originally belonged to Anne, Flora MacDonald's daughter. and were bequeathed to the Sleat family by Miss Mary MacLeod, Anne's daughter. W. M. Macbean, in his "Jacobite Iconography" ("Inverness Courier, 1910), gives a list of engravings of contemporary portraits, but it is difficult in the case of most of them to separate the wheat from the chaff, as the original paintings from which the prints were engraved cannot be traced. The Ramsay portrait remains, and is likely to remain, the most popular, though it does not quite agree with the contemporary descriptions we have of Flora MacDonald.

V. Signatures of Flora MacDonald's grandfather and father.

VI. Prince "Charlie" and Flora MacDonald relics.

1. The coggie or wooden pail in which Flora MacDonald offered the Prince a drink of cream or, according to tradition, a drink of goat's milk at Alisary shieling, was bequeathed to the Waternish family by Miss Mary MacLeod, Flora MacDonald's granddaughter. See XI. References and Notes, 3, and Plate XVI, 2, facing p. 114.

2. Gold Brooch made from a fourth part of a Parisian shoe buckle, worn by the Prince and given to Flora MacDonald after he had disguised himself as Betty Burke, also bequeathed by Miss Mary MacLeod to the Waternish family. Mr Allan R. MacDonald wore this Brooch at the Historical Pageant in Glasgow on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1928. See Introduction. The Prince also gave a Buckle to Captain Malcolm MacLeod of Brae, Raasay, when he parted with him at Elgol on 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1746 ("Lyon in Mourning," Vol. I, p. 142).

VII. Signatures of some of those who befriended the Prince in the Isles.

1. Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale. See VIII. References and Notes. 7.

2. Old MacDonald of Clanranald. See VIII. References and Notes, 3.

3. Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare. See III. References and Notes, 13.

4. Donald Roy MacDonald of Baleshare. See IV. References and Notes, 23.

5. Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh. See IV. References and Notes, 23.

VIII. Sir Alexander MacDonald, 7<sup>th</sup> Baronet of Sleat. Reproduced from a portrait in Armadale Castle, Skye.

IX. Lady Margaret MacDonald of Sleat. Reproduced from a water-colour painting at Thorpe Hall, Yorkshire. See I. References and Notes, 12.

X. The MacDonalds of Kingsburgh.

1. Anne of Kingsburgh. A reproduction of a miniature by Anne Mee in the possession of the late Mr Allan R. MacDonald. It shows Anne of Kingsburgh in widow's weeds. See V. References and Notes, 8.

2. Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh (husband of Flora MacDonald).

XI. Prince "Charlie" and Flora MacDonald relics.

1. Kingsburgh Bowl. This Chinese porcelain bowl is said to have been used by the Prince at supper in Kingsburgh House on the night of 29<sup>th</sup> June, 1746. Like the other relics, it descended to the late Mr MacDonald through Miss Mary MacLeod.

2. A circular Brooch with paste surround, containing strands of the hair of the Prince and that of Flora MacDonald. The late Mr MacDonald wore this Brooch at the Historical Pageant at Glasgow.

XII. The Kingsburgh Burial-place in Kilmuir, Skye.

1. This illustration shows the Kingsburgh Burial-place with the tombstone provided by Colonel John MacDonald of Exeter.

2. The Iona Cross erected in 1880. After forty years' exposure to the storms of the Skye winters it became dilapidated, and a world-

wide appeal was made for funds for its restoration. In 1922, as the result of the generous response to the appeal, the Cross was repaired, and a new memorial tablet was fixed to its base. The unveiling was carried out in the summer of that year by Miss Emily Livingstone of Flodigarry, a descendant of Flora MacDonald, in the presence of a great number of people from all parts of the world. The illustration shows the Cross in its restored condition.

