

THE
WANDERER:
OR,
Surprizing Escape,

A NARRATIVE founded on true Facts

CONTAINING

A Series of remarkable EVENTS, during a late very extraordinary ADVENTURE, from the first Projection, to its Appearance in the *North*, and total Defeat.

INTERSPERS'D

With several curious and authentic Particulars the Public has hitherto been UNACQUAINTED with and wrote without Prejudice or Partiality: taken from the Journals of two Persons principally concerned in the whole Transaction.

WITH

Some REMARKS on a Romance called *Ascanius*; shewing the Author thereof very defective in his Materials, and Candour in the Relation.

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WHEN I first read the pamphlet which had such a prodigious run, under the title of *Ascanius*, it was in a very cursory manner, having before been tired with almost daily accounts of the *young adventurer's* travels and hardships, after the battle of *Culloden*. Though I could not but be affected by the rapidity with which he proceeded, at his first setting out; yet, when I found all his hopes blasted by a total defeat, which put an end to my alarms, I must acknowledge, notwithstanding I am well known to be a zealous friend to the present happy establishment, that I both admired and pitied the unfortunate youth, nay, wished him safe on the continent, as did many others, who would be among the foremost to prevent his return. It was with indignation I observed the news-writers affronting a brave and generous people, by thinking low and scurrilous invectives against the person of the *wanderer*, was a method to gain their favour. I don't know what effect this might have on the dregs of the people, but I am a witness, that such papers have been treated, with visible contempt, by

many of those gallant officers, who contributed to his entire overthrow.

I say, I ran over the pamphlet carelessly enough, looking upon it as calculated to get a penny, without any other view and thought it, by the turgid stile, the performance of a certain female author, till I had gone through the whole; but then, as I found it contained no *smutt*, I altered my opinion, and throwing aside, troubled my head about neither the work, nor the author, till I read in the news, that the bookseller of it was taken up. This awakened my curiosity to give it a second, more attentive reading, to discover what there was in it could possibly give the government offence: but this, I own, was more than I could do; for, on the contrary, if vilifying the unfortunate youth, deserves a reward, he has a juster claim to it than the most scurrilous of the news-writers. I am really, apt to think, the bookseller informed against himself, that he might be taken up, as all the public paper, would, by that method, advertise his work for nothing, which, by raising people's curiosity, might carry off another edition: and, that a warrant was granted, on the strength of that information, without examining the pamphlet which is a very wretched, inconsistent composition.

I was speaking of it to a gentleman, who was of my opinion, and he attributed the success it had to the title *Ascanius*. I think the author might with greater propriety, have given his adventurer the name of *Bellerophontés*, considering the final succour the *French* gave him. It is possible they did not design his definition, as *Iobates* did that of the prince of *Ephyra*, which, however, when I reflect how far forward that nation looks, I should be loth to swear; but it is certain, they sent him to encounter as great dangers, and, I believe, were little concerned what became of him, as their views never extend beyond their own interests; wherefore we may more properly apply to him the proverb, and say,

Bellerophontis literas attulisset,

than the author of *Ascanius* can draw a parallel, from what we have learnt of that *Trojan* prince, whose name he has given him. They are not alike in any one particular, as I remember, and consequently he has been guilty of an absurdity in the choice of his name.

But let us examine the unlucky stumble at the threshold, a little closely. *Ascanius* was the only son of

Aeneas,

Omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis,

and *Aeneas* was a *Trojan* prince, who is said to have betrayed his country to the *Græcians*, tho' *Virgil*, who deduces the origin of the *Romans* from these (at best) fugitive *Trojans*, gives him a character answerable to the vanity of his own nation,

Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis: Sed glomerare manum bello, et concurrere in arcem, Cum sociis, ardent animi, furor iraque mentem Præcipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Our author's young adventurer is not the only son of his father; and this latter, far from being a traitor, when exil'd, or permitted, in reward of his treachery, to leave his country, was driven out of it, long before he had the use of reason, while, consequently, he was incapable of doing good or harm. Thus far there is a wide difference.

Again, *Ascanius* followed his father, who was seeking out a settlement for him: The young *adventurer*, on the contrary, is himself at the head of his party endeavouring to regain a settlement for his father. The one might flatter himself with a happy issue, after his father's foretold long and irksome wanderings;

Longa tibi exilia et vastummaris æquor arandum.

as he had a promise from heaven; but the cither had but little reason to hope the same from the *bona fide* of *France*, of which experience convinced him. The one had no hereditary claim to what he obtained, and the other has been taught to believe he had, to what he endeavoured to recover. But this is sufficient to prove the author made a very injudicious choice in that of his adventurer's name. This is not the only mistake even in his title page, in which he tells us, his *True history is a translation from a manuscript, privately handed about at the court of Versailles*. I would fain know a reason for this caution. However terrible our messengers may be to poor grumbling scriblers, I am apt to think that the *court of Versailles* is under no apprehensions of danger from those worthy gentlemen. It is ridiculous to imagine, they who formed and supported the diversion here, should

be thus upon their guard in a narrative of its miscarriage, when, I am fully persuaded, they never intended it should have any other issue; and therefore none at the court, from any fear of offence to the king or ministry of *France*, would be cautious of publishing a miscarriage which they must have foreseen. But these errors may be more readily passed by than the choice of his *motto*, which must necessarily give offence to a christian, who will be apt to think it little short of blasphemy. But to proceed to the work itself.

The author sets out with a florid common-place soliloque; after which he prudently precautions his readers not to be over-curious in their enquiries; and tells them, in heroics, from whence he derives his commission, by whose authority he takes upon him the *mournful task*, and how he learnt the *sad* particulars, are secrets, which time only, or some event yet hid *in her dark womb* (that is, I suppose, the dark womb of some *event*) will reveal, but he *may not*. The stile is indeed captivating: it is in the true modern sublime of romance, which it is well known soars to the higher pitch, as it is less clogged with sense or grammar.

Though I must admire the quaint diction of this author, yet I cannot entirely depend on his veracity, when he tells us, that he presents his readers with the *naked truth, un-disguised by the least garment borrowed from the plenteous wardrobe of fiction*, I am apt indeed to believe, if the truth is *naked*, that she is not *cloathed* or *disguised* with any *garment*, and possibly I may not be the only one of his readers, who are of the same opinion: But the question is, whether he presents us *truth*, and nothing but the *truth*. This I shall endeavour to discover in a very short examination of his work: If he does, we must allow he has the gift of intuition; since he can tell us, that *Ascanius felt in his mind a true presage of his entire defeat*, and he must admit, that he himself was either an ear-witness of their consultations, and other discourses among the rebels; that he has since corresponded with them in a very particular manner, since he repeats their very words, or that he took a step to the *plenteous wardrobe of fiction*, to borrow a garment to cover the lady's nakedness. I shall

transcribe the beginning of the first paragraph of his narrative part.

“When *Ascanius* (during the battle which he lost near *Inverness*, in the highlands of *Scotland*, April 16, 1746) saw his men beginning to retreat before an enemy they had hitherto vanquished with surprising *ease* and *facility*, (these synonyms have a *surprising* beauty) he instantly felt in his mind a true presage of his entire defeat, with all that train of *horrors*, *destruction*, and *slaughter*, that ensued; yet he kept the field, till he saw that all was irrecoverably lost. His post was in a corps de reserve behind the main body, which he quitted not till his horse had been killed under him, and himself wounded in the hinder parts by a carabine shot.”

As no body has yet been taken into custody for vilifying *the unfortunate tool of France*, I dare say this paragraph gave the g——t no offence; though I think the describing him, as the author does, an errant coward, who kept at as great a distance from danger as he possibly could, is derogating from that honour which our *brave and vigorous duke* that day acquired. Gentlemen, who were in the battle, are far from giving this *wanderer* So undeserved a character, and will tell you the *Scots* attacked with a fury near allied to madness; the *wanderer's* horse was shot, and his groom killed by him as he mounted another, where the fight was hottest, and not when he fled and gave his pursuers an opportunity to wound him in his *hinder parts*, a circumstance, I fear, the author *borrowed from the plenteous wardrobe of fiction*; since by the strictest enquiry, I cannot find any who ever heard it; and, in his own account, by taking no farther notice of this imaginary wound, either by its being dressed, occasioning him any pain, or proving an impediment in his skulking, but on the contrary speaking him an admirable foot-man, he gives us ground to think it an invention of his own. Whoever reads this paragraph must, however florid, think it somewhat like stabbing under the pretence of an embrace. ‘Tis visible he takes this for art, but it is also as apparent he has no pretence to it; he might have shewn more, had he gone no farther than insinuating that the *wanderer* was not in any danger, till all was lost by the words *during the battle*, but durst not complement his readers with

penetration enough to discover his drift, and therefore is particular, that we may not mistake his design. He has above given us the *wanderer's* thoughts; it would have been satisfactory to his readers, had he told us, what ground he had to presage *that train of horrors, destruction, and slaughter*, which, if we may judge of men by their actions, never had a place in his thoughts. No matter, the words are sonorous, lofty, and depreciating the character of the undone *wanderer*; whose *fears* set before his eyes the most shocking scene of blood and desolation, as in other places he makes them give wings to his flight.

This idea he would give of the person whose *wanderings* he pretends to particularize, is another proof of his having very judiciously given him the name of *Ascanius*; and these forebodings of his young adventurer, whose reputation he is anxious to destroy, are very inconsistent with what he makes him afterwards say of the D——, and with his hardly being persuaded of their being verified; but consistency, we may observe, is below the notice of so elegant a penman; for after having, more than once, shewn his young adventurer a poor, dispirited, irresolute, timid creature, he afterwards makes him resolute, undaunted, and the only one unmov'd by the dangers of an impending storm, which he describes in such a pompous stile, that it approaches very near to what the *French* understand by their *Phoebus*, and we call *bombast*. He recovers himself, however, and allows him to act the hero but a little while: he sings this minute, while death stares him in the face, and he is overjoyed when the king of terrors, by his getting safe ashore, is withdrawn to a greater distance: this scene of joy is soon after changed, and the hero we find weeping like a child, and in such a desponding condition, that in hopes of saving his life, (which also was childish) he is for surrendring himself. But he has not yet flung dirt enough. To crown the character of his adventurer, he makes him undutifully reflect on that of his father, and valuing himself as a man of superior sortitude.

If this author, or our news-writers, think to make their court to the gallant officers of the army, by telling them, as they have often represented the *Scots* and their chief, that they had to deal with a rabble

only of old men and boys, the refuse of jails, headed by a poor timid animal, they have certainly a very absurd way of judging. I never heard that any body reap'd honour by beating a coward: and if before the defeat of the rebels, they thought such a character would animate our troops, they betrayed a mean opinion of their courage.

The truth is, the young adventurer behaved very different from the manner this writer makes him; far from being *sadly dispirited, faint, in confusion, irresolute, and with tears in his eyes*, he is allowed, by his enemies, to have shewn great presence of mind and resolution, both in, and after the battle; and this is evident from the accounts of the hardships he went through, specified in the public papers that he could never have supported under them, had he been the poor desponding wretch the author, of *Ascanius* makes him. The *Scots* behaved like *Scots*, i. e. with great bravery; and the *English* like *English*, i. e. with still greater. The Duke, by the disposition of his army, shewed himself, young as he is, a great captain, and he being, as I may say, prodigal of life, by exposing himself wherever the danger was greatest, was such an example, as would inspire a coward with resolution: and, I believe, so far contributed to the gaining the victory, that possibly, under any other general, if at all gained, it had not been equally complete and decisive.

A person who was in the battle, and an eye-witness of his Royal Highness's behaviour, assured me, that no common soldier in his army was more exposed, and that he saw part of the Duke's hat carried away by a common-ball. The same gentleman had before been taken by the rebels, and gave me the following character of their chief, *viz.* That he was better than six foot high; as strait as a pike, as round as an egg: and that he would run, leap, and fight, with any man in the highlands. That he did all that lay in his power to prevent the havock made by his followers, which heartily griev'd him, but that he wanted authority to restrain them, and his mildest admonitions were answered by menaces to desert him. My author, who is a man of veracity, was himself plundered, and almost ruined by the rebels, who laid hold on this opportunity to satiate their revenge on such, as they had before deem'd their

enemies; and as no one subject in the three kingdoms is more zealous for the present establishment, and few were more serviceable, during the time of the rebellion, we may be allowed to give him credit.

“Whether the enterprize of this *wanderer* was as rash as we once deemed it, since his secretary has become an informer, begins now to be doubted, but this I think must be allowed, that the prospect of success was far from being alluring enough to engage a coward to enter upon it, as fear is a great magnifier of danger. No impartial man will deny the *Scots* the character of a brave people, as it must betray great ignorance, and yet I am of opinion, had that whole nation united in the support of this *wanderer's* pretensions, which was very far from the case nay, had he, farther, had promises of assistance from *England*, yet had he been the pusillanimous creature he has been represented, he would never have made the attempt he did, which had a very sensible effect on public credit. He would have objected his father's former baffled hopes the improbability of *Scotland* making a conquest of *England*, and the much greater likelihood of that antient kingdom being reduced to a province in revenge of the attempt. He would have treated all hopes built on the promises of the fickle *English* as chimerical, and shewn the impossibility of their being performed, (however sincere they might be) by the government securing all whom they might have reason to suspect in his interest. He would have argued from the aversion of the nation to popery; from their fears of ruin by a wet sponge; from the power the government was inverted with, and the difference between a raw, and a well-disciplin'd army, supported with a large train of artillery, with every other necessary, well paid, well fed, well cloathed, befriended, at least in appearance, by the country, and which, if defeated, would with ease and speed be recruited; and, an army, fatigued with long marches, in want of every thing, in an enemy's country, which, if once routed, their scattered remains must be cut to pieces by the peasants; nay, by even those whom they might have reason to think wished them well, but who would sacrifice them to their own safety: and the very persons from whom they hoped to find succour and assistance, might, to

remove suspicions, in effect, prove the more bloody enemy of the two.

These obstacles to the least hopes of success, his fears would have suggested, on the supposition he could safely land, which, no doubt, they would have made appear an insuperable difficulty, and an attempt which must call his prudence in question, considering the number of *English* ships, as well men of war as privateers: but supposing he should have the good fortune to land, how, upon the ill success of his affairs, could a retreat be secured? and what he might expect, should he fall into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was already attainted, he could not but foresee. I don't pretend to have been of the *wanderer's* council, or to know what he thought, though the author of *Ascanius* could tell us what his mind presaged; but it is natural to believe, from what we have seen, that he apprehended none of these dangers; and, with a greater appearance of reason, we might conclude, that his pushing, with a handful of men, into the heart of the kingdom, that he was rather to be taxed with temerity, than want of courage, did not his retreat speak a cool and regular conduct? But indeed we can make no true judgment of this step of the *wanderer*, as we are ignorant of the motives which prevail'd on him to make it, notwithstanding the opposition he might reasonably have expected from marshal *Wade's* army, which, had he defeated, supposing the best, must have occasioned the loss of a great part of his own: but the badness of the weather, and the hardiness of his highlanders, removing that obstacle, he met with no molestation from those troops.

Whoever is just enough to speak of an enemy divested of prejudice, will allow virtues conspicuous to the impartial; consider the birth of, and the notions in which this gentleman was brought up, and putting himself in his case, will be far from vilifying him for an attempt to recover a right he has been taught to believe indefeasible: nay, he will be apt, though an enemy to his pretensions, to rank him in the number of bold men; which I am sure is doing; more honour to the victorious Duke, than the contrary method taken by the stupid and fawning daily scribblers. I remember to have heard, that after the battle of *Hochstet*, marshal *Tallard* telling the duke of

Marlborough, that he had defeated the bravest troops in *Europe*, his grace answered, he must allow it, if his excellency would except those which beat them. We may be enemies to a cause, without personal pique to those who support it; and tho' we abhor the principles, yet it speaks a meanness of spirit to detract from the characters, nay, even to conceal the virtues, of our enemies. None will say the earl of *Clarendon* did not detest those of the Usurper, yet he mentions him as a very great man: the prince of *Conde* was the enemy of king *William*, but notwithstanding, acknowledged he deserved the crown he had obtained. *Edward III.* of *England* admired, and publickly rewarded, the bravery of a *French* gentleman, with whom he fought hand to hand, who twice struck him down upon his knees, but whom the king at last took prisoner. This generosity seems inherent in the brave; and hardly has there been any great man distinguished for his courage, but he has admired the same virtue in his enemy: whereas the contrary is the characteristic of a groveling fowl. But allowing this wanderer as much personal bravery as ever man had, will that any way strengthen his pretensions? Will it have any effect on the act of succession? Will it influence men of fortune so much as to make them risque their lives and

estates to support his claim? Will it be a barrier to guard our liberties, or, rather would it not endanger them? Will it secure our religion and property? Will it make him less a papist? Will it remove our just fears of popery? Or, lastly, will it absolve us from our oaths of allegiance?

Let us then allow him a virtue, which in justice we cannot, and in policy we ought not, to deny him. He has nothing but his sword for his fortune; his reputation as a brave man, may get him employment in the armies of foreign princes, and, such as may satisfy his ambition; however, it may give him too much business to leave him time to think of making any farther attempts on these kingdoms, of the vanity of which he has reason to be convinced; but if the character given him here of a pusillanimous, poor, irresolute creature, should meet with credit abroad, it is certain no prince would accept the tender of his service, and his whole thoughts would be bent upon

giving them disturbance, who had deprived him of bread; and though his future enterprizes should, as it is a thousand to one they would, meet with as little success, yet they may, possibly, cost the lives of many brave men, he would always be the ready tool of our enemies, and such will doubtless be as ready to give him hopes, though it is certain, they will always drop him, whenever their own interest requires it.

Further, as this nation, it is to be feared, will never be without factious turbulent spirits, who hope their peculiar advantages in public broils, such will always keep him in their eye; nay, even a wicked ministry (and we are not sure we shall be always bless'd with such wise and upright patriots as now are at the helm of government) may, underhand, flatter his hopes, either to awe a future sovereign by hinting that there is a strong party to support a different claim, or to draw weak men into such rebellious practices as they know they can crush at pleasure, and thus feather their own nests with the down of fools; whereas if he is in the service of some foreign prince, the only way he and his brother can hope for support, it is probable, from their father's repeated, and the *wanderer's* late disappointment, they may look upon all proposals of being settled here, as ridiculous, and have more wit than to let go the substance to catch at a shadow.

But I shall proceed to fulfil what I have promised in my title page but for an unanswerable reason, I shall not undertake to acquaint my readers with other peoples thoughts, of which, from their actions, I suppose them as able to judge as lean be; neither must they expect to be entertained with such private convocation, as it would be apparently ridiculous for me to pretend to a knowledge of; nay, I won't take upon me to vouch the truth of my informations, or to answer for the veracity of my informers, as I pretend not to penetrate into the secret thoughts of the heart: I shall only say, I believe them men of probity, and can discover no reason for their imposing on my credulity; but yet I may be deceived.

At the first breaking out of the present war between us and *France*, the late invasion of *Scotland* was not only projected, but proposed to, and rejected by, the *wanderer's* father with indignation, as he was

fully persuaded the *French* never intended his service, and as fully resolved to be no more the dupe of their policy. The emissaries of *France* endeavoured to soften him, by many arguments, which were never repeated to me; but I have heard that they endeavoured, by some of them, to prove his and the interests of *France* were become so entirely one and the same, that by deserting his, they could not but very greatly be wanting to their own. They laid before him the state of *Europe* in general, and desired him to consider the face of affairs in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* in particular: that *England* was loaden with heavy debts, which must, by the continuance of the war, become intolerable: that the people were divided into factions, and that there was always subsisting a party zealous for his interest: that a majority of the *Scots* were naturally attached to his house, who would be joined by numbers averse to the union, which, crammed down their throats by bribery and power, had reduced them, in a great measure, to a province, and it was therefore their interest to break thro', and recover their independancy: that in *Ireland* the ancient families had been trampled under foot by the *English*, to whom they, especially such as had not politically conformed to the protestant religion, were little (if at all) better than the slaves in *America*: that the *Roman* catholics there were a considerable body, and he might expect a powerful assistance from men, who hoped to recover, not only their liberty, but their estates, and to obtain a free exercise of their religion.

He heard them with great coolness, though with a seeming surprize, that they should be so little acquainted with the *English* in general, and the weakness and timidity of those among them, who were most loud in his favour, whom experience had always shewn to be *vox et pretærea nihil*; nay, that even these were so averse to the *Roman* catholic religion, and so jealous of their liberty, that if he was to appear with a necessary foreign power, they would throw their weight into the opposite scale; and if he had not a considerable body of troops, they would doubt his being able to protect them, and, if the government permitted them, stand neuter. He gave them to understand, that what they had advanced, made against what they proposed; that the

heavy debts the *EngUSh* were involved in, was an insuperable obstacle to his ever turning his thoughts towards *England*; that a majority of the *Scots* being attached to his house, was a notorious mistake; but, was the kingdom so, it would avail him little; and that he should be very weak to hope assistance from the *Irish*, in the situation they had described them, as oppression was known to break the spirits, and introduce a total degeneracy in a nation; and, as they were without chieffs, without arms, and, in his opinion, without the thought of endeavouring to better their condition, which they seem (and reasonably) to think the attempt would infallibly render much worse. No doubt, the *French* were in the same way of thinking; but beside their immediate views, they possibly had an eye to recruiting their *Irish* troops by stirring up a rebellion in that kingdom. However, they found the chevalier immoveably fixt in the resolution, not to sacrifice his friends to, by being again the tool of, *French* politics.

After repeated attacks on this quarter, without the least success, they turned their thoughts to the son, hoping to work on the ambition of a young man: the father had none to move him, and seemed to direct his thoughts to the securing a reward in another world, for his sufferings in this but, to their great disappointment, they found him no less phlegmatic, which they, however flattered themselves was owing to his entire submission to the will of his father, and a respectful deference to his superior judgment, than whom, he had insinuated, few better knew the interests of *Europe*, or the affairs of *Great Britain*, This character has been given him by some who had an opportunity, and were well able, to make a judgment; and if he has a just claim to it, it is nothing wonderful, considering the experience he has had, his advanced age, and the school in which he was brought up. As this young gentleman, it is said, never lets his countenance betray the real sentiments of his heart, I have been told, these emissaries received an impression of him, which was as far from being in his favour, as it was wide from the character his *generous* enemies allow he merits, and they wished he had more of his brother's vivacity.

A diversion in any of the three kingdoms being of the last consequence to their affairs, as it probably

would recall from, or prevent sending the *English* to, *Flanders*, than which troops they fear none more, this second illusion of their hopes did not make them so far despair, as to give them quite over. They took all opportunities to learn the true character of this young gentleman, both from *Italians* and others, with whom he seemed to be convariant. From a reservedness in his nature, he is said to be intimate with few, if any, and with none so far as to let them into his secrets, excepting such as there is a necessity of communicating. The many disappointments his father has met, makes him extremely upon his guard; though, possibly his speaking little and that only on common topics, may rather be attributed to his having, if any, but small hopes of affairs taking a turn in favour of his house, than to policy. If I am rightly informed, he is far from being of a sanguine temper, consequently less easy to be amused with, or give into, airy projects. With regard so the fair sex, his behaviour in *Scotland* plainly evinces, that he either is not so sensible of their power, as we have been told he is, or has a great command over his passions for on the strictest enquiry, I cannot find he gave the least grounds for reflections on any lady there.

As impenetrable and as cautious as he is said to be, there is one passion of the mind that the wisdom of a *Solomon* cannot conceal: love will shew itself; it will suffer no disguise. They whose business it was to read the young *wanderer*, consequently watched his very look, found him who appeared indifferent to the glittering of a diadem was not so to the sparkling eyes of the *fair*, but when they imagined they had discovered this secret, they were at a loss, for some time, by his equal deportment, to determine which of the beautie of *Rome* had the greatest power o'er his heart.

As the *French* emissaries had planted spies upon him, who Watched every step he took, notwithstanding his often illuding their vigilance, he was one night seen to come out of a private door of the garden at *Albano*, and, at a distance, followed to the house of *Rosalinda*. The spies could not, however notwithstanding they surrounded the house, discover his return to the palace, where they next morning were, and payed him their respects at his levee. They after this took more exact notice of his

entertaining that lady; but, by even long observation, they could not perceive, that, by any one particular, he distinguished her from others who frequented the court against, this lady, who was beautiful, gay, ambitious, young, and had the character of more ready wit than solid sense, they resolved to plant their batteries. Though they were doubtful whether they had a right clew, yet they hoped the being soon satisfied whether they had or not. One of them had the address and good fortune to discover, by a spice of vanity in her composition, from which few of her sex is free, that the interest of the *wanderer* was not indifferent to her, and that she thought herself honoured with his confidence. Having succeeded in this attempt, they were encouraged to hope an happy issue to their negotiation: the person monsieur *Centdouble*) who was to attack her foibles, was in a declining age, artful, penetrating, subtile, witty, and wise read both in books and men, The methods he took to engage the lady to their interests, I know not, tho' from the character given her, they are not difficult to divine; possibly the prospect (though distant) of an imperial crown for her lover, and the coronet of a dutchess for herself, might blind her to those difficulties which the clearer-sighted chevalier could not over-look, and even to the dangers to which her dear *wanderer* must inevitably be exposed: but whatever was the prevailing motive, she gave entirely into their (at least seeming) way of thinking, that if the offered opportunity (which could not fail of success; was lost, it would be vain to hope another.

I have here a large field for romance, and an opportunity of displaying all my little eloquence, in amusing my readers With the particulars of the several discourses with which these supposed lovers entertained themselves on this subject but either my inclinations have any bent that way, neither, had they, would my title page permit me to gratify them. All that I farther know, is, that soon after, our *wanderer* was observed to take less notice of *Rosalinda*, that she was seen less frequently at court, and, in a little time, made a tour to *Venice*, as it was reported. From which circumstances we may reasonably suppose, the *wanderer* was less a warm lover, than a wary politician; and the views of the

emissaries were again baffled, by their having mistaken the real character of the youth, who has a surprising command of his passion. 'Twas even thought, that if that court had not taken more effectual means, such was the chevalier's resentment of the treatment he had received from, and his diffidence of, the *French*, he could never have been prevailed upon to suffer his son to go in search of adventures: but *France* getting the court of *Madrid* to guarantee her sincerity, that she should punctually perform whatever engagements she entered into; procuring at the same time, by her agents promising mountains, invitations for the chevalier or his son, to enter *Britain*, and his *Catholic* majesty promising the necessary supplies of money, to which we may add, the solicitations of the son, (who, 'tis thought, wants not a laudable ambition) his prudence was at length overcome, and he, with reluctance, gave his consent to an enterprize, which, he publickly said, even when his friends at *Rome* congratulated him on his son's being possessed of the metropoli of *Scotland*? he apprehended it would be fatal in its consequences. An *Italian* nobleman saying to him, when the news of C——'s defeat arrived, that he could not doubt success crowning the attempt; he coldly answered, nor should I, sir, were my son at the head of an army of immortals but to me, it is evident, that every victory is a step advanced to ruin, as none can be obtained without a loss, which cannot be repaired; for let us suppose *France* really desirous to support him, it is morally impossible she can throw in sufficient recruits, till she has a naval power to cope with the *English*, which I must own, I should hear with regret, Some in the circle, for this was in public, mentioned the probability, or rather certainty of this victory encouraging his friends, who had not yet declared, both in *Scotland* and *England*, to throw off the mask, and publickly assert his cause; in answer to which, he only shook his head. But to return.

With whatever secrecy this enterprize was endeavoured to be entered upon, it was soon whispered at *Rome*, that some great design was on the carpet for the service of the chevalier, and the minute of his sons setting out, the road he took, nay the stages he travelled, were minutely known to the court of *England*, and possibly his route before he

entered upon it. By what means, however men may guess, the secrecy of the government is such, none will presume to say with certainty. *Hephestion* cannot be accused of having betrayed the secret, as his being consulted was objected to by cardinal *Sturbatore*.

To pass by what may be found very particularly related in our news, I mean the journey of our *wanderer*. At his arrival in *Paris*, he, that very night, was privately visited by C—— T——, who staid with him better than two hours. The next morning, before day, he was, with great secrecy, conducted to a private apartment at court, where the king met and received him in the tenderest and most engaging manner, as he himself assured his friends. What then passed between them, as C—— T—— was the only witness, who never gave me any account of it, as the young knight-errant never divulged it, and I have not yet heard that the king of *France* has made it public, my reader will excuse, if I do not particularize. But this came to my knowledge, that to the *wanderer's* great surprize and concern, *Rosalinda* threw herself in his way, when he was at the duke of R——'s house. He immediately knew her, though in it men's cloaths, and, it is believed, he made her a false confidence, as she was soon after seen, and visited in *London*, by ladies, to whom she expressed herself in terms, which shewed a resentment of the treatment she had met with. But this, notwithstanding, she is, by many of the *wanderer's*, friends, believed incapable of what some others of them have insinuated. As on the one hand, her conduct is not altogether justifiable, so, on the other, it is well known, no set of men was ever more suspicious of one another, and what seems paradoxical, less gifted with secrecy: and to go one step farther in their character, to shew how little dangerous they are to, or rather how contemptible they must be in the eyes of all, government, they are lions over a bottle, but at the mention of danger, the shaggy main drops off, and the fleece appears; the airy castles vanish, and frightful ideas of jails and halters are substituted by their fears. But I digress too far.

Our *wanderer* had been but few days in *Paris*, where he held frequent consultations with some of the *French* ministers, and the *Spanish* ambassador,

before *Manilia* was introduced to his presence by *Agehimensis*, to whom she had brought letters of recommendation, from persons In *England*, on his judgment and integrity he could rely. This lady was pretty well advanced in years, but she has the remains of a once beautiful face, her shape was still fine, she was tall, upright, and slender; her air commanded respect, and spoke her what she is, a woman of birth: her judgment is solid, and though she speaks but little, she says much, always pertinently, and delivers her sentiments with such remarkable modesty, that she seems diffident of that sense, which many of her sex, with a degree less, would be vain, and possibly with little censure. In a word, set aside the bigotry in her principles, which she sucked in with her milk, the most professed enemy to them could find nothing to object to her character. She was received by the young *wanderer* with marks of distinction, and having delivered her credentials, she desired a private audience; after which *Manilia* was always called to the councils held while the *wanderer* had any of his confidants with him. She was in *Scotland* the *Maintenon* of the disaffected, who took not a step without her previous opinion; her arguments and irreproachable life, (if we except rebellious practices, which she fatally mistook for loyalty,) which gave a weight to her reasonings, spread the defection among the ladies, many of whom had power enough over their husbands to taint their loyalty; her masculine courage, and the confidence she reposed in that of her country me possibly made her look upon the desolation consequential of rebellion, which her good sense could not but foresee, as, at most, a bare possibility, and might (as she was a bigoted *Jacobite*) imagine the justice of the cause, such as would engage heaven in its defence, and then infallible success would not only secure her country from waste, but, by plenty succeeding to poverty, it would become a land flowing with milk and honey, I say this might probably be her way of thinking, as most of that party are great *castle-builders*. However, this lady was the only one they durst confide in to send to the *wanderer*. If she was in high esteem in her own country, she was not less admired by the friends of that party abroad, among whom her

genius commanded an uncommon attention. It is said, that the *wanderer's* embarking with so few followers, as the only method to elude the vigilance of the *English* ministry, was by her advice; assuring them at the same time, that the clans were in readiness to take arms, in a number sufficient to defend him, on his appearance.

The lady having executed the commission she had undertaken, left *Paris* with as much privacy, as she had entered, and, for a small space, continued in it, rewarded with a rich jewel, which the *French* king sent her by *C— T—* and gave her friends in *Scotland* a satisfactory account of her negotiations, of which I have no certain particulars.

When every thing was adjusted relating to the subsequent rebellion, at least every thing that *France* thought conducive to her views, the young *wanderer* set out in the habit of an *Abbé* and on *Saturday* the 3^d of *July*, 1745, embarked on board the *Dutilly*, at the mouth of the *Loire*, a frigate of eighteen carriage, and eighteen swivel guns, commanded by captain *Durbé* and belonging to Mr. *Welch*. On the 4th he anchored at *Bel-Isle*, where he continued till the 15th, waiting for the *Elizabeth*, a ship of war of sixty guns, and six hundred men, commanded by captain *d'O*, and under her convoy he left that place with a fair wind at two in the morning. The wind continued fair the 16th and 17th. The 18th it blew very hard, and, on the 19th, it was a dead calm.

On the 20th the *Elizabeth* fell in with, and attacked, the *Lyon*, an *English* man of war. The engagement began at six in the evening, and lasted, with great fury on both sides, till ten at night, that is, as long as they had any light. The frigate, on board of which was our *wanderer*, received no damage, except half a dozen musket-balls through her main sail. Mr. *Welch*, the only person on board to whom the youth was then known, would on no account, (apprehensive for his safety) suffer her to engage. The *Elizabeth* was very roughly handled, not only in her masts, sails, and rigging, but also in her hull, into which she received so many shot, that they were obliged to make the best of their way for *Brest*, which they almost despaired of reaching, she made so much water. Captain *d'O* was killed, and the *Elizabeth* had three hundred men killed and

wounded. The frigate, thus deprived of her convoy, continued however her course. On the 22^d she was chased, and made a clear ship to engage, but got off. The following three days they were again chased by different ships, but had the heels of them. The 26th and 27th they had a terrible storm. It was fine weather the three following days but on the 31st, about midnight, there arose such a violent storm, that the whole ship's crew gave themselves up for lost. However, they weather'd it; and on the 1st of *August*, it being a dead calm, they, sounded and found ground at a hundred and eight fathom. On the 2^d they made a small island, near the coast of *Ireland*, called *Benera*. On the 3^d they arrived at the isles adjacent, and anchored at *Bara*, being chased; but the wind chopping about, and in the teeth of the pursuers, they escaped that threatening danger.

Here the *wanderer*, and the gentlemen who attended him, went on shore, to stretch their legs; but on their return, on the 4th, they again set sail about ten at night, and, favoured by the shades of the mountains, keeping close along shore, they passed through several cruizers, with no small hazard, and great silence, with a pressed sail, coasting the isle of *Sky*. On the 5th they passed the isle of *Rum*, and came to an anchor on *Lochabar* in *Scotland*, but the same day weighed again, and went higher up the coast, and got into a sort of a cove, where, sheltered from the sight of their enemies, by the favour of some rocks, they began at night to unload, and got all out on the 15th. On the 16th, all being on shore, our *wanderer* lay at *Barasdale*, where his palace was a wretched hovel; his bed, grass; his diet, cheese; butter, and oat-cakes; his drink, water; their wine being all spent. Here he was joined by fifty men. It was here also, and not before, that the ship's company knew whom they had carried. The *wanderer* gave the crew a hundred pistoles, and staid here till the 23^d, and then going on board again, they set sail for *Kenloch Moydart*, about twenty-five miles distant, where he staid till the 28th, and was joined by about one hundred and fifty more.

The 29th of *August* they left this place, and, passed *Lough-Shield* to *Glensiarich*, where they lay that night; and from thence they continued their march to a small village called *Glenfien*, where four hundred

highlanders joined them. They proceeded on Without bread, of which they had none for the space of three days, directing their course towards *Castle-Blair* in *Athol*; and on the 3^d of *September* were joined by five hundred, on the 6th with fifty, on the 8th with one hundred; at *Garrie-Moor*, the 9th, with one hundred and fifty; on the 10th they came to *Dalnacardich*, and on the 11th arrived at *Blair* in *Athol*, a castle belonging to the duke of that name; where the *wanderer* found the first refreshment, after having had a long fatiguing, hungry, hard journey, often in want of bread, and lying on fern.

He staid here till the 14th, when he went to *Dunkeld*, a castle belonging to the duke of *Athol*. On the 15th he marched to *Perth*, eighteen miles further, where he staid till the 22^d; when he went, and dined at the castle of *Tullibardine*, a house belonging to lord *George Murray*. The 23^d the *wanderer* went to *Creef*, where, on the 24th, he parted with the marquiss of *Tullibardine*, who returned to *Dunkeld*, and he went forward towards *Edinburgh*. The country of *Athol* furnished about three thousand men to the *wanderer*; the rest of the army was made up by the pretended duke of *Perth*, *Macdonald's*, *Camerons*, and others.

In this journey they met two small parties, of whom some few were killed by the *wanderer's* van-guard, and the rest taken prisoners; and before they reached *Dalnacardich*, in the mountain of *Dirmochlir*, between *Riven* of *Badenach* and *Dalnacardich*, (where there is a fort, which was vainly attacked by the highlanders, and stoutly defended by six soldiers, assisted by their wives.) They were within three quarters of a mile of the king's forces, under the command of g—1 C——, at the head of 1900 men, who came to meet the *wanderer*; but he having greatly the advantage of the ground, the general wanting provision, and, in case of a defeat, having no possibility of saving the remainder of his army, it was thought, in a court-martial, that the attacking him was in-judiciously hazarding the king's forces.

G—1 C—— marched fifteen miles to *Riven* of *Badenoch*; from thence *twenty-six Scotch* miles to *Inverness*, all the way through the disaffected part of the country, where he staid some days, and called a

council of war, whether he should return back the same way to *Stirling*, or proceed from *Inverness* to *Leith*, by sea or land, to meet the rebels who made long marches towards *Edinburgh*, as he was informed; but transports sufficient not being to be got, he marched to *Nairn*, fifteen *Scotch* miles; from thence to the town *Forres*, and so to *Elgin*, eight miles farther, the capital of the county of *Morro*; from thence he marched six miles to the river *Spey*; and from thence twelve miles to *Cullen a bine*; after that he had sixteen miles to the town of *Bamff*, capital of the shire of the same name; thence he marched to *Petre-head*, thirty mile distant, in the county of *Buchan*; then twenty-four miles to *Aberdeen*; all the way on the coast of the sea. At *Aberdeen* he got transports; waited some days for a fair wind, and at last set sail for *Leith*, or *East Lothian*: at length, long expected by the loyalists, he arrived at *Dunbar*, within sixteen miles of *Preston-pans*, where the battle was fought; whither he directed his march with the greatest expedition, and in it was joined by some hundreds of the country *Seceders*; but gave arms neither to them, nor to any others who also joined them that were left, when the battle was fought, with the baggage, he fearing their not being disciplined, they might occasion a confusion in his army.

While the g——1 was at *Inverness*, he was joined by captain *Monroe*, of *Culcairn* in *Rofs-shire*, brother to Sir *Robert Monroe of Foulls*, with all the clan of the *Monroes*, who accompanied him to *Aberdeen*, where the g——1 sent most of them back to keep the country quiet.

As a *French* imanuscript, which accident threw in my way, has thus far guided me in what related to the *wanderer*, I must observe, that the dates are hitherto N. S. and that if being written by one belonging to the nominal duke of *Athol*, he leaves the *wanderer* at *Perth*, where he staid a week, saying only, that he proceeded to *Edinburgh*, and in the way lay at the house of lord *Kilmarnoch*: and that a detachment of about six hundred horse or dragoons, sent in order to observe the rebels, at their approach, retired, and they entered *Edinburgh* without opposition. But this latter, as the writer gives it on hear-say only, was not satisfactory enough, I therefore endeavoured to be

particularly informed of his march to that metropolis; and with some difficulty, and a good deal of diligence, got notes, which inform us, that the 12th of *September*, the *wanderer*, who had dined at *Tullibardine* castle, belonging to lord *George Murray*, went to *Crief* and the pretended duke of *Athol* returned to *Dunkeld*.

On the 13th, the *wanderer* marched with his army towards *Blackford*, at the entrance of *Sheriff-moor*, where his father was defeated in the year 1715. One party of the rebels striking off to the right, in order to secure the fords, six miles above *Stirling*, finding it possible to cross at that town, general *Blakeney* having broken the bridge¹, secured all the boats on the contrary side, and placed a body of near four hundred dragoons, and some foot on the banks of the river, the general having been alarmed by the other party, which went strait over the *Moor*, till they came within sight of *Stirling*, and on the top of a mountain made fires in the night: however, this was a stratagem, to amuse and deceive the king's forces (these being only a small party) till the greater body had secured and crossed the fords without opposition, as the king's dragoons, &c. imagined the small body in sight the whole force of the rebels, and that they would attempt crossing in the night, at, or below, the town.

The main body having thus crossed the river, headed by the *wanderer*, marched within two miles of *Stirling*, to the town of *St. Stringens*; the church of which town they blew up, to prevent their magazines falling into the duke's hands, when he pursued them, after their return from *England*.

The king's dragoons, and the garrison of the castle, finding the rebels had given them the slip, and had in the night encamped at the said town, colonel *Gardiner*, who commanded the beforementioned dragoons, made the best of his way to get between them and *Edinburgh*; which he did, and entered *Falkirk*.

The castle, while they were encamped, as above, which was within reach of the cannon, kept a brisk and continual fire upon them the whole night, but did

¹ The account prefixed to *Ascanius* safely makes the rebels break the bridge in their flight.

no execution. The following day the small body, or party, was left to amuse the garrison, having now none to oppose them, the dragoons being gone, and the foot retired into the garrison, joined the *wanderer*, who the next morning with his whole forces, to the number of three thousand and five hundred rebels, some armed, some naked, (though even in this condition they struck the people with a very great panic) marched to the right of *Edinburgh* road, near the town of *Kilsyth*, within nine miles of *Glasgow*.

Here for a while we will leave the rebels, and turn our eyes to view this city, which had kept spies night and day (well mounted) between that and *Stirling*, which are eighteen miles distant, that they might have particular information of every motion of the rebels, expecting a visit from them, as it was unwall'd and very opulent; wherefore they armed several hundred men to keep guard day and night, both within and without the city, for which they were under terrible apprehensions: and believing *Edinburgh* in no manner of danger, the magistrates applied to general *Guest* for some thousand stands of arms, but met with a refusal, that capital being under no less (if not a greater terror than the city of *Glasgow*, knowing a considerable number among them disaffected to the present government.

The citizens of *Glasgow* finding the rebels, in a manner, at their shop doors, called in all their out-guards, and held a council; the result of which was that the magistrates and clergy should leave the city, as they had but two thousand stands of arms, most of them out of order, and were discouraged by general *Gueft's* refusal, as above, notwithstanding they had men enough.

In consequence of this resolution, they continued removing their families and effects (which their fears had put them upon doing at the first news of the rebels being at *Perth*) to *Dunbarton* castle, to that of *Edinburgh*, and to other places in the adjacent country.

The clergy having fled, and the magistrates intending to follow their example, about 13000 of the inhabitants stopped them, demanding the arms of the town to be delivered into their hands, that they might rather die like men in defence of their wives,

children, and effects, than tamely see the first ravished, the second murdered, and the third plundered; expecting nothing less, if they themselves escaped being butchered in cold blood, from the frightful idea they had conceived of the rebels.

The magistrates endeavoured to dispel their fears, however great were their own, telling them, that colonel *Gardiner* being so near, who had promised to come to their assistance with his dragoons in case the rebels entered the city, would keep them in some awe, and prevent their doing any great mischief; that therefore they ought to be quiet, and make no shew of resistance to defend the city, which would be vain to hope they could do, till those troops were in sight to support them; whereas did they of themselves offer to make a stand, it would only enrage a desperate rabble, who would not value what havock they made, and occasion the very desolation they hoped to prevent. But indeed.

Colonel *Gardiner* having reconnoitred, and found he was no way able to cope with, them, made the best of his way for *Edinburgh*, where he was to be joined by colonel *Hamilton's* 400 dragoons, which had been for a considerable time encamped in and about that capital. Colonel *Gardiner* coming to the village of *Casterphon*, within two miles of *Edinburgh*, on a *Saturday* evening, was next morning joined by these troops, in order to cover that capital.

The fears of *Glasgow* were dissipated by the rebels directing their march from *Kilsyth* towards *Edinburgh*. In a village on the sea coast below *Falkirk*, they found several casks of powder and some swivel guns, belonging to merchant-men, with which they made free, and marched on to *Linlithgow*, where they made a stay of two or three days. Here they held a council, and it was resolved to proceed and attack *Gardiner* and *Hamilton's* dragoons, who were encamped (as I have said) at *Casterphon*, supported (and bravely as we shall find) by some thousands of militia, and the city-guard. In which were the best of *Edinburgh*, and many of the clergy, determined to wait for, and give, the highlanders battle, on their first appearance.

In the city the inhabitants held a council, the result of which was, to call in the militia to guard that, and leave only the city-guards with the regular troops.

On the sight of the rebels Colonel *Gardiner* (who offered the city to leave a party of his dragoons in it) hearing at that very instant of general *Cope*'s arrival from *Aberdeen* at *Dunbar*, twenty-four miles from *Edinburgh*, made the best of his way thither: and the city-guards plucking up a courage, *bravely* marched into the town, with more precipitation than was consistent with the expectations they had raised by the gallant resolution they had declared of defending it to the last man, when they marched out to encamp.

Certain persons of distinction came from the city to, and had an audience of, the *wanderer*: what was their errand, or whether fear or affection was the motive for this visit, I shall not take upon me to determine; but it was thought by his people, that it was the former, and that they came to make some terms for the city; into which let us now cast an eye.

The city-guard being got in, without the loss of a single man; and *Gardiner*, with *Hamilton*'s dragoons, having left the defence of this capital to the bravery of the citizens, intent on their own safety only, occasioned a confirmation among the inhabitants, not inferior to that which seized them a few days before, when the fire (or alarm) bells were rung, and the people possessed with a notion, that they should be massacred by the wild highlanders while they were at divine service on the sabbath; at which time the ministers preached girded with their swords, being most of them commissioned officers of the militia. The universal terror was at that time so great, and the outcries and horrors of the people were such, till they were informed, that the rebels were yet at some distance, that it is impossible, by any words, to give a just idea of them.

The city-guard being (as I said) retired into the city, the gates were immediately shut; and the citizens, having before raised double sconces within the walls, and planted cannon not only on them, but in the main streets fronting the gates, determined to defend themselves to the last drop of blood. A general council was held of magistrates, clergy, and trades; in which there arose great debates, little differing from tumults. At length the question was put, Whether it was expedient to defend or surrender the city on which the major part concluded to defend it to the last extremities: and accordingly every man

took to his post. Soon after this resolution taken, a letter (sent by the *wanderer*) was delivered to the magistrates, requiring them quietly to surrender the city under pain of military execution, which if they did, they should continue unmolested, or to that purport. This occasioned the holding another council, but less numerous, the magistrates and clergy being only assembled, with some few heads of the trades, to whom the said letter was read; when after many arguments, the question was put, Submit or not? The one half of the magistrates and the clergy voted for defending themselves; but the provost, and those with him, apprehending the dismal consequence if forced to surrender to such a desperate set of men, were for opening the gates, and carried it by two votes.

The general panic with which the whole city was struck, made them think their safety depended on the despair of any; for the common people were become desperate, from their apprehensions of falling into the power of a popish *pretender*: on any terms whatever, as they had been taught, that the papists think themselves bound by no ties, however sacred, to perform their promises to protestants: it was therefore judged expedient to conceal this last resolution from the populace. Thus the walls continued man'd, and the town-guard under arms, ignorant of the determination of the council; in consequence of which determination, the provost took his coach, and privately (between twelve and one at night) went out at the nether port, and rounding the outside of the walls, drove to the rebels camp at *Casterphon*, from whence he returned before day-break, apprehending the fury of the mob, had his tour been discovered; What passed between him and the rebels, I desire to be excused from relating, till I am informed of it myself. But,

However secret this resolution of surrendering was endeavoured to be concealed, yet it was divulged, at least suspected; for many gentlemen, and others, who were on duty, crying out, the provost had sold the city to the rebels, ran up to the castle, delivered their small-arms to general *Guest*, and desired a party from him to remove the cannon from the city thither, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels; which the General dissuaded them

from as dangerous to themselves, should the rebels fall upon them while they were so busied.

However, though the city-guards continued still in their posts, the inhabitants removed the cash-banks of the city, all the records, and their valuable effects, into the castle, where many of the clergy and others took shelter.

Lochiel marched that night with his men, a body of about six or seven hundred, in order to surprize *Edinburgh*. He concealed them, and in the morning, at the opening the *Nether-bow-port*, they rushed in, surprized the city-guard, proclaimed the father of our *wanderer*, and sent him an account of what had passed; who, on this intelligence, set forward, entered the city by a breach the citizens had made to fire through,, and took possession of *Holy-rood-house*.

As soon as the rebels got into the town, they possessed themselves of the guard-house, disarmed the guards, and made themselves masters of all the cannon in the town, and had not a party from the castle in the night, before they entered, carried off *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* baggage, they had seized a valuable booty, as there were about a thousand tents, of which they were in great want: about twelve the *wanderer's* father was proclaimed * * * *, and he himself'***.

I find in the *French MSS* journal this article, *Le premiere d'Octobre le p—— envoyat un exprès au Duc qu'il étoit arrivé a Edinbourg capitale d'Ecosse est que la ville étoit illuminée par tout sinon le fort qui n'étoit pas rendu.*

On the 1st of *October*, N. S. the p—— sent an express to the duke (meaning the person taking on him the title of duke of *Athol*) of his arrival at *Edinburgh*, capital of *Scotland*, and of the town being throughout illuminated, except the castle, which was not surrounded.

If the *wanderer* judged of the people's inclinations by this instance, a little time convinced him, that these rejoycings are no certain marks of affection, nor the least dependance to be founded on them.

The *wanderer* staid at the palace till he had intelligence of G——1 C——'s march, and then went out to give him the meeting. He left *Edinburgh*, and

that night lay at *Trenent*, six miles distant, where he resolved to attack his majesty's forces, who were so very advantageously posted, that upon reconnoitring the ground, it was deemed impracticable to make an effort on that side, without a manifest hazard of being, entirely defeated; wherefore the rebel army marched a little to the eastward of *Trenent*, lay upon their arms that night, and began the onset at break of day next morning, when they rushed upon the royal army with such surprizing and sudden fury, that after the first discharge of the cannon, they got possession of them; the G——l's dragoons gave their fire, and (as my account says) trusted their safety to the heels of their horses. The particulars of this battle, called the battle of *Preston-pans*, being allowed to be justly set down in our publick papers, I shall pass them over, and only observe, that of the rebels not above a dozen were killed outright; but most of their wounded men dying, the greater number that very night, their loss amounted to about fourscore.

After the defeat of his majesty's forces, the *wanderer* marched back to *Mussleburgh*, and lay that night at *Pinkey* house, and the next day returned to the palace at *Edinburgh*, where tents and other necessaries, were provided for his army, which he camped at *Didistone*, all the while he sojourned in that capital.

The rebels having defeated the royal army, *Lochiel*, at the head of his people, entered the *Nether-bow-port* of the city, with the colours they had taken from G—1 C——, about nine in the morning.

A little before they entered the city, six of the king's dragoons had ridden into it as fast as their horses could carry them, to take shelter in the castle, into which they were received: as they rode thro' the streets, the inhabitants asked who had gained the battle? They answered, the *king*. This false account occasioned the losing several others, either killed or taken; for a number of highlanders, besides *Lochiel's* party being got into the town a little after *Lochiel's* arrival, were dispersed into different houses For refreshment, when a large party of the king's dragoons coming in, to get also to the castle, the highlanders fired upon them out of the windows, which fire they returned; and this alarming the castle,

General *Cuest*, acquainted with the loss of the battle, refused to receive them, fearing the rebels, elate with victory, might rush in with them, and seize upon, it.

The next day (as I have already said) the *wanderer* returned to *Holyrood-house*, and his father was again proclaimed at the city cross, this second time with great formality, the king's heralds being compelled to perform the ceremony.

After which they were obliged to read a manifesto, which promised much more than the *Scots* believed would be made good. The same day was issued a proclamation, commanding all within the city, and twelve miles round, who had any arms, to bring and deliver them at *Holyrood-house*, and all who had any horses of his majesty's dragoons, to send them to the camp of *Didistone*, under pain of military execution.

The next day another proclamation was read at the public cross, by which all who had taken arms, clergy or others, were declared *rebels*, if in so many days they did not make their submission; which occasioned all the clergy to desert the city, and was the true reason of divine service being suspended during the time it was possessed by the rebels.

The same day they took possession of the custom-house of *Leith*, in which were seizures to the value (as said) is of forty thousand pounds sterling, which they sold to the *smugglers*, from whom they had been take and to no one else at a third part of the known value.

In the interim, the castle every night was casting shells at *Holyrood-house*, out of coehorns and mortars, but did no harm.

The day after they had seized the custom-house, the rebels opened the trench, and raised batteries against the castle; the fire was very hot on both sides, for some time, in the night only, especially from the rebels, who had placed guards at all the avenues' leading to the castle.

A proclamation was issued a few days after the trench was opened, for the citizens to withdraw the cash, or money banks from the castle, and carry on their business as usual; but this being disregarded, another immediately followed, forbidding the furnishing the castle with provision on pain of death. In answer to which, general *Guest* gave the citizens

to understand, that he would lay the town in ashes to clear a passage for the receiving supplies, and advised them to provide for their personal safety by the next morning.

This occasioned the chief of the city to apply to the *wanderer*, to take a proper method to prevent the threatened ruin. He wrote to the governor of the castle, which letter being already printed in the publick papers,. I take no notice of. In a word, a truce was concluded for eight days; during which time, the castle was suffered to receive provisions from the city and country; which space being elapsed, the fire began on both sides with greater fury day and night. Many houses nearest the castle were beat down, many of the inhabitants killed (who would not take warning given as beforementioned by the general,) and many more fled the city. Though the high street of *Edinburgh* is much more crowded with people than any street in *London*, yet by 12 o'clock, after the castle began again to fire, not a soul was to be seen in it. At length the fire from the castle set the weigh-house (standing in the heart of the town) in a flame, by which several rebels, and many of the inhabitants, lost their lives.

The rebels having erected a battery against the north west side of the castle, near Mr. *Neal Mac Vickar's* church, who made the remarkable prayer taken notice of in our papers, fired from thence, and were answered by the guns of the castle, which beat down a house, in which was captain *Taylor*, a shoemaker, who had promised to present the *wanderer* with the keys of the castle, and several rebels; many of whom were killed, and those who escaped (among whom was the said *Taylor*) were taken by a party of the garrison., who flung themselves down with ropes and with the same hoisted up their prisoners. Thus the captain took possession of this fortress, tho' he could not find the keys to make good his promise.

The weigh-house being, as it is said, burnt; the fire from the castle and that from the rebels continuing day and night, the citizens, apprehending the entire demolition of their metropolis, left the city; and flying for safety to *Leith*, met in their way the inhabitants of that town flying for shelter to *Edinburgh*; for the rebels being in possession of

Leith, the *Fox* man of war, (which was afterwards lost with every soul on board) fired furiously upon that town, so that the poor distracted citizens and townsmen knew not where to find refuge.

On the north east side, where the rebels had opened a trench, the garrison sallied out, and made a great slaughter; and, without returning to the castle, entrenched themselves in the night and sallying again, from thence the next morning, killed many more of the rebels.

The siege may be said to have lasted about twenty days; tho' the batteries on the rebels side were sooned silenced: the castle, however, continued the fire till they quitted the city.

I shall now return to my *French* journal, which says, *Le 3 (Octobre) N.S. le Duc a reçeu une lettre du p—, qu'il avoit été victorieux d'une bataille ; qu'il y avoit cinq cents hommes de tuez et trois brigades de prisoniers. Le p— a perdu environ une douzaine de soldats. October the 3^d, N. S. the duke* (meaning as before) has received a letter from the p— of his having gained a battle, in which five hundred men were killed, three brigades taken prisoners, and the p— lost about a dozen soldiers.

The 7th ditto the duke (as before) continued at the castle of *Dunkeld* till the 25th, in which time he received all the warlike stores, and four thousand *Lous-d'ors* for the p— from on board a ship arrived from *France*.

The 28th he set out from *Dunkeld* for *Perth*, about fifteen miles distant; where, on the 29th, he received another supply of warlike stores from on board a *French* ship. There are other (trifling,) particulars, no way interesting or material; wherefore I shall only observe that this nominal duke joined the *wanderer* at *Edinburgh*, on the 10th of *November*, N. S. where on advice of the arrival of some ships at *Montrose* with cannon, money, and warlike stores, a party was sent out to guard the pass at *Alloaway*. Two of his majesty's frigates were in the *Firth*, with some transports which landed six or seven hundred men on the north side, to prevent the passing of the cannon: a battery was raised by the rebels of six pieces of cannon, which the king's ships battered some time in hopes to demolish it; but they having received considerable damage from the battery, were obliged

to withdraw, and hearing the highlanders were advancing in a large body, the king's troops reembarked, and the rebels carried off their stores, money, a great quantity of small arms, and cannon, which were six in number, without further interruption.

It was remarked, that the *wanderer*, all the time he was at *Edinburgh*, was extreme sedate and full of thought, and not in the least elated by his victory at *Preston-pans*; which may possibly be from his natural disposition, the care he was in, or from the business he had on his hands, being greatly taken up with writing, as will appear in the sequel. It was once hinted to him, that some ladies seemed desirous of a ball? to which he answered, it was a very improper season to think of diversions.

There is a story which I shall take notice of, though not vouch for its being other than pure invention.

Notwithstanding as strict a discipline was said to be kept as possible, among such a number of wild men) it was next to impossible to restrain them from committing some disorders: many private piques were revenged under colour of a public cause; and no vigilance could prevent some of the highlanders from marauding. Half a dozen of them had one night got into the house of Mr —lay, near *Kerntouloch*, six miles from *Edinburgh*, a very mortified gentleman, remarkable for his great charity, piety, and abstemious life, who lay every night in his winding-sheet and coffin: the highlanders having secured what arms were in the house, set a centinel over the servants, and packed up all the plate and linnen they thought they could carry off. The chamber where Mr —lay, was without furniture, and the last they visited as they were going off; (having locked the servants in a room:) seeing the coffin they concluded a corpse was inclosed, and as it might have a good winding-sheet, would be a pity to leave it behind them; they therefore, with a design of taking what the dead man would never miss, removed the lid of the coffin, on which Mr. — raising himself up, they were struck with such a panic, thinking the Deel had taken possession of the corpse, that they all took to their heels, and Mr. — running after them to the door, at their rushing out,

fastened it upon them; though the precaution was needless, for they never looked behind them, or slackened their pace, till out of sight of the house; Their terror was so great, that they left all their plunder behind, and Mr. —— lost no individual thing.

But to return: On the arrival of the nominal duke of *Athol* at *Edinburgh* a council of war was held, and after some debate, it was resolved to march for *England*. Accordingly they set out, and went to *Dalkeith*, where they staid some few days. Having advice that a detachment of *Wade's* dragoons were drawing near the borders, they sent out parties to gain intelligence, and resolved to divide the rebel army into two bodies, one of which was to march towards *Peebles*, and the other towards *Kelsor*, to conceal their real design. Not being able to gain any intelligence, one body made a stay of some days at *Kelsoe*, and then marched to *Judborough*, on their way to *Carlisle*, and joined the other body at *Longtown*, and then proceeded in one corps, resolving to besiege that town; but hearing that G— W—— was coming by *Hexam*, towards *Brampton*, with design to give them battle, the *wanderer* gave orders for the rebel army to march towards *Brampton*, and sent out parties towards *Hartwistle*, to gain intelligence of the king's army; but receiving none, he, with a part of the rebels, staid at *Brampton*, resolved, (if G—1 W—— came up) to give him battle; and the other part he sent to invest *Carlisle*, which (some days after the trenches were opened) surrendered, as did the castle the day following. The *wanderer* here rested his troops some days; after which, (leaving a garrison in *Carlisle*) he, resolving the push forward; as *Wade* did not appear, marched to *Penrith*; from thence to *Kendal*, by *Schap*; and at *Lancaster* made a stand of two days. Some of the foot marched to *Garston*, and again joined the main body the next day at *Preston*. When they came to *Manchester*, they were joined by about seventy of that town and Neighbourhood; a convincing proof, that what hopes they had of the country's rising in their favour, were raised on a very sandy foundation. Here the rebels rested two days, and lord *George Murray* went to *Congleton* with a party of horse and foot, (we may suppose) to encourage a rising: if it

was with such a design, it is a demonstration, that neither the *wanderer*, nor he knew the *English Jacobites*. No people in the universe know better the difference between drinking and fighting: it is true the latter they know not practically; and we may believe they are so well satisfied of the truth of what they have by relation, that they never will. Would toasting healths reduce kingdoms, and the *French* monarch had a body of these men in his service, he would bid fair for succeeding in the favourite scheme of universal monarchy.

Some of this party lord *George Murray* detached to gain intelligence of the king's forces, and heard they were at *Newcastle-under-line*. In their return to *Congleton*, they carried with them captain *Vare*, whom they took in their way, and detained him till they left *Carlisle* in their retreat to *Scotland*. This party staid a day at *Congleton*, and then marched thro' *Leek*, over the moors, to *Ashborn in the Peak*, where they joined the *wanderer*, and the day after marched to *Derby*, where they staid but two days only. As they apprehended (with very good reason) to be surrounded by the king's forces, and had received advice that lord *John Drummond* was landed at *Montrose* with some troops, cannon, and warlike stores, from *France*, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to return back. The *Hazard* sloop was taken by these recruits landed at *Montrose*: the tide being out, and she not having water to get off, they raised a battery, and obliged her to surrender. This was, in itself, a trifling loss to the government, but of great consequence to the rebels.

In consequence of the above resolution, the third day after their arrival at *Derby*, they left that place, and made one day's stay at *Preston*, and two at *Lancaster*, where they proposed to make a stand. To this end they sent out a party of horse and foot, to reconnoitre, or get intelligence of the king's forces. These met a detachment G——1 O——'s rangers; but as they had a mortal aversion to the sight of a rebel, they returned the way they came as fast as their horses could carry them: some of them quitted their steeds, and crept thro' hedges to get out of the way by the enclosures: four had the mortification to fall into the hands of these rebels, who were dishonest

enough to carry off the horses of such as had dismounted for the above reason.

Though (as I have said) the rebels designed to make a stand at *Lancaster*, yet on better consideration, they thought fit to continue their retreat, as they apprehended the king's forces would get between them and *Scotland*, the consequence of which need not be mentioned: the *wanderer*, therefore, marched his army to *Kendal*, and from thence to *Penrith*, at the former, the lord *George Murray* was left with 300 men, to bring up the baggage to the latter, a march of three days; during which, they often saw some of the king's horse hovering; and sixty or seventy of these having got before the rebels, between *Schap* and *Penrith*, had these horse thrown down the stone walls on either side the road, the rebels must infallibly have abandoned their baggage; but this party, at the appearance of the highlanders, dispersed, tho, they coasted the rebel army (at a distance) till they got to *Clifton*: the baggage was sent to *Penrith*, and a design formed to surprize the light horse: to which end, their *Hussars* were left at a farmer's at the foot of *Clifton-moor*; the foot convoy with baggage, and some horse from *Penrith*, marched through the lord *Lonsdale's* parks to get behind the light horse, who were expected to come into the moor. At *Lowther* house two men rushed out on horseback, who were pursued and taken, one proved to be a footman of the Duke of *Cumberland's*; from whom they learned, that his royal highness, the night before, was within four miles; upon which information, an *aid de camp* was sent to *Penrith* to acquaint the *wanderer*. He immediately ordered some foot to succour lord *George Murray*, who returned to *Clifton*, and posted himself in the most advantageous manner. Soon after they saw the Duke forming on the top of *Clifton-moor*. His royal highness ordered a body of dragoons to dismount, and attack the posts lord *George Murray* was in possession of, which they regularly did, with great resolution, and being received with equal courage, (if that may be allowed a rebel) a very smart fire, from both sides, continued for some time, but the rebels having greatly the advantage of situation, and about threescore (say

they, forty, the other) of the king's dragoons being killed, they were obliged to retire.

Lord *George Murray* leaving a guard at the bridge of *Penrith*, retired with the rest of the men into the town. The next day having drawn off the guard at the bridge, the rebel army marched to *Carlisle*, where they made a stay of two days; and then leaving, in that town, their cannon, three excepted, and baggage, (with a garrison of about 200 men, under the command of *Hamilton* and *Townley*, the former governor of the castle, the latter governor of the town) the rest of the rebel army having crossed the river *Esk*, (without the loss of one man) separated, and by different roads, for advantage of forage, marched to *Glasgow*; where having remained eight days, just twice four longer than they were welcome, they directed their march towards *Stirling*. The wanderer went to *Banochbourn*, and lord *George Murray* to *Falkirk*; where he continued, on account of the siege of the castle of *Stirling*, which the rebels vainly hoped to reduce by force: while lord *George* lay at *Falkirk*, he from thence made an excursion to *Linlithgow*, and there seized upon, and carried off the magazines and provisions gotten together for the use of his majesty's troops, which entered that town the evening of the very day lord *George* was retired with his plunder to join the rest of the rebel army at *Banochbourn*. Here they remained till lord *John Drummond* had crossed the *Firth* with his troops, and reinforced them. On his arrival, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to give General *Hawley* battle; for the Duke having reduced *Carlisle*, left his majesty's forces under *Hawley's* command, and returned to *London*.

In consequence of this result, having left a party to protect their works from being demolished by the garrison of *Stirling* castle, (the siege of which was still continued) they marched and attacked General *Hawley*, whom they defeated on the moor of *Falkirk*.

This battle, however it might raise the character, it lessened, very much, the number of the wanderer's followers; for the highlanders daily quitted him to return home, and secure the plunder they had gotten. As the wanderer found all hopes of reducing *Stirling* castle vain, his own army diminishing, a fresh one of the king's under the command of the duke, who with

surprizing expedition was come to *Edinburgh*, ready to fall upon him, he raised the siege, repaired the *Firth*, *Stirling-bridge* being broken down by General *Blackeney*, before the *wanderer* formed the siege, returned northwards, and the night they passed the *Firth*, reached *Dunblain*; from whence they marched to *Crief*, where a council of war being held, it was resolved, for the greater conveniency of the rebel army, that they should divide; the *wanderer*, with the highlanders, to keep *Wade's* road to *Inverness*, (these in their way surprized the *Barracks* at *Badenoch* with a party of regular troops) and the horse, with the lowlanders, to march the coast road, under the command of lord *George Murray*. The *wanderer* first arrived at *Inverness*, the place of rendezvous, and took the castle, which made but a few days resistance, and was surrendered before he was joined by the corps under lord *George*.

After the surrender of this castle, brigadier *Stapleton*, who commanded the *French* piquets, marched with some of these, and some highlanders, and invested *Fort-Augustus*; which surrendered after a feint resistance. During this time, lord *John*, who was left to guard the *Spey* with a proper detachment, in case the king's army advanced, which lay at *Aberdeen*, hearing a party of *Kingston's* light horse, and some *Argyleshire* men, were sent to *Keith*, detached a party of his rebels, which surprized, and cut most of them to pieces.

After the surrender of *Fort-Augustine* brigadier *Stapleton*, with his piquets, *Lochiel's* and *Cappoch's* people formed the siege of *Fort-William*; but were obliged to give over their enterprize.

During the siege of this fort, lord *George Murray*, with the *Athol* men and *Mac-phersons*, set out to surprize *Castle Blair*; and in their march surprized a great number of the *Campbells*, quartered at *Blair-faitey*, at *Kinkins*, and places adjacent; but colonel *Agneu*, who commanded some regular troops at *Blair-castle*, retired with them into the house, where for seventeen days he suffered great straits. The castle was vainly battered with two three-pounders several days, till it was at length relieved by *the Hessian* troops; on whose approach, lord *George Murray*, having but a thousand men, their number being about six thousand, was obliged

to retire to *Inverness*. Here, having advice that lord *Loudon Campbell*, who commanded the troops which had withdrawn from *Inverness*, with the *Monroes* and others who had joined them, were in the shire of *Ross*, immediately pursued them; but they embarked at *Tain*, and retired into *Sutherland*: this put a stop to the pursuit, till boats could be got, which were drawn together with all possible expedition; and the nominal duke of *Perth*, with some highlanders, embarking crossed the ferry, surprized the earl of *Loudon's* people, many of whom he made prisoners, but the earl of *Loudon* and the lord *President* escaped.

About the same time the *Hazard* sloop returning from *France*, was driven onshore by the *Sheerness*. The money and arms which were got on shore, were surprized by lord *Rae's* people; and the officers, who came in the *Hazard*, betrayed by their guide, made prisoners. On which account, lord *Cromarty* was sent with a detachment to chastize that country; but wanting good intelligence, he was himself surprized, and made prisoner at *Dun-Robbin-Castle*.

His royal highness having assembled his troops at *Aberdeen*, and ordered provision-ships to keep on the coast to supply his army, and observe its motion, marched towards the *Spey*. The rebel army was at this time divided into five different bodies, for the conveniency of subsistence; and as a sufficient number of them could not be gathered together to prevent the Duke's passing the *Spey*, lord *George Drummond's* body being too weak to make resistance, he retired towards *Inverness*.

Advice being received of the Duke's motions, the rebels recalled such of their troops as had been sent to invest *Fort-William*; the last of which did not arrive at their army, till the eve of the battle of *Culloden*, whither their main body had marched that night preceding that eve from *Inverness*, and drew up to receive and give the Duke battle. But his royal highness having halted at *Nairn*, fourteen miles distant, the rebels resolved to march that night, and attack him in his camp. They accordingly set forward, but the great distance made it impossible for them to arrive in due time for a surprize, the Duke's army being under arms to continue their

march before day. His transports were the night before gotten into *Inverness* bay.

Though the rebels had marched all night, they were four miles short of *Nairn* when it wanted but an hour of day, consequently their design could not be put in execution: wherefore it was resolved to return, and wait for the Duke at *Culloden*.

On the Duke's advancing, the *wanderer* accordingly drew out his army on the moor above *Culloden-house*. His royal highness advanced in 3 columns, having formed as they marched. The cannon of the king's army began to cannonade, a diversion the highlanders were not accustomed to, and were therefore eager to come to close fighting, and accordingly, having received orders to attack, they rushed on the king's forces with a fury little short of madness, though the wind was in their faces; which driving the smoak of an incessant hot fire from the king's troops into their eyes, the former were hid from the latter, till they were upon the points of their bayonets. The reason I have already given for passing by the particulars of the two former set battles, may suffice for my not entering into a detail of this, which was attended by a complete victory gained by the duke, and put an end to all the hopes of the *wanderer*.

I shall only observe, that after their fruitless march to attack the duke's camp, three thousand of the rebels deserted him. This I have heard charged to the treachery of lord *George Murray*. I who have all along endeavoured to be impartial, think this charge very inconsistent with his behaviour during this last battle. I have been told by a gentleman, who was an eye witness of all that passed before this overthrow was completed, who is a good judge of affairs of this rough nature, and on whose word I dare rely; that lord *George*, during the action, behaved with the utmost resolution; that the body he commanded made what impression was made on the king's troops; actually possessed himself of some of their cannon, was the first who attacked, and the last who quitted the field.

Having thus kept the *wanderer* company into *England*, returned with him into *Scotland*, and had him (I may say) in my eye till he was entirely ruined, I should now, in compliment to custom, desert him in

his abject condition. However, I will bear him company in his adversity, though it is not altogether so modish. But before I enter upon this forlorn situation, I beg leave to return back, and take notice of some particular events, which I purposely post-poned, not to break in upon his travels, and which I flatter myself may afford some entertainment to the curious.

While the *wanderer* was in *Edinburgh*, the siege of the castle did not intirely engross his thoughts; he was busied in sending dispatches to the very northwardmost parts of the kingdom, even as far as *John-a-Groat's* house in the county of *Caithness*, the people of which, were the first, after his appearance, who had promised him a powerful assistance, but hitherto had not sent him a man; not that they forgot him; on the contrary, they were every night drinking his health, and success to his arms: possibly that they might leave none of their liquors to fall into the hands of the king's troops, should they come that length. This sort of demonstration of their loyalty, as they call it, was little agreeable to the *wanderer*, who said, *There were not braver men than his good friends of Caithness that nobody proposed to do him greater service, over a bottle at night, but his misfortune was, they surely forgot him the next morning.* But the sequel will shew, that however he might endeavour to rouze them by letters, it was not easily done.

The *Mac-Greggors*, whose country borders on *Argyle-shire*, to the number of about three hundred, paid a greater regard to the summons the *wanderer* sent them. They rose with an intention to set forward for *Perth*, to have an opportunity of joining him at *Edinburgh*, but were repulsed by the *Campbells*, and obliged to return home with some loss.

The *Mac-phersons*, a clan of between three and four hundred, (whose chief was *Cluny Mac-pherson*², a captain in lord *Loudon's* regiment, who had a hundred of these in the King's pay) after some time, set forwards also for *Perth*, one and all.

The next who appeared in support of the *wanderer's* cause, were the *Macintoshes*, in the shire

² This gentleman lived in the country of *Badenochb*, 50 miles to the southward of *Inverness*, near *Riven*.

of *Inverness*, near the town of that name, The chief of this clan, which consists of about six hundred men, is called the laird of *Macintosh*, and with a hundred of his men was also a captain in the king's service in lord *Loudon's* regiment. The lady of this chief not only raised all the clan about her, but also inveigled away the company her husband commanded in the royal service, as above said, three men excepted; in a man's habit headed the whole body, and traversing the country, for some time, to augment her number, sent them forward for *Perth*, under the command of a merchant of *Inverness*, of the same name and clan.

All the other northern clans, who as yet had not publicly declared for the *wanderer*, were irresolute, whether they should join him, or stand neuter. These were sir *Alexander Mac-donnald* of the isles, who could raise eight hundred stout fellows; the *Frasers*, whose chief was the unhappy (though wily) lord *Lovat*, who could raise about eight hundred men; the *Mac-kenzies*, who are about four thousand robust fighting men, well known to be generally disaffected, the chief excepted, who once bore the title of earl of *Seaforth*, but since the year 1715, the title only of lord *Fortrose*, a member of the *British* parliament, who (with great difficulty,) kept his clan within the bounds of their duty to his majesty; another branch of this clan, about one hundred and fifty in number, are vassals to the earl of *Cromarty*, also a *Mac-kenzy* took up arms under their chief, and his son *lord Mac-leod*, in favour of the *wanderer*, as is too well known, for that unhappy family. This nobleman was drawn in by the too powerful persuasions of lord *Lovat*, and *Mac-donnald* of *Barasdale*; and though on his way to *Perth* he repented this rash step, yet, by a wrong notion of honour, having engaged his word, he, however reluctant, proceeded to that city.

A part of the clan of the *St. Claires* in *Caithness*, (under *St. Claire* of *Scots-calder*, now attainted) also designed to take arms for our *wanderer*; but were prevented, by lord *Loudon's* regiment lying in their road. This clan consists of near three hundred men, but the greater-part of them well affected to his majesty, and had offered their service to the king, by sir *William St. Clair*, of *Danbeath* in the said county, who came to *London* solely for that purpose.

The *Frasers* were all this time in arms, under the command of lord *Lovat's* son, but not yet determined on setting forward for *Perth*, the place of rendezvous for the northern rebels.

In the interim lord *Loudon* arrived from *London* at *Inverness*, sent by the government, in a man of war, and to be assisted with the advice and interest of the lord *President* of *Scotland*, who, we shall find, did great service both to his majesty, and to that northern part of the country, to the no small hazard of his life. He employed himself in writing, and dictating to his clerks, letters to the several clans, without intermission night or day, and by his arguments not only determined some wavering people to remain quiet, but others, before irresolute, to bring over their clans to his majesty's service, among which latter was sir *Alexander Macdonnald* of the isles, and the *Rosses*, beside raising his own people, the *Sutherlands*, *Mac-keys*, and *Guns*, whose zeal for the royal service was yet more strengthened by his lordship's setting before their eyes their duty to his majesty, and the danger threatening their country, in the strongest point of light; by which means he gathered, to *Inverness*, a body of between two and three thousand, whom he furnished with money, from his own pocket and credit, for their pay, till the government could remit the sums necessary.

It is also well known, that the lord *President* by daily expresses, used his utmost endeavours to dissuade lord *Lovat* from entering on the desperate enterprize he has since paid for with his head; in the most earnest manner entreating him to send his men, and join his majesty's forces, the only method by which he could efface the remembrance of his late conduct. In return to these salutary admonitions, the lord *Lovat* sent a party of the *Frasers* to his lordship's house at *Culloden*, which they attacked in the night, but the lord *President* having fortified it with cannon, and a party both within and without, they were repulsed, lost some men, killed on the spot, and left their wounded, to whom his lordship's charity gave money to be cured, and sent them to *Inverness*.

The lord *President's* resolute and prudent conduct, kept up the spirits of all the royal party

eighty miles to the south eastward, and as many to the north-east and north-west.

At length the lord *Lovat*, who had lifted the mask, threw it quite off, and sent his men to *Perth*, which determined lord *President* and lord *Loudon*, to send a party of eight hundred men to apprehend, and bring, him prisoner to *Inverness*, which they performed without loss. He was confined in Mrs. *Mac-lean's* house, with his own servants to attend him, and centinels placed at the door; where having remained some weeks in confinement, he was at last privately carried off, by some of his own people, to the highlands, where he was concealed till the *wanderer* returned from *England*. What more regards this nobleman's conduct, is so well known, that it would be impertinent to relate it.

During this time, six hundred of the *Grants* were under arms; but, it was thought, they were for waiting to see on which side the scale would turn, before they declared; wherefore the lord *Presidents* letters to their chief (was it so) could have no effect: he was probably resolved to save his estate, whatever side prevailed; for he was as vainly solicited by the *wanderer*. After the battle of *Culloden*, however he tendered his service to the Duke, nay, some say sooner, as his royal highness marched from *Aberdeen* northward, when every one had reason to deem the affairs to the *wanderer* in a desperate situation.

In the interval, lord *Lewis Gordon* was very active in spiriting up his his brother, the duke of *Gordon's* clan, in favour of the *wanderer*, and with about six or eight hundred, whom he had decoyed out of between four and five thousand, of which the clan consists, being joined by *Glen-becket* with three hundred men took possession of, and laid, *Aberdeen* under contribution, beside obliging them to raise him five hundred men or to pay him 5*l.* for each man wanting of that number. Here they proclaimed the *wanderer's* father and the *wanderer* himself ***, with great solemnity. Provost *Meurison*, and the aldermen, who kept a constant correspondence with the lord *President*, fled the city, and strongly solicited succours from him and the earl of *Loudon* who sent a detachment of eight hundred men to recover *Aberdeen* out of the hands of the rebels: but they, in

the interim, had quitted that city, to go and meet lord *John Drummond*, who was landed at *Montrose*, with three piquets of the *Irish* brigade, which made a hundred and fifty men, and lord *John's* own regiment, which consisted of five hundred men, two hundred more set out with the unfortunate *Ratcliff*, but were taken in their pasage, so that only six hundred and fifty arrived, which being joined with lord *Lewis Gordon's* forces, they amounted to about seventeen or eighteen hundred men; who hearing of the lord *Loudon's* detachment on the road towards *Aberdeen*, marched with the greatest expedition to get thither before it, which they did while the other were twelve miles short of the city at *Invurury*, where they intended to lodge all night; and having no intelligence of this forced march of the rebels back from *Montrose*, thinking themselves in security, their men were disposed in the neighbouring village and farm-houses, except one company, which staid at *Invurury*, with captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*, who commanded the detachment which, the evening before, had passed through *Strathobogie*, near which place the six hundred *Grants* were under arms, having faithfully promised the lord *President* to join captain *Monroe*; but they let him set forward, and, on second thoughts, concluded it best to sleep in a whole skin; which they took care to do.

The night captain *Monroe* came to *Invurury*, where he quartered with one company, they were fallen upon (between eight and nine at night, when it was very dark) by the whole force of the rebels under lord *John Drummwd*, and lord *Lewis Gordon*.

They immediately assaulted the house, in which were captain *Monroe*, and some other officers, some of whom were undressed, and going to bed. Notwithstanding this surprize in the dark, the rebels met with a very resolute, sharp, and obstinate resistance, at this assault; in which, on both sides there fell a hundred men; of this number, some say the loyalists, some again the rebels, lost forty: however it is certain that the captain, the officers, and other men, who were quartered in *Invurury*, behaved in so gallant a manner, that the particulars deserve to be recorded in brass, as a monument of *Scots* bravery, which must strike dumb, and cover with confusion, their calumniators. I am sorry I

cannot (from the brevity I propose to myself) do them the justice I wish; however, I will do the clans that of letting my readers know they were the *Monroes*, the *Macleods*, (of the clan of the laird of the *Macleods* of the isles, member of the *British* parliament, which suffered most) and the *Rosses*.

Captain *Monroe* and captain *Macleod* (the chief just mentioned, now in town attending the business of the house) got off; *Adam Gordon* the younger, of *Ardoch*, with several other officers and men, were carried prisoners to *Aberdeen*, and thence removed to *Perth*.

The two captains above named, who made their way through their enemies with their swords, endeavoured (next morning) to gather their scattered forces together, join the *Grants*, and seek the rebels; but they could not assemble a body of above two or three hundred men the rest, who were dispersed in the other village near *Invurury* and the neighbouring farm-houses, had returned, every man to his own home; wherefore they were obliged to retire to the town of *Strathbogie*, designing (if joined by the *Grants*) to march back, and give the rebels battle, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers: but finding the *Grants* not willing to engage at such odds, captain *Monroe* returned to *Elgin*, within six miles of the river *Spey*, and about twenty-eight miles from *Invurury*, Here he resolved to stay for a reinforcement, which he sent for to *Inverness*, and till he had again assembled those which were dispersed at *Invurury*, to whose habitations he sent. These not only returned to him, but all the *Monroes*, who had before staid with their families, now left their homes, on the news of his defeat, and voluntarily joined him, determined to march back to *Aberdeen*: but the lord *President* thought it imprudent to risque so brave an officer, at so great a disadvantage; wherefore the brave *Monroe* receiving dissuasive reasons instead of resolute succours, quartered his men in *Elgin*, *Forress*, and *Nairn*; and would not return to *Inveness* till his assistance was there wanted.

When the rebels were forced, by the Duke's advancing, to retreat from *Stirling* to the north, they divided into two bodies, as I have said in the foregoing itinerary, and a detachment, which made a

small body, under the command of *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Macdonald* of *Barrasdale*, struck off at *Crief* for *Lochaber*, in order to raise all the men they could, with the greatest expedition, to meet the *wanderer* at, and take in, *Inverness*; The rout of the two larger bodies I have already mentioned.

On the near approach of the rebels to *Inverness*, the lords *Loudon* and *President* were under a necessity of sending to the gallant *Monroe* of *Culcairn* for assistance, who immediately flew to succour them; and soon after having had intelligence that the *wanderer* was at the lady *Mackintosh's*, in the isle of *Moyie*, six miles from *Inverness*, he set out in the night, with a party, to surprize and take him, but had not the success he flattered himself with; but returning to the city, assisted in making it tenable, as time and circumstances would permit, strengthening (at the same time) the garrison of the fort, for a vigorous defence: but having received intelligence, that the two bodies of rebels were upon joining, and would make a corps of near eight thousand men, the lords *Loudon* and *President* thought proper to retire on the rebels appearing near the city, and leave its defence to the courage and conduct of the governor of the fort, the laird of *Grant*, who has been since broke. The prudent lord *President*, lord *Loudon*, and their men, were full late to make a safe retreat; for the musket-shot, &c. fell thick among them in crossing the ferry of *Kissack*, within a mile of *Inverness*. I must here observe the lord *President's* regard for captain *Monroe's* merit, for he would not provide for his own safety, till he had (however unwillingly) obliged that brave officer to cross the ferry first to *Killmoor*, well knowing the inveteracy of the rebels against him and his clan.

The boats at the ferry not being a sufficient number to carry over all the men, the lord *President* ordered a part of them to take a round of about six or eight miles, where (near lord *Lovat's* house) they could ford the river.

The retreat was thus made in three bodies, and all got safe on the other side the water, designing to reassemble, and encamp in the most convenient part of low *Ross-shire*. The last party that forded, went about by the town of *Dingwall*, and thorough *Ferindonald*, (the country of the *Monroes*) and got to

New Tarbout, or *Milltoun*, opposite to the town of *Cromarty*, where there lay three men of war. The other two parties came next day to that town, where they met six or eight hundred of the *Sutherland's* and *Mackeys*, but without arms, intending for *Inverness*, to assist in the defence of that city. These people had often before required arms of lord *Loudon*, by their chiefs the earl of *Sutherland* and lord *Rae*; but there was no opportunity to furnish them at a time requisite.

The naked men first crossed at *Cromarty-ferry*, and were followed by lord *Loudon's* people that night and the next morning, in very stormy weather, and under a reasonable apprehension of the rebels being at their backs. In their passage over they were covered by the men of war, gained the *Ross* side, and went to the parish of *Negg*, where they were hospitably received by the minister, Mr. *Bulfouhr*. Being (hereabout) assembled in a body, they found the rebels closely pursuing them, which compelled them to retreat to *Tain*, the metropolis of *Ross*, where, after a short consultation, some of them crossed the *Muckle* ferry, three miles higher than *Tain*, and others, by a march of twenty-four miles, gained the head of the ferry at *Castle-Nigore*, where they crossed the river of *Strathoukkell*, and all safely arrived in the shire of *Sutherland*, where they were met by lord *President*, whom they justly looked upon as their oracle to direct them. Their first precaution was to guard all the passes (from the river to the town of *Dornoch*) along the sea side. The nominal duke of *Perth*, &c. with a detachment of about 3000 rebels were very soon at their heels. A part of these staid at *Tain*, and others marched towards the head of *Muckle* ferry, in pursuit of lord *Loudon's* people, the said lord having burnt all the boats at *Cromarty*, and secured all, on the *Sutherland* side.

The situation of the lords, *President* and *Loudon*, was here very melancholly; in want of provisions, a party of the rebels pursuing them on the one side, and the *Caithness* rebels coming upon them on the other.

The nominal duke of *Perth*, finding it impracticable to reach the loyalists, wrote to the *wanderer*, who found means to procure boats from the shire of *Murray*; but the *Firth* of that name, and the *Sutherland* coast being well guarded by captain

Middleton, with three of the king's sloops, these boats would have been of no use had they not been favoured by a mist, of which they took the opportunity to send over a party, that landed near the town of *Dornoch*, and in the night surprized the few men who were with lord *Loudon*, the greater part being sent (as said) to guard the passes, the length of thirty miles, nay, even the length of *Lough-skin*, a fresh water lake, twenty-four miles long.

Lord *Loudon's* men near *Dornoch*, after some resistance, were made prisoners, which obliged the others, far and near, to fly to the barren mountains. The rebels, after this success, marched to the *Little-ferry*, where they seized two ships, richly laden, one with the plate and effects of the inhabitants and merchants, and the other with arms and ammunition, and about 12000*l.* of the government's, designed for lord *Loudon*; but the captain of the ship, by means of a fishing-boat, carried off this money, and lord. *Sutherland* with him, to *Cromarty*, in quest of the men of war; but being there disappointed, in a mist, put to sea, and meeting his majesty's sloops, saved the cash, lord *Sutherland*, and himself, from falling into their hands.

Lord *Loudon* and lord *President*, after a council held, left a detachment in these mountains, and another in the *Mackays* country, and with a third marched through the most sterile and mountainous parts of the country, through *Assign*, *Louchbroom*, *Garloch*, and *Kintaile*, to the north west islands; where in small boats, like canoes, with great hazard, landed in *Macdonald*. and *Macleods* friendly country. The hardships they suffered in this march of 100 miles, without bed or bread for a fortnight, may easier be imagined than described. They were not however yet out of danger of the party under *Lochiel* and *Barasdale*, sent (as before said) from *Crief* to *Lochaber*, after the retreat from *Stirling*, to raise men.

The lords *Loudon* and *President* were (in the islands) joined by the clans, with whom they had taken refuge, but were still under great straits for want of necessaries, till the entire defeat of the rebels at *Culloden*, and for some time after.

In the interval, the fort of *Inverness* surrendered to the *wanderer*, and the garrison (the *Rosses*, &c.) taken prisoners: but his design upon the *Speedwell* man of war (which lay before the town) miscarried, by the vigilance of captain *Middleton*, commander of the *Shark*.

I must now mention the *Caithness* men, of whom we have given a character in the foregoing pages. The *wanderer* sending these people a detachment, some few of them set forward to join *Barasdale*, who had five hundred men, at *Dunrobin*; where being joined with the said *Barasdale*, were attacked by *John Mackay*, merchant, at *Coxtown*, with seventeen men, who enraged to see their houses fired, fell upon them, seconded by the women, which giving the alarm to the detachment left in the mountains, they immediately flew to their assistance: the action grew so warm, that *Barasdale* (with about 300 *Macgreggers*) retreated pretty hastily, leaving the earl of *Cromarty* and his men, with the *Caithness* rebels, many of whom were killed, others drowned, with the earl taken and secured on board a man of war.

The other detachment (left by the lords *President* and *Loudon*) were not less active and useful, as they were the men who assisted to seize the money, and secure the officers which came on board the *Hazard* sloop, as already said.

The *wanderer* being in possession of *Inverness*, and the adjacent countries, sent his prisoners (the *Campbells*, &c.) to *France*; favoured by fogs, and at leisure recruited his forces; in which business the lady *Mackintosh* was very active, (though her husband was then a prisoner with the rebels) and acted as an officer of distinction. The *wanderer* here remained quiet, till he went to meet the Duke on *Culloden-moor*.

As I was at the expence both of time and labour to get informations, I thought I might securely depend upon; and as these were at different times, and from different persons, I could not be so methodical as I wished; and as I would advance nothing of which I had the least doubt, I passed by the behaviour of the rebels at *Glasgow*, and the particulars of the siege of *Stirling-castle*. As to the former, I have since found, the accounts given me by an eye-witness, agrees

with that in our public papers; and that their visit cost the inhabitants of that city about 30,000*l.* sterling, which has given them an aversion (however great the honour, and their own hospitality) to the receiving any more such guests, as their entertainment they think a little too expensive. As to the siege of *Stirling-castle*, the particulars I got too late to insert, and can therefore only tell my reader in general, that the rebels lost a great number of men, the sloops of war several, (from their batteries) and the garrison not one.

We will now turn our eyes to the *wanderer*, deprived of all hopes of making another effort, and with small grounds (if any) to escape the vigilance of his pursuers; from whom, especially from the enraged clans, he could expect no mercy.

After so compleat a victory gained by the intrepid Duke, the adventurous *wanderer* (we may suppose,) was convinced of the impossibility of again collecting, or recruiting, the scattered remains of his rebellious army, and were that even feasible, sensible that so terrible and total an overthrow must rather sink than raise their spirits, to a desire of revenging the death of their friends, and retrieving the honour they had before gained, and now lost; while, on the other hand, the royal army, incensed by the hardships and fatigues of their long chace, with conquest on their swords, would, every man, exert himself to reap fresh lawrels for their glorious chief, and to put an entire end to all their toils. We may therefore rationally conclude, as if was impossible to redress, or even alleviate, the woes he had (by his unhappy enterprise) brought on a people too confident in their own courage, for which, few nations, if any, (the *English* excepted,) bear a greater character, he turned his whole thoughts on the means of his own safety.

Having (followed by two faithful adherents *Sulluvius* and *Tyronius*) escaped from the battle, he found no difficulty to get to the small island *Lugubra*, and from thence to *Carkeuria*, where he was received with open arms, and a mixture of grief, joy, fears, by *Sempronia*, a lady who only wanted loyalty to entitle her to the esteem of all who knew her. She had too good sense not to foresee that the conquerors would be diligent in their search after the

undone *wanderer*, consequently would soon visit this isle, where it was impossible he should escape falling into their hands. No doubt they consulted on the method the most proper to be taken for his safety; but whether the sending for *Porcia*, was the lady's own particular thought, or the result of such consultation, or whether she came accidentally on a visit, I know not, neither is it material; it is certain she came to them, and proposed the carrying off the adventurous youth in women's cloaths, as her fervant. This was unanimously agreed to, and instantly, as no time was to be lost, put in practice. The *wanderer*, with great reluctance, and visible grief, parted from his two faithful followers, and under the conduct: of *Porcia*, went on board a small-boat, with one attendant only, and directed his-course, favoured by a thick mist which preceded a heavy shower of rain, to *Aurea*. As they drew near the shore, they heard a volley of shot discharged by those who guarded it, who must have directed their aim by the sound of the oars, as they could not discover the boat. They, however, got safe on shore. *Porcia* left the *wanderer* and the servant, and went strait to the house of a loyal gentleman, who was then attending on the *British Hercules*, but whose lady was infected: to her she imparted the news of the *wanderer's* arrival, and the place where she had left him. This account threw her into a fit of despair; she wrung her hands, and told *Porcia*, that the unhappy youth was irretrievably lost, that she had rashly led him into the very jaws of destruction, and as there were a number of the loyal party in the island, who left no place unsearched, it was impossible he could avoid being immediately taken. She let her know, that she should look upon herself as accessory to his loss, if she consented to his coming under her roof.

A relation of this lady's, of her own unhappy way of thinking, desired she would compose herself, and he would undertake to elude the vigilance of the *wanderer's* pursuers, and taking with him some refreshments, directed by *Porcia*, he set out, and soon found him, but with what thoughts he was then amusing himself, I shall not take upon me to say, but fancy they were different from those which entertained him at his setting out in search of

adventures: whatever they were, we must do him this justice, that he endeavoured to stem the tide of his misfortunes with a becoming fortitude. How this gentleman (whose name was *Donaldo*) made himself known to him, as a friend, I cannot take upon me to relate; neither can I entertain my readers with their discourse, but undoubtedly he informed him that he was not in a place of safety; for he conducted him from that to his own house, eight miles distant, to which our *wanderer* travelled (in a manner) bare-footed, the soles of his shoes being (in some places) parted from the upper leathers. Here *Donaldo* gave him a new pair, and after he had sparingly eaten, (which he had not before done, or had any refreshment in the space of fifty-three hours) he was shewn to a chamber, and after having washed himself from head to foot, went to bed, and slept soundly, till *Donaldo* (the next morning) came into his room with a labourer's habit, and advising his departure from thence for the island of *Tresquilada*, where dwelt *Mentor*, faithful to his interests, conducted him to a boat he had prepared. They parted in a manner (no doubt) suitable to their situation.

The *wanderer*, safely arrived at *Tresquilada*, where he staid three days with the aged *Mentor*, who judging him in greater safety at *Aurea*, persuaded his return thither, where he would find the old *Robustus*, who had escaped from the battle, and got safe to his home. The *wanderer* (equipped by him with a wallet, in which he had put some provisions, and a couple of shirts) got to *Aurea*, and having; there found a guide, who guessed him one of his own followers, by his advice, loitered in the mountains till night, as there were many parties dispersed through the island in search of — and his friends; and then setting forward, after a journey of 24 miles, they reached the dwelling of *Robustus*. The guide would have eased the *wanderer* of the load he carried; but finding himself more able to support it, as he was often obliged to slack his pace, that the other might keep up with him, he would not yield to it.

The *wanderer* was here received with great cordiality; and the old man (after a few days) having prepared every thing necessary, parted with him for the continent, where they met several of their

friends; but it would have been dangerous for them to continue together, wherefore they dispersed, to provide each for his own safety. Three of these fell in with a party of the loyalists, and refusing to surrender, on the contrary making a desperate defence, two were killed, and the third (as he fell) said, you need not seek me longer, you have murdered your p—. He had received many wounds both pistol-shot, and from the sword, and lying senseless and without motion, they (from what he said in falling, and from his size, age, and resolution) concluded him the *wanderer*. The report being spread of his death, it soon flew to *London*, and in the north made the loyalists more remiss in their search.

Some of the rebel party finding these three bodies, and that *Curtius* (for so we call him, who was taken for the *wanderer*) had some life in him, they carried him to a hut at some distance; from whence being brought to life, he was conveyed to a place more remote, where such care was taken of him, that he recovered, and got off to *France*.

It is said, *Curtius* and his companions threw themselves purposely in the way of the loyalists, to fall a sacrifice to the *wanderer's* safety. However wrong they were in their principles, if this was so, we must acknowledge the action courageous; and that it is a great pity, that men so prodigal of life, should live in error.

Not long after this, the *wanderer* (who strayed about the mountains, almost perished with hunger and fatigue) drew towards the sea-coast, in hopes of finding some *French* ships hovering upon it. He met several of his followers drawn thither by the same hopes, which after three days longing expectation; were gratified; for two ships appeared, and making the known signals, which were answered from the shore, they sent their boats. The *wanderer* and his friends (in which number was *Curtius*) lost no time, but immediately embarked, and the wind favouring, safely landed in *France*.

The *wanderer*, probably cured of all inclination to the undertaking again such perilous adventures, and satisfied if he had any invitations or promises to induce his entering upon this, from which he so narrowly escaped out of our island, how little confidence he ought to repose in them. Nay, if

France really designed he should, and hoped he would, succeed in his enterprize, he ought, by dear-bought experience, to be convinced, how little it is in her power to afford him succours; nay farther, that were she in earnest, were all in the interest of his cause armed, and collected in one corps, (which is an absurdity to think feasible) what could undisciplined men do, tho' (allow them for argument sake) of superior number, against regular troops and artillery? And how could *France* afford them any assistance, while we are masters of the sea, and his majesty's allies can pour into *England* what number of veteran troops should be required, if necessary, which it is evidently their interest to do and is an obligation incumbent on them.

A LIST of the Persons who attended the WANDERER
when he set sail for Scotland.

The Marquiss of Tullibardine.

Mr. { Sheridan.
Kelly.
Strickland.
Buchanan.

Two of the *Macdonnalds*.

FINIS.