

The omitted paragraph in Mr Lyon's Letter is as follows. See Page 8th

*Before I end yr Letter, I must take yr Opportunity to acquaint You of one Thing, yt none on Earth knows but ye Person immediately concern'd. The Matter is yrs. Had it pleased God, yt I should have survivd my dear Mary & been provided of any tolerable Subsistence in ye World I design'd & propos'd to make Stewart Rose (of whom to be a virtuous, wise, good & religious young Woman partner of my Life & Fortune. I am too sensible of yt She suffers on my Account; and, yt would make her Affliction fit ye harder upon her, ye natural Modesty She is Mistress of, would never allow'd Her to give Vent to her Grief, had not I mention'd it to You. I therefore recommend Her to You, my D. M: always to look upon Her as your Daur, & to You, my D: S: to treat Her always as your own Sister, She being really so in my most serious Intention & fixd Resolution; & I am persuaded, there are none of You but will bear so far a Regard to my Memory, as to value, esteem, and, as far as in your Power cherish & comfort the Person, on yn I had so deservedly settled my Love & Affection. I am sensible yt all of You esteem'd Her before, on your Acquaintance wt Her, & her own proper Merit, & am convinced, yt my discovering my Mind thus far will more & more increase, & not lessen, your Love and Regard to Her. May Almighty God support & comfort Her & You all, & make You, wt humble Submission, resign'd to the Divine Will.

N.B: Finding that Mr Lyon's own Relations & Mrs Stewart Rose made no Secret of the mutual Affection, that had been betwixt the young Lady & her departed Friend, I obtain'd a true Copy of the paragraph, & transcribd it as above. Robert Forbes, A: M.

32.6.16

V

The LYON in Mourning:

or,

A Collection (as exactly made as the Iniquity of the Times would permit) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, &c. relative to the Affairs, but more particularly the Dangers & Distresses, of [illegible]

Vol: 1st.

Eheu! quanta tenent Scotos mala? quanta Doloris
Copia! qui Patriam luctus ubique premit?

1747.

but in the middle of Bath Street, on my way home from Pier; and the "regular scramble" alluded to consisted in a gen man, who was with me, assisting me in picking up a shil packet of coppers, which had burst on falling.

Mr Flood cannot escape from the blame attachable to failure to carry out his instructions regarding the turnstile on Regatta day under the plea that it was not an absolute ch because on that day no children were admitted at half-price, the register would have indicated the exact amount of money which he was accountable. As an example of the exactness of working of the turnstile, I may quote from the cash receipts l the late Piermaster's entries for the four days preceding the gatta, viz.:—

August 8.—Number of Persons,	1105..	£4	12	1
" 9.— " "	2750..	11	12	6
" 10.— " "	1346..	5	12	2½
" 11.— " "	1245..	5	3	9

Taking the rate of charge for these days at one penny, it wil seen that the sums entered tally with the numbers.

With regard to the charge made against Mr J. K. Crawfor may mention, as he is at present from home, that he has give an unqualified denial.

WILLIAM MUIRHEAD,
Secretary Portobello Pier Compar

Portobello, 13th October 1871.

NOTICE TO FARMERS, COWFEEDE AND OTHERS.

FRESH GRAIN DRAFF Daily at the CALEDONIAN DIS LERY. The above is now much used for Feeding Sheep as we Cattle. As there are Branches of the Caledonian and N British Railways into the Works, the Trucks are filled with Draff direct from the Mash-Tuns. No Cartage.

Edinburgh, 9th October 1871.

Situations Wanted.

DANCING.—Established Reputation. Mr Milne, Profess Dancing, &c. 98 South Bridge. *See Education.*

FRENCH, Singing, Pianoforte.—Pupils Wanted by a Fr Lady. Best references. E. P., Mr Smith, 1 Antigua St.

GERMAN. French, Music.—German Lady of Experi Terms moderate. References. 52 Frederick Street.

GOVERNESS, been abroad, has 3 hours till 6 Disengaged. daily, 1 guinea monthly. No. 2637, Scotsman Office.

GOVERNESS.—English, French (Parisian), Music, Rudim German. One Hour Daily, 10s. per Month. Mr Mur Stationer, Maitland Street.

PIANOFORTE.—Private Lessons by German Male Tea Terms, 25s. School Qr. References. 1961, Scotsman Of

SECRETARY, or Companion (Travelling or otherwis Lady. — Situation as, Wanted by Young Lady. Ad No. 2632, Scotsman Office.

SINGING.—Reading at Sight. Old Notation, Solfeggio Sy Mr Longstreeth, 7 Gladstone Terrace.

TUITION (Private), by Experienced Graduate. Classics, M matics, Modern Languages. Terms moderate. Addre 2630, Scotsman Office.

MEDICAL.—Wanted by a Young Gentleman, age 21, an tancy, with time for Lectures and Hospital Practice in Salary. Has had experience in Private, Club, and Union Practice. Good references. Address T. H., 4 Windsor T

"THE LYON IN MOURNING."

In the will of the late Dr Robert Chambers there occurs the following passage respecting a bequest to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh:—"That my trustees shall deliver to the Faculty of Advocates, for preservation in their library, and as a mark of

"THE LYON IN MOURNING."

In the will of the late Dr Robert Chambers there occurs the following passage respecting a bequest to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh:—"That my trustees shall deliver to the Faculty of Advocates, for preservation in their library, and as a mark of my gratitude to them for the free access they have always given me to their library, a manuscript, in ten volumes, entitled "The Lyon in Mourning."

This mark of gratitude forms an exceedingly curious and valuable collection of manuscripts, altogether unique, and which, it is fortunate, will now belong to a library in Scotland accessible to the investigation of historians. The collection originated in the painstaking enthusiasm of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, a Bishop in the Scottish Episcopal Church, who was settled as a minister of that communion in Leith at the time of the Rebellion of 1745. Falling under suspicion as a Jacobite, dangerous to the Hanoverian dynasty, he was for a time confined to Edinburgh Castle, and liberated on the restoration of tranquillity in 1746. Thus prevented from joining the standard of Prince Charles Edward, he was in a leisurely way brought into acquaintance with a number of the active insurgents, and had the opportunity for several years afterwards of collecting a vast variety of minute particulars regarding not only the unfortunate gentlemen who suffered at Carlisle and elsewhere for their accession to the Rebellion, but of many persons who were liberated and allowed to return to their homes; besides which, he ferreted out innumerable details concerning the adventures of "the Prince," after the battle of Culloden, and the noble-hearted Highlanders who so generously furthered his escape. How a poor Episcopal clergyman in Leith should have made all this the business of the last twenty years of his life is not a little remarkable, and the wonder is greater from the manner in which this labour of love was accomplished. The letters, dying speeches, journals of dangers and distresses, and other particulars were not recorded in separate sheets and scraps, but written neatly and methodically, so as to form a series of small handy volumes, bound like printed books. The work, to call it so, was styled in the title-pages, "The Lyon in Mourning," in allusion to the woe of Scotland for her exiled race of Princes. The first three volumes bear the date 1747, the next three 1748, the seventh is dated 1749, the eighth 1750, the ninth 1761, and the tenth 1775. As befits the nature of the subject, there is a black mourning border round the title-pages, the volumes are bound in black leather, and the edges of the leaves are tinged with the like dark hue. Fixed inside the boards of several volumes are certain much-prized relics, such as a piece of the Prince's garter, a piece of the gown which he wore when obliged to disguise himself in a female dress, a piece of the apron string which he had worn, received from the hands of Flora Macdonald, and a piece of the waistcoat which was given to him by Macdonald of Kingsburgh. That the poor Bishop should have taken the wholly unrequited trouble to gather together the facts contained in the volumes, and the relics associated with them, testifies a degree of political fervour of which we can offer no match in the present day. We may at least thank him for having handed down to future times what might not inaptly be termed an explicit record of the dying pangs of the House of Stuart. Bishop Forbes died in 1776, and for many years afterwards "The Lyon in Mourning" remained in the hands of his widow. At length it became by purchase the property of a gentleman of literary tastes, who designed to write a comprehensive history of the attempts to restore the Stuarts to the throne. This intention, from declining years, was finally abandoned, and "the Lyon" was assigned by him to Dr Robert Chambers, who made considerable use of it in drawing up the "Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745," published in an octavo volume in 1834. The work remains a quarry of authentic information regarding one of the most moving incidents in our history. Grateful, as has been said, to the Faculty of Advocates for their liberality in laying open the treasures of their extensive library to his investigation on innumerable occasions, Dr Chambers has made them this bequest, which we cannot doubt will be received in the spirit which influenced the donor.

Copy of a (1) Letter from the Revd Mr Robert Lyon to his Mother & Sisters.

My dear Mother, & my Loving Sisters,

How ever great a Shock to Nature I presently feel in writing You upon this Occasion, & the great Trouble & Affliction it must give You all in reading my Last; yet I could not allow my self having Warning of my approaching Fate, to leave this miserably wicked World, without bidding You Farewel, and offering You my Advice.

It has pleased Almighty God, in his unsearchable Providence, for some Time past to afflict me with grievous & sore Trouble; every Thing that could be look'd on as comfortable in this World being denied me, that was in the Power of my Enemies to grant or refuse; but, blessed be my merciful God, they could not stop the inward Consolations of God's Holy Spirit, which has hitherto supported me in Health & Vigour under all this miserable Scene of Calamities, for which I have the greatest Reason, while I live, to bless & adore his glorious Name. The Miseries I have already undergone, and, humanly speaking, am still to suffer, are undoubtedly inflicted upon me as a just Reward & Punishment for my manifold Sins & Iniquities, and, I trust,

they

they have been dispensed as the Chastisements of a merciful Father to a prodigal Child, in Order to draw me to a nearer Acquaintance with Himself, to wean my Heart from all inordinate Affections to the Follies & Vanities of the World, to enlarge my Heart with Desires of being with Jesus my Saviour, of the Freedom from Sin, & of the Fruition of my God to all Eternity. This is the proper Influence his afflicting Hand should have had upon me, and, if my Heart deceives me not, I have made it my Endeavour, tho' with a great Mixture of Weakness, during my long Confinement, it should have it's due Effect.

Before this will reach You (My dear Mother & Sisters) the last fatal Scene of my Sufferings will be over, & I set at Liberty (even by my Enemies themselves) from the heavy Load of Irons & Chains I have so long drag'd. Lord, loose me from the Burden of my Sins, assist me in my last & greatest Trial, receive my Soul, & bring me into the Way of eternal Happiness & Joy. Grieve not for me, my dearest Friends, since I suffer in a righteous & honourable Cause; but rather rejoice, that God has assisted me by his Grace, the most unworthy of his Servants, to act agreeably

ly to my Conscience & Duty, by bearing Te-
timony to Truth & Righteousness, Religion
Loyalty, in Midst of a wicked & irreligi-
es, perverse & rebellious Generation. Let
is Consideration, the Motives of Christia-
ty, & the Hopes & Assurances, which our
ly Religion so plentifully affords, allay in
ou all immoderate Grief, & make You
roughly resign'd to God's holy Will in
ll his wise Dispensations, which, however
ver harsh at present they may appear
Flesh & Blood, yet they shall all be
ade to work together for Good to them
at Love & fear Him, & put their Trust
his Mercy.

am very sensible, how much easier it is to
ive Advice against Affliction & Trouble in
he Case of others, than to take it in my own.
t hath pleased God to exercise me of
ate with very sore Trials, in which I do, I
hink, perfectly submit to his good Plea-
ure, firmly believing, that he does always
at which is best. And yet tho' my Reason
as satisfied, my Passion was not so soon
ppeas'd; for to do this is a Work of some
abour & Time.

But since that God hath thought fit to warn
e of my own Mortality, by giving me a Sum-
ons to die a violent & barbarous Death by
e Hand of Man, I thank God for it, it
ath occasion'd in me no very melancholy
eflections; but this perhaps is more owing
my natural Temper than wise Considera-
ons. But yet, methinks, both Reason & Religion

do

do offer You, My dear Mother & Sisters, Considerations of that Solidity & Strength, as may very well support You under all the Afflictions of this present Life. Pray then consider,

That God is perfect Love & Goodness, that we are, not only his Creatures, but his Children, & as dear to Him as to our selves; That he does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men, & that all the Evils of Afflictions, which befal us, are intended for the Cure & Prevention of greater Evils, of Sin & Punishment; & therefore we ought, not only to submit to them with Patience, as being deserved by us, but to receive them with Thankfulness, as being design'd by Him to do us that Good, & to bring us to that Sense of Him & our Selves, which perhaps Nothing else would have done. That the Sufferings of this present Life are but short & light, compar'd with those extreme & endless Miseries, which we have deserved, & with that exceeding Weight of Glory, which we hope for in the other World, if we be careful to make the best Preparations for Death & Eternity. Whatever Hardships & Afflictions we suffer for our Attachment to Truth & Righteousness, bring us nearer to our everlasting Happiness; & how rugged soever the Way

may

may be, the Comfort is, that it leads to our Father's House, where we shall want Nothing, that we can wish for.

But now, You labour under Affliction for the Death & Loss of your only Son, & You of your only Brother, & all of You, of your dearest earthly Friend. Consider then, that, if you be good Christians, God, who is your best Friend, who is immortal & cannot die, will never leave You nor forsake You, but will provide both for your temporal & spiritual Concerns, beyond what you can either ask or think. But Nature, you say, is fond of Life. I acknowledge it; but then consider, to what Purpose should we desire a long Life? since with the usual Burdens & Infirmities & Misfortunes that attend it, it is but the same Thing over again, or worse, so many more Nights & Days, Summers & Winters, with less Pleasure & Relish; every Day a Return of the same & greater Pains & Troubles, but perhaps with less Strength & Patience to bear them.

These & the like Considerations have, under my present Calamities, entertain'd me, not only with Contentment, but Comfort, tho' with great Inequality of Temper at several Times, & with much Mixture of human Frailty, which will in some Degree stick to us, while we are in this World. However, by this Kind of Thoughts, Afflictions & Death it self will become more familiar to us, & keep us from starting at the

One

One, or repining at the Other.
I acknowledge, I find in my self a great Tenderness in parting with You, my dearest Relations, which, I must confess, doth very sensibly touch me: But then, I consider, & so, I hope, will all of You, that this Separation will be but a very little While; & that tho' I shall leave You in a very wicked World, yet You are all under the Care of a good God, who can be more & better to You than I & all other Relations whatever, & will certainly be so to all those, that love Him, & hope in his Mercy.
It likewise gives me no small Uneasiness, that I should leave You in a worse Way, as to your worldly Circumstances, than I could have wish'd, or once expected, having spent my own, & made some Encroachments upon poor Cicie's Stock; but then I must say, in my own Vindication, this was not by any Luxury or Riot, as you can bear me Witness, but rather owing to a small yearly Income, an expensive Place for living, & being too liberally disposed upon certain Occasions, but, above all, by my being engag'd in the late glorious Cause of serving my King & Country. You'll easily see it was no mercenary View, but purely Obedience to Conscience & Duty, that made me

take

take part in the Fate of my Royal Prince & Country, when I tell You, that I never received a Farthing of his Royal Highneſs's Money, nor was aſsisted in the least penny by any engaged in his Service; ſo that this Undertaking conſum'd no ſmall part of my private Stock; and, I hope, you'll readily grant, it could not have been better beſtow'd, altho' all of You muſt feel the Want of it. But God, who has formerly done wonderful Things for us all, will, I truſt, provide for You the Neceſsaries of Life.

And even Poverty, rightly weigh'd, is not ſo very ſad a Condition. For, what is it? but the Abſence of a very few ſuperfluous Things, which please wanton Fancy, rather than anſwer Need, without which Nature is eaſily ſatisfied, & which, if we do not affect, we cannot want. What is it, but to wear coarſe Cloaths, to feed on plain & ſimple Fare? to work & take ſome pains, to ſit or goe in a lower place? to have few Friends, & not one Flatterer? And what great Harm in this? if I had Time to compare it with the many Dangers & Temptations, to which Wealth is expoſ'd.

May conſider, that Poverty is a State, which many have born with great Chearfulneſs. Many wiſe Men have voluntarily embraced it. It is allotted by Divine

Wiſdom

Wisdom to most Men, & the very best of Men do often endure it. God has declared an especial Regard to that State of Life; the Mouth of Truth hath proclaimed it happy; the Son of God dignified it by his own Choice, & sanctified it by his partaking deeply thereof. And can such a Condition be very disagreeable to any of You (who were never over-prosperous in the World) or can it reasonably displease You?

My dear Mother & Sisters, these Considerations, I hope, thro' the Divine Assistance, will be a Mean to support You under your present & future Afflictions, & preserve You from repining at my Fate & your own Loss. *

I must next acknowledge, with all the Tender-heartedness of a Brother, the grievous Troubles & Afflictions both of Body & Mind my dear Sister, Cicie, hath undergone, in Order to be of Use & Comfort to me under my severe Trials. Her firm Love to me has made Her follow my Fate too far, & be a Witness of more of my Troubles than I could have wish'd. But whatever She has suffer'd on my Account, which indeed cannot be express'd, She has been of unspeakable Service to me. May Almighty God reward Her, & whatever Love all of You bore to Her formerly, I hope, it will be enlarged to Her on this

* Here the omitted Paragraph should follow. very

very account.

I cannot conclude without offering my best Wishes (as they have always had my Prayers) to Mr Drummond, my Colleague, & every individual Person, a Member of our Congregation. May Almighty God bless all of them both in their temporal & Spiritual Concerns, and, of his infinite Goodness, reward them for their Love & Kindness, their attachment & Concern, for me, in the several Difficulties I have undergone. May the same God, in his due Time, afford them authoriz'd Guides to perform Divine Offices amongst them, to administer to them the Means of Grace & Bread of Life, that they may be no longer as Sheep without a Shepherd; till which Time may the Holy Spirit direct every One of them into the Way of Truth, & assist them earnestly to contend for the Faith once delivered to the Saints in Unity of Spirit, in the Bond of Peace, & in Righteousness of Life. And finally, may the same merciful Lord save them, & bless them, make them to the End of their Lives stedfast in the Faith, unblameable in Holiness, & zealous of good Works.

You'll be pleased to offer my hearty and sincere good Wishes to Balgowan & all that worthy Family. I gratefully acknowledge their remarkable & undeserved Favours.

May

May Almighty God return them seven fold into their Bosom.

I sincerely pray, that Almighty God may reward the Family of Monerief, Mr Smyth's, Mr Stirling's, Dr Carmichael's, Mr Graeme's, Ladies of Stormont, Lady Findal's, & all other my kind Benefactors & Well-wishers with You (who have so bountyfully ministred to my Necessities) with his eternal & everlasting good Things.

As I expect, & earnestly desire, Forgiveness from God of all my Sins and Transgressions, thro' the Merits & Mediation of my only Saviour & Redeemer, Jesus Christ, so, from the very Bottom of my Heart, I forgive all my Enemies, Persecutors & Slanderers, and particularly Clerk Millar, who, I have Reason to believe, has prosecute me to Death, & whom, to my Knowledge, I never injur'd in Thought, Word or Deed. May God grant him Repentance, that he may obtain Forgiveness at the Hands of our heavenly Father. And with the same Earnestness I desire all of You to forgive Him, and, tho' it should be in your Power, never, in the least Degree, to resent it against Him or His.

And now, my dear Mother & Sisters, it is my

my dying Exhortation to You, as well as to every particular Person, who (by the Providence of God) was committed to my Spiritual Care, stedfastly & constantly to continue in the Faith & Communion of our holy persecuted Mother, the Church of Scotland, in which I have the Honour to die a very unworthy Priest, whatever temporal Inconveniencies & Hardships you may wrestle with in so doing. Nothing must appear too hard, which tends to the Salvation of your Souls; & the Disciple is not to expect better Treatment than his Lord & Master; for as they persecuted Him, even so will they persecute You. Strenuously adhere then, in Spite of all Opposition, to those Doctrines & Principles, which, thro' the Grace of God & my own weak abilities, I endeavoured to teach publickly, & inculcate upon You in my private Conversation: I mean, the Doctrines of the holy Scriptures, with their only genuine & authentick Comment, the universal Doctrines & Practices of Christ's Church in her purest Ages, even the three first Centuries, before the manifold Errors of Popery on the one Hand, or presbyterian Ethusiasm on the other, prevail'd; both of which have been dangerous to the Souls of many. Let no worldly Consideration

sideration prevail with any of You to join with Schismaticks of whatever Kind; and more especially be not deceived by those, who may come unto You in Sheep's Cloathing, having the Appearance of Sanctity & Righteousness more than others, but in Divine Offices offer up to God unlawful Petitions & immoral Prayers.

And, as you know, the Man cannot be perfectly happy without the Reunion of Soul & Body, (in Consequence of which Principle it was my Practice, in my Family-devotions, to commemorate the Souls of my deceas'd Friends who died in the Lord); so I earnestly beg & intreat, that you approach the Throne of Grace, that I could pray for Rest & Peace, Light & Refreshment to my Soul, that I may find Mercy in the Day of the Lord, & that I may be Partaker of perfect Consummation & Bliss, both in Body & Soul, in God's eternal & everlasting Glory. May our good & wise Ecclesiastical Governours, with the Divine Assistance, contribute their Endeavours to restore this & all other primitive & apostolical Practices, in due Form, to the publick Offices of our Church, which would be a Mean to administer Comfort & great Consolation to many a pious & devout Soul. I cannot finish

this

THE
Communion Office
Robert Lyon
For the USE of the
CHURCH
OF
SCOTLAND,
As far as concerneth the
MINISTRATION
OF THAT
Holy Sacrament.

Authorized by K. *CHARLES* I. *Anno* 1636.

EDINBURGH,
Printed by Mr. THOMAS RUDDIMAN, MDCCXXIV.

ference. I commend You are to the Father of Mercies & the God of all Consolation
+ St Simon & St Jude's Day.

This is the identical
Copy, which the Revd
Mr Robert Lyon
made Use of in conse-
crating the Holy Eucha-
rist in Carlisle-Castle.

pious & devout Soul. I cannot finish
this

THE

Communion Office

For the Use of the

Church of *SCOTLAND*,

As far as concerneth the Miniſtration of that Holy SACRAMENT.

AFTER the Sermon, the Presbyter ſhall begin the Offertory, ſaying one or more of theſe Sentences following, as he thinketh moſt convenient by his diſcretion, according to the length or ſhortneſs of the time that the people are offering.

And in proceſs of time it came to paſs, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord: and Abel, he alſo brought of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had

respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain, and to his offering, he had not respect. *Gen.* 4. 3.

Speak unto the Children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering. *Exod.* 25. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty: every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. *Deut.* 16. 16.

David blessed the Lord before all the congregation: and said, Blessed *be* thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, *is* the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all *that is* in the heaven and in the earth *is thine:* thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all: both riches and honour *come* of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of my heart I have willingly offered all these things. And now have I seen with Joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. 1 *Chron.* 29. 10.

Give

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name, bring an offering, and come into his courts. *Pſal.* 96. 8.

Lay not up for your ſelves treaſures upon earth, where moth and ruſt doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and ſteal. But lay up for your ſelves treaſures in heaven, where neither moth nor ruſt doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor ſteal. *Matth.* 6. 19, 20.

Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Matth.* 7. 12.

Jeſus ſat over againſt the treaſury, and beheld how the people caſt money into it: and many that were rich caſt in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and ſhe threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his diſciples, and ſaith unto them, Verily I ſay unto you, that this poor widow hath caſt more in, than all they which have caſt into the treaſury. For all they did caſt in of their abundance: but ſhe of her want did caſt in all that ſhe had, *even* all her living. *Mark* 12. 41, 42, 43, 44.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth

a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 1 *Cor.* 9. 7.

If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things, is it a great thing if we ſhall reap your carnal things? 1 *Cor.* 9. 11.

Do ye not know that they which miniſter about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even ſo hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel. 1 *Cor.* 9. 13. 14.

He which ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly: and he which ſoweth bountifully, ſhall reap bountifully. Every man according as he purpoſeth in his heart, *ſo let him give*; not grudgingly, or of neceſſity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 *Cor.* 9. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatſoever a man ſoweth, that ſhall he alſo reap. *Gal.* 6. 6, 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded, nor truſt in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing to com-

communicate: laying up in ſtore for themſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. 1 *Tim.* 6. 17, 18, 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed toward his name, in that ye have miniſtred to the ſaints, and do miniſter. *Heb.* 6. 10.

To do good, and to communicate forget not, for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed. *Heb.* 13. 16.

¶ *While the Presbyter diſtinctly pronounceth ſome or all of theſe ſentences for the Offertory, the Deacon, or (if no ſuch be preſent) one of the Church-wardens ſhall receive the devotions of the people there preſent in a baſon provided for that purpoſe. And when all have offered, he ſhall reverently bring the ſaid baſon with the Oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who ſhall humbly preſent it before the Lord, and ſet it upon the holy Table. And the Presbyter ſhall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that ſervice. And then he ſhall ſay,*

¶ Let us pray for the whole ſtate of Chriſt's Church militant here on Earth.

ALmighty and everliving God, which by thy holy Apoſtle haſt taught us to make prayers and Supplications, and to give thanks for all men: we humbly beſeech thee, moſt mercifully to accept our alms, and to receive theſe our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majeſty, beſeeching thee to inſpire continually the univerſal church with the ſpirit of truth, unity, and concord: and grant that all they that do confeſs thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beſeech thee alſo to ſave and defend all Chriſtian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and ſpecially thy ſervant *Charles* our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently miniſter juſtice, to the puniſhment of wickedneſs and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and vertue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Biſhops, Presbyters, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine ſet forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly adminiſter thy ho-

holy ſacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly ſerving thee in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of their Life. And we commend eſpecially to thy merciful goodneſs the congregation which is here aſſembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the moſt precious death and ſacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. And we moſt humbly beſeech thee of thy goodneſs, O Lord, to comfort and ſuccour all them which in this tranſitory life be in trouble, ſorrow, need, ſickneſs, or any other adverſity. And we alſo bleſs thy holy name for all thoſe thy ſervants, who having finiſhed their courſe in faith, do now reſt from their labours. And we yield unto thee moſt high praiſe and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and vertue declared in all thy ſaints, who have been the choice veſſels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their ſeveral Generations: moſt humbly beſeeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their ſtedfaſtneſs in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general reſurrection, we, and all they which are of the myſtical body of thy Son, may be ſet on his right

ference. I commend you as
Father of Mercies & the God of all
† St Simon & St Jude's Day. Consolation

right hand, and hear that his moſt joyful voice, Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

¶ *Then ſhall the Presbyter ſay this exhortation.*

DEarly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, muſt conſider what St. *Paul* writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all perſons diligently to try and examine themſelves, before they preſume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we ſpiritually eat the fleſh of Chriſt, and drink his blood: then we dwell in Chriſt, and Chriſt in us; we be one with Chriſt, and Chriſt with us) So is the danger great, if we receive the ſame unworthily: for then we be guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt our Saviour: we eat and drink our own damnation, not conſidering the Lord's body: we kindle God's wrath againſt us: we provoke him to plague us with divers diſeaſes, and ſundry

ſundry kinds of death. Therefore if any of you be a blaſphemer of God, an hinderer or ſlanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, bewail your ſins, and come not to this holy table: leſt after the taking of that holy ſacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entred into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to deſtruction both of body and ſoul. Judge therefore your ſelves (brethren) that ye be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your ſins paſt; have a lively and ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men, ſo ſhall ye be meet partakers of thoſe holy myſteries. And above all things, ye muſt give moſt humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, for the redemption of the world, by the death and paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt, both God and Man, who did humble himſelf even to the death upon the croſs for us miſerable ſinners, which lay in darkneſs and ſhadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlaſting life. And to the end that we ſhould alway remember the exceeding great love of our Maſter and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-

ference. I commend you all to the Father of Mercies & the God of all Consolation

+ St Simon & St Jude's Day.

blood-ſhedding he hath obtained to us: he hath inſtituted and ordained holy myſteries, as pledges of his love, and continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endleſs comfort. To him therefore, with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, let us give (as we are moſt bounden) continual thanks, ſubmitting our ſelves wholly to his holy will and pleaſure, and ſtudying to ſerve him in true holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *Then ſhall the Presbyter ſay to them that come to receive the holy Communion, this invitation.*

YOu that do truly and earneſtly repent you of your ſins, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, make your humble confeſſion to Almighty God, before this Congregation here gathered together in his holy Name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

¶ *Then*

¶ *Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon, both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.*

ALmighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings, the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christs sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Presbyter or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce the Absolution, as followeth.*

Al-

ALmighty God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promiſed forgiveneſs of ſins to all them which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your ſins, confirm and ſtrengthen you in all goodneſs, and bring you to everlaſting life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then ſhall the Presbyter alſo ſay;*

¶ Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Chriſt ſaith unto all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt. *Matth.* 11. 28. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son: that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life. *John* 3. 16.

¶ Hear alſo what St. Paul ſaith.

This is a faithful ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners. 1 *Tim.* 1. 15.

¶ Hear alſo what St. John ſaith.

If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our ſins. 1 *John* 2. 1, 2.

¶ *After*

¶ *After which the Presbyter shall proceed, saying,*

Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Presbyter. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, everlasting God.

¶ *Here shall follow the proper Preface, according to the time, if there be any especially appointed: or else immediately shall follow.*

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, *&c.*

¶ PROPER PREFACES.

¶ *Upon Christmass Day, and seven Days after.*

BEcause thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as on this Day for us, who by the operation of the holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the blessed virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all

all sin. Therefore with Angels, and Archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Easter-Day, and seven Days after.*

BUt chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: for he is the very Paschal lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *Upon the Ascension-Day, and seven Days after.*

THrough thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who after his most glorious resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six Days after.*

THrough Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the holy Ghost came down this Day from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been

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a mighty wind in the likeneſs of fiery tongues lighting upon the Apoſtles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and alſo boldneſs with fervent zeal conſtantly to preach the Goſpel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkneſs and error, into the clear light, and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt. Therefore with angels, *&c.*

¶ *Upon the Feaſt of Trinity only.*

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we ſhould at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, and everlaſting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one only perſon, but three perſons in one ſubſtance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the ſame we believe of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with angels, *&c.*

¶ *After which Prefaces ſhall follow immediately this Doxology.*

THerefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, e-

vermore praiſing thee, and ſaying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord moſt high.

¶ *Then the Presbyter ſtanding up, ſhall ſay the Prayer of Conſecration, as followeth; but then during the time of Conſecration, he ſhall ſtand at ſuch a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more eaſe and decency uſe both his hands.*

ALmighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didſt give thy only Son Jeſus Chriſt to ſuffer death upon the Croſs for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himſelf once offered) a full, perfect, and ſufficient ſacrifice, oblation, and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole world, and did inſtitute, and in his holy goſpel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death and ſacrifice, until his coming again: Hear us, O merciful Father, we moſt humbly beſeech thee, and of thy almighty goodneſs vouchſafe ſo to bleſs and ſanctify with thy word and holy Spirit theſe thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy moſt dearly beloved Son; ſo that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jeſus

ſus Chriſts holy inſtitution, in remembrance of his death and paſſion, may be partakers of the ſame his moſt precious body and blood: who in the night that he was betrayed, *took bread*, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewiſe, after ſupper he *took the cup*, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new teſtament, which is ſhed for you, and for many, for the remiſſion of ſins: do this as oft as ye ſhall drink it in remembrance of me.

At theſe words (*took bread*) the Prieſt that officiates is to take the Paten in his hand.

At theſe words (*took the cup*) he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon ſo much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to conſecrate.

¶ *Immediately after ſhall be ſaid this Memorial or Prayer of Oblation, as followeth.*

WHerefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the inſtitution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we thy humble ſervants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majeſty, with theſe thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his bleſſed paſſion, mighty reſurrection, and glorions aſcenſion,

ference. I commend You all to the Father of Mercies & the God of all Consolation
† St Simon & St Jude's Day.

rendring unto thee moſt hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the ſame. And we intirely deſire thy fatherly goodneſs, mercifully to accept this our ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, moſt humbly beſeeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole Church) may obtain remiſſion of our ſins, and all other benefits of his paſſion. And here we offer and preſent unto thee, O Lord, our ſelves, our ſouls and bodies, to be a reaſonable, holy and lively ſacrifice unto thee, humbly beſeeching thee, that whoſoever ſhall be partakers of this holy communion, may worthily receive the moſt precious body and blood of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold ſins, to offer unto thee any ſacrifice: yet we be beſeech thee to accept this our bounden duty and ſervice, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the holy Ghoſt, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then*

¶ *Then ſhall the Presbyter ſay: As our Saviour Chriſt hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to ſay,*

OUr Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *Then ſhall the Presbyter, kneeling down at Gods board, ſay in the name of all them that ſhall communicate, this Collect of humble acceſs to the holy Communion, as followeth.*

WE do not preſume to come to this thy table, (O merciful Lord) truſting in our own righteouſneſs, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy ſo much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the ſame Lord, whoſe property is always to have mercy: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, ſo to eat the fleſh of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, and to drink his blood, that our ſinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our ſouls waſhed through his moſt precious blood, and that

that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons (if any be there present) that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the bread to others, he shall say this benediction.*

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the Party receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ *And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.*

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the Party receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ *When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lords Table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporal, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements,*

elements, and then say this Collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.

ALmighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and be also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son: we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with thee and the holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall be said or sung*, Gloria in excelsis, *as followeth.*

GLory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we

we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right-hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Presbyter, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.*

THE peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

FINIS.

this Subject without putting up my Petitions in the same Words of our holy Mother, the Church, as She appoints the very † Day, on which it is determin'd I should suffer. "O Almighty God, who hast built thy Church upon the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the Head Corner-stone; Grant us so to be joined together in Unity of Spirit by their Doctrine, that we may be made an holy Temple acceptable unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

And now, my dear Mother & Sisters, I must conclude this my too long Letter with my Prayers for You. May our most gracious God pardon all your Offences, & correct whatever is amiss in any of You. May he preserve You all in Health, Peace & Safety, and, above all, in mutual Love to one another. May He pour down upon You his spiritual Blessings, and vouchsafe You also such a Measure of temporal Blessings as He sees most convenient for You. May He, of his infinite Mercy, let you want Nothing either for Life or for Godliness. I pray God to fit us all for that great Change which we must once undergoe; and, if we be but in any Measure prepared, sooner or latter makes no great Difference. I commend You all to the Father of Mercies & the God of all Consolation

† St Simon & St Jude's Day.

Consolation & Comfort, beseeching Him to increase your Faith, Patience & Resignation, & to Stand by You in all your Conflicts, Difficulties & Troubles, that when ye walk thro' the Valley of the Shadow of Death, you may fear no Evil, and, when your Heart fails, & your Strength fails, you may find Him the Strength of your Heart and Portion for ever.

Farewel, my dear Mother. Farewel, & my loving Sisters. Farewel, every One of You for ever, & let us fervently pray for one another, that we may have a joyful & happy Meeting in another World, & there continue in holy Fellowship & Communion with our God & one another, Partakers of ever-lasting Bliss & Glory to the endless Ages of Eternity.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, & the Love of God, & the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with You all evermore, is the Prayer & Blessing of,

My dear Mother,
Your obedient & affte Son,
And, My loving Sisters,
Your affte & loving Brother,
while Robert Lyon.

Carlisle-Castle,
October 23d,
1746.

To My Mother & Sisters.

N: B: In the Original of the above Letter, there was a Paragraph about a very particular Concern of Mr Lyon's, which I did not chuse to transcribe. The

The last & dying Speech of Robert Lyon, A. M. Presbyter at Perth.

The Death I am now to suffer by the Hands of Violence the partial and unthinking World will, doubtless, be ready to imagine a Sign of Guilt, & a Stain upon the Character, with which I am invested.

But would the Hardships of a close Confinement & the Time permit me to explain & vindicate my Principles, I am persuaded, I could prove them just, & my Conduct guiltless in the Things, for which I am to die.

That I may not, however, leave a natural Curiosity on such Occasions quite ungratified, I shall briefly run over the principal Passages of my past Life, & represent my genuine Sentiments in some material Points: Which, I hope, will have the greater Weight & Efficacy upon You, my dear Fellow-Subjects & beloved Countrymen, as I am just about to step into Eternity; where, at the ~~last~~ greatest Tribunal, on the last Day, I know, I must be judged according to the Works I have already done. And,

First,

First, it will be very proper to inform You, that I have the Honour to be more immediately descended from One of those Scottish Clergymen, who unhappily survivd our flourishing Church & prosperous Nation at the late Revolution. By which Means it was my Lot, by the wise Providence of God, to be early traind up in the School of Adversity; in as much as He underwent the common Fate of our other Spiritual Pastors & dear Fathers in Christ, who were, by merely Secular, and, which is worse, unlawful, Force, thrust away from their Charges, and deprivd of that Maintenance to which they had a general & divine Right, as well as a Legal Title by our Constitution. And this, in many Instances, was executed with the utmost Rigour & Severity, attended with every wicked & aggravating Circumstance. For, how could it be otherwise? when allowed to be done by an ungovernd Mob, distracted with Enthusiasm & misguided Zeal; but whose Deed received it's Sanction by some subsequent pretended Laws.

Into this once glorious, but now declining, Part of the Church Catholick I was, thro' the Care & Piety of my loving Parents, enterd by a holy Baptism: For which inestimable Benefit, as my Judgment

ment ripen'd & my Reason improv'd, I ever found greater Cause to bless the happy Instruments, & to thank my God; as it clearly appear'd, upon impartial Enquiry, that this Church, for purity of Doctrine, Orthodoxy in the Faith, perfection of Worship, & her Apostolical Government, equals, if not excells, any other Church on the Earth. And therefore, I persisted, by the Divine Grace, an unworthy Member in her faithful Communion, till, thro' various Instances of the Goodness & Care of Heaven, manifested in the wonderful Support & preservation of our Family, I received a pious & liberal Education, tho' my Father, wore out with Sufferings, lived not to see it half compleated, & at length arrived at that Age, when, by the Canons of the Church, I could be admitted into Holy Orders; which I received at a Time no earthly Motive could influence me, but a sincere Intention to serve God, and, to my power, to do good Offices to Men.

Both which I, tho' most unworthy of the sacred Character, have ever honestly endeavour'd to the utmost of my weak Ability, by enforcing & practising, as far as Circumstances & my Station in the

Church

Church would permit, that golden & glorious Rule for the Conduct of a Christian, & for every Church whereby to reform it self; & moreover, which alone can unite the differing parts of Christendom: I mean, the Holy Scriptures, with their only genuine & authentick Comment, the universal Doctrines & Practices of Christ's Church in her first three Centuries. Which that it may again universally obtain, God Almighty grant for his Sake, who purchas'd the Church with the Effusion of his Blood.

In perfect Consistency with this Catholick & noble Rule, I declare, upon this awful Occasion, & on the Word of a dying Man, that I ever abhorrd & detested, & do now solemnly disclaim, the many Errors & Corruptions of the Church of Rome; as I do, with equal Zeal, the distinguishing Principles of Presbyterians & other dissenting Sectaries amongst us, who are void of every support in our Country, but Ignorance & usurping Force, & whom I always considered as the Shame & Reproach of the happy Reformation, & both alike uncatholick & dangerous to the Soul of a Christian.

I must further declare, that, by the

Same

same Method, I found out the Absurdities of these two differing parties, I was soon determin'd, from rational & solid Arguments, to embrace the Doctrines of Passive Obedience, the Divine Right of Kings, and, in particular, the indefeasible & hereditary Title of our own gracious Sovereign, King James the Eighth & Third & of his Royal Heirs; whom God preserve and restore.

For these, I am thoroughly convinc'd, are Doctrines founded upon the best Maxims of Civil Government, & on the Word of God, and, besides, the very Essence of our own Constitution & municipal Laws. And therefore, I could never view that Convention, which pretended to depose King James, the Seventh, our King's Royal Father, & dispose of his Crown; I could never, I say, view that unlawful & pack'd Assembly in any other Light but as Traitors to their Country & Rebels to their King.

And, as our then injur'd King & his undoubted Heirs have, from Time to Time, uninterruptedly claim'd their Right & asserted their Dominion, I am so far from thinking, that the Royal

Misfortunes

Misfortunes loose the Subjects from their Obedience, that I rather apprehend they loudly call for a steadier Allegiance & more faithful Duty.

In which Sentiments I have been still more & more confirm'd by the lamentable Consequences of the opposite Opinion, & by that sad Affliction & Load of Misery, which a long Usurpation has brought upon my Country, & which it is needless for me here to insist upon, as our numerous Grievances, too heavy to be born, have been strongly, but alas! in vain, represented & loudly proclaim'd, even in some late pretended Parliaments.

But what more naturally falls to my Share to consider, & what, I fear, has been still less regarded, is, the long persecuted State of my dear Mother, the Church of Scotland: That Church, of which it is my greatest Honour to be a Member & a Priest, tho' very undeserving of either: A Church, national & independent of any other & of every Power upon Earth, happily govern'd by her own truly primitive Bishops, as so many Spiritual Princes, presiding in their different Districts, and, in them, accountable to none but God for the Administration of her Discipline.

At

A Church, whose Creeds demonstrate her Soundness in the Faith, & who is blest with a Liturgy (I mean the Scots Liturgy compiled by her own Bishops) nigher to the primitive Model than any other Church, this Day, can boast of, (excepting perhaps, a small, but, I believe, a very pure Church in England, who, I am told, has lately reform'd her self in Concert with the forementioned & infallible Rule). In one Word, a Church very nearly resembling the purest Ages, & who (after more than half a Century groaning under persecutions & mourning in her own Ashes, but, all the While, distinguishing Her self no less by Forbearance & Charity to her bitterest Enemies, than by her Steadiness to principle & Catholick Unity) is now at Last, alas! devoted, in the Intention of her Adversaries, to utter Destruction; which I fervently pray God to prevent.

Her Oratories have been profan'd & burnt; her holy Altars desecrated; her Priests outragiously plundered & driven from their Flocks, some of them imprison'd & treated with uncommon Cruelty; her faithful

Members

Members almost deprived of the ordinary Means of their Salvation; & this mostly done, without so much as a Form of Law, by a hostile Force, specially appointed by him, who calls himself the Duke of Cumberland; & who, God grant him a timely Repentance & Forgive him, has occasion'd the painful & untimely Death of many innocent & inoffensive Persons, and, by wilful Fire & Sword, by every Mean of Torment & Distress, Barbarity exceeding Glencoe-Massacre it self! has brought a dreadful Desolation upon my dear Country.

All which evidently shews, that there is Nothing, however necessary & dear to Mankind, however Sacred & near allied to Heaven, that must not give Way to their Resentment & to the better Establishing their ill-got Power, & that no Lasting Security even to the present established Church of England can reasonably be expected from this ruinous & usurp'd Government. And indeed, the

the reigning Impiety, & that Flood of Wickedness, which the kindly Influence & Encouragement of a corrupted Court has drawn upon us, must speedily deface the very Form of Religion, & give the finishing Stroke to Virtue, tho' no harsher Methods were us'd by them.

But may the gracious Hand of Heaven interpose, & stop the wide Destruction. May our Church once more resume her antient Lustre, her Priests be cloathed with Righteousness, & her Saints yet sing with Joyfulness. May her Members yet be multiplied, blessed with Peace & Felicity in yt World, & crown'd with Immortality in that which is to come.

And now, my dear Fellow-Subjects, you cannot be at a Loss to apprehend the Reason of my Appearance on this Occasion, & of the Death I am to suffer. For, when our brave & natural-born Prince (a Prince endued with every Virtue proper to grace a Throne, & a Stranger to every Vice that high Life is most subject to; in a Word, a Prince adorn'd with every Quality, that could attract

the

the Hearts of a wise People, or make a Nation happy) generously hazarded his own valuable Person to relieve us from Slavery, & to retrieve his Father's Crown, & every steady Patriot, who had Courage to resolve to conquer or suffer in ye Way of Duty, according to the Will of God, join'd his Royal Standard; thither many, to whom I was attach'd by Relation, Friendships, & several other Ties, dutyfully resorted, & kindly invited & earnestly importun'd me to attend them as their Priest, while they were laudably engag'd in their King & Country's Cause: Which, agreeably to my now profess'd Principles, I readily consented to, as I plainly foresaw, that I could not discharge my Function with more Safety in that Congregation, to which I have a spiritual & peculiar Relation, where part of the Prince's Forces always lay, than in going along with my worthy Friends in their glorious Expedition.

And here I must declare, that, while I accompanied my brave Countrymen

men in this noble Enterprize, I saw a Decency & Order maintain'd amongst them, equal, if not superiour, to any regular disciplin'd Force. And, if any Hardship or Severity was committed, I am fully persuaded, it was unknown to, & very wofs to the Inclination of, their merciful & Royal Leader.

And, in particular, I do believe, that the Destruction of St. Vinian's was merely by Accident, & without any Order from his Royal Highness. And this is the more evident, since the Person, who had the fatal Occasion of it, lost his own Life in the Conflagration. But it was maliciously represented, & put in the worst Light, to vindicate the malicious Procedure of the Usurper's Forces; whose Conduct, let it be compar'd with that of our King's Army, & then you may form as ready & just a Judgment of the true & pretended Father of the Country, as Solomon, by a like Experiment, did of the true & pretended Mother of the Child.

And,

And, for my own particular, I do solemnly affirm, that, during this Expedition, I never bore Arms, for this I thought inconsistent with my Sacred Character; I never prayed in express Terms for any King (because for many Years it has not been the practice of our Church, & to make such a Change in her Offices I thought incompetent for me, without the Appointment, or, at least, the Permission, of my Superiors) & preach'd the plain Truths of the Gospel, without touching on political Subjects. This Confession, by Surprize & the Advice of my Council, I was forced to make at the Bar, upon which my pretended Judges declar'd, & the Jury found, me guilty of high Treason & Levying War for my barely accompanying the Royal Army, as before-mentioned: And this their rigorous Procedure they founded upon a pretended new Act of Parliament, made since I was personally engag'd in the Royal Cause, and, for what I know, since I was a Prisoner, which plainly shews, that, whatever my private Sentiments have

have been, my Life has been greedily sought, & unjustly taken away, in as much as they pass'd their Sentence, without any other overt Act of High Treason (even in their own Sense) being provid agt me.

But, in Obedience to the Precept, and after the Divine Example, of my blessed Master, Jesus Christ, I heartily & chearfully forgive them, as I do all my Adversaries of whatever Kind, particularly George Millar, Clerk of Perth, who, I have Reason to believe, has prosecute me to Death, & whom, to my Knowledge, I never injurid in Thought, Word, or Deed. Lord, grant Him Repentance, that he may find Forgiveness of God.

And more especially I forgive the Elector of Hanover, by Virtue of whose unlawful Commission I am brought to this violent & publick Death, & whom I consider as my greatest Enemy, because he is the Enemy of my Holy Mother, the Church, of my King, and of my Country.

I

I do here acknowledge publickly, with a strong & inward Sense of Guilt, that, thro' Fear, human Frailty, the persuasion of Lawyers, and the Promise & Asurance of Life, I was prevail'd upon, contrary to the Sentiments of my Conscience & my openly profess'd Principles, to address the Elector of Hanover for Mercy & my Life. Which Address, or Petition, or any Thing of that Kind, I have sign'd, derogatory to the Royal Cause, or our undoubted lawful Sovereign's Right & Title, I hereby retract, & wish, from the Bottom of my Heart, I had never done any such Thing, and, with the Sorrow & Contrition of a dying Penitent, most humbly beg Forgiveness of my heavenly Father for this my great Offence. God be merciful to me a Sinner. I likewise beg Forgiveness of all those, good, religious & loyal Persons, to whom my inconsistent Conduct in this Particular has given just ~~Offence~~ Occasion of Scandal & Offence. And

I humbly confess the Justice of God for bringing to Nought the Devices of Men, when aim'd at, or sought after, by undue Means & unlawful Methods. But hereby the unmerciful Disposition of the Hanoverian Family appears the more evident: and the Injustice & Cruelty of the Elector's Council at Law, in this, that they indicted, arraign'd, tried & condemn'd a Person, whom I had forc'd by a Subpœna to attend my Trial at Carlisle as an exculpatory Evidence, notwithstanding he had long before delivered himself up, in Consequence of the pretended Duke of Cumberland's ~~Proclamation~~ Proclamation, had obtain'd a protection, & got a pass. This the more deeply concerns me, in Case any of his Friends should imagine I had any Design against him, by forcing him to run such a Hazard: But I here call God to witness, I esteemed the Man, and, as I thought him perfectly safe, I had no other View in bringing him this Length, than to do myself Justice.

† William Baird in Perth. See Vol: 3d, Page 464.

I farther acknowledge, & humbly adore, the Justice of God's Holy Providence, the Sovereign Disposer of all Things, in permitting the Execution of the Sentence of Death against me, confiding, that He, of his Mercy & Goodness, through the Blood & Mediation of his dear & only Son, will accept of this my Suffering in the Cause of Truth & Righteousness, & reward it with ye Joys of his eternal Kingdom. I heartily give Thanks to Him for vouchsafing me the Honour & Felicity of dying for the Sake of Conscience, & of sealing with my Blood those heavenly Truths I have maintaind, particularly that of Loyalty to my King and Prince.

And I do declare, upon this awful & solemn Occasion, I feel no Sting of Conscience for the Part I have acted in our civil Discords, & do sincerely profess before God & the whole World, that, had He, of his infinite Wisdom, thought proper to prolong my Life, I should have ever, by his all-powerful aid & Grace

Grace, steadily persisted in the same Faith & Principles, in the hearty & zealous Belief & open profession of which I now die, & with fervent Charity to all Men, imploring the pardon & Forgiveness of all my Sins, thro' the Merits & Mediation of my crucified Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ; earnestly exhorting You, my dearest Fellow-Subjects & most beloved Countrymen, speedily to repent, & to turn to your Duty in every point, and, in particular, to that Fidelity & allegiance, wch you owe to your native & only rightful Sovereign.

Consider, I beseech You, consider the Evils already felt, the impending Ruine of your Country. Consider the crying Injustice & Indignity offered to the Best of Princes. Above all, consider the Guilt & high Demerit of violating God's Laws & resisting his Ordinance. and let these powerful & prevailing Motives excite you quickly to amend your Ways, to make a thorough Change in your Life & Conversation, & to continue ~~from~~ for ever firm & unshaken

in

in your Duty & Subjection to ye Power ordain'd of God, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience Sake. So shall ye arrest the Vengeance and just Wrath of Heaven, which has gone out against us. Ye shall be the happy Instruments yet to preserve your wishing Country from entire Destruction, & save your Souls in the Day of ye Lord.

For which glorious & noble Ends do Thou, O God Almighty, by thy Holy Spirit, turn the Hearts of ye disobedient to the Wisdom of the Just; the Hearts of Parents to their Children, of Children to their Parents; the Hearts of Priests & Kings to their People, of People to their Kings & Priests; the Hearts of all to one another & altogether unto Thee, their God, thro' Christ Jesus.

I conclude in the Words of our holy Mother, the Church, as She piously appoints in the Office for this† Day, & in that of the pro-to-Martyr St Stephen.

O Almighty God, who hast built thy

† St Simon & St Jude's Day.

thy Church upon the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the Head Corner Stone, grant us so to be joined together in Unity of Spirit by their Doctrine, that we may be made an holy Temple acceptable unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Grant, O Lord, that, in all our Sufferings here upon Earth for the Testimony of thy Truth, we may stedfastly look up to Heaven, & by Faith behold the Glory that shall be revealed, and, being fill'd with the Holy Ghost, may learn to love & bless our persecutors by the Example of the first Martyr, St. Stephen, who prayed for his Murderers to Thee, O blessed Jesus, who standest at the right Hand of God, to succor all those that suffer for Thee, our only Mediator & Advocate. Amen.

Good Lord, lay not innocent Blood to the Charge of this People & Nation. Lord

Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.

Such are the genuine dying Sentiments & fervent humble Prayers of

Robert Lyon A: M:
Priest of the persecuted & afflicted Church of Scotland. ---------

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Penrith, 20 Octr, 1746.

On the 18th of October Mr Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, after he was taken from prison, return'd again, & spoke to me the following Words, or to the same purpose.

As I have obtain'd a few Minutes longer to stay here, I desire to spend them with You in Prayer & Conversation. After Prayers he proceeded, & said: I am much oblig'd to Mr Wilson (One of the Clergymen belonging to the Cathedral) for suggesting one Thing, which I forgot to speak of, being conscious of my own Innocence. He says, my being slander'd with the Murder of Mr Stewart of Glenbuckie did me Harm on my Trial. Now, I take this Opportunity to declare

clare publickly to You & my Fellow-Prisoners, that Glenbuckie & I lived many Years in close Friendship together, and, altho' he was found dead in my House, Yet, upon the Word of a dying Man, I declare, I my self had no Hand in his Death, nor do I know any other Person that had, & I am persuaded, I can likewise answer for every one of my Servants; since all of them were acquainted with, & had a particular Love to, that Gentleman. So that I declare it to be my Opinion, that He was the Occasion of his own Death.

Robert Lyon.

N. B. As Mr Lyon frequently administred the Holy Eucharist to his Fellow-Prisoners in Carlisle-Castle, so, particularly upon Wednesday, Octr 15th, he had the Happiness to communicate above fifty of them, among which Number were Mr Thomas Coppock, the English Clergyman, & † Arnprior; & upon the 26th of the

† Vide pag. hujus 100.

the same Month, being the 22d Sunday after Trinity, he had above thirty Communicants. — He suffer'd at Penrith upon Tuesday, Octr 28th, the Festival of St Simon & St Jude, 1746. and perform'd the whole Devotions upon the Scaffold with the same Calmness & Composure of Mind & the same Decency of Behaviour, as if he had been only a Witness of the fatal Scene. He delivered every Word of his Speech to the numerous Crowd of Spectators. Mr Lyon never saw the Speeches of Mr Deacon & Mr Syddal, which some might imagine from their Agreement in some points. — He bore all his own Charges in the Expedition.

The above N: B: was taken from the Mouth of Mrs Cecilia Lyon, who did not come from Carlisle till after her Brother had suffered Death.

Robert Forbes, A: M:

The

The Speech of Mr Thos Theodore Deacon.

My dear Fellow-Countrymen,

I am come here to pay the last Debt to Nature, & think my self happy in having an Opportunity of dying in so just & so glorious a Cause. The deluded & infatuated Vulgar will, no Doubt, brand my Death with all the Infamy that Ignorance & Prejudice can suggest; but the thinking Few, who have not quite forsaken their Duty to God and their King, will, I am persuaded, look upon it as being little inferiour to Martyrdom it self; for I am just going to fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment & Revenge of the Elector of Hanover, & all those unhappy Miscreants, who have openly espoused the Cause of a Foreign German Usurper, & withdrawn their Allegiance from their only rightful, Lawful & native Sovereign, King James the 3d. It would be trifling here to expatiate on the Loss of so many brave Subjects Lives, who have had the Courage to appear in the Defence of their native King,

&

& the vast the immense Treasure squandered away in Defence of the Usurper, the heavy Load of Taxes & Debts, under which the Nation groans, the prevalence of Bribery & Corruption, the preference of Strangers to Natives, & innumerable other Inconveniencies, which must necessarily attend a Foreigner's Sitting on the Throne of Great Britain, & yet must be too obvious to every impartial unprejudiced Englishman.

Moreover, I think it is very evident, that the very Mercy of the Usurper is no less than arbitrary power, & the Freedom of Parliament, Bribery & Corruption; from yet unhappy Circumstances nothing else can restore this Nation, & bring it to it's former Happiness & Glory, but inviting King James the 3d to take possession of his undoubted Right.

I profess, I die a Member, not of the Church of Rome, nor yet that of England, but of a pure Episcopal Church, which has reformed all the Errors, Corruptions & Defects,

Sects, that have been introduced into the modern Churches of Christendom; a Church, which is in perfect Communion with the antient & universal Church of Christ by adhering uniformly to Antiquity, Universality & Consent, that glorious Principle, which, if once strictly & impartially pursued, would, & which alone can, remove all the Distractions, & unite all the divided Branches, of the Christian Church. This truly Catholick Principle is agreed to by all the Churches Eastern & Western, Popish & Protestant, & yet is unhappily practised by none but the Church, in whose holy Communion I have the Happiness to die. May God, of his great Mercy, daily increase the Members thereof. And if any would enquire into it's primitive Constitution, I refer them to our Common Prayer-Book, intitled, A compleat Collection of Devotions, both publick & private, taken from

from the Apostolick Constitutions, Antient Liturgies, & the Common Prayer-Book of the Church of England, printed at London, 1734.†

I sincerely declare, I forgive all my Enemies, who have raised on me any false or scandalous Reports, the pretended Court, by which I was tried, & all those, who were Witnesses against me, particularly the unfortunate, deluded Mr Maddox, who has added the Sin of unparalleld Ingratitude to those of Treachery to his Fellow-Subjects, perfidiousness to his Lawful Prince, & perjury against his God, having sworn away the Lives of those very persons, who chiefly supported him, while he attended on the prince's Army, & for a Month after he was taken prisoner. And further I affirm, on the Word of a dying Man, he perjured himself in the Evidence he gave against me at my Trial; as, I verily believe, he did in what he swore against most, if not all, of the

† This Book was compild by Mr Deacon's Father, a Non-jurant Bishop in Manchester.

the others.

Lastly, I most freely forgive my two principal Enemies, the Elector of Hanover & his Son, who claims ye pretended Title of Duke of Cumberland, who are actually guilty of Murder in putting me, with many others, to Death, after the Latter had granted a regular Formal Capitulation in Writing, which is directly contrary to the Laws of God & Nations, and, I hope, will be a Sufficient Warning to all those, who shall hereafter have Spirit, Honour & Loyalty enough to take up Arms in Defence of their Lawful Sovereign, King James the 3^d, or any of his Successors, against the Usurper & his Descendants. I say, I hope, it will be a Sufficient Warning for them never to surrender to Hanoverian Mercy, but to die bravely with Swords in y^r Hands. Not but I submit, with the utmost Chearfulness & Tranquillity, to this violent Death, being thoroughly convinc'd, that thereby

I shall be of much more Service to my beloved Country & Fellow-Subjects, as well as my only lawful King, my dear brave Prince of Wales, & the Duke of York (ym God, of his infinite Mercy, bless, preserve & restore) than all I could do by fighting in the Field or any other Way.

I publickly profess, that I heartily repent of all my Sins; but am so far from reckoning the Fact, for which I am to die, one of ym, that I think, I shall thereby be an Honour to my Family; and, if I had ten thousand Lives, would chearfully & willingly lay them down in the same Cause. And here I solemnly affirm that malicious Report to be false & groundless, which has been spread, (merely with Design to involve my Relations in Inconveniencies,) that I engaged in this Affair thro' their Persuasion, Instigation & even Compulsion. On the contrary, I was always determin'd to embrace the first Opportunity of performing

my

my Duty to my Prince, which I did without consulting, or being advised to it, by any Friend on Earth.—And now, my dear Countrymen, I have nothing more to say, than to advise You to return to your Duty, before it be too late, & before the Nation be entirely ruin'd. Compare the paternal & tender affection, wch your King has always shewn for this his native Country, with the Rashness of the Usurper, & his great Regard to his German Dominions, the Interest of which has been always preferr'd to that of England. Compare the extraordinary Clemency & Humanity of the ever glorious Prince Charles with the horrid Barbarities & Cruelties of the Elector's Son, which he perpetrated in Scotland.—Remember what solemn Promises have been given by both our King & Prince Charles, to protect You in your Laws, Religion & Liberties. Has not the Prince thrown himself into your

Arms

Arms? Has he not given sufficient Proof of his Abilities in the Cabinet, as well as Bravery in the Field? In fine, He has done his part, & consequently the Sin must lye at your Door, if you do not yours.

May God be pleased to bless ye Land, & to open the Eyes of ye people, that they may discern their Duty & true Interest, & assist in restoring their only natural King to his indisputable & just Right. God bless, & prosper Him, & guide Him in all his Undertakings.

So prayeth Thomas Theodore Deacon.

Lord, have Mercy upon me.
Christ, have Mercy upon me.
Lord, have Mercy upon me.
Lord Jesu, receive my Soul.

Wednesday, July 30th, 1746. upon Kenington-Common.

The

The Speech of Mr Thomas Syddal.

Friends, Brethren, & Countrymen,

Since I am brought here to be made a Sacrifice for doing the Duty of a Christian & an Englishman, it may be expected, I should give some account of my Self, & ye Cause for which I suffer. This Expectation I will gladly indulge: And I wish, the whole Kingdom might be informd of all that I now say at the Hour of Death, when there is the least Reason to doubt my Sincerity.

I die a Member, not of ye Church of Rome, nor yet of that of England, but of a pure Episcopal Church, qch hath reformed all the Errors, Corruptions & Defects, that have been introduced into the modern Churches of Christendom: A Church, qch is in perfect Communion wth the ancient & universal Church of Christ, by adhering uniformly to Antiquity, Universality & Consent; that glorious Principle, which, if once strictly & impartially pursued, would, &

which

which alone can, remove all the Distractions, & unite all the divided Branches of Christendom. This truly Catholick Principle is agreed to by all Churches, Eastern & Western, Popish & Protestant, & yet unhappily is practised by none but the Church, in whose Holy Communion I have the Happiness to die. May God, in his great Mercy, daily increase the Members thereof. And if any would enquire into it's Primitive Constitution, I refer ym to our Common Prayer-Book, which is intitled, A compleat Collection of Devotions, both publick & private, taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, & ancient Liturgies, & the Common Prayer-Book of the Church of England, printed at London in the Year, 1734.

I most humbly & heartily offer up my Praises & Thanksgiving to Almighty God, that he hath been pleased, of his great Goodness, to give me Grace to follow the pious Example of my Father, who, enduring

ing Hardships like a good Soldier of Jesus Christ, was martyred under the Government of the late Usurper, in the Year, 1715. For his Loyal Zeal in the Cause of his Lawful King.

And I solemnly declare, that no mean wicked Motives of revenging my Father's Death, (as hath been uncharitably said) induced me to join in attempting a Restoration of the Royal Family. I think, I had no Occasion to be displeased with his Murderers, when I reflect, (as I firmly believe) that, instead of punishing, they sent him to his everlasting Rest, sooner than he would have gone according to ye Course of Nature: And, so far from doing an Injury to his Family, they pointed him out, by his Sufferings, an excellent Example of Christian Courage, & contributed by that Means to the Good of his innocent Children.

Neither was I tempted to enter into the Army commanded by the Prince of Wales, by any ambitious or

or Self-interested Views. I was easy in my Circumstances, & wanted no Addition of Riches to increase my Happiness. My Desires were limited within reasonable Bounds, & what I thought I had Occasion for (I bless God) I was able to procure: And, to make my Joy as full as in this World ought to be wish'd, I was blessed with an excellent, faithful, religious, loving Wife, & five Children, the tender Objects of our Care & Affection. In this Situation I was void of Ambition, & thankful to God for his gracious Disposal of me.

My Motive for serving in the Prince's Army was the Duty I owe to God, the King, & the Country, in endeavouring the Restoration of King James the Third, & ye Royal Family; which, I am perswaded, is the only human Means, by which this Nation can ever become great & happy. For, altho' I have never had the Honour of seeing his Majesty, yet I am well assur'd by others of his excellent Wisdom, Justice & Humanity;

nity; & that he would think it his greatest Glory to rule over a free & happy People, without ye least Innovation of y^r Religion or Liberties.

For this we have not only the Royal Promise of the King himself, (than which a reasonable People cannot desire a greater Security) but we have also the Word of a Young Prince, who is too great & good to stoop to a Falsity, or to impose upon any People: A Prince, blessed w^t all the Qualities, which can adorn a Throne, & who may challenge his keenest Enemies to impute to him any Vice, which can blacken his Character; whom to serve is a Duty & a Pleasure, & to die for, an Honour.

And here I cannot but take Notice, that, if his Royal Highness had any of that Cruelty in his Temper, which hath so abundantly displayed it self in his Enemy, the pretended Duke of Cumberland,

land, he would have shewn it upon Mr John Weir, when he had him in his power, & knew, that he had been a Spy upon ye Royal Family abroad, & upon the Prince at Home, almost from the Time of his first Landing: But the brave unfortunate young Heroe, with noble Compassion, spared y^r Life, which hath since been employed in our Destruction. If I might presume to say, That the gallant good Prince hath any Fault, it would be that of an ill-tim'd Humanity: For, if he had been so just to himself & the righteous Cause, wherein he was engag'd, as to have made Examples of some of those, who betrayed him, in all human Probability he had succeeded in his glorious Undertaking, & been reserved for a Fate, to which his unequall'd Virtues justly intitle him.

There is one Thing I am bound, in Justice to others, to take Notice of in Respect to Mr Samuel Maddox,

Maddox, who, for prudential Reasons, was not produced upon my Trial to imbrue his Hands in my Blood, as well as in that of my Fellow-Sufferers; yet I solemnly declare, in the Presence of Heaven, (where I hope shortly to be) that, in the Trial of Mr. Thomas Deacon & Mr. John Berwick, I heard him perjure himself, as I verily believe he did in every Trial, upon which he was produced as an Evidence. To this Sin of perjury he hath also added the odious Crime of Ingratitude, for, to my own Knowledge, he was under great Obligations to the very people, against whom he has falsly sworn, & was supported & kept from starving by them & me for a considerable While in Prison, when no Body else would assist him.

I heartily forgive all, who had any Hand in the scandalous Surrender of Carlisle; for, as it was the Opinion of every one of the Garrison,

Garrison, who had been in foreign Service, that the Place was tenable many Days; & as the Elector's Troops, then lying before the Town, were in a bad Condition, it is highly probable that a gallant Defence (which I strenuously insisted upon) would have procured us such Terms, as to have prevented the Fate, to which we are now consign'd. I also forgive the pretended Duke of Cumberland, for his dishonourable & unsoldierly proceeding, in putting us to Death, in Violation of the Laws of Nations, after a written Capitulation to the contrary, & after the Garrison, upon the Faith of that Capitulation, had surrendred the Place, & faithfully performed all the Conditions required of them.

I pray God to forgive & turn the Hearts of the Bishops & ye Clergy, who, prostituting the Duty of their holy Profession, have departed from their Function as Messengers of Peace, & scandalously employed themselves, in their Pulpits, to abuse the best Prince, engaged in

in the most righteous Cause, in the World, and, against their own Consciences & Opinions, represented Him & his Army in a disadvantageous & false Light, in order to get the Mob on their Side, & spirit up an unthinking People to a blood-thirsty, cruel & unchristian Disposition. I could heartily wish, these Men would prefer Suffering to Sinning, & consider how contrary it is to the Character of a truly Christian Pastor, to receive Instructions, about what Doctrine to preach from the baneful Court of an impious Usurper. The credulous, deluded Mob, who have been thus set on by their Teachers, I also pray God to forgive for the barbarous Insults I received from them, when in Chains: Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!

As I have before given Thanks to Almighty God for the Example of my honest Father; so I beseech him, that the same Christian suffering Spirit may ever be in

in all my dear Children; praying, that they may have the Grace to tread the same dangerous Steps, which have led me to this Place, & may also have the Courage & Constancy to endure to the End, & despise human Power, when it stands oppos'd to Duty.

I pray God, of his great Mercy & Goodness, that He would be pleas'd to pour down the choicest of his Blessings upon the Sacred Head of his Majesty King James the Third, & his Royal Sons, the Prince of Wales, & the Duke of York; and (although England be not in a Disposition to deserve so great a Blessing, yet, for the Sake of Justice, & the Love which Nature & Duty prompt me to bear my Native Country) to restore them soon to their lawful, natural & undoubted Rights: And, in the mean while, to inspire them with Christian Patience & Firmness of Heart to bear their undeserved Misfortunes.

It would be an unspeakable Satisfaction to me, if my Manner of

of Dying, or any Thing I now say, would contribute to the removing those unhappy & unreasonable Prejudices, with which too many of my Countrymen are misled. Danger of Popery, & Fear of French Power, are the idle Pretences, that wicked & ill-designing Men make Use of to misguide & stir up the Passions of unwary (tho' perhaps honest) People. But, if Englishmen would seriously consider, that those, who make the most Noise about Popery, are remarkably void of any Religion at all, & dissolute in their Morals; that Atheism, Infidelity, Profaneness & Debauchery, are openly avowed & practised, even within the Walls of that very Court, whence they derive all their fancied religious & civil Liberties; if they would reflect (when they talk of French Influence) that they seek Protection from a German Usurper, who is hourly aggrandizing himself, & raising his foreign Dominions upon the Ruines of the deluded People of England; if they would reflect, that

that I & my Fellow-Sufferers are now murdered, in order to weaken the Cause of loyal Virtue, & to strike a Terror into the Minds of all such, as have the honest Inclinations to do their King, their Country, & themselves Justice; if they would reflect upon the Calamities, the Massacres, the Desolation of Scotland, which presage the Destruction of this already more than half-ruin'd Country — Surely, they would find but little Cause to be pleased with their Situation: A Situation so extremely distant from Honour & Happiness, that it would be uncharitable, & misbecoming a dying Man, to wish even his most inveterate Enemies to continue in it; & which I therefore pray God, of his infinite Mercy, to deliver all Englishmen from.

If, my dear Countrymen, you have any Regard to your own Happiness, which, in Charity, I have endeavoured to point out in my dying Moments, let me beseech You, in the Name of God, to restore

your

your Liege Sovereign, & with Him ye glorious Advantages of an excellent Constitution under a Lawful Government. This is every Man's Duty to aim at: And, if your honest Attempts should fail, remember, it is a great Blessing to die for the Cause of Virtue, & that an almighty Power, can, & will, reward such as suffer for Righteousness Sake.

To that God, infinite in his Goodness, & eternal in his Providence, I commend my Soul, imploring his Forgiveness of all my Sins, & hoping for a speedy Translation to eternal Joy, through the Merits & Sufferings of Jesus Christ.

Upon Kenning-on Common, Wednesday, July 30. 1746. Amen! Amen! Amen!

Tho: Syddal.

The

The Speech of The Right Honourable, Arthur, Lord Balmerino.

I was bred in anti-revolution principles, which I have ever persevered in from a sincere persuasion, that the Restoration of ye Royal Family & the Good of my Country are inseparable.

The Action of my Life, which now stares me most in the Face, is, my having accepted a Company of Foot from the late Princess Anne, who, I know, had no more Right to the Crown than her Predecessor, ye Prince of Orange, whom I ever consider'd as an Usurper.

In the Year 1715. as soon as the King landed in Scotland, I thought it my indispensible Duty to join his Standard, tho' his affairs were y^n^ in a desperate Condition.

I was in Switzerland in the Year 1734. where I received a Letter from my Father, acquainting me of his having procur'd me a Remission, & desiring me to return Home. Not thinking my self at Liberty to

comply

comply with my Father's Desire without the King's Approbation, I wrote to Rome to know his Majesty's Pleasure, & was directed by Him to return Home; & at the same Time I received a Letter of Credit upon his Banker at Paris, who furnished me with Money to defray the Expence of my Journey, & put me in proper Repair.

I think my Self bound, upon this Occasion, to contradict a Report, which has been industriously spread, and which I never heard of till I was a Prisoner; "That Orders were given to the Prince's Army to give no Quarters at the Battle of Culloden". With my Eye upon the Block (which will soon bring me before the Highest of all Tribunals) I do declare, that it is without any Manner of Foundation; both because it is impossible, it could have escaped the Knowledge of me, who was Capn of the Prince's Life-guards, or of Lord Kilmarnock, who was Colonel of his own Regiment. But still much more so, because it is entirely inconsistent with the mild & generous Nature of that brave

brave Prince, whose Patience, Fortitude, Intrepidity & Humanity, I must declare upon this Solemn Occasion, are Qualities, in which he excells all Men I ever knew, & which it ever was his greatest Desire to employ for the Relief & Preservation of his Father's Subjects. I believe rather, that this Report was spread to palliate & excuse the Murders they themselves committed in cold Blood, after the Battle of Culloden.

I think it my Duty to return my sincere Acknowledgments to Major White & Mr Fowler, for their humane & complaisant Behaviour to me, during my Confinement. I wish, I could pay the same Compliment to Governour Williamson, who used me with ye greatest Inhumanity & Cruelty; but having taken the Sacrament this Day, I forgive him, as I do all my Enemies.

I die in the Religion of the Church of England, which I look upon as the same with the Episcopal

scopal Church of Scotland, in which I was brought up.

When He laid his Head upon the Block, he said, God reward my Friends, & forgive my Enemies, bless & restore the King, the Prince & the Duke, & receive my Soul. Amen.

Upon Tower-hill, Monday, Augt 18th, 1746. in the 58th Year of his Age.

From the Constitutional Journal, Septr 27. 1746.

Lord Balmerino, taking Leave of his Fellow-Sufferer, Lord Kilmarnock, generously said, He was sorry to have his Company in such an Expedition, & yt he wished he alone might pay ye whole Reckoning. — He was himself asked by one of ye Spectators, Where Lord Balmerino was? Whom he answered bowing, "I am he, Sir, at your Service". — His Manner of undressing occasion'd most to say of him with Shakespear,

——— He was
A Bridegroom in his Death, & run into't
As to a Lover's Bed. ———

He gave Something to one, who had behaved well to him in his Confinement, whom he singled out of the Crowd. — He laid himself on ye wrong Side of ye Block; but on Information immediately rectified it, without the smallest Appearance of Disorder or Confusion.

The

The Speech of Donald MacDonell of Tiendrish of the Family of Keppoch.

As I am now to suffer a publick, cruel, barbarous, and (in the Eyes of the World) an ignominious and shameful Death; I think my self obliged to acknowledge to ye World, that it was principle, & a thorough Conviction of it's being my Duty to God, my injured King & oppressed Country, which engaged me to take up Arms under the Standard & magnanimous Conduct of his Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales &c. It was always my strongest Inclination, as to worldly Concerns, to have our ancient & only rightful Royal Family restored, & even (if God would) to lose my Life chearfully in promoting the same. I solemnly declare, I had no By-Views in drawing my Sword in that just & honourable Cause, but the Restoration of my King & Prince to the Throne, the Recovery of our Liberties to this unhappy

unhappy Island, which has been so long loaded with Usurpation, Corruption, Treachery & Bribery; being sensible, that Nothing but the King's Restoration could make our Country flourish, all Ranks & Degrees of Men happy, & free both Church & State from the many evil Consequences of Revolution-principles.

I must here let the World know, that the whole Evidences, to the Number of Six or Seven, brought against me at my Trial by the Elector's Council, were perjured. What they aim'd to prove was only relative to the Battle of Gladesmuir; & in this they swore the greatest Untruths, & did not declare one Word of Truth. I earnestly pray for their Repentance, that God may forgive them, as I sincerely do not only them, but all other my Enemies in general.

I own indeed, I was engaged in said Battle, & saw a great Slaughter

ter on all Hands where I was posted; but sure I am, the Evidences, that appeared against me, did not see one Step of my Behaviour that Day.

I thank God, ever since I drew my Sword in that just & honourable Cause, I acted, not only in Obedience to the merciful Commands of my glorious Prince, but in Compliance with my own natural Disposition, with Charity & Humanity to my Enemies, the Elector's Troops, when Prisoners, & in my Power, without receding, at the same Time, frm. that Duty & Faithfulness I owed to my Prince & ye common Cause.

My being taken † Prisoner at the Battle of Falkirk was more owing to my own Folly or Rashness, than the Bravery or Valour of the Enemy, whom I saw, before I was taken, entirely routed, & chased off from the Field of Battle.

† Vol: 5. pag: 979, 980, 981, 982.

tle. I fell into their Hands by supposing them, at a Distance, & in the Twilight, to be Lord John Drummond's Regiment & French Picquets, but too late, to my sad Experience, found out my fatal Mistake. And here I refer to my Enemies to declare my Behaviour on that Occasion.

Now, though I am presently to die a cruel Death, yet, when I consider the Justice of the Cause for which I suffer, it puts a Stop to every murmuring Reflection; & I thank almighty God, I resign my Life to Him, the Giver, with Chearfulness & Submission to his Divine & all-wise Providence.

I here declare, I die an unworthy Member of the Roman Catholick Church, in the Communion of which I have lived, however much her Tenets be spoken against & misrepresented by many; & in that I now expect

pect Salvation through the Suf-
ferings, & Merits, & Mediation
of my only Lord & Saiour, Je-
sus Christ. But I hereby declare,
upon the Word of a dying Man,
that it was with no View to e-
stablish or force that Religion
upon this Nation, that made
me join my Prince's Standard;
but purely owing to that Duty
& Allegiance, which was due
to our only rightful, lawful
& natural Sovereign, had even
He or his Family been Heathen,
Mahometan, or Quaker.
I am hopeful, & am persuaded, that
my valorous Prince, by the Bless-
ing of God, will at last be suc-
cessful, and, when in his Power,
will, under God, take Care of my
poor Wife & Family. And as I
have no worldly Fortune to leave
my dear Son, I recommend him to the
Blessing & Protection of almighty
God, as the best Legacy I can
give him; & earnestly require
his Obedience to my last & dying
Command

Command, which is, to draw his Sword in his King's, his Prince's, & his Country's Service, as often as Occasion offers, & his Lawful Sovereign requires. As I have the Honour to die a Major in our King's Service, I am hopeful, if my dear Child deserves it, he will succeed me at least in the same Office, & serve his Prince with the same Honour, Integrity & Faithfulness I have all along endeavoured, to which his Royal Highness is no Stranger.

I conclude with my Blessing to my dearest Wife & all my Relations & Friends, & humbly beg of my God to restore the King, to grant Success to the Prince's Arms, to forgive my Enemies, & receive my Soul. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Into thy Hands I resign my Spirit

Donald MacDonell.

at Carlisle, upon Saturday, Octo-
ber

ber 18th, the Festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, 1746.

N. B. Major MacDonell was the First, that drew Blood in the Cause. He, with only twelve or thirteen Highlanders under his Command, had the Courage to attack two Companies of Soldiers (being eighty or ninety in Number) whom he chas'd for seven or eight Miles in Lochabar; & at last forced them to lay down their Arms & surrender themselves Prisoners of War, among whom were Captain John Scott, Son of Scotstarvet, & Captain Sr. Thomson, Brother to Charlton. Capn Scott had a very pretty Gelding, which Major MacDonell made a present of to the Prince. There was not the least Mark of a Wound upon the Major or any of his worthy Few, tho' many Firings had been exchanged in the Chase, & several of the Soldiers

Soldiers were wounded.
I had a particular Account of this gallant & surprizing Action (oftener than once) from the Major's own Mouth. — He was a brave, undaunted, honest Man, of a good Countenance, & of a strong robust Make. He was much given to the pious acts of Devotion, & was remarkably a Gentleman of excellent good Manners. That Submission & Chearfulness of Temper, with which he bore up under all his Sufferings, may easily be discovered from the following Copies of Letters, which are faithfully transcribd from the Major's own Hand-writ, with a Return to one of them, transcribd from an Holograph of the Writer.

Robert Forbes, A. M.

See Vol: 2. pag: 357, 368. Vol: 4. p: 641.

Copy

Copy of a Letter to Mr Robert Forbes at My Lady Bruce's Lodgings at Leith.

Dr Sir, After making Offer of my Compliments to your Self & the Leith-Ladies, no Doubt, you have heard before now, that our Trials come on the Ninth of Septr next; & may God stand with the Righteous. The whole Gentlemen, who came from Scotland, are all together in one Floor, with upwards of one hundred private Men; so that we are much thronged. They have not all got Irons as yet; but they have not forgot me, nor the rest of most Distinction; but the whole will be soon provided. You'll make my Compliments to Lady Bruce, & Mr Clerk's Family, but especially to Miss Molly Clerk, & tell her, that, notwithstanding of my Irons, I could dance a highland Reel

Reel with her. Mr Patrick Murray makes Offer of his Compliments to You & I hope, we'll meet soon, & I am sincerely,

My Dr Sir,

Your affte & most obliged Servant,

Donald MacDonell.

Castle Carlisle, Augt 24th, 1746.

Copy of a Return to ye above.

D. S: Your kind Letter of the 24th Instant I gladly received, & it gives me no small Pleasure to find You are in so much good Health amidst the many distressing Circumstances of your present Situation. The Friends, mentioned in your Letter, make a Return of their Compliments & best Wishes to You wth as much affection & Earnestness as Friendship is capable of. In a Word, that worthy Person, My Lady, gives You her Blessing.

Some

Some charitable & well-disposed persons in Edr are employing yr good offices in raising a Contribution for what is needful among it the poor Prisoners in You, & I hope, their Laudable Endeavours will meet with Success; for certainly Human Nature in Distress, be the Case wt it will, is always a just Object of pity & Compassion, except to those selfish & barbarous Persons, who are Proof against all the tender Feelings of Sympathy.

Your Friends in the Castle of Edr are ever mindful of You. Kellie is put into the Room wt your Companions, & poor Kingsburgh is close confin'd by himself in the Solitary Room qre Kellie formerly was, & is not allowed to step over the Threshold of the Door; a Situation not at all agreeable to his Taste, for he loves a Social Life.

That honest Soul Conley, & Patrick Murray, Silver-Smith. Glad

glad am I to hear of his Welfare-
Pray, remember me in the kindest
Manner to him & all my Acquain-
tances with You, particularly Mr
Robert Lyon, whose passing thro'
Edr I am heartily sorry I knew
nothing about; for I should have
us'd my utmost Endeavours to
have seen him.
Let me know the Issue of your
Case, whatever it be; for you
may assure your self of a Place
in the Prayers & good Offices of,

D: S:
Augt 27th, 1746 Your Friend & Servt,
Robert Forbes.

P: S: The Lady-prisoners in
the Castle are well.
Adieu.

2: B: When the Major was in the Castle of Edr, he happened to run scarce of Moe, when I was so happy as to make out for him among my Acquaintances, upon July 20th, & 21st, 1746. ten Pounds Sterling.
Upon ye Approach of Winter collected for MacGregor of Glengyle & some men wt him Fifteen Pds Sterling.
To Mr Jas Falconar, Clergyman, Fifty Shillings Sterling.
To a Broyr of Kinlochmoidart, q had been bred a Sailor, a Guinea & an Half.
Isabel Shepherd's Effects given that Way eight Pounds Sterling. Total 37: 1: 6
Robert Forbes A: M:

Copy

Copy of a Letter to Mr John Moir, Merct in Edr, & Mr Robert Forbes in Leith

My dear Gentlemen,

There are letting You know, that I was Yesterday on my Trial, and, after long & moste eloquent Pleadings, was brought in guilty. Really there never came a more eloquent Discourse out of Man's Mouth, & more to the purpose than what my good & worthy Friend, Mr Lockhart,* spoke; & he would tear them all to pieces, if Justice or Law was regarded. I have wrote to my dear Wife, but did not let her into the Whole, & I have recommended to her, in the strongest Manner, to goe forthwith home & to manage her Affairs at home in the best Way possible; & I recommend to You both, as ever you can oblige me (whose former Favours I can never forget) that you back what I have wrote her, & that you prevail with her to goe directly home. I never will

* Lord Lockerton

will forgive either of you, if you do not manage this Point; for tho' She would come here, 'tis probable, She would get no Access, & even tho' She would get Access, our Parting would be more shocking to me than Death. My Trust was still on the Almighty's providence, and, as that is still the Case with me, I hope for y best, & prepare for the Worst. In a Word, I am afraid, there are few here will escape being brought in guilty. Before this Court there were the most villainous proofs laid in against me, by four of Colonel Lee's Men & a Dragoon, of Facts, that I never was guilty of, no the least Circumstance of what they charged me with; but may God stand with the Righteous, for I freely forgive them. You shall hear from me as oft as I can; &, for God's Cause, see my Wife

fairly

fairly on her Way home. You'll make my Compliments to the worthy Ladies of my acquaintance, & all other Friends in general, & your selves both in particular; & I am with the greatest Sincerity & Affection,

Castle Carlisle, Dr Gentlemen,
Septr 16th, Your most obliged
1746. humble Servant,
Donald MacDonell.

P. S. If you see it adivisable, that my Wife, with some Ladies of Distinction, wait of General Husk, do in this as you see proper. I believe, the Half of our Number will plead guilty. May, give my Service to Mrs Jean Cameron, & excuse my not writing her.

Copy

Copy of a Letter to Mr Robert Forbes at My Lady Bruce's Lodgings Leith.

Dr Sir, Wishing, from my whole Heart, that these may find you & all your Leith Friends in good Health, I have had a little bit Fever some Days past; but, God be blessed, I am now in good Health, Heart & Spirits; and, if it is my Fate to goe to the Scaffold, I dare say, that I'll goe to Death, as a Christian & a Man of Honour ought to do. But it is possible, that a broken ill-us'd Major may be a Colonel before he dies. You'll make my Compliments to My Lady Bruce, Mr Clerk's Family, but Miss Mally in particular, & the rest of the honest Folks in that City, & accept of the same from him, who is with the greatest Sincerity, affection & Esteem,

My Dr Sir,
Your most affte & obedient Servt
while Donald MacDonell.
P. S.

Castle Carlisle
Septr 20th,
1746.

P— S: I wrote you & Mr Moir a joint Letter about ten days ago.

Copy of a Letter to Mr John Moir, Merchant in Edinburgh.

My Dr Sir, I received yours Yesterday of the 11th Current, and, as I am to die To-morrow, this is my last Farewel to You. May God reward You for your Services to me from Time to Time, & may God restore my dear Prince, & receive my Soul at the Hour of my Death. You'll manage what Money Mr Stewart is due me, as you see proper; for my poor Wife will want Money much to pay her Rents & other Debts. I have given Mr Wright fourteen Pounds Sterling & half a dozen Shirts, in order to be sent my poor Wife by Mr Graham at Multrees of Hill. I have wrote just now to Mr Graham, & sent Letters inclosed to my poor Wife & my Brother. My dear Sir, manage Mr Stewart's Money as you best advise

advise, & fail not to write to my Wife of fame. I conclude with my Blessing to your self, & to all the honourable, honest Ladies of my acquaintance in Edr, & to all other Friends in general, & in particular those in the Castle, & I am with Love & affection,

My Dr Sir,

Castle Carlisle, Octr 17th, 1746. Yours affly till Death, & wishes we meet in Heaven,

— — — Donald MacDonell.

— — — — — — —

Pr S: Remember me in particular to my dear Mr Robert Forbes.

N. B: Several persons, particularly the Lawyers, Agents & Writers, insisted much with the Major, that he should plead guilty, that being the only probable Chance left him for saving his Life. He resisted all their Importunities without the least Wavering; & when they press'd him very hard to comply with their Advice, he boldly

boldly declar'd, that he had far rather be taken out & hanged at the Bar in the Face of those Judges, before whom he was soon to be tried, than do any such Thing as they desired. Upon which they gave over arguing with him upon the Point, & promis'd to exert themselves to the utmost to save so valuable a Life. N.B: The following Narrative is so doubtful; that it is not to be relied upon.

Mr Burnet of Monboddo, Advocate, talking wt one of the Judges at Carlisle, said, that he thought, the Govert should treat these condemn'd Men wt Humanity, & in a different Way from those who are really downright Rebels; because, said he, they were influenc'd in the Matter by a principle of Conscience being firmly persuaded in yr Minds, that they were endeavouring to do Right to one yt was injur'd, & qm they look'd upon as their only Lawful Sovereign, having no ill Design at all agt ye person, Family or Estate of K: G: but wishing him to return to his own place. And therefore yr rising in arms could not strictly be look'd upon as proceeding fm a Spirit of Rebellion. The Judge answered, "Sir, If you design to plead ye Cause, or to "soften ye Case, of your Countrymen, you hit upon "ye worst argument in ye World; for ye Govert "is positively determin'd by all Means to ex"tirpate these Folks of Principle." — This happen'd in a private Conversation.

Robert Forbes, A: M: — The

The Speech of David Morgan, Esquire.

It having been always deem'd incumbent on every Person in my Situation, to say Something of himself, & the Cause he suffers for, I could not decline it, however disagreeable to my Persecutors, qn I once held it my Duty.

The Cause I embarked in, was, that of my Liege Sovereign, King James the Third, from an Opinion I long since had of his just Right, an Opinion, founded on the Constitution, & strongly recognized & established by an Act of Parliament now in it's full Vigour, which neither the People collectively nor representatively have any Power or Authority to subvert or alter. [See the Statute of Charles 2d.] Nor can that Law be repealed but by a Free Parliament, Summoned to meet by a Lawful King: Not by a Convention,

vention, commanded by a foreign
Prince & Usurper, & intimidated &
directed by him at the Head of a
foreign Army.
To this Convention we owe the Revo-
lution; to the Revolution we owe
the Accession of the Family of Ha-
nover; & to this Accession all our
present Ills, & the melancholy &
certain Prospect of the entire Sub-
version of all that is dear & va-
luable to Britons.
My Opinion of the King's Title to
the Imperial Crown of these Realms,
thus uncontrovertible, received ad-
ditional Strength & Satisfaction
from his Character & Qualifica-
tions, confirmed to me by Persons
of the strictest Honour & Credit,
& demonstrated to me, that his E-
stablishment on the Throne of his
Ancestors, would be an Incident,
as productive of Happiness to the
Subject, as of Justice to the So-
vereign, since his Majesty's con-
fess'd superiour Understanding
is absolutely necessary to extricate
our Country out of that most despe-
rate State She has been declin-
ing

ing to since the Revolution, & has precipitately fallen into since the Accession.

On this Declension & Ruine of our Country have the Favourers & Friends of both Revolution & Accession built vast & despicable Fortunes; which possibly they may entail (with the Conditions of Slavery annexed) on their betrayed & abandoned Issue; it being much more clear, that Slavery will descend from Generation to Generation, than such Fortunes so acquired.

Have we not seen Parliaments, in a long Succession, raise Supplies sufficient to surfeit Avarice? Do we not see that Avarice heaping up Millions for ye Nurture & Support of foreign Dominions, on the Ruines of that Country that grants them? Nor can this move the least Compassion, or even common Regard, for her Welfare & Interest, from that

that ungrateful Avarice.
British Councils, since the Usurper's Accession, have had foreign Interest their constant Object, & the Power & Finances of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain have been betrayed, prostituted & squandered, for the Convenience & Support of the meanest Electorate in Germany; & the Elector's Conduct has been more destructive & detrimental to our Country, than all the Finesse, Treachery & Force, that the French, or any other Adversary's Council & Power could have attempted or effected. Land-Armies only can sustain & cover Dominions on the Continent; these are raised in the Country protected, & maintained by the Country protecting. Here Great Britain has all the Burden, & Hanover all the Advantage: Whereas Navies are the British Bulwarks, which have, by the Elector, been neglected, misapplied, or employed to her Disadvantage, & can alone guard & protect her Dominions & Commerce.

If the present Convention had any

any Regard to Self-preservation, or that of their Constituents, they would, this Session, have made new Laws for the farther Security of Privilege: The Panick, diffused universally over the Electoral Family, would have prepared an easy Assent to any Law in the Subjects Favour: But, even here, these Representatives omitted this second Opportunity of securing & improving the Happiness of their Electors, and, instead thereof, have given additional Power to the Usurper to suspend the Bulwark of Liberty, & invert the Order & Method of Trials for Treason: Precedents they will have Occasion one Day to repent of, since they very probably may fall Victims to them.

The false Glosses & Fears of Popery, universally propagated, have deluded unthinking vulgar Minds, & diverted all Attention to Reason, when it is clear, to any just Reflection, that his Majesty can have no Happiness but what results from his Britain, who, he must know from

from melancholy Experience, will not be tempted to part with the Doctrines & Exercise of the Religion eſtablished in her. His Majesty must know, that a Lawful King must adhere to the Constitution in Church & State, & shew a moſt inviolable Attachment to those Laws, that were made for the Security of both, whatever Indulgences & Conceſsions are made by Conventions to an Usurper for the Breach of all. A Lawful King is a nursing Father, who would protect us, & demand no more Supplies than the immediate Services required, & those from the Riches of the Country, the Exigences of Trade & Commerce, without Prejudice to either; & such would be deem'd best, that were just sufficient for the Purposes they were raised, & for which only they would be employed. But an Usurper is a Step-father, that builds his own Hopes & Views on the Ruine & Destruction of his usurped Dominions, & has Joy from the fleecing & impoverishing of those under his Influence & Power.

Even his Majesty's Enemies al-

low

low him great Understanding, nor has any one of them imputed Breach of Honour to him. His abilities & Sense of our Situation would move him to interpose in Favour of his Subjects; & are equal (if human abilities are so) to extricate us out of the various Perplexities & Intricacies we have been brought into by Negotiations, for thirty Years, for the Preservation of the Balance of Power, to the Disappointment of every Briton's Hope, & the Ridicule of all our Enemies.

If you once think, my Brethren, you must repent; if you repent, you must make the Constitution just Reparation; which can only be done by calling in your lawful King, James the Third, who has Justice to attempt, & Wisdom to compleat, a thorough Reformation in the Constitution, & to fix it in it's pristine happy State, & 9th in Spite of all Chicane & Prejudice, without a Restoration, will never be done.

I am to declare my Happiness in having

having such a Wife & Daughter, that forgive my involving them in my Misfortunes, & having an undeserved Share in them. I heartily thank them, & wish them both temporal & eternal Happiness; and hope, that those, who are Friends to my King, will look upon them as ye Relict & Orphan of a Fellow-Subject, that has suffered in the Royal Cause.

I glory in the Honour I have had of seeing his Royal Highness, Charles Prince Regent, & of being admitted into his Confidence; & I here declare it the greatest Happiness I ever knew, & ye highest Satisfaction; & such as even my vainest Thoughts could never have suggested to me: An Honour to every rational Creature, that can judge of the many requisite Virtues of a Prince, centred in him truly, tho' so often falsly assign'd to the worst. His Character exceeds any Thing I could have imagined or conceived. An Attempt to describe him would seem grofs Flattery; & nothing but a plain

plain & naked Narrative of his Conduct to all Persons, & in all Scenes he is engaged in, can properly shew him. A prince, betrayed by the Mercy he shewed his Enemies, in judging of the Dispositions of Mankind by the Benignity of his own. His Fortitude was disarmed by it, & his ungrateful Enemies think they have reaped the Benefit of it, but let them not rejoice at his Misfortunes, since his Failure of Success will, without the immediate Interposition of Providence, be absolutely their Ruine. What a Contrast is there between his Royal Highness, the Prince, & the Duke of Cumberland! The first displays his true Courage, in Acts of Humanity & Mercy; the latter a Cruelty, in Burning, Devastation, & Destruction of the British Subjects, their Goods & Possessions. I would ask —— Who is the true Heroe?

The Report of my having betrayed his Royal Highness, or his Friends,

Friends, is Scandalously false; my Appeal to the Counsel for ye Prosecution on my Trial, & my Suffering Death, must refute it to all honest Men: And I hereby declare, I had rather suffer any Death the Law can inflict. — I deem Death infinitely preferable to a Life of Infamy. — But the Death I suffer for my King, gives me vast Consolation & Honour, that I am thought worthy of it.

To conclude, my Brethren & Fellow-Subjects, I must make Profession of that Religion I was baptized, have continued, & shall, through the Divine Permission, die in, which is that of ye Church of England, & which, I hope, will stand & prevail against the Malice, Devices & Assaults of her Enemies, as well those of the Church of Rome, as those equally dangerous, the Followers of Luther & Calvin, covered under & concealed in the Specious Bugbears of Popery & arbitrary Power.

er. This my Faith I have fully set forth in a Poem of two Books, intitled, the Christian Test, or, The Coalition of Faith & Reason; the first of which I have already published, & the latter I have bequeathed to the Care of my unfortunate, but very dutyful, Daur. Mrs Mary Morgan, to be published by her, since it has pleased God I shall not live to see it. To this Poem I refer, which, I hope, will obviate all Cavil to ye contrary.

I freely forgive all my Enemies, from the Usurper, to Weir & Maddox, the infamous Witnesses in Support of his Prosecution of me: And I must also, & do from my Heart, forgive my Lord Chief Justice for his stupid & inveterate Zeal, in painting my Loyalty to my King with all the Reproaches he had Genius enough to bestow on it, when he passed Sentence on Seventeen at once, & which he did without Precedent, because it was without

out Concern.
I beg all I have offended, that
they will forgive me for Jesus
Christ's Sake, my only Media-
tor & Advocate, To whom, with
the Father & the Holy Spirit, be
all Adoration, Praise, Glory, Do-
minion & Power for ever. Amen.
Kennington Common,
Wednesday, July 30. David Morgan.
1746.

The

The Speech of Mr James Bradeshaw.

It would be a Breach of Duty in me to omit the last Opportunity of doing Justice to those who stood in Need of it. I think it incumbent upon me the rather, because I am the only Englishman, in this part of the World, who had the Honour to attend his Royal Highness in Scotland.

When I first joined the King's Forces, I was induced by a Principle of Duty only, & I never saw any Reason since to convince me, that I was in the least mistaken; but, on the contrary, every Day's Experience has strengthened my Opinion, that what I did was right & necessary. That Duty I discharged to the best of my Power; and, as I did not seek the Reward of my Service in this World, I have no doubt of receiving it in ye next.

Under an Opinion that I could do more good by marching with the Army

Army into Scotland, than by remaining with the Manchester Regiment at Carlisle, I obtained Leave to be in My Lord Elcho's Corps; for I was willing to be in Action.

After the Battle of Culloden, I had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the most ungenerous Enemy, that, I believe, ever assum'd the Name of a Soldier; I mean, the pretended Duke of Cumberland, & those under his Command; whose Inhumanity exceeded any Thing I could have Imagined in a Country, where the bare Mention of a God is allowed of. I was put into one of the Scotch Kirks, together with a great Number of wounded Prisoners, who were stript naked, & then left to die of their Wounds, without the least Assistance; & tho' we had a Surgeon of our own a Prisoner in the same Place, yet he was not permitted to dress their Wounds, but his Instruments were taken from him

on

on purpose to prevent it; & in Consequence of this many expired in the utmost Agonies. Several of the wounded were put on Board the Jean of Leith, & there died in lingering Tortures. Our general allowance, while we were Prisoners there, was half a pound of Meal a Day, which was sometimes increased to a pound, but never exceeded it; & I my self was an Eye-witness, that great Numbers were starved to Death. Their Barbarity extended so far, as not to suffer the Men, who were put on Board the Jean, to lie down even upon Planks, but they were obliged to sit on large Stones, by which means their Legs swelled as big almost as their Bodies. These are some few of the Cruelties exercised, which, being almost incredible in a Christian Country, I am obliged to add an Asseveration to the Truth of them; & I do assure you, upon the

the Word of a dying Man, as I hope for Mercy at the Day of Judgment, I assert nothing but what I know to be true.

The Injustice of these Proceedings is aggravated by the Ingratitude of them, for the Elector of Hanover's People had been often obliged by the Prince, who ordered his Prisoners the same Allowance of Meal as his own Troops, & always made it his particular Concern, that all the wounded should be carefully dressed, & used with the utmost Tenderness. His extreme Caution to avoid y Effusion of Blood, even with Regard to Spies, when his own Safety made it almost necessary, & his surprizing Generosity to all his Enemies, without Distinction, certainly demanded different Treatment; & I cannot think, that an English Army, under English Direction, could possibly behave with such unprovoked Barbarity.

With Regard to the Report of his Royal Highness having ordered,

dered, that no Quarters should be
given to the Enemy, I am perswaded
in my Conscience, it is a wicked
malicious Lie, raised by the Friends
of Usurpation, in Hopes of an Ex-
cuse for the Cruelties committed
in Scotland, which were many
more & greater than I have Time
to describe; for I firmly believe,
the Prince would not consent to
such Orders, even if it were to
gain the three Kingdoms.
I would gladly enter into the
particulars of his Royal Highness's
Character if I was able; but his
Qualifications are above Descrip-
tion. All I can say, is, He is eve-
ry Thing, that I could imagine
great & excellent, fully deserv-
ing what He was born for — To
rule over a free People.
I die a Member of the Church
of England, which, I am satisfi-
ed, would flourish more under
the Reign of a Stewart, than it
does now, or has done for many
Years.

years. The Friends of the House of Hanover say, They keep out Popery. But do they not let in Infidelity, which is almost become (If I may so say) the Religion established?

I think it every Man's Business, by all Lawful Means, to live as long as he can, & with this View I made a Defence upon my Trial, which, I thought, might possibly do me Service. All that the Witnesses swore on my Behalf was strictly true, for I would much rather die than be the Occasion of Perjury. After Sentence my Frds petitioned for my Life, and, if it had been granted, I should have been thankful for it, but as it otherwise happens, I patiently submit, & have confident Hopes, that, upon the Whole, it will be better for me, for I suffer for having done my Duty.

As I expected, so it happened upon my Trial, Mr Maddox perjured himself; and, I am afraid, he is so immersed in Wickedness, that it

it would be difficult for Him to forbear it. Lieutenant Moore swore he was acquainted with me at Manchester, but I declare, I was never in his Company before we met at Inverness. I should think it a great Reflection upon the Honour of any Government, to encourage Officers to lay by their Swords & become Informers. I forgive both these, & all my Enemies.

I am convinced, that these Nations are inevitably ruin'd, unless ye Royal Family be restored, which, I hope, will soon happen; for I love my Country, and, with my parting Breath, I pray God to bless it. I also beseech Him to bless & preserve my lawful Sovereign, King James ye 3^d, the Prince of Wales, & Duke of York, to prosper all my Friends, & have Mercy on me,

James Bradeshaw.

Upon Kennington Common, Friday, November 28th, 1746.

The

The Case of Mr Francis Buchanan of Arnprior is so very singular, & attended with such odd unaccountable Circumstances, that an exact Narrative of it ought to be preserved, & is as follows.

Arnprior was taken Prisoner at his own House, some time before the Battle of Culloden, by Mr James Dunbar, Capn of Militia & eldest Son of Sr George Dunbar of Dunbar-house or Wood, & committed to Stirling-Castle. As Mr Buchanan had never been in Arms, nor had made any publick appearance whatsoever in the whole affair, from first to last, so the Ground of his Commitment was only Suspicion. The commanding Officer Looking upon this to be very thin, & not imagining Arnprior to be in any Hazard at all, allowd him the full Liberty of the Castle, to walk up & down as he pleased, without keeping a strict Eye over him.

When

When several Prisoners were ordered from Stirling-Castle to Carlisle, Arnprior was appointed to be amongst the Number. Capn Jas Thomson, Brother to Charlton, and Lieutenant Archibald Campbell (commonly call'd Tobie) had the Command of the Party, that guarded the Prisoners in their Journey. These Officers, knowing well the Case of Mr Buchanan, & having witnessid the Usage he had met with in Stirling-Castle, treated him in a quite different Manner from the other Prisoners. In the Forenoon, as if he had been only a Fellow-traveller, they would have desir'd him to ride forwards, to bespeak Dinner at a proper place, & to have it ready for them against the Time they should come up. In the afternoon they also desir'd him to ride on, to take up right Quarters, &

& to order Supper, for them; & all this without any Command attending him; so that he had several Opportunities, every Day, of making his Escape, had he dream'd that he ran any Risque of his Life in the Issue of a Trial. Besides, the Officers would not have indulg'd him such Liberties, had they imagin'd any Danger in his Case. When the Prisoners came to Carlisle, Arnprior, much to his own Surprize & that of ye foresaid Officers, was immediately ordered into a Dungeon & to have Irons clapt upon him. Finding himself in a Situation he had entertain'd no Apprehension of, & dreading the worst from this harsh Usage, he sent for Capt Thomson, who very readily came to him, and, after some Conversation upon the unexpected Change of Treatment, desir'd to know what he could do for him. Mr Buchanan begd

begd, he would wait upon the com-
manding Officer, & let him know
his whole Case & the Usage he had
met with both in Stirling Castle
& in the Way to Carlisle, which,
he did not doubt, would have a
good Effect for making a Change
to the better in his State of Con-
finement. Capn Thomson frankly
undertook to do as he desird, and,
without Loss of Time, honestly re-
presented the whole Affair to the
Commanding Officer, who said,
he was heartily sorry for the Gen-
tleman, but that it was not in
his Power to do him any Service,
because the Solicitor-General
was come to Carlisle, & that (now
he was in the Place) his Pro-
vince it was to determine
in these Matters. Capn Thomson
did not stop here, but, like One
of Generosity & Compassion, went
directly to the Solicitor-General,

and

and laid before him the Case of Mr Buchanan, requesting him to consider it, & to allow the Gentleman a more easy & comfortable Confinement. The Solicitor General told him, he knew there were more Buchanans than one among the Prisoners, & therefore he desired to know what Mr Buchanan he meant; & then asked if he knew his Christian Name, & whether or not he had a Designation. Capn Thomson answer'd, yt he did not know Mr Buchanans Christian Name, that, though he was sure he had a Designation, he had forgot it. Upon this ye Solicitor General pull'd a List of Names out of his Pocket, and, after looking it over, asked the Captain if Mr Francis Buchanan of Arnprior was the Person, whose Case he had been representing. "That same is the Gentleman," replied the Captain. "Then, says ye Solicitor General, pray, Sir, give your

"your self no more trouble about
"that Gentleman. I shall take
"Care of him. I have particular
"Orders about him; for He must
"suffer!" ——— This unaccountable
Speech from such a Mouth about
One neither convicted nor tried
surpriz'd the Captain not a little,
& made him walk off, without in-
sisting any more, to tell Arnprior
the Result of what had pass'd, in
the softest Manner he could.

This Narrative was given by
Lieutenant Archibald Campbell,
after the Execution of Arnprior,
to several Persons in Edr, particu-
clarly to the Revd Mr Thomas
Drummond.

When Arnprior was brought to a Trial,
not a single Overt Act was provd
against him. An unsubscribd Letter
was produced in the Court, which
had been intercepted in going to
the Highland Army, & several
Persons, particularly Commissary
Finlayson

Finlayson in Stirling, gave their Affidavits, that it was the Hand writ of Wm Francis Buchanan of Arnprior. Upon this the Jury without any Heritation or Scruple, brought him in guilty. After Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, so little did people imagine that he would suffer, yt he was prevaild upon to send off an Express to London in order to give a true & exact Representation of his Case, not doubting, but that this would be sufficient to obtain a Reprieve ~~from~~ from a Verdict & Sentence pronounced upon such slight Grounds; but all to no purpose. To Destruction was he destind by his Enemies, & accordingly suffer'd Death at Carlisle in Company with the Revd Wm Thomas Coppock, Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Major Donald MacDonell, &c, &c, &c.

Arnprior left no Speech behind him; but took an Opportunity of declaring,

ing, that, as he was persuaded in his Conscience, King James the 8th had the sole undoubted Right to sit in the Throne of these Realms, so the only Action that stared him most in the Face, was, that he had acted the prudent & over-cautious part in not joining the Prince immediately upon his Arrival, & drawing his Sword in so glorious a Cause, & in not exerting all his Endeavours upon those, with whom he had any Interest, to rise in Arms for their King & Country.

Robert Forbes, A. M.

— — — — — — — —

Arnprior lived at the house of Lenny, near Callender in Monteith and Stewart of Glenbucky came from Balquhiddor with his men, Arnprior went to see them in Strathyre, there happened some dispute between them about the Majorship of the Perth Regiment to which Glenbucky belonged, Arnprior brought Glenbucky home with him to Lenny that night, on the morning of next day he was found dead in his bed with a pistol in his hand.

The Speech of The R: H: Arthur, Lord Balmerino, faithfully transcribed from his Lordship's own Hand-writ.

I was brought up in true, loyal, anti-revolution principles, & I hope, the World is convinced, that they stick to me.

I must acknowlege, I did a very inconsiderate Thing, for which I am heartily sorry, in accepting of a Company of Foot from the princess Anne, who, I knew, had no more Right to the Crown than her Predecessor, the prince of Orange, whom I always look upon as a vile, unnatural Usurper.

To make amends for what I had done, I joind the King when He was in Scotland; & when all was over, I made my Escape, & lived abroad till the Year 1734.

In the Beginning of that Year I got a Letter from my Father, which very much surprized me. It was to let me know, that he had got the Promise of a Remission for me. I did not know what to do. I was then, I think, in the Canton of Bern, & had no Body to advise with; but next Morning I wrote a Letter to the King, who was then at Rome, to acquaint his Maty, that this was done without my Asking or Knowledge, & that I would not accept of it without his Majesty's Consent.

I had, in Answer to mine, a Letter written with the King's own Hand, allowing me to go Home; & He told me, his Banker would

would give me Money for my travelling Charges, when I came to Paris, which accordingly I got.

When his Royal Highness came to Edr, as it was my bounden & indispensible Duty, I join'd Him, tho' I might easily have excused my self from taking Arms on Account of my Age; but I never could have had Peace of Conscience, if I had stayed at Home, when that brave Prince was exposing himself to all Manner of Danger & Fatigue both Night & Day.

I am at a Loss, when I come to speak of the Prince. I am not a fit Hand to draw his Character. I shall leave that to others. But I must beg Leave to tell You, that the incomparable Sweetness of his Nature, his affability, his Compassion, his Justice, his Temperance, his patience, & his Courage, are Virtues seldom all to be found in one Person. In short, He wants no Qualifications requisite to make a great Man.

Pardon me, if I say, wherever I had the Command, I never suffered any Disorders to be committed, as will appear by the D: Buccleugh's Servants at East Park, by the Earl of Findlater's Minister, Mr Lato, & My Lord's Servants at Cullen, by Mr Rose, Minister at Nairn, who was pleased to favour me with a Visit, when I was a Prisoner in Inverness, by Mr Stewart, principal Servant to the Lord

Lord president at the House of Culloden, & by several other People. All this gives me great pleasure, now that I am looking on the Block, on which I am ready to lay down my Head. — And tho' it had not been my own natural Inclination to protect every Body, as far as lay in my Power, it would have been my Interest so to do; for his Royal Highness abhorred all those, who were capable of doing Injustice to any of the King his Father's Subjects, whatever Opinion they were of.

I have heard, since I came to this Place, that there has been a most wicked Report spread, & mentioned in several of the News papers; That his Royal Highness, the Prince, before the Battle of Culloden, had given out in Orders, that no Quarters should be given to the Enemy. This is such an unchristian Thing, & so unlike that gallant Prince, that no Body, that knows Him, will believe it. It is very strange, if there had been any such Orders, that neither the E: Kilmarnock, who was Colonel of the Regt of Foot Guards, nor I, who was Colonel of the 2d Troop of Life-Guards, should never have heard any Thing of it, especially since we were both at the Head Quarters the Morning before the Battle. I am convinced, that it is a malicious Report, industriously spread to excuse themselves for the Murders they were guilty

guilty of in calm Blood after the Battle.

Ever since my Confinement in the Tower, when Major White & Mr Fowler did me the Honour of a Visit, their Behaviour was always so kind & obliging to me, that I cannot find Words to express it. But I am sorry, I cannot say the same Thing of General Williamson. He has treated me barbarously, but not quite so ill as he did the Bishop of Rochester. I forgive him & all my Enemies. Had it not been for Mr Gordon's Advice, I should have prayed for him as David does, Psm 109.

I hope, you'll have the Charity to believe, I die in Peace with all Men; for Yesterday I received the Holy Eucharist from the Hands of a Clergyman of the Church of England, in whose Communion I die, as in Union with the episcopal Church of Scotland.

I shall conclude with a short Prayer. O Almighty God, I humbly beseech Thee to bless the King, the Prince, & Duke of York, & all the dutiful Branches of the Royal Family. Endue them with thy Holy Spirit, enrich them with thy heavenly Grace, prosper them with all Happiness, & bring them to thine everlasting Kingdom. Finally I recommend to thy fatherly Goodness all my Benefactors, & all the faithful Adherents to the Cause, for which I am now about to suffer. God reward them, make them

them happy here & in the World to come.
This I beg, for Christ's sake, in whose Words, &c.
Our Father, &c.

A List of those, who were Evidences agt My Lord Balmerino, taken likewise from his own Hand-writ.

William Mcgie, Messenger.
Hugh Douglas, Drummer to Lord Elcho.
Ja^s Barclay } One of these three was Servt to
David Gray } the Secretary, & another of them
Ja^s Paterson } Servant to Little black Malcolm.
Rodger MacDonald.

Upon ye truly noble Ld Balmerino.

In this brave Lord, ye Mirror of Mankind,
Religion, Virtue, Loyalty had join'd
To make him great in ev'ry Act of Life;
But greater still, when he resign'd y^t Life.
Wt Fortitude went through his Martyrdom,
No nobler Motto can adorn his Tomb.
Strictly attach'd to Royal Stewart's Race,
For q^m he died, & by his Death gave Grace
To the just Cause he bravely did embrace.
Like great Montrose, he fear'd no Tyrant Rage,
Next to his Prince the Hero of the Age.
His glorious Death to distant Climes shall reach,
And traitrous Minds true Loyalty shall teach.
His noble Soul to us endears his Name;
And future Ages shall resound his Fame.

Extempore, upon viewing ye Scaffold immediately after ye Execution of Ld Balmerino.

Lo! where undaunted Balmerino stood,
Firm, without canting, seal'd his Faith in Blood;
In

In Cause of Right & Truth unmovd & just,
And as he knew no Fear, betray'd no Trust.
Th' amaz'd Spectator drop'd the troubl'd Eye,
As more afraid to Look, than He to die.
Whence Sprung ye great unparallel'd Deport?
God & his Conscience were his strong Support.

Upon the Death of Lord Balmerino, by a Non-jurant Clergyman in London, in a Letter to a Friend.

Short is the Term of Life, my honourd Friend;
Soon o'er the puny Space with rapid Speed
Th' unreturning Moments wing their Way,
And sweep us from our Cradles to the Grave:
And yet this puny Space is fill'd wth Toil,
And Labours in the transitory Scene.
To make Life wretched, as 'tis frail & fleeting,
Rattles & Toys employ & please our Childhood;
Wealth, Pomp & Pleasure, full as arrant Trifles,
Commence the Idols of our riper Years,
And fill ye Mind with Images as wild,
Absurd, fantastic, as a sick Man's Dreams,
Disquieting this Span of Life in vain.

He truly lives! & makes the most of Life,
Who well hath studied it's intrinsic Worth,
And learnt to lay it down wth Resignation;
Can, like Thee, Balmerino! lay it down,
And deem it not his own, ye Honour claims it.

See, the unconquer'd Captive, (matchless Man!)
Collected in his own Integrity,
Facing wth such a Brow ye King of Terrors,
And, treading on ye utmost Verge of Life,
Serene, as on a Summer's Ev'ning Walk,
Draws more amazing Eyes upon his Scaffold,
Than ever gaz'd on Laurel'd Heroes Car,
Triumphant in his Fall o'er all that crush't him.

Amazement

Amazement seiz'd the crowded Theatre,
Struck wt. ye aweful Scene, & throb'd a Heart
In ev'ry Breast but his. The Headsman trembl'd,
That rais'd ye fatal Axe, nor trembled He,
On whom 'twas falling. Falls the fell Edge,
Nor shrinks ye mangl'd Victim!--What are Stars & Garters?
All Titles, Dignities, all Crowns & Sceptres,
Compar'd wt. such an Exit? When these perish,
Their Owners be as they had never been,
In deep Oblivion sunk. This greater Name,
As long as any Sense of Virtue lasts,
Shall live, & fragrant smell to after Times,
Exhibiting a pattern how to die,
And far ye fairest former Times have seen!

Copy of a Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, vindicating the Character of Arthur, Lord Balmerino, in a certain important Point.

Dr Sir, I have not yet been able to answer the Cries of the Officers for beating Orders, & I can conceive no other Reason for our Ministry's refusing them, than that of ye young Chevalier's being in Scotland, & that they thought that his Escape might have been saved through their Means; but now that he is safe arrived in France, I hope, that we shall meet with no more Difficulties.

I had the Honour to be of Lord Balmerino's Acquaintance; & it was my Misfortune to be pitched upon to attend upon him in the Tower, at his last Moments, & upon the Scaffold, where I was Witness to a Behaviour, that even exceeded all that

we

we read of in the Heroes of Antiquity. His whole Behaviour was so composed, so decent, that it greatly surprized the Sheriffs, the Clergymen, his Friends, & the Spectators; & at the same Time not a Soldier present, but was moved by his Intrepidity.

My Lady Balmerino is now at my Elbow, & She has desired me to write to your Keep Pens.r, that She is greatly offended at a Passage in your Amsterdam Gazette of Tuesday, Septr. 6th, 1746, where, in giving an Account of that Lord's unhappy End, the Author is so insolent as to insert so notorious a Falsehood, that it can in no Sort be justified. He has no Authority from My Lord, from the Sheriffs, from the Clergymen, nor even from our lying News Papers. The Government here had a power over his Body, & he has suffered for his Rebellion; but neither they, nor their Agents abroad, have any just Power over his Reputation. — 'Tis barbarous to the greatest Degree, & lays us under a Necessity, let the Consequences be what they will, to give you My Lord's own Words on yt Point; a Point, which he had greatly at Heart to clear up; & they are, as follows.

"I have heard, since I came to this Place, that there has been a most wicked Report spread, & mentioned in several of the News papers; That his Royal Highness, the Prince, before the Battle of Culloden, had given out in Orders, that no Quarters

should

"should be given to the Enemy. This is such
"an unchristian Thing, & so unlike that gal-
"lant Prince, that no Body, that knows him,
"will believe it. It is very strange, if
"there had been any such Orders, that nei-
"ther the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was
"Colonel of the Regiment of Foot-Guards,
"nor I, who was Colonel of the 2d Troop
"of Life-Guards, should never have heard
"any Thing of it, especially since we were
"both at the Head Quarters the Morning be-
"fore the Battle. I am convinced, that it
"is a malicious Report, industriously spread
"to excuse themselves for the Murders they
"were guilty of in calm Blood after ye Battle."

I shall take it as a very great Favour, if you are so kind, as to lay the Above before the proper Person, whose Authority it is to take Cognizance of it, that he may be obliged to retract, in the most solemn Manner, a Falshood, uttered to the Prejudice of the Reputation of one of ye greatest Men that ever was born, let his Principles have been what they will. It is My Lady Balmerino's Desire; it is mine, as his Friend, & as a Friend to Truth and Justice.

I dare not presume to write to so great a Man as the first Person of so great a Republick: Therefore I beg, that you will lay it before him, & you will very much oblige,

London, 5/16 Septr, Dr Sir, Your, &c.

1746. Sic subr John Walkingshaw.

P=S: The Above is writ by the Direction of My Lady Balmerino. — — —

Speech

Speech of the Revd Mr Thomas Coppock of Brazen-Nose Colledge, Oxford, commonly called Bishop of Carlisle.

Dear Countrymen, I am now on the Brink & Confines of Eternity, being to suffer a scandalous, ignominious Death for my Duty to God, my King & Country, for taking up Arms to restore the Royal & illustrious House of Stewart, & to banish from a free, but inslaved People a Foreigner, a Tyrant, & an Usurper: For never was the British Nation since the Norman Conquest govern'd more arbitrarily, or enjoyed more precariously. Never was a Nation under the Canopy of Heaven more grossly abused, more scandalously imposed upon, or more notoriously deceived. Liberty has been banished. Tyranny & Oppression, like a Deluge, have overflowed the Land. Places of the utmost Importance have been taken from the most deserving, & given to the illiterate, unexperienc'd or unqualified. Our Fleets & Armies, once the Terror of Europe, are now the Scorn, Contempt & Derision of all Nations: The one, like Aesop's Mountain, has brought forth a silly ridiculous Mouse, the other has brought home eternal Infamy, Shame & Disgrace: Such a Ministry & such a Parliament was Nation never curs'd with. The former, for these thirty Years past, has exhausted our Treasures, drain'd our Purses, on foolish, idle

idle Treaties & Negotiations, to procure us Allies & Friends, & no Friend or Ally have we in the World, we can trust, rely on, or confide in. The latter, Vassals, Creatures equally despicable, void of Honour & Conscience, compos'd of Pensioners & Placemen, have sacrificed their Country, their All, to the boundless Ambition & insatiable Avarice of a beggarly, hanoverian Electorate. Estimates, Supplies & Subsidies have been granted, Nemine Contradicente, though never so illegal, unreasonable & unjustifiable. Such heavy Taxes, & such a monstrous Load of national Debt this Kingdom never groan'd under since Julius Cæsar's Invasion; so that Justice may say, never was Parliament (some few Members excepted, rara Avis in Terris nigro simillima Cygno) more slavishly devoted, or more sottishly infatuated.

Here it will not be amiss to introduce y^t worthy honest Gentleman, the Elector's Earl of Orford. When a Motion was made by some true Patriots to bring him to give an Account of his Stewardship of the Nation's Money; did not his Elector solemnly declare, that a Hair of his Head should not be hurt, conscious, that he had acted by his Direction in sending Sums to aggrandize his poor Native Smutty Country, Hanover; Sums to engage the Affections of the wavering Dutch; Sums to biass the Votes at Elections? These are Facts, the Truth of which is too obvious. What Soul, inspired with ye least Grain of Courage, the smallest Spark of Honour, or that sympathizes with the Sufferings of his Fellow-Creatures, would ty

ly sit down, or patiently acquiesce, under such monstrous & unheard of Grievances, when Religion & Loyalty, Liberty & Property call to Arms, when a prince, adorn'd with all the Gifts of Nature, & Grace of Education, endowed & enriched with every Vertue, amiable & commendable, maugre all your vile Reports, invidious Reflections, & Slanderous Aspersions, maugre all your Pulpit-harrangues, stuff'd with downright Falsities, gross Calumnies & palpable Absurdities, daily, amidst the horrid Din of War, risks & exposes his precious Life to conquer & subdue the Lernean Hydra, to deliver you from almost Egyptian Tyranny, Bondage & Slavery? A Prince, whose Title to the Crown is indisputable, whose Conduct & Courage are inimitable & matchless, & whose Virtue, Mercy & Goodness none can parallel or equal! Nil viget simile aut secundum!

Such is your Legal, Jure-divino, hereditary & lineally descended Prince, whose Father you exiled & excluded, whose Grandfather you rebelled against & banished, & whose Head, conscious of your own Demerits, you have set a Price on! Seeing the Heir Comes, say you, Let us fall upon him & kill him, & the Inheritance will be ours. Be not too secure, your Iniquities are almost compleated, the Fulness of Time is almost at hand, even at the Door, when the Almighty I AM, with my Prince under the Shadow of his Wings, will pour out the Vials of his Wrath, Fury & Indignation on that Cursed, perjured &

& abandoned People, on this guilty, perverse, wicked & adulterous Generation; for the innocent Blood of the Righteous cries, Vengeance, Vengeance! — O my Native Country! my native Soil! what Pangs hast thou to endure! what Throes to Labour with! what Misery & Desolation is thy Lot & Portion! Kind Heaven, avert all these Evils by a Speedy & blessed Restoration, that Albion may no more be scourged by Vultures, Storks & Logs, may once more see happy Days, once more put on it's ancient Lustre, pristin Splendor & Glory, that God & Cæsar may enjoy their own just & due Right, that Tribute may be rendred to whom it is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour, & that the Supreme Powers may receive the Sovereign Allegiance, Obedience & Subjection, which are really & duly theirs by the Laws of God & Nature in Conjunction.

It is for Sentiments & Tenets of this Kind I am now made a publick Spectacle, that my Head is publickly to be exposed, & my Bowels burnt, which I gladly & willingly submit to without the least Reluctance. Nay, I should rejoice beyond Measure, if this simple Head of Mine could be fixed on all the Cathedral & Parish Churches in Christendom, to satisfie the whole Christian World of the Honesty of my Intentions & the Integrity of my Principles; & could it be engraven on my Tomb-stone, Underneath are deposited the Ashes of the only English Protestant Clergyman, whose Honour, Courage,

Courage, Loyalty & Zeal are conspicuous in his Royal Master's Cause! — Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori.

I should have been silent about my Religion, had it not been to satisfie & open the Eyes of Severals, who have been deceived by false Representations, which was, I believe, the Reason I was spit upon, struck, stoned, insulted, & barbarously treated by Severals (some of whom are since dead) not only in Carlisle, but Kendall & elsewhere, when I was led in a String by Mark Ker's Dragoons through all the Dirt & Nastiness, with my Arms pinion'd, from Carlisle to Lancaster Castle, by an express Order of the pretended Duke of Cumberland, notwithstanding Baron Clarke's specious Harangue to make the Jury believe, I was not an Object worthy of their Notice.

I declare then, upon the Faith of a dying Man, that I die an unworthy Member of that particular Church, the Church of England, as She stood before the Revolution, which I firmly believe to be truly primitive, Catholic, & Apostolic, free from Superstition on the one Hand, & Fanaticism & Enthusiasm on the other. May She prosper & flourish. May She, like a House on a Rock, withstand all Tempests, Storms & Inundations, till Time shall be no more.

And now, God bless my Royal, true & undoubted Sovereign, King James, His Royal

Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales, Henry, Duke of York & Albany. O Jehovah, bless, protect, & preserve them; for nothing but Fraud, & Anarchy, & Confusion, Nothing but horrid Bloodshed & barbarous Murder, Villainy, Perjury, Ambition & Cruelty, Barbarity within, & Corruption without, have reigned triumphant in this Island since their Banishment. God bless all my Enemies, Persecutors & Slanderers, especially that corrupted Judge, Baron Clarke, who put a most malicious Construction on every thing said at my Trial. God forgive Samuel Pendlebury of Manchester, John Hill, Thomas Joy an Irishman, John Gardener & Thomas Dennison both of Carlisle, who all grossly perjur'd themselves at my Trial. O Lord God, send them timely Repentance & Remission of their Sins. I freely & voluntarily forgive them, & humbly ask pardon of all I have injured in Thought, Word or Deed. I close with the dying Words of my Saviour & Redeemer, & the Proto-martyr Deacon, St Stephen, "Father, forgive them, "for they know not what they do; Lord, lay "not this Sin to their Charge. Lord Jesus, "receive my Soul. Amen."

at Carlisle, upon Saturday, Octr 18th, the Festival of St Luke the Evangelist, 1746.

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Speech

Speech of† Andrew Wood, who join'd the Prince in England.

Blessed are they, who suffer for Truth & Righteousness Sake: For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Friends, Countrymen & Fellow-Subjects,

I was born in Scotland, & brought up in the established Church (as they call it) of that Kingdom: But of late (Thanks be to God) I saw my Error, & became a Member of the Church of England.

I engaged in this just Cause, for wch I am to suffer, out of the true Love & Regard I had for my King & Country; for I thought it my indispensible Duty to join my Prince, when I found him in this Country, endeavouring to restore his Father, my lawful Sovereign, King James, to his undoubted Right. I had the Honour to be made a Captain by his Royal Highness, raised a Company out of my own Pocket, & served my Prince to the utmost of my Power, even beyond what could have been expected of one so little accustomed to military Acts as I was.

And for thus faithfully serving my King, & endeavouring to restore Him & your ancient Liberties, I am to fall a Sacrifice to the Usurper & his Blood-thirsty Son, the pretended Duke of Cumberland

† Vol: 4. pag: 806, &c.

berland. But, thy Will, O my God, be done; & as Thou art pleased, that I suffer for Truth & Righteousness Sake, I resign my Self entirely to thy Will.

And now I am, in a few Moments, to launch into Eternity, I do solemnly declare, as I must answer at the awful Tribunal of Almighty God, that the Order, said to be given by his Royal Highness for giving the Usurper's Men no Quarters, the Day of Culloden-Battle, is false, & contrived merely to excuse the Barbarities committed by the Duke & his Men on all those of our Army, who fell into yr. Hands; for I my Self saw the Orders of that Day. No: It does not agree with the Prince's former Lenity at the Battles of Gladesmuir & Falkirk.

I leave the impartial World to judge of this brave Prince's Character from his Actions, which would require one of the greatest Hands to do Justice to it.

O my Countrymen, consider the woeful Situation you are in. In short, all yt. ever your Forefathers fought for is gone. You have Nothing you can depend upon, burthened with Debt, ruined with a standing Army. Alas! you have no more than the Name of Liberty. Rouze you then, while it is in your

your Power, & take the first Opportunity to restore your lawful Sovereign, King James, which is the only sure Way to make these Nations happy. I leave my hearty Prayers for concluding the same, & I hope, Almighty God will, in his good appointed Time, restore my lawful Sovereign, King James. And, in a particular Manner, I beseech Thee, O God, to bless His Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales, & the Duke of York.

I shall conclude with forgiving all my Persecutors, hoping, Almighty God will, of his infinite Mercy, forgive me all my Sins, through Jesus Christ, pardon the Frailties of my Youth, & accept my imperfect Repentance.

Into thy Hands I commit my Spirit, O Lord, Thou God of Mercy & Truth.

Andrew Wood

P.S. I sent for a Presbyterian Minister to have administred the Sacrament to me; but he refused. Lord, forgive him; for I do.

Kennington-Common, Friday, Nov 28th, 1746.

A genuine & full Account of the Battle of Culloden, with what happened the two preceeding Days, together with the young Prince's

Burton's Prince's miraculous Escape at, from, & after, the Battle, fought on April 16th, 1746: to his Return to the Continent of Scotland from the Western Islands on the 6th of the succeeding July. Taken from the Mouths of the old Laird of MacKinnon, Mr Malcolm MacLeod, &c. and of Lady Clanranald, & Miss Flora MacDonald, by John Walkingham of London, Burton, or Dr John

Upon April 14th [afternoon] the Prince marched from Inverness on Foot, at the Head of his Guards, to Culloden-house, where the Clans & others met Him, & stayed thereabouts under Arms. He himself did not go to Bed. Upon the 15th, by Day-break, He marched the Men up to Culloden-muir, about a Mile S: E: of the House, & reviewd them drawn up in two Lines of Battle. About eleven o' Clock He ordered them to refresh themselves by Sleep or otherwise just in the Field; during wch Time He walked about, cajoling the different Chiefs, & proposed to all of them separately to march off ye Men towards the Evening, & attack ye Enemy by Day-break; but finding the Bulk of them against the Proposal (reckoning it rather too desperate an Attempt, until

untill they were joined by Keppoch & his Men wt others, that were soon expected) he drop'd the project. About 4 afternoon Keppoch arrived with 200 Men; then it was said, Lord Geo: Murray proposed the Night-march, & undertook to manage the Attack, 9th was agreed to; &, when near Dark, the Men were marched off, the Front of the 2d Line following the Rear of the First. About 2 o' Clock of the Morning of the 16th the D: of Perth came galloping up from aside to the Front of the 2d Line, & ordered the Officers to wheel about, & march back to Culloden. They had not gone above one hundred ~~paces~~ Yards back when they met the Prince, who called out himself, — "Where the Devil are the "Men a going?" — It was answered, "We are ordered by the Duke of Perth "to return to Culloden-house!" — "Where "is the D: of Perth?" says the Prince, "Call him here". — Instantly the Duke came up, & the Prince, in an angry Tone, asked, What he meant by ordering the Men back? — The Duke answered, that Lord George, with the first Line, was gone back three Quarters of an hour agoe. — "Good God! said the Prince, "what can be the "Matter? — What does he mean? — "We were equal in Number, & would "have blown them to the Devil. Pray,

Perth,

"Perth, can't you call them back yet?—
"perhaps he is not gone far yet."—Upon which the Duke begg'd to speak with his Royal Highness. They went aside a very short Space. The Prince returned & call'd out, "There is no "Help for it, my Lads; march back to "Culloden-house". Back they marched to Culloden-house, (the Prince bringing up the Rear) where the Bulk of them arrived about 6 in the Morning. The Prince, after ordering, & earnestly recommending to, every Body, to do their utmost to get Provisions to his Men, went into the House, threw himself upon the Top of a Bed Boots, &c. upon him, but in a few Hours being alarmed with the Approach of the Enemy, he hurried to the Field, & endeavoured to put his Men in Order, by drawing them up in two Lines. But they being, some fatigued, & others dispersed about seeking Victuals, could not be all got together; so that, when the Cannonading began, there were not 3000 Men in ye Field, & these not in the best Order. At that Time the Prince was in the Rear of all, ordering some Men to replace some others, that he had sent from the second Line to the Left of ye First. He immediately sent off an Aid

Aid de Camp with Orders to the Generals in the Front to make the attack, and, moving forwards beyond the Second Line, sent off a Second & a Third Aid de Camp with positive Orders to attack. It seems, the first Aid de camp happened to be killed with a Canon-shot just at setting out, which, 'tis thought, was ye Reason the Attack was not made soon enough.

x Upon the Right the Attack was made with great Bravery by the Athol-Brigade, Stewards, Camerons, & Part of the MacDonalds; but the Left was so soon flanked by a great Body of the Enemy's Horse, that, from the Centre to the Left, they never got up to give their Fire. The Right broke in upon the Enemy, Sword in Hand, & did great Execution; but were likewise soon flanked, & very much gall'd by the Grape-shot, & Lochiel & Keppoch, being both soon wounded in the advancing, were carried off, ye their Men observing, immediately they fled, which so alarmed all the Corps to the Left, that they gave Way in Confusion.

Just at this Time the Prince called out to stop, & he would light from his Horse, & return to the Charge at ye Head

Head; but a Number of his Officers got about him, & assured him, that it was improbable for them to do any good at present; for since The Clans had turned their Backs, they would not rally; & it was but exposing his Person without any Probability of Success; & therefore intreated, he would retire, & really forced him out of ye Field.

The Retreat was made with the utmost Regularity. Not above 500 of the Low-Country-men, having detached themselves from the main Body, kept together, till they received the Prince's Orders to shift for themselves.

N: B: There was a Battery of Canon, that played very smartly, for a considerable Time, just upon the Place where the Prince was; & one of his Grooms was killed about two hundred Yards straight in his Rear.

After the Forces were entirely defeated, He retired to a House of a Factor or Steward of Lord Lovat, about ten Miles from Inverness, where meeting with that Lord, he stayed Supper.

After Supper was over, He set out for Fort Augustus, where a Musket Bullet was taken out of the Counter of his Horse, & pursued his Journey for Invergary where he proposed to have dined; but finding no Victuals, he set a Boy a fishing, who caught two Salmon, on which he made a Dinner, &

continued

continued waiting there for some of his Troops, who had promised to rendezvous at that Place; & being disappointed, he resolved to proceed to Locharkaig. He arrived there on ye 18th at two in the Morning, & went to sleep, which he had not done for five Days & Nights; his Forces having been under Arms, marching & counter-marching without Meat for 48 Hours before the Battle. He remained y^re till 5 o' Clock in the Afternoon, in Hopes of obtaining some Intelligence, but gaining none, he set out from thence on Foot, & travell'd to the Glens of Morar over almost inaccessible Mountains, where he arrived on the 19th at 4 in the Morning. He set out about Noon, the same Day for Arrisaig through as bad Ways as before, where he arrived at 4 in the Afternoon.

He remained there seven Days, waiting for Capt. O Neil, who joined him on the 27th, & informed Him, as did many others from all Quarters, that there were not any Hopes of drawing his Troops together again in a Body; upon which he resolved to go to Stornway in the Is^d of Lewis a Town at the Head of a Loch of y^t Name, in order to hire a Ship to go to

to France. The Person, employed for yt Purpose, was one Donald MacLeod, who had an Interest there.

On the 20th he went on Board in an Eight-oar'd Boat, in Company with O Sullivan, O Neil & some others, ordering the People, to whom the Boat belonged, to make the best Haste they could to Stornway. The Night proved very tempestuous, & they all begg'd of him to go back; which he would not do, but seeing the People timorous, He, to keep up their Spirits, sung them a Highland Song. The Weather proving worse & worse, on the 29th, about 7 in the Morning, they were driven ashore on a Point of Land, called Ruskness, in the N. E: Part of the Island of Benbicula, which lies betwixt the Islands of North and South Ost or Uist, being about 5 Miles long from East to West, & 3 Miles broad from North to South, where, as soon as they had got on Shore, the Prince helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew, who were almost starved to Death w^t Cold.

On the 30th, at 6 in the Evening, they set Sail again for Stornway, but meeting with another Storm, were obliged to put into the Island Selpa in the Harris. This Island is about one Mile long & half a mile broad.

There

There they all went ashore to a Farmer's House, passing for Merchants, that were Shipwreck'd in their Voyage to the Orkneys, the Prince and O Sullivan going by the Name of Sinclair, the latter passing for the Father, the former for the Son.

Thence they thought proper to send Donald MacLeod (who had been wt them all the Time) to Stornway, wt Instructions to freight a Ship for the Orkneys.

On the third of May they received a Message from him, that a Ship was ready. On the 4th they made the main Land, & set out on Foot for that Place & arrived on the 5th, about Noon, at the Point of Arynish, two Miles S: E: from Stornway, having travelled 10 Hours on the Hills without any Kind of Refreshment, & were misled by their Guide, either thro' Ignorance or Design. There a Messenger from Stornway met Him, & told him, that Donald MacLeod having got drunk, had told One of his Acquaintances for whom he hired the Ship; upon which there were soon 200 People in Arms at Stornway upon a Report that the Prince was landed wt 500 Men, & was coming to burn the Town; so that He & his Company were obliged to lie all Night on the Muir with no other Refreshment than Bisket and Brandy.

On

On the Sixth they resolved to go in ye Eight-oar'd Boat to the Orkneys, but ye Crew refused to venture, so that they were obliged to steer South along the Coast-side; where they met with two English Ships, which compell'd them to put to a Desart Island, called Seafort or Iffert, ~~Ifshort~~, ~~or Iffort~~, being about half a Mile long & near as much broad. There they remained till the 10th, & must have famished, had they not providently found some salt Fish upon ye Island.

About ten o' Clock in ye Morning, that Day, they embarked for the Harris, & at Break of Day, on the 11th, they were chased by an English Ship, but made their Escape among the Rocks. About 4 in the Afternoon they arrived at Benbicula, where they stayed till the 14th, & then set out on Foot for ye Mountain of Corradell, in South Ost or Uist, being about 16 Miles distant. There they stayed till about the 8th of June, living upon Fish & other Kind of Game, which the Prince daily killed himself, and had no other Kind of Drink than the Water they found there.

The Militia at this Time, coming to ye Island of Irsky (which lies betwixt the Island of Barra & South Ost or Uist, is about three Miles long & one broad, &

& is the very first British Ground the Prince landed upon at his coming on the late Expedition); the Militia I say, coming to the Island, obliged the Prince & his Company to disperse; & He, with two or three others, sailed for the Island Ilia, or Ouaya, lying betwixt South Uist & Benbicula. There he remained three Nights, till having Intelligence that the Militia were coming towards Benbicula, He immediately got into the Boat, & sailed for Loch-Boysdale, but being met by some Ships of War he was obliged to return to Loch-Kannon, which is about a League & an Half W.S.W. from the Island Ilia.

There He remained all Day, & at Night sailed for Loch-Boysdale, which is about 30 Miles South of Loch-Kannon, & belongs to the MacDonalds. There he arrived safe & stayed 8 Days upon a Rock, making a Tent of the Sail of the Boat, & lived upon Fish & Fowl of his own killing.

There He found himself in the most terrible Situation; for having Intelligence on June 18th, that Captain Caroline Scott had landed at Kill-

bride,

bride, within less than two Miles of them, He was obliged to dismiss the Boat's Crew, & taking only O Neil wth him, He went to the Mountains, where He remained all Night, and soon after was informed, that General Campbell was at Barrare (an Island lying between North Uist & Harris) being about two Miles long & one broad. It belongs to the MacLeods. So that now he had Forces not far from him on both Sides, & was absolutely at a Loss to know which Way to move, having Forces on both the Land Sides of Him, & ye Sea on the other, without any Vessel to venture into Securely.

In this Perplexity Captain O.Neil accidentally met with Miss Funivella or Flora MacDonald, to whom he proposed assisting the Prince to make his Escape, which She at last consented to, on Condition the Prince would put on Womens Cloaths, wch he complied with. She then desired, they would goe to the Mountain of Corradale, & stay there till they heard from Her, which should be soon. There they accordingly arrived and remained two Days in great Distress, & then, hearing Nothing from the young Lady, ye Prince concluded

concluded, She would not keep her Word; but, about 5 o'Clock in the Evening, a Message came from Her, desiring to meet Her at Rushness, being afraid to pass the Ford, which was the shortest passage, because of the Militia. They luckily found a Boat, which carried them to the other Side Ulia, where they remained part of the Day, afraid of being seen of the Country People.

In the Evening they set out in the same Boat for Rushness, & arrived there at 12 o'Clock at Night; but, not finding the young Lady, & being alarmed by a Boat full of Militia, they were obliged to return back two Miles, where the Prince remained on a Muir, till O Neil went to the young Lady, & brought her with Him to the place appointed about Sun-Set next Evening.

About an Hour after they had got to the Prince, they got an Account of General Campbell's Arrival at Benbicula, which obliged them to move to another part of the Island; where, as the Day broke, they discovered four Vessels full of armed Men close on the Shore; they, having seen the Fire on the Land, made directly up to the Place where they were, so that there was Nothing left for them to do but to† throw themselves among the

† Vol: 3. pag: 528.

the Heath, by which Means they escaped being found.
When the Wherries were gone, they resolved to go to Clanronald's House; but when they were within a Mile of it, they heard, that General Campbell was there, which obliged them to retreat again to Rushness, from whence they set out in a little Yawl or Boat for the Isle of Sky, about the End of June, & were at Sea all Night. The next Day, as they were passing the† Point of Watternish in the West Corner of Sky, the Wind being Contrary & the Female frighted at turning back, they thought to have landed there; but found it possess'd by a Body of Forces, which obliged ym immediately to put to Sea again, after having received several Shots from the Land. ×
¶ From hence they went, & landed at Killbride in Troternish in Sky, about twelve Miles North from the above mentioned Point. There they also found a Body of Troops within less than two Miles of them, whose commanding Officer rode as far as Moystod or Mougestot, not far from Sr Alexr MacDonald's Seat, near qch place they landed. He there enquired of Miss Flora MacDonald who She was, & who was with her; which She answered as She thought proper.†

†× Vol: 3. pag: 530. ¶† Vol: 3. pag: 531, 533. The

The Officer however would not be satisfied, untill he had searched the Boat. In the mean time the Prince was hid on Shore so near as to hear what passed.

Immediately after this Scene was over, the Prince parted with his Female Guide, & took to the Hills, & travelled without Reft is long Miles S: S: E: in Womens Cloaths, till he came to Mr MacDonald of †Kingsburgh's House, where his Female Guide met him again, having gone a nearer Way. There the Prince got his first Refreshment, & stayed till next Day towards the Evening, when he set out from Kingsburgh's House; but would not, on any Account, let the Consequence be what it would, consent to put on Womens Cloaths again, having found them so cumbersome the Day before. He went 15 long Miles to a Place called Portree or Portry, where again he met his Female-Preserver, who had gone a different Route, & which was the last Time they saw each other.

At Portree the Prince met young MacLeod of Raaza or Raasa, & with him went directly to the Island of Raa-

3a

†Vol: 1. p: 145. Vol: 3. p: 532, 533.

3a or Raasa, being about ten Miles, in a small Yawl or Boat, being the only one to be got at that Time. On the 1st of July he landed at a place, called Glam in Raasa, where he remained two Nights in a miserable Hutt, so low, that he could neither sit nor stand, but was obliged to lie on the bare Ground, having only a Bundle of Heath for his Pillow.

On the 3d of July he proposed going to Troternish in the Isle of Sky, notwithstanding it blew very hard, & that he had but the small Yawl above mentioned, scarce capable of carrying six people. However, He set forward about 7 o' Clock in the Evening, having with him Mr Malcolm MacLeod. He had not gone far, before the Wind blew harder, & the Crew being timorous begg'd to return back again; but he refused, and, to encourage them, sung a merry Highland Song. About eleven the same Night he landed at a place in the Island of Sky, called Nicolson's Rock, near Scorobry in Troternish, being about ten Miles from Glam. He remained there all Night without any Kind of Refreshment, not even so much as a Fire to dry his Cloaths, being quite wet.

wet. In this wet Condition He was for the Space of 48 Hours.

The next Day, about 7 o'Clock in the Evening, he left this Rock, being accompanied by Mr Malcolm MacLeod, the latter passing for the Master, ye former for the Man, who always carried the little† Baggage whenever they saw any Person or came near any Place. They marched all Night through the worst of Roads in Europe, & did not halt, till they arrived at Ellagol or Ellighuil near Kilvory or Killmaree in Strath, not far from a place, in some Maps called Ord or Aird, in the Laird of ~~MacIntosh's~~ MacKinnon's Country, being full 24 Long Miles.

After two Hours Rest & some little Refreshment, the Prince seem'd quite alert, & as ready for Fatigue as ever, & diverted himself wt a young Child in the House, carrying him in his Arms, & singing to him; & said, yt perhaps that Child may be a Captain in my Service might live to be of great Use to him hereafter.

At that Place the old Laird of MacKinnon came to him, & they set out together that Day, being July 5th, for the

† Two Shirts, one Pair of Stockings, one Pair of Brogs, a Bottle of Brandy, some Scrapes of mouldy Bread & Cheese, & a three pint Stone-Bottle for Water.

the main Land, in a small Boat, tho' ye Night was very tempestuous & the Coast very bad. The next Day, July 6th, they Landed safe in Knoidart, which is 30 Miles from the place they set out from. At that place He left the Laird of MacKinnon, who was the next Day taken Prisoner. In their passage they met with a Boat, in which were some Militia, with whom they Spoke. As they did not much exceed their own Number, they were resolved to make all the Head they could, & to fight them in case they had been attack'd.

What Method the Prince took to conceal himself on the Main Land of Scotland, or what Route he took till the 20th of Sept^r, being the Time he embarked for France, will be made publick at another Time.

Citadel of Leith, Saturday, July 11th, 1747.

Mr Alexr MacDonald of Kingsburgh & his Lady were paying their Compliments to My Lady Bruce, when it was proposed to read the above Account or Journal in the hearing of Kingsburgh, that so he might give his Observations, or rather Corrections, upon it. He & the whole Company (about 14 in Number) declared y^r Satisfaction in ye Proposal.

There were present, John Fullarton, Senior, of Budnick, Ja^s MacDonald, Joiner in Leith, Lady Lude, wth her eldest Son & her Daug^r, Mrs Lyham & her Son, Mrs Rattray, Mrs Jean & Rachel Roughtons, &c.

The Account was accordingly read, & Kingsburgh made

made ye following Observaons.

Pag: 130. near the Foot, instead of Invergar it should be Invergarry, a place belonging to the Laird of Glengarry.

Pag: 132. near ye Foot, instead of Selpa it should be Sealpa, commonly called the Island-Glass.

Pag: 134. at the Foot, instead of Irsky, it should be Eriska.

Pag: 139. at the Top, Kingsburgh said, it was not Fact, yt ye Boat was searched, & yt ye prince should have heard qt passed.

Ibid: Instead of 15 long Miles S: S: E: it should be 7 long Miles.

Ibid: Kingsburgh was at pains to represent to ye prince ye Inconvenience & Danger of his being in a Female-dress, particularly from his Airs being all so Man-like, & told him, yt he was very bad at acting ye Part of a Dissembler. He advised him therefore to take from him a Suit of Highland-Cloaths wt a Broad-sword in his Hand, wch would become him much better; but, in ye mean time, yt He should go out of his House in ye Female-dress, lest ye Servants should be making yr Observaons, & stop at ye Edge of a Wood, upon ye Side of a Hill, not far frm ye House, where He & oyrs should come to him wt ye Highland Cloaths, Broad-sword, &c.

Mrs MacDonald said, that She beloved to employ her Daugr, as Handmaid to ye prince, for putting on his Womens Cloaths; "For (said She) the Deel a Preest he could put in.

144 Julias, Mrs MacAllastar

"in." — When + Miss MacDonald was a dressing of him, he was like to fall over with Laughing. After ye Peeners, Gown, Hood, Mantle, &c. were put on, he said, "O Miss, "you have forgot my Apron. Where is my Apron? Pray, get me my Apron here; for yt "is a principal part of my Dress."

Kingsburgh & his Lady both declared, that ye Prince behaved, not like one yt was in Danger, but as chearfully & merrily as if he had been putting on Womens Cloaths merely for a Piece of Diversion.

Agreeable to Kingsburgh's Advice, they met at ye Edge of ye Wood, qre ye Prince laid aside his Female-rags, qch were deposited in ye Heart of a Bush, till a proper Opportunity should offer of taking ym up; for these, yt were present, ~~[illegible]~~ resolved to preserve ym all as valuable Tokens of Distress. After ye Prince had got himself equipt in ye Highland Cloaths wt ye Claymore in his Hand, ye mournful parting wt Kingsburgh ensued. Away he went to struggle through a Series of fresh Dangers, the Faithful MacKechan still attending him. ——— Ibid: Instead of 15 long Miles to Portree or Purtry, it should be 7 long Miles.

Pag: 140. Line 1. instead of 10 Miles it should be 6.

Ibid: near ye Foot, instead of Scorobry, it should be Scorobreck.

Pag: 141. Kingsburgh said, that MacIntosh's Country, there named, behoved to be an Error in ye Writer, for yt MacIntosh had no property in Sky, & it ought to be named MacKinnon's Country. + Vol: 2. p: 216.

Pag: 142. Kingsburgh said, yt he thought, ye Prince, wt old MacKinnon, had landed in Moror & not in Knoidart; but he owned, MacKinnon behov'd to know best. He said, hee was pretty sure, yt old MacKinnon was made Prisoner in Moror, wch might happen after his coming fm Knoidart.

When all ye Journal was read over, Kingsburgh observed, yt ye persons, from whose Mouths it had been taken, had not meddled wt his part of ye Story: "and (said "he) they were indeed right, for they know "very little about it."

Then particular Questions were put to him wt Respect to yt pamphlet, called Alexis, Part 1st. — To give some Instances. It was asked him, Whether or not it was true, yt he took along wt him, out of Sr Alexr MacDonald's House, a Bottle of Wine & some Bread in his pocket for ye Refreshment of ye Prince, That he had great Difficulty to find Him, & yt it was owing to ye accidental Running of a Flock of Sheep yt at last he found him Sitting upon a Rock? — He answered, "All these Things are exactly true, as re-"lated in that small pamphlet."

Then it was asked, Whether or not the Prince made briskly up to him, wt a thick short Cudgel in his Hand, & asked, If he was Mr MacDonald of Kingsburgh? — He said, "It was really so, & that ye Prince "very pleasantly said, "Then all is well, "come, let us be jogging on;" but yt he told him he had brought some Refreshment along wt him, qch he behoved to take before they let

set out; wch accordingly was done, they sitting upon the Top of the Rock.

Asked further, If it was true, yt ye Prince lifted ye petticoats too high in wading ye Rivulet, in going to Kingsburgh, & yt hereft MacKechan hastily called to him to beware? — He said "It is Fact" & that MacKechan cried, "For God's sake, Sir, "take Care of what you are doing; for you will "certainly discover your self;" & yt ye Prince laughed heartily, & thanked him kindly for his great Concern.

Asked farther, if ye cursing & blasphemous Speech of ye D: of C: was such as represented in Alexis, Part 1st? — "Exactly so, "said he, for I had it almost in ye very "same Words fm ye Mouth of Sr Alexr "MacDonald, who was Witness to ye Duke's "expressing himself in yt rough Way, whom "(added he) I indeed never saw in ye Face." Then he said, that Alexis was exactly & literally true in every Ace, (not only as to Facts but even Circumstances) yt concerned his Management of, & Conversaon w, the Prince, the Brogs not excepted; & that he looked upon ye Recovery of Ex Celestius as a great Blunder; for yt he had Reason to think, yt he fell (as designd) in ye Attempt. "This "is not to say (added he) yt I know any Thing "certain of yt Affair, as if I had been an Eye- "witness, or conversed wt those yt had seen "ye Fact; but qn I was Prisoner in Fort Au- "gustus, an Officer came to me, & very "seriously asked, if I would know ye Head "of ye young Pretender, if I saw it. I told

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"him, I would know ye Head very well
"provided it were upon ye Body. But the
"Officer said, What if ye Head be not upon
"ye Body? Do you think, you could know it
"in that Case? To wch I replied, In that
"Case, Sir, I will not pretend to know
"any Thing about it."—— Kingsburgh told
ye Company, yt he was resolved, if any
Head should have been brought before
him, yt he would not have made them a
whit the wiser, even though he should
have known it; but he owned, no Head
was brought to him. He left it to the
Company to draw wt Inferences they
pleased fm yt Conversation betwixt him
and the Officer. {See the printed Copy of Alexis, Part 1st found up in the End of Vol: 8vo of this Collection.}

Kingsburgh informed us, that, when at Fort-
Augustus, he happened to be released one
Evening in Mistake for anoy Man of the
same Name. When ye Irons were taken
off him, he went to Sr Alexr MacDo-
nald's Lodgings to ask his Commands
for Sky. Sr Alexr happened to be a-
broad; but when he came in, he was
quite amazed yt he saw Kingsburgh,
& said, "Sanders, what has brought you
"here? Why, Sir, said he, I am released.
"Released, says Sr Alexr! How has this come
"about? I have heard Nothing of ye Matter!
"I do not understand it! As little do I
"know, says Kingsburgh, how it has come
"about; but so it is, yt I have got free". Then
Sr Alexr ordered a Bed to be made up
for Kingsburgh in ye same Room wt himself;

& when Kingsburgh (about 11 o' Clock) was beginning to undress in order to go to Bed, an Officer came to ye Door of ye Room, & asked, if MacDonald of Kingsburgh was there. "Yes, Sir, said Kingsburgh, I am "here. What want You wt me? Why, re- "plied ye Officer, you must goe wt me to Ld "Albemarle, who wants to speak with You. "Then, said Kingsburgh, I began to think "within my self all was wrong with me. "I begged, that I might be allowed to take "my Rest all Night in the Place where I "then was; & that in ye Morning I should "wait upon Lord Albemarle, as soon as he "pleased; & that I would give my Word "of Honour to do as I promised; & besides, "that Sr Alexr would engage for me. "No, No, said the Officer, that will not do, "Sir; these are not my Orders; you must come "along wt me quickly." When Kingsburgh came to ye Door, & saw ten or 12 Rogers wt fix'ed Bayonets waiting to receive him, he did not like yt piece of Ceremony at all. They had not gone many Paces from Sr Alexr's Lodgings, till they met Lord Albemarle, running himself out of Breath, foaming at ye Mouth, & crying out, "Have "ye got ye Villain! Have ye got ye Villain! Kingsburgh mildly answered, "O why all "this Hurry? Where is the Man, that will "refuse Freedom, when it is offered him? "I am here, My Lord, at your Service. I "had no Intention of being in a Hafte to "leave the Place; & though I had left it, "you would have eaſily found me again; "for I would have gone to my own House. I

"I had no Fear about any Thing. Howe-
"ver (says Albemarle still in a Passion) it
"is well, Sir, you are not gone. I had
"rather, by G—, have given any Thing,
"before this Mistake had happened. Go
"(added he) & throw the Dog into Irons."
Instantly the Orders were obeyed. But to
do Albemarle Justice, Kingsburgh said,
that in a Day or two he ordered him into
a better Place & the Irons to be taken
away from him; & every Day, after this,
that his Lordship sent to him, at Dinner-
time, three Dish of Meat from his own
Table wt two Bottles of Wine. By
this Time, the D: of C: had left Fort-
Augustus, in great Haste to London.

It was represented to Kingsburgh, that
his Lady, during his Confinement, had been
telling some Folks, that, upon conversing to
him (her Husband) about ye Pamphlet, A-
lexis, he should have said, that he knew
no Body, who could be the Author of it
but Neil MacKechan; so pointed & ex-
act it was in giving the Narrative.
Kingsburgh, looking to his Lady, said,
"Goodwife, you may remember, I said,
"that I knew no Body, who could be
"the Author of that Pamphlet but eyr
"Neil MacKechan or my self."
When it was suggested, yt Neil Mac Ke-
chan (a low Man) could not be thought
capable of drawing up any Thing of that
Sort, Kingsburgh & his Lady informed ye
Company, yt MacKechan had been e-
ducated in the Scots College in Paris with
the View of commencing Clergyman; but that

that, after getting his Education, he had dropt ye Design; y therefore he was capable enough, & that he had proved a great Comfort to ye Prince in his Wanderings by talking to him in ye French Language about Matters of Importance in y Difficulties, q perhaps it was not so prudent or convenient, that those, who were present, should know qt they were conversing about. — They told likewise, yt they had never been so much afraid of any Person's Conduct as that of MacKechan; because he was a good-natured Man, & very timorous in his Temper; but they frankly owned, they had done him great Injustice by entertaining any Suspicion about him, for that he had behaved to Admiration, & had got abroad with ye Prince, the great Wish of his Soul; for he could never think of parting wt him at any Time, but upon Condition of meeting again, qch MacKechan was so lucky as frequently to accomplish, even q, at parting, they could scarce condescend upon a Time or Place q & gre to meet.

Kingsburgh said, y he asked particularly at ye Prince about Lord Geo: Murray, whether or not he could lay Treachery or any such Thing to his Charge. The Prince answered, y he never would allow any Thing of Treachery or Villainy to be laid to ye Charge of L: G: M: but he could not help owning, yt he had much to bear of him for his Temper. The

The Prince asked Kingsburgh, if he could inform him any Thing about the Heads of the Clans; y^t they were doing in ye pr^t Confusion. Kingsburgh answered, y^t Mac Donald of Glencoe had surrendred himself, & y^t Cameron of Dungallan had done ye same. The Prince made no Remark at all upon Glencoe; but, as to ye oth^r, said, "Cameron of Dungallan! Is not that "Lochiel's Major? Yes, said Kingsburgh; he is ye same. Why, replied "ye Prince, I always looked upon Dun-"gallan to be a Man of Sense."

When the Prince was going out of Kingsburgh's House, he turned about, & said, "Can none of you give me "a Snuff?" Upon y^t Mrs Mac Donald made up to him, & offered him a Snuff out of a little Silver-mill, it two Hands clasped together upon ye Lid of it, & ye common Motto, Rob Gib. Kingsburgh begged ye Prince to put ye Mill into his Pocket; "and (said Kings-"burgh) he accordingly put it into a Wo-"man's muckle Pouch he had hanging "by his Side." After the Prince had met w^t Malcolm Macleod, Kingsburgh said, he had heard, y^t ye Prince, spy-ing ye Carving & ye Motto, asked Mac-Leod what it meant. "Why (said "Macleod) y^t is ye Emblem we use in "Scotland to represent a firm & strong Friendship

"Friendship; & ye common Saying is, Rob
"Gib's Contract, stark Love & Kindness.
"Well, MacLeod (says ye Prince) for yt
"very same Cause shall I endeavour to
"keep ys Mill all my Life".
"All ye Female-rags & Bucklings (said
"Kingsburgh & his Lady) yt were left in
"ye Heart of ye Bush, were taken up,
"& carried to our House, in order to be
"carefully preserved; but qn we had got
"Notice, yt ye Troops had such exact Intelli-
"gence about ye Prince, yt they parti-
"cularized ye several Bucklings of Wo-
"mens Cloaths he had upon him, even
"to ye Nicety of specifying Colours, &c.
"(and Kingsburgh & Miss MacDonald be-
"ing by ys Time made Prisoners) Word
"was sent to Mrs MacDonald & her Daur
"to throw all ye Female-dress into the
"Flames, to prevent any Discovery in
"Case of a Search." — When ye Rags
were a destroying, ye Daughter insisted
upon preserving ye Gown (which was
stamped Linen wt a purple Sprig) say-
ing, "That they might easily keep it safe,
"& give out, that it belonged to one of
"ye Family." — The Gown was accordingly
preserved, & Kingsburgh & his Lady pro-
mised to send a Swatch of it to Mr
Stewart Carmichael at Bonnyhaugh,
as a pattern to stamp oyr Gowns from.
Kingsburgh rose fm his Seat, and, coming
about to one of ye Company, whispered
in

in his Ear, "Sir, since you seem to "know a good deal of these Affairs, pray, "will you inform me wt you know of "Barrisdale's Case? What do you think "of that Point?" It was answered, "It is certain enough, yt Barrisdale en-"tred into Terms, wt ye D: of C: & here-"ceived a Protection for a certain limi-"ted Time, & yt he touched Money"; but whether or not he was sincere in ye Design of seizing ye Prince, or if he intended to make use of these Stratagems for compleating ye Safety & Preservation of ye Prince, was wt that Person could not pretend to determine; but one Thing was constantly affirmed by all ye Accounts from Abroad, that Barrisdale was still in some Sort of Confinement in France, i: e: a Prisoner at large. Kingsburgh shook his Head, & said, "I am sorry to hear "that he is a Prisoner in any Shape; "for that says ill for him." When Kingsburgh was seated again, this Subject happened to be spoken of publickly in ye Company, & all agreed, yt they had heard, yt Barrisdale still continued to be in some Sort of Confinement in France. Kingsburgh insisted upon it's being a very bad Sign, & again declared his Concern to have such an Account of him.

When some of the Company happened to

to be talking of Major Lockheart's Cruelties in ye Highlands, particularly that of his having thrust his Sword through ye Body of a Child, aged four Years, in at ye Belly & out at ye Back, Kingsburgh's Lady said, "That was no "Rarity among them; for that several "old Men, Women & Children had "been butchered by ym in ye Highlands."

Dudwick was exceedingly much delighted wt ye Interview, & said, he had never before entertained any Notion of that little Thing, Alexis; but yt now it should be a Favourite of his, as he well knew the Veracity of it, & yt to say in it's Behalf.

N.B. After a Confinement of twelve long Months for one Night's Hospitality, Kingsburgh was at last set at Liberty upon Saturday, July 4th. 1747. upon his preferring a Petition to the Justiciary-Lords, wherein he pled ye Benefit of the Indemnity.

Before transcribing the above Conversation into this Book, I went to Edr upon Tuesday Morning, July 14. 1747 & read my Prima Cura in the hearing of Dudwick, in order to know of him if I had been exact enough. He told me, it was very right, & exactly written according to ye Terms of the Conversation. That Day Kingsburgh & his Lady had left Edr; so that I could not have the Opportunity of reading it over in their Hearing.

Robert Forbes, A:M:

Journal by Mr John Cameron, Presbyterian Preacher, & Chaplain at Fort-William.

The Retreat fm Stirling was made with ye utmost Hurry & Confusion. The Evening before, Mr O Sullivan wrote fm Bannockburn to Lord John Drummond, ordering him to leave Stirling, & cross ye Forth by Break of Day, qch Order his Lordship obeyed, & by ye in ye Morning marched. This surprized ye Highlanders, to whose Officers, it appears, these Orders were not communicate, & made ym believe ye Enemy was near ym, qch occasioned such an universal Consternaon, yt they went fm Stirling, as every One was ready, & left most of yr Baggage, all ye Cloaths they brought fm Glasgow, & some of yr Arms.

Lochiel, who had been wounded at Falkirk, not being able to ride or walk, went in a Chaise wt Mrs Murray, & was driving through St Ninians qn ye Church blew up. Some of ye Stones came very near ym, ye Horses startled, & threw Mrs Murray on ye Street, qre she lay speechless, till she was taken up by some of ye Men. Had yre been any Intention to blow up ye Church, doubtless, Lochiel, one of yr principal Officers, & ye Secretary's Lady had been apprized of it, & put on yr Guard to avoid Danger.

When ye Prince joind ye Body of ye Army, a Council of War was held, in qch it was debated, whether ye Army should march in a Body to Inverness by Aberdeen, or take ye Highland-Road, by qch ye Chiefs could, with ye greater Ease, get such of yr Men to rejoin ym, as had gone home wt plunder after ye Battle of Falkirk, qch would considerably increase

crease yr Army. The Low Country men were of ye former Opinion, ye Highlanders of the Latter. It was put to ye Vote, & ye Latter carried it by a great Majority. However, the Prince was positive for ye Aberdeen-Road, wch Lochiel complied; but Cluny going out, met Mr Murray, & told him, it was surprizing, ye Prince should be so positive in a Thing contrary to Reason & his own Interest, especially gn a great Majority of ye Council of War were of anoyr Opinion. His expressing himself wt a little Warmth, made Mr Murray speak to Sr Tho Sheridan, who went to ye Prince, & prevailed upon him to agree wch qt had been ye Opinion of ye Council of War. He marched wt ye Highlanders ye Highland-road, by Ruthven in Badenoch, to Invernefs, gre it was resolved to attack Fort-Augustus & Fort-William. Of either I can give no distinct Account; but yt ye First was taken & ye Siege of ye oyr deserted.

Earl Cromerty & oyrs were sent to different Countries, to cover ye Rising of some, & to prevent yt of oyrs. This weakened ye Army, & tho' many joined ye Day before ye Battle of Cullodon, a great Number did not. Earl of Cromerty, tho' many Expresses were sent to order his returning to Invernefs; in place of doing as commanded, was surprized & taken prisoner, & these, that did join, were much fatigued. None had got pay after they left Tay-bridge in their March North, & they were straitned in provisions for some Days before ye Battle. Cumberland's Army was not opposed in passing the Spey, tho' a considerable Force had been sent there† for yt End. The Prince was in Danger of being taken at MacIntosh's House, & his Safety was chief

† Not Fact, as Donald Roy (qo was yr a) told me. R: F.

ly owing to a Mistake of Earl of London's Men. — On Monday, April 14th, Lochiel, in his Return from Fort-William (from whence he had been called on Cumberland's passing ye Spey) marched thro' Inverness. His Men were mustered at the Bridge-end, & being but two hours in Town ye informid yt Cumberland's Army was at Nairn, 12 Miles from Inverness, he immediately marched to Culloden, tho' his Men & he were much fatigued, having marched fm Fort-William in little more than two Days, being 50 long Miles. He arrived in ye Evening, & then his Regiment, wt a few of Glengarie's, were ordered to mount Guard upon ye Prince. They got a few Sacks of Meal, of qch some baked Bread. The Body of ye Army lay on ye Hill above ye House.

Next Morning ye whole Army was drawn up in order of Battle a little nearer Nairn than where the Battle was fought, much in ye same Order as on the Day following. In yt Situation they continued all Day wout Meat or Drink, only a Biscuet to each Man at 12 o' Clock. About 7 at Night they encamped on a dry Hill wout Tents, being cold & hungry. Great Numbers being dispersed through the Country, many of ym did not return. That Night, betwixt 8 and 9, Orders were given for yr marching wt an Intention to surprize ye Enemy in yr Camp. The Word was King James. The Attack was to be made wt Sword and Pistol. They marched in one Column, by reason ye Rear was near a Mile fm ye Front, each Rank consisting of 3 Men only. Ma-

Many were so much fatigued, that they slept on yr March. Others, to a great Number, wandered; and, by ye Time they came wt in 3 Miles of Nairn, a Person† of Distinction, observing ye State of ye Army, & fearing all there would be cut off, told Ld Geo: Murray ye Condition ye Army was in, and, to prevent ye Loss of so many gallant Men, wished, He would retreat in Time. Ld Geo: Murray was of his Opinion; but, for Reasons he gave him, desired He might inform ye Prince of yr Situation, & bring him Orders, qch he undertook; but before he could return wt ye Prince's Orders, Ld Geo: Murray, observing Day coming on, began to retreat, qch occasioned some Reflections, & confirmed severals in yr Opinion formerly of Him, though, I believe, without any just Foundation. We came to Culloden about 9 next Morning, being April 16th. The Provisions being all spent, the Prince ordered each Colonel to send some of their Officers to Inverness wt Money to buy such as could be got, & sent Orders to ye Inhabitants to send Provisions to the Army, otherwise he would burn ye Town.

Before ye Prince left Inverness, on certain Intelligence yt Cumberland had passed the Spey, Major Kennedy went to Mr John Hay, who, in Mr Murray's Absence, officiated as Secretary, & told him, that, as the Enemy was on their March towards them, it was more than probable there would be a Battle, and, as the Event was very uncertain, it was prudent to guard against the worst. They might get ye Better, or be defeat. In ys Situation, he wish'd, he would propose to the Prince his sending a large Quantity of Provisions, then in Inverness, to some Distance, that, in Case of

† No doubt, Lochiel. Vol: 3. p: 441. Vol: 4. p: 661.

of the worst, scattered Troops might join & have wherewithal to subsist them, tile rejoin'd by such as had not returned from yr Commands they had been out upon. If this was not done, all must disperse, the Cause must be given up, & ye Prince behovd to be in Danger; for ye Neighbourhood of yt Country could not supply ye smallest Number of Men for one Week. Mr Hay said nothing; nor do I believe, he ever mentioned it to the Prince. But to return.

The Prince intended to give ye Army an hearty Meal & a Day's Rest, & to fight next Morning; but being informd, ye Cumberland's Army was within Half a Mile, he resolved to fight that Day. Lord Geo: Murray & ye Chiefs of ye Clans, especially Lochiel, were against it. However, they complied, though it was their Opinion to keep ye Ground they were on & receive Cumberland, if he attack'd them; qch they were still in Doubt of. Our Army came to the Height of ye Muir before Cumberland came in View. The Prince ordered ye Men to be immediately formed in Order of Battle; but Lt Geo: Murray begged to have a little Time to view ye Ground & observe ye Motions of ye Enemy. Cumberland soon appeard, & was forming his Men; on qch Ours began to form by the Prince's Orders, who all ye While stood wt Lochiel & Mr Sullivan, frequently complaining they were long in forming. A little after they were formed, we observed

ed the Horse & ye Argile Shiremen, on ye Left of ye Enemy, drawing to a Distance from ye main Body, & inclining to our Right; on wt ye Athol & Cameron Officers were afraid to be flanked. This made Lochiel send to Lt Geo: Murray, then on ye Left wt ye Duke of Perth, to tell him of ye Danger. Lord Geo: Murray (whom I heard formerly say yt ye park would be of great Service to prevent our being flanked) on yt took a narrower View of it, & sent three Gentlemen, viz, Colonel Sullivan, John Roy Stewart and Ker of Graydan to view it down to the Water of Nairn. At their Return they said, it was impossible for any Horse to come that Way. The Men still believed, they might be flanked, & some proposed lining ye park-wall. The Duke of Perth, q came fm ye Left, was of yr Opinion; but Lt Geo: Murray, thinking otherwise, ordered Lt Ogilvie's Regiment to cover the Flank, told there was no Danger, & to Lord Ogilvie said, he hoped & doubted not, but he would acquit himself as usual.

The Prince, q wt a Body of Horse was in the Rear of ye French, sent 8 or 10 times to Lt Geo: Murray to begin ye Attack on ye Right; but that was not obeyed. He sent Sr John MacDonald to ye Duke of Perth, q moved immediately wt ye Left. The Right, observing this, wt out Orders fm Lt Geo: Murray followed yr Example. Lt George behaved himself wt great Gallantry, lost his Horse, his Periwig & Bonnet, was amongst ye Last that left ye Field, had several Cutts wt Broad Swords in his Coat, & was covered with

with Blood & Dirt.
The Prince was in ye Heat of ye Action, had one of his Grooms kill'd close by him; ye Horse he rode on† kill'd by a Musket-bullet, qch struck him wt in an Inch of ye Prince's Leg. Some of ye Camerons on ye Right gave Way, being flanked, as they expected, fm ye park-wall, qch ye Argyle-shiremen had broke down. Lochiel endeavoured to rally them; but could not: On which, under ye greatest Concern, he returned to the Action, & was wounded by a Flank-shot. Thus did some of his Men desert yr Chief & ye Cause they fought for, who, at the Battle of Gladesmuir & Falkirk, behaved wt so much Intrepidity & Courage. —— I more than once heard Major Kennedy tell, that, after ye High-landers were broke & ye French engaged, he went to ye Prince, & told him, they could not hold it long, yt some Dragoons had gone fm ye Right & Left of ye Enemy, probably to surround ye Hill & prevent his Escape; & begged, he would retire. In this Request he was join'd by others. The Prince complied with great Reluctance, retired in good Order & in no Hurry.

As the Action was near over, as has been told, Lochiel was wounded in both his Legs. He was carried out of ye Field by 4 of his Men, q brought him to a little Barn. As they were taking off his Cloaths to disguise him, the Barn was surrounded by a Party of Dragoons; but as they were entring

† Not true. See Vol: 6. p: 1161.

entring the Barn, they were call'd off; qch prevented his being taken. The Dragoons were no sooner out of Sight, but his four Men carried him out, put him on an Horse, & brought him that Night to Clunie's House in Badenoch, qre he continued till next Morning, & yn went to Lochabar. When he left ye Barn, he dismist two of the four Men, ye oyr two supported him on ye Horse.

×Vol: 7. pag: 1545.

× At a Meeting held at Murlagan, near ye Head of Locharkaig (present, Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Mr Murray, Major Kennedy, Glenbuicket, Col: John Roy Stewart, Clanranald, Barisdale, Lochgerrie, Mr Alexr MacLeod, Sr Stewart, Threpland, Keppoch's Nephew, & Barisdale's Son) it was agreed, yt they should assemble yr Men at Glenmallie & cross Lochie, where Clunie & Keppoch's Men should join them. Lochiel got a Body of 3 or 400 Men, Barnsdale & Lochgerrie came with about 150 Men each; but so soon as Lochgerrie got pay for his Men, he went away, promising to return in a few Days, & at ye same time to observe ye Earl of Loudon's Motions; but neither of these was done; for ye Earl marched thro' Glengary, & had taken Lochiel but for some of his Scouts, as shall be told. —— Barisdale, before Ld Loudon came to Achnecarie, told Lochiel, he would go & bring more men, & left his Son wt a few. Early in ye Morning a Body of Men appear'd, marching over a Hill, whom Lochiel believed to be Barisdale's Men; but he was soon undeceived by some Out-Scouts he had placed at proper Distances, qo told him these Men were certainly Loudon's; for they saw red Crosses in their Bonnets. On ye Lochiel dispersed his Men, & crossed ye Loch

^ q viz, Lochiel, Lochgary, Clanranald, & Barisdale should, &c.

Loch in a Boat, (93) he kept to prevent his being surprized. It proved, as he had been told, & he owed his Escape more to ye Red Cross-es than Banfdale's Honesty.
Lord Lovat & others took different Routes. Mr Murray continued w^t Lochiel, till they came to Lochleven near Glencoe; and, after being there some Time, Mr Murray went from thence to Glenlion. Sr David Murray, Dr Cameron & I went w^t him. We continued there 12 or 14 Days. From that we went to Glenochie, where Murray was taken very ill. He desired, we should return. Sr David Murray went South, & we to Lochiel. He bid us tell Him, y^t he would continue about Glenlion till he recovered; and, if he could not in Safety get South to provide a Ship, he would return to him; but we were soon informed, that, in 2 or 3 Days after we parted from him, he went South. Cap^n MacRab went w^t him to the Braes of Balquhidder, & provided him in an Horse & Cloaths. — I return to ye Battle.

As to the Left of our Army, I can give no particular Account; but that ye Officers, Nobility & Gentry behaved w^t great Gallantry, in y^t all there did agree. The Duke of Athol had been ill at ye Time ye Prince was at Inverness, & so was not in ye Action; but before Cumberland came there he left it. I was told by One y^t was w^t him, y^t a little after ye Battle he met w^t John Hay, & enquired y^t was become of ye Prince. To which he replied, He was gone, off, & desired none to follow him. On ye ye Duke took ye Road to Ruthven of Badenoch, where he met Severals of ye Unfortunate, & took different Roads for y^r Safety.
The Prince, as I have already told, being re-
vailed

vailed on to retire after ye action, went to Invergary, Glengary's House; but yt Gentleman & his Lady were not at home. However he continued yre yt Night wtout Meat, Drink, Fire or Candle, except some Firr-Sticks, & a Salmon he brought, wch he ate w Gridiron-Bannocks. He was made believe, his Loss was much greater than it was; that Lochiel, Keppoch, & oyr leading Men of ye Highlanders were killed, & was advised by Sullivan, O Neil & John Hay to dismiss all yt were yn wt him for greater Security of his person, as in yt Situation he could trust none. Accordingly he dismissed all but the above three; but whether Sr Tho' Sheridan was yn wt him, I have not been informd. Many would have followed him after the Battle; but were forbid, as ye D: of Athol was.

From Invergary, wre he was but one Night, the Prince went, by ye Head of Lochabeig, to the West Coast, wre he embarkd for ye Isle and of Uist. How long he continued there at yt Time I know not; but from thence he went in an open Boat to ye Lewis, in order to get a Ship to carry him off; but being in yt disappointed, he returned to Uist, wre he skulked till he was informed, yt Major General Campbell, & a Body of Argyleshiremen, & oyrs were come to yt Island. To avoid them he went to Clanronald's House, continued wre no longer than to dress himself in t Womens Cloaths, & wt Miss MacDonald went in an open Boat to ye Isle of Sky. In his passage he met wt a Boat, in which were some of ye Argyleshiremen, who seeing a small Boat wt two Men & two Women, took no Notice of um. — On his Landing in Sky, he sent Miss MacDonald to Lady Margaret

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MacDonald

MacDonald, Sr Alexander's Lady, to tell her of his being there, & to know if he would be safe in her House, if but for one Night, as he was ye Day following to leave ye Island. What Reception Miss had, or what Return was made, I cannot say w^t any Certainty (it being told in so many different Ways); but certain it is, ye Prince went y^t Night to Mr MacDonald's of Kingsburgh, wre he slept very well, & next Day in an open Boat left ye Island w^t ye Laird of MacKinnon & another. He landed in Moidart, went to Angus MacDonald's House in Boradale, returned MacKinnon to Sky, changed his own Dress, & sent for Kenneth MacDonald of Clanronald's Family.

After ye Battle of Culloden, many of ye Wounded, wo were not able to leave the Field, were that & ye next Day killed upon ye Spot, & few were made Prisoners. Cumberland came to Inverness, wre such as had been Prisoners were released. The Clans, who were at ye Action, dispersed, & such as were only coming on yr March to join ye Prince, returned. Earl Cromerty & ors were taken Prisoners in Sutherland, & some time after, brought to Inverness. The French surrendred Prisoners, & different parties were sent to take up the Stragglers. After Cumberland had been some time in Inverness, he ordered Earl Loudon w^t a good Body of Men to Lochabar, to prevent our Coming to a Body, & receive such as would come & deliver up their Arms to him. He met w^t no Opposition, received a great Number of Arms, & gave Protections

protections. When he was encamped at Moy, three Miles from Achnacarry (Lochiel's House) qre he [Lochiel] had been, & six Miles from Fort-William, Monroe of Culcairn was sent by Cumberland wt a Body of Men to Earl Loudon, wt Orders to him to burn Lochiel's House. On receiving these Orders, he told Culcairn, that, as he was to march from thence, he (Culcairn) might burn it. To qch he answered, he had done yt already. The Earl, tho' as an Officer He with Exactness discharged his Duty, yet behav'd wt great Humanity to ye Unfortunate; which, I believe, made Culcairn execute qt he had no Orders for.

At this Time, or soon after, a Line was formed fm Inverness to Fort-Augustus, from thence to Fort-william, to prevent ye prince or any others to escape. As also a Line was formed from ye Head of Locharkeig, to prevent coming in, or going out of, Lochabar.

While Cumberland was at Fort-Augustus, great Liberties were taken by some Officers, sent on different Commands, particularly Colonel Cornwallis, Major Lockheart, Monroe of Culcairn, Captn Caroline Scott, & Capn Grant, Son to Grant of Knockando in Strathspey. Culcairn, after he had burnt & plundered from Moy to ye Head of Locharkeig, marched fm thence to Kintale. Capt: Grant, above-mentioned, wt about 200 Men of Loudon's Regiment, marched into Lochabar, stripped Men, Women & Children wtout Distinction of Condition or Sex. He burnt Cameron of Clunss House, took a few Cows he had bought after Culcairn had formerly plunder'd him of all, stript his Wife &

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& some oyrs naked as they came into the World. Thus was yᵉ unfortunate Gentleman made partner in yᵉ Miseries of his Wife & Children, & deprived of all Means of Subsistence, except five milk Goats. From yᵉnce he marched by yᵉ Wood of Tervalt to Locharkeig. He told, he was going to carry off Barisdale's Cattle, & had undertaken to apprehend yᵉ Prince, but had deceived ym; yᵗ was owing more to it's not being in his Power, than Want of Inclination. He burnt & plundered as he marched. The Day he left Clunes he apprehended one† Alexr Cameron on yᵉ Side of Locharkeig, & had a Gun on his Shoulder. This Man, tho' he discoverd yᵉ party at a Distance, made no attempt to run frm ym; but came & delivered his Arms. Being asked how he came not to deliver his Arms sooner, he answered, he saw these, & had submitted to yᵉ King's Mercy, plundered as well as yᵉ rest did not; yᵗ he had gone, wᵗ his Wife, & Children, & Cattle, to a remote Wilderness, yᵗ was yᵉ Reason he had not deliverd up his Arms before yᵗ Time. This to any but Capᵗⁿ Grant would have been a sufficient Excuse; but so void was he of the least Humanity, yᵗ he ordered him immediately to be tied to a Tree, & shot dead by yᵉ High-way in yᵉ Wood of Meik. This party was joined in Knoidart by Monroe of Culcairn, & commanded 200 Men, & had been in Kintail about eight Days after as they were returning wᵗ Barisdale's Cattle & some belonging to oyrs; X Culcairn was shot frm a Bush not a Gun-shot length or Distance

† Vol: 3. Pag: 558, 559.

tance fm yt Spot qre Cameron had been (sit may be said) murdered by Capn Grant. Evan MacIloule or Cameron, tho' he never had been out of ye Country, or join'd ye Prince's Army or any Part of it, came to deliver his Arms to ye first Party, yt came to Lochabar, yn at ye Head of Locharkeig. He was desired to tell qre Arms were hid. He declared, He knew not qre any were hid, wt Asseverations & Oaths; but these did not save him, for he was immediately shot. I do not remember who commanded ye Party; but I believe, it was Coll Cornwallis. Archd MacLauchlan, Broyr to John MacLauchlan of Greenhall, was an Officer in yt Command. Wm Dow MacIloule & his Brother, going to a Sheeling in Glenkengie, were taken up on Suspicion yt one of the black Horses was in yr Custody, and, for ys aggravating Circumstance, viz, yt a Gun was found in one of yr Houses, were both immediately shot. The last, yt encamped in ye Braes of Locharkeig, seeing what they believed to be a Boat on ye Side of ye Loch, sent a Party; but it proved to be no oyr yn a large black Stone. But yt they might not return wt out some gallant Action, on meeting a poor old Man, about sixty, begging, they shot him. Much about ye same Time, meeting a poor old Woman, blind of an Eye, a Beggar for several Years before, they desired Her to tell qre Lochiel was; and, for not telling qt she did not know, she was immediately shot. This is certain; but what is

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is reported to have been done to her before she was dead, I incline not to repeat things shocking to human Nature.

Colonel Cornwallis, qn sent wt a large Body of Men to ye Head of Locharkeig, in his March thro' Grant of Glenmoriston's Country, shot two Men leading Bung to yr Land. They were ordered to come to ye Party; but, happening to turn yr Backs upon it, they were instantly shot dead. John Cameron, Broyr to Lochiel, never joind him, or any of his Servts. On ye contrary, qn ye Prince came to Glenfinnan, or before it, he went to his Father-in-law, John Campbell's House, in Broadalbin, qre he continued till ye Prince marched out of Lochabar; & so soon as he returned, he waited upon Capn Campbell, Deputy-Governour of Fort-William, continued some Days wt him, & ever behavd himself peaceably, keeping at home; but yt could not save his Effects; for Capn Caroline Scott (ye Left that plundered yt unfortunate Country) took frm him an hundred of his Cows & all his small & young Cattle. An Order being given to apprehend, on Suspicion, Peter MacLauchlan, Taxman of a Farm, in Mull, belonging to ye Duke of Argyle, he came wn ye Time limited in Cumberland's Proclamation, at least as soon as he was informed of it, & surrendred himself & Arms to Major General Campbell

Campbell; but how soon ye General went to ye Isles, Capn Millar of Guises Regiment, formerly a Prize-Fighter, was sent wt a party to Mull, as is believed, by Orders of Capn Caroline Scott, to burn & plunder some few Tenants in MacKinnon's Lands; qch being done wt great Severity, he went to Peter MacLauchlan's House, burnt it, plundered every Thing yt he had, Horses, Cows, & Sheep, except a Lame Cow yt could not travell. Capn Caroline Scott came to Stewart of Ardsheill's House in Appin, & took from his Lady a few Cows Gent Campbell had bought frm ye Soldiers & made a present of to her. All Ardsheil's Cattle being taken by ye Soldiers, ye Capn desired she should give him her Keys; qch She did. He yn demanded qt he called her small Keys, qch She had no sooner delivered, than he offered her his Hand, led her out of ye House, & told her, She had no more to do in it. She desired to know qre she was to go. He replied, to Appin's House. She yn told him, She could not leave her young Children to Starve, as he had taken all her Provisions frm her. On qch he ordered her one Boll of Meal of her own to be given her. The Capt, after he had rummaged ye House, & taken every thing out of it, took great Care to have ye Plates & Sarking taken frm ye Roof. He gutted ye House & Office-houses of all ye Timber in ym wt ye least Dammage possible, even to ye Drawing of Nails. He yn had all ye Walls cast down, ye free Stone, Lintels, Rabats, &c. laid by themselves, all qch he sold wt ye planting, which

which chiefly consisted of many large Ash-trees.
It was yt Capn Caroline, qo hanged three
Men near Glenevis, that, when some oyrs
were pursued, came & delivered yr Arms,
expecting to get protection; in place of qch,
ye Capn told them, as oyrs had not done ye
same, they were to be hang'd. The poor
Men said, it would be hard to punish yn for
ye Fault of oyrs; & so little did they think
he intended any such Thing, but yt he threat-
ened to fright ym, they were laughing qn
ye Soldiers were putting ye Ropes about
yr Necks. But they were mistaken; for in-
stantly they were hang'd, & had not so much
Time as to beg God to have Mercy upon yr
Souls. — The same Capn qn he went to ye Isl-
and of Barra nt a party to search for Arms,
he apprehended a Man, being informd yt he
had been in Arms, & ordered him immediate-
ly to be hang'd. The poor Man begg'd, he might
delay for a few Hours, yt he would prove
by 50 he had never been out of ye Country,
or under Arms in it; but ys was not granted,
tho' Capn Millar of Guise's Regiment beg-
ged, he might consider qt he was doing;
for tho' he (Scott) was an older Capn, yet
he had served much longer. To qch ye oyr
replied, He knew very well qt he was do-
ing, qch was not wtout Orders. What made
ys ye more surprizing is, yt tho' in ye Islands
belonging to Barra yre will be about 4 or
500 Souls, yre is but one Gentleman & 7 or
8 common people yt are protestants, of
qm ys poor unfortunate Man was one.
I have hitherto confin'd my self to Facts;
but in ys place must observe, yt all those
qo were hang'd or shot were protestants; that
in plundering ye Cattle, burning &c. ye Roman
Catholicks

Catholicks Countries, Braes of Lochabar, Glengary, Knoidart, Moidart, Arisaig & Morar, suffer'd little by burning or taking of Cattle; & not one, yt I know of, was hang'd or shot, qō was a papist. — How loud would ye Clamour have been, had such Burning & Murders, &c. been committed by ye Prince's Army, or ye like Indulgence shown to popish Countries & Papists? — I have been told, Major Lockheart came not short of Capn Caroline in many of ye like Actions; but as I was not yn in yt Country, I leave it to others better informed. What I have told of ye above plunderings, Burnings & killing, may be absolutely depended on; & have left off, to put ym togeyr, lest, if mention'd in yr proper places, it might interrupt qt more particularly concern'd ye Prince; to qch I return.

Glenaladale, as I have related, being sent for, came; & ye Prince, being better inform'd as to Lochiel, Keppoch & oyrs, yt his Loss had not been as Sullivan & O'Neil told him, proposed going to Lochabar, qre he believed Lochiel was; but as all ye passes were then guarded, ys was represented to be impracticable. He continued a few Days in that Country, & was advised to go to ye Braes of Glenmoriston, & there & in Lord Lovat's Country to continue till the passes were opened. Accordingly he went, attended by Glenaladale, his Brother & a Son of Angus MacDonald's, two young Boys. They sent for Donald Cameron of Glenpean to be yr Guide to ye Braes of Locharkeig. He came, & in ye Night conducted ye Prince safe thro' ye Guards, yt were on ye pass, so close to yr Tents, as to hear every Word they spoke. (See Vol: 13d Page 569, &c.) When they came to Glenmoriston, they got six stout trusty Men, but spoke not a Word of English; with whom

& Glenaladale the Prince continued betwixt ye Braes of Glenmoriston & Glenstrathferrar, till the Guards were removed & all ye passes opened. About ye Beginning of August he Went to Lochabar wt ye above Retinue, came to Achnasaul on ye Side of Locharkeig, two Miles from Achnacarie. They had no provisions, but expected to be supplied in yt Country, in qch they were disappointed, it having been plundered, & all ye People were fled to ye Mountains to save yr Lives. In ys Situation ye Prince was in Danger of being starved, qn one of ye Glenmoriston Men discovered a large fine Hart, & shot him. The day following ye Prince was inform'd, that Lochgarie, Cluns & Achnasual were in ye neighbouring Mountains, & sent for ym, & dispatched one to inform Lochiel, yn about 20 Miles distant, of his being in yt Country; but Lochiel, some Days before, hearing a Surmise of ye Prince's being come to ye Continent, had sent his Broyr (ye Doctor) & me by different Roads, to get all ye Intelligence we could of ye Prince. The Person, qo was sent to Lochiel, met the Doctor, wt in a few Miles of ye place qre Lochiel was, who was obliged to return wt two French Officers, yt were likewise in Quest of ye Prince. (Vol: 7. pag: 1546.) This faithful Person would not own he knew any Thing about ye Prince, his Orders being only to tell Lochiel. However, he said he had Business of ye utmost Consequence. The Doctor brought him & ye two Officers to his Broyr. The next Day Lochiel sent ye Doctor to ye Prince, & ye Officers to ye Care of one of his Friends, wt qm they were to continue till further Orders. In ye mean time, after travelling & searching several Days to no purpose, I met ye Doctor at Achnacarie, as he was going to ye Prince. He had four Servants wt him, who, as ye River was not passable, raised a Boat Culcairn had sunk after

after his Searching the Isle of Locharkeig, where, from former Experience, he expected to get a great Deal of Plunder.
When Culcairn was in ys Island, he discovered some new-raised Earth, &, believing Money or Arms to be hid there, had it dug up, & only found ye Corpse of a Man wt out a Coffin, yt had not been many Days buried. On ye Corps yre was a good Holland Shirt, qch made him believe it to be Lochiel, & sent an Express to Cumberland to tell, yt he had found Lochiel's Corps, qo had died of his Wounds. From this it was put in ye Newspapers. This was the Corps of ~~John~~ Cameron, Broyr to Allan Cameron of Callart, qo was taken at Culloden & sent prisoner to London. The Shirt was taken fm ye Corps, & it left to be Food for ye Birds of Prey, &c.
The prince at ys Time was in a small Hutt, built for ye purpose, in the Wood betwixt Achnasual & ye End of Locharkeig. Observing some Men in Arms by ye Water-side, we sent two of Cluns's Children to know who they were. We soon discovered ym to belong to Cluns, sent ye Boat for ym, & dismixt ye four Servants on pretence we were going to skulk in ye Wood for some Days, & yt keeping such a Number together might be dangerous. We cross'd ye River, & went to ye Hutt. The prince wt Achnasual had gone a little from it; but, being informed what we were, came immediately to us. He was then bare-footed, had an old black-kilt Coat on, a Plaid, Philibeg & Waistcoat, a dirty Shirt & a long red Beard, a Gun in his Hand, a Pistol & Dirk by his Side. He was very chearful & in good Health, and, in my Opinion, fatter than qn he was at Inverness. When we told him qt we were & from qnce we came, & yt Lochiel was well & recovered of his Wounds, he thanked God thrice for it, &

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& expressed an uncommon Satisfaction. They had killd a Cow ye Day before, & ye Servts were roasting some of it nt Spects. The Prince knew yr Names, spoke in a familiar Way to ym, & some Erse. He ate very heartily of ye roasted Beef & some Bread we had got frm Fort-Augustus, & no Man could sleep sounder in ye Night than He. He proposed going immediately qre Lochiel was; but we knew, by the News-papers, ye Government had been informd, some time before, yt he had passd Corierag wt Lochiel & 30 Men; qch probably might occasion a Search in those parts. This made him resolve to continue for some time where he was. Some Days after, Lochgary & ye Doctor were sent to Lochiel, & Glenaladale & ye faithful Glenmoriston-men were dismist. The Prince continued in ye Hutt wt Clunys Children, Capn MacRaw of Glengary's Regiment, one or two Servants, & I had ye Honour to add One to ye Number.

The two Officers, who, I told, went to Lochiel wt ye Doctor, came from Dunkirk in a small Vessel wt sixty oyr young Gentlemen, qo had formed ymselves in a Company of Volunteers under ye Command of ye foresaid two Officers some time before they could hear of ye Battle of Culloden. They came in June to Pollicy, in Seaforth's County, qre four of them landed to deliver their Dispatches, of whom two were taken, & the other two wandered in Seaforth's Country, till Lochgarie, hearing they had Letters for ye Prince, sent Capn MacRaw & his own Servant for them, yt they might be

be sent to Lochiel, since ye Prince was not to be found. This happen'd about ye Middle of July. When they came to Lochiel, they Arrived told him, they had left their Papers wt Mr Alexr MacLeod, one of the Prince's Aid de Camps, then skulking in Seaforth's Country. Tho' this prov'd true, yet as they ym selves had not told it to Lochgarry or any other Lochiel, made him suspect them to be Government-Spies. The Prince wanted much to see them; but we told him qt Lochiel & we were afraid of; which made him resolve to act in ys wt greater Caution. He said, it was surprizing, that two Men, Strangers, & wtout one Word of Earse, could escape fm ye Troops, q were always in Motion in Quest of him & his Followers; but, to see ym in Safety, he wrote a Letter to ym himself to ys purpose; yt, to avoid falling into ye Hands of his Enemies, he was under a Necessity to retire to a remote Country, qre he had none wt him but one Capn Drummond & a Servant, and, as he could not remove fm qre he was wtout Danger to himself & ym, he had sent Capn Drummond wt ys Letter, &, as he could repose entire Confidence in him, desired, qt ever Message they had to him, to tell it to ye Bearer, Capn Drummond, & take his Advice as to yr Conduct. This Letter he proposed to deliver to ym himself under ye Name of Capn Drummond; for both of ym told Lochiel, they had never seen ye Prince. They were sent for, &, qn they came, were introduced to ye Prince under his borrowed Name. He delivered ye Letter to ym, wt qch they were very well pleased, & told him every Thing they had to say, which, he afterwards said was of no great Consequence, as his Af-

Affairs then stood. (1747) They continued two Days wt us, asked ye fictitious Capn Drummond several Questions about ye Prince's health & Manner of Living. His Answers they heard wt ye utmost Surprize. The Prince, believing ye Pacquet left wt Mr Alexr MacLeod might be of Use to him, sent for it; but as it was Cyphers, & directed to ye French Ambassador, he could make Nothing of it. — We continued in ys Wood & yt over agt Achnacarie (having three Hutts in different Places, to qch we removed by Turns) till, I think, about ye 10th of Augt, on qch Day Cluns's Son & I went to ye Strath of Cluns for Intelligence. We were not Half an Hour in ye Hut, qch Cluns had built for his Family (after his House was burnt) qn a Child of six Years old went out, returned in Haste to tell yt She saw a great Body of Soldiers. This we did not believe, as Lochgary had promised to Lochiel to have a Guard betwixt Fort-Augustus & ys Place to give Intelligence. We went out to know ye Truth, & it proved as the Girl had said. Cluns skulked to observe ye Motions of ye Party. His Son & I went to inform ye Prince. He was that Day in one of ye Hutts on ye oyr Side of ye Water Kiaig, a short Mile fm Cluns. Crossing ye Ford of yt Water under Cover of ye Wood, and, coming wtin Pistol-shot of ye Hutt, I observed ye Party advancing. The Prince was yn asleep, being about 8 in ye Morning. I wakened him, & desired him not to be surprized; for yt a Body of ye Enemy were in Sight. He, wt ye utmost Composure, got up, called for his Gun, sent for Capn MacRaw, & Sandy, Cluns's Son, who wt a Sent Inspire doing ye duty of Sentries about the Wood. We concluded by our having no

no Intelligence of ye Party marching from Fort-Augustus, as had been promised, there was Treachery in it, & yt we were surrounded. However, tho' but eight in Number, we were determined rather than to yield, to be butchered by our mercilefs Enemies, to fell our Lives dear, and, in Defence of our Prince, to die like Men of Honour. We left ye Hutt & marched to a small Hill above ye Wood, from qnce we could see a great Way up Glenkingie & not be discovered. We got there unobserved, qch was owing to ye Cover of ye Wood. The Prince examined all our Guns, qch were in pretty good Order, & said, he hoped we would do some Execution before we were killed; for his part he was bred a Fowler, & could charge quick, was a tolerable Marks-man, & would be sure of one at least. He said little more; but sent Cluns & me to take a narrow View of ye Party, & resolved that Night to go to the Top of Mullantagart, a very high Mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie, & to send one to us to know qt we discover'd or were informed of. When we came to ye Strath of Cluns, ye Women told us, yt ye Party was of Lord Loudon's Regiment, consisting of about 200 Men, commanded by one Capn Grant, Son to Grant of Knockando in Strath spey; yt they had carried away ten Milk-Cows, qch Cluns had bought after he was plundered, & found out ye Hutt we had in ye Wood of Tervalt; & that they gave it out, yt they were going to bring Barisdale's Cattle to ye Camp, qo had promised to apprehend ye Prince, but had deceived them. I have told You already, how this Capn Grant, I may say, barbarously mar-

murdered Alexr Cameron on ye Side of Lochaskeig. — In the Evening Clunys Son came to us frn ye prince, wt qm we returned, told him as we were informed, & brought some Whiskie, Bread & Cheese. This was about 12 at Night. He was on ye Side of the Mountain wt out Fire or any Covering. We perswaded him to take a hearty Dram, & made a Fire, qch we durst not keep above Half an hour, lest it should be seen by ye people in ye Neighbourhood. By Daylight we went to ye Top of ye Mountain, qre we continued till eight in ye Evening wt out ye least Cover, & durst not rise out of our Seats. The Prince slept all ye Forenoon in his plaid & wet Hose, altho' it was an excessive cold Day, made more so by several Showers of Hail. From thence we went that Night to ye Strath of Glenkengie, killed a Cow, & lived merily for some Days. From yt we went to ye Braes of Lochnacarie. The Water of Arkeg in crossing came up to our Haunches. The Prince in yt Condition lay ye Night & next Day in open Air; & though his Cloaths were wet, he did not suffer ye least in his Health. In a Day or two after, Lochgary & Dr Cameron returnd frn Lochiel, (to qm they had been sent) & told, it was Lochiel's Opinion & theirs, yt ye Prince would be safe qre he was Lochiel skulking. This pleased him much; & ye next Night he set out wt Lochgary, ye Doctor & Sandy (Clunys Son) my self & three Serv. We travelled in ye Night, & slept all Day, till we came to Lochiel, qo was yn in ye Hills, betwixt ye Braes of Badenoch & Athol. The Doctor & I went by anoyr Road on a Message to Badenoch. I returnd about Septr 13th, & ye next Day was sent South. The Prince, by moving frn place to Place & but few wt him, had hitherto escaped

ped yᵉ narrow & strict Search of yᵉ Troops; but, as yᵉ like good Fortune might not always continue, he ordered Lochiel to send South to have a Ship freighted, to bring him & oyrs off by yᵉ East Coast. The Ship was provided, & one sent to inform yᵉ Prince of it, wch Lochiel & oyrs, was to come grē yᵉ Ship lay; but before yᵉ Messenger came to grē yᵉ Prince had been, two of Lochiel's Friends, yᵗ had Orders to watch on yᵉ West Coast, came & told, yᵗ two French Ships were arrived at Moidart. Upon yᵗ, yᵉ night following yᵉ Prince set out frᵐ grē they were, &, at yᵉ same time, sent to inform oyrs skulking in different places. Some arrived in Time; but oyrs, by some Accident or anoyr, had not yᵗ good Fortune.

I have told You gᵗ I was Witness to, or informed of by such as I could absolutely depend upon. I shall only add, yᵗ yᵉ Prince submitted wᵗ patience to his adverse Fortune, was chearful, & frequently desired those that were wᵗ him to be so. He was cautious gn in yᵉ greatest Danger, never at a Loss in resolving gᵗ to do wᵗ uncommon Fortitude. He regreted more yᵉ Distress of those go suffered for adhering to his Interest, than yᵉ Hardships & Dangers he was hourly exposed to. — To conclude, He possesses all yᵉ Vertues, yᵗ form yᵉ Character of a Hero and great Prince. — — — — — — —

The following Words omitted in yᵉ oyr page.
* who thought themselves secure of any such attempt, and, descending frᵐ his Horse, drew his Sword, & told ym, He would lead ym to an Enemy they had as often defeated as, &c.

Captain

Captain O Neil's Journal of ye Prince's Retreat & Escape after April 16th, 1746.

April 15th, the Prince marched his Army in three Columns frm Culloden-muir to surprize ye D: of C: in his Camp at Nairn, ordering at ye same Time 2000 Men to pass ye River Nairn, & post themselves betwixt Elgin & ye Camp of ye Enemy. To deceive ye Ships in Inverness Road, we made several Fires on ye Mountain, qre we drew up in Battle-Order, & at 8 o' Clock at Night we began our March. About 2 o' Clock next Morning (April 16th) wn in a Mile of ye Enemy our Van halted. The Prince, qo marched in ye Centre, dispatched an Aid de Camp to know ye Motive of ye Halt. Colonel O Sullivan, qo marched in the Van, immediately hasted to ye Prince, & told him, Ld Geo: Murray & some oyrs of ye Chiftains, as they wanted some of yr Men, did not think ymselves sufficiently strong to attack ye Enemy, and, upon a strong Belief yt ye D: of C: was apprized of yr Design, refused to advance, maugre ye Instances he (Sullivan) made use of to engage ym to ye Contrary. Upon yt ye Prince advanced to ye Head of ye Column, where, assembling ye Chiefs, in ye most pathetic Manner & strongest Terms he demonstrated