XIII, Memorial Window in St Columba's Episcopal Church, Portree. It has been stated that Flora MacDonald was an Episcopalian, and that as an Episcopalian her heroism is fittingly commemorated in the Memorial Window in Portree Episcopal Church ("[Wanderings in the Western Highlands and Islands](#)," by Miss Donaldson, p. 185). Needless to say, Miss Donaldson gives no documentary proof that Flora MacDonald was an Episcopalian. Her grandfather, the Rev. Angus MacDonald of South Uist had been Episcopal minister of [Gigha](#), but after the Revolution he conformed to Presbyterianism (see I. References and Notes, 4). He was Presbyterian minister of South Uist when Flora MacDonald was born in 1722. Her father, Ranald MacDonald of Milton and Balivanich, was an elder in the Presbyterian Church in South Uist in 1720, and she was no doubt received by the rite of baptism into her father's Church. During her girlhood there was no Episcopal Church in South Uist. In Skye, which was her permanent home from her marriage in November, 1750, to August, 1774, when she left for North Carolina, her Church connection was Presbyterian. At Flodigarry her minister was the Rev. Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir, whose ministry extended from 1740 to 1785. At Kingsburgh her minister was the Rev. William MacQueen of Snizort, whose ministry covered the period of her residence within the bounds of his parish. Both MacQueens were fervid Presbyterians. In North Carolina she and her husband attended the ministry of the Rev. John MacLeod (a native of Bracadale, Skye) at Barbecue Church ("[Highlanders in America](#)," by MacLean, p. 144; "Scots Magazine," Vol. XII, p. 262), and during her short stay in Nova Scotia the Rev. John Bethune, also a native of Skye, and a zealous Presbyterian, ministered to the spiritual needs of the Highlanders. After her return to Scotland her home until 1787 was in South Uist, where the minister was the Rev. George Munro, presbyterially ordained in 1773 as successor to the Rev. John MacAulay. When she came back to Skye in 1787 the Rev. Donald MacQueen of Kilmuir had been dead two years, and his successor was the Rev. Donald Martin of the Martins of Beallach, who was ordained as minister of the parish in 1785. The Rev. William MacQueen of Snizort, who had been her minister when she was at Kingsburgh, had just died, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Malcolm MacLeod of the Raasay family. It is true that Flora MacDonald numbered

Episcopalians and Roman Catholics among her friends, but it does not follow that she herself was either an Episcopalian or a Roman Catholic. There is no evidence in existence, either documental, circumstantial or traditional, to prove that she belonged to any Church but the Presbyterian Church. Nearly every Islander concerned in the '45 and in the escape of the Prince from the isles was a Presbyterian, Loyal Hanoverians in the Isles scorned to put out a hand for the £30,000 that could have been theirs if they had cared. They helped the Prince to escape, not because they held him or the dynasty which he represented in high esteem, but because they believed that a defeated enemy should be treated magnanimously. Thus it was that Hugh MacDonald, Flora MacDonald and others befriended him in his hour of need.

XIV. Letter of Flora MacDonald. A reproduction of an hitherto unpublished letter of the heroine to Donald MacDonald, Esq., of Rammerscales, Dumfries. See XI. References and Notes, 22. This letter is important, for it supplies information which former writers of the life-history of Flora MacDonald did not have in their possession.

XV. Some of Flora MacDonald's family.

1. Captain Charles MacDonald, VIII of Kingsburgh.
2. Captain James MacDonald, fourth son of Flora MacDonald.
3. Colonel John MacDonald of Exeter, youngest son of Flora MacDonald.
4. Colonel John MacDonald's wife, Frances Maria Chambers, reproduced from a portrait in Waternish House.

XVI. Two of Flora MacDonald's grandchildren.

1. Lieutenant-Colonel James Somerled MacDonald of Flodigarry, eldest son of Captain James MacDonald, fourth son of Flora MacDonald.
2. Miss Mary MacLeod, known in Skye as "Miss Mary Major." She was the daughter of Major Alexander MacLeod of Lochbay and his wife, Anne daughter of Flora MacDonald. This is a reproduction of a miniature portrait in the possession of the late Mr Allan R. ~ MacDonald, and shows her in, white dress and tartan sash. See Appendix III.

## *APPENDIX V.*

### **MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF FLORA MACDONALD.**

AT KINGSBORROW The third day of December jmviiic and fifty years. It is agreed and matrimonially Contracted betwixt. the parties following vizt., Allan Macdonald Eldest Lawfull son of Alexander Macdonald of Kingsborrow with Consent of his said father on the one part and Mrs Flory Macdonald only Lawfull Daughter of the deceased Ranald Macdonald of Milntoun now his spouse with the Consent of Angus Macdonald of Milntoun her brother on the other part in manner following THAT IS TO SAY That albeit the saids Allan and Mrs Flory Macdonald are already married, yet the several articles agreed and Condescended upon at and before their marriage have not been extended in due form THEREFORE In implement of the said articles of agreement signed by the said parties, the sixth day of November last, in the present year AND IN CONTEMPLATION of the said marriage The said Allan and Alexr. Macdonalds of Kingsborrow his father Bind and Oblige them conjunctly and Severally their heirs Executors and successors whatsoever to provide and Secure the said Mrs .Flory Macdonald his spouse in Liferent during all the days of her Lifetime in ALL and WHOLE an @rent or yearly duty of Fifty pound sterling money yearly free of all Burdens whatsoever and that by Employing money at the term of Whitsunday next to come in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty one upon well holden land or in the hands of sufficient responsal persons, and Taking the Securities thereof to her in Liferent at the Sight and by the Advice of the said Angus Macdonald of Milntoun her brother, and if the same shall be Employed in Land to procure sufficient Confirmations by the Superior upon their own Expenses for her Security thereanent, and if the money employed to that purpose shall happen to be uplifted all oft to reemploy the same by the advice and to the Effect above mentioned AND for further Security The saids Allan and Alexander MacDonalds Bind and Oblige them Conjunctly and Severally and their foresaids To make due and thankfull payment to the said Mrs Flora Macdonald of the foresaid @rent or yearly duty of fifty pound sterling money free from all burden as said is, at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Marts. in Winter by Equal portions Beginning the first terms payment thereof at the first Whitsunday or Martinmass next and Immediately following the said Allan Macdonald his decease, for the half year preceeding that term and so furth termly thereafter during her lifetime with five pound money

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foresaid of Liquidate penalty for each terms faille Toties quoties, And also it is agreed in Case it should so happen (which God forbid) That the saids Allan and Mrs Flory Macdonalds should either through choice or necessity seperate and not Cohabite Together Then and in that Case The saids Allan and Alexr. Macdonalds Bind and oblige them Conjunctly and severally TO pay to the said Mrs Flory Macdonald The Sum of Forty pound Sterling yearly during the said Seperation at two terms in the year Whitsunday and Martinmass by equal portions with four pounds money foresaid of Liquidate penalty for each terms faille Beginning the first terms payment thereof at the first Whitsunday or Martinmass next and Immediatly following the said Seperation AND MORE-OVER It is provided that whatever lands @rents and other heretable Subjects or Sums of money shall be Conquest and acquired by the said Allan Macdonald by his own Industry, during the Subsistance of his Marriage with the said Mrs Flory Macdonald He hereby Binds and Obliges himself and foresaids To provide and Secure the Liferent of the just and equal half thereof to the said Mrs Flory Macdonald in Case she shall survive him AND SICKLIKE In Case the said Mrs Flory Macdonald 'shall survive the said, Allan Macdonald her husband Then and in that Case, whether there are Children procreate betwixt them (Existing at the Disolution of the Marriage or not) The said Allan Macdonald now as then, and then as now, hereby Assigns and Dispones To and in favours of the said Mrs Flory Macdonald his spouse, the just and Equal third of the household and Insight furniture and plenishing of all kinds As Also a Third of all Cows Nolt and horses of whatever age or sex, whether young or old, Together also with the third of all Corns and Grain then in his possession whether growing on the Ground thereof, or in his barns or Barnyards and in Genenl the third of all Moveables whatsoever AS ALSO the haill sheep and goats with their kids and Lambs which shall happen to belong to the said Allan Macdonald or be in Common 'twixt him and his said spouse the time of his decease AND MOREOVER In Case the said Marriage shall Dissolve by the Death of the said Allan without Issue thereof Then and In that Case He hereby ASSIGNS and DISPONES to the said Mrs Flory Macdonald his spouse The sum of forty pounds Sterling and t.hat over and above t.he provisions above Exprest AND LIKEWAYS the said Allan and Alexander Macdonald of Kingsborrow BIND and OBLIGE them and their above specified to make Payment to the children, one or more to be procreate of this marriage of the following respective Sums of money and in the Events and under the Restrictions and Limitations after mentioned Vizt., That if at the Dissolution of this Marriage there shall only Exist one son, they bind and oblige

themselves to pay to him the sum of one thousand pound Sterling, and in Case there shall Exist two Sons, only to the Eldest the sum of Seven hundred pounds, and to the second the sum of Three hundred pounds money foresaid, BUT in Case there shall only Exist one Son and one Daughter, the son is hereby provided to the sum of Eight hundred pounds and the Daughter to the sum of Two hundred pounds money foresaid and if there shall be (in the Case foresaid) an heir male and two or more Children, then the heir male shall have the sum of Six hundred pounds, and the other Children the Sum, and the other Children the sum of four hundred pounds sterling to be divided amongst them as their father and mother shall think fitt, and failling of such Division by them as two of the nearest of kin by the father and mother shall think proper But in Case there shall be only one Daughter of the said Marriage she is hereby provided to the sum of Seven hundred pounds money foresaid, and if there shall be two Daughters and no sons, the Eldest is to have the Sum of Four hundred pounds, and the second or youngest the sum of Three hundred pounds sterling But if there shall be three or more Daughters and no Issue male the eldest is to have the Sum of one hundred pounds money foresaid more than any of the rest the whole provisions for the Daughters shall not Exceed Seven hundred pound Sterling in the Event that no male issue shall Exist of this Marriage AND it is hereby specially Provided That none of the above provisions or Interest thereof can be Demanded or pursued for by any of the said Children till after the decease of their father and mother WHICH PROVISIONS above mentioned Conceived in favours of the said Mrs Flory Macdonald and the Children to be procrete of this marriage are and shall be in full Contentation and Satisfaction to the said Children of all Legittim portion natural Executry and Bairns part of Gear which they can ask or Crave by and through their fathers death and to the said Mrs Flory Macdonald of all Terce of heretage third or half of Moveables or what else she can ask or Claim of the said Allan Macdonald and his heirs or Executors he first deceasing or which her Exers or nearest of kin can ask or Crave of him by and Through her decease he being the Survivor FOR WHICH CAUSES on the other part, The said Mrs Flory Macdonald by these presents Assigns Transferrs and Dispones to the said Allan Macdonald her husband, his heirs and Assignneys (Secluding Exers) the sum of Seven hundred pounds sterling money of principall, and the annualrent and Interest thereof now due, or which shall fall due hereafter during the not payment of the said principall sum Together with all the Bonds and Securities for the same now lying In the hands of Certain Trustees and friends of hers in England SURROGATING and SUBSTITUTING the said Allan Macdonald and

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foresaid in her full right and place of the premises with power to him and his foresaid to ask pursue for and Receive the said principal sum and annual rents thereof above signed and to grant Discharges in their own names upon Receipt thereof in whole or in part and in General every other thing Concerning the premises to do use and Exerce, that the said Mrs Flory Macdonald her self might have done before the granting of this present Assignation And it is hereby PROVIDED and DECLARED That albeit the present Marriage shall dissolve within year and day after Solemnizing thereof, (which was on the sixth day of November last by past) by the death of Either party without a Living Child procreate thereof yet the hail provisions and Settlements Before specified Conceived in favours of Either party shall stand Good and Effectuall and shall not Return to the Granter, any Law Statute or practice to the Contrary notwithstanding AND LASTLY It is hereby provided that Execution shall pass and be Direct hereon at the Instance of Angus Macdonald of Milntoun or his nearest male Relation being past Twenty five years of age against the said Allan Macdonald for Implementing the provisions Conceived in favours of the said Mrs Flora Macdonald and the Children of this Marriage CONSENTING to the Registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session or any others Competent to have the Strength of a Decreet of either of the Judges thereof Interponed hereto That Letters of horning on six days and other Execution necessary may be Direct thereon as Effeirs and thereto they constitute Messrs John Grant and Thomas Hay Advocates Their Procurators IN WITNESS whereof these presents are written on this and the four preceding pages of Stampt paper by John MacLean Surgeon in the Isle of Skye and subscribed by both parties date foresaid before these witnesses Captain Donald Macdonald of Castletoun Hugh Macdonald of Armadale and the said John Maclean. (Signed) ALLAN Mc.DONALD Flory Macdonald Alexr. McDonald Donald Macdonald witness Hugh Macdonald Witness John MacLean Witness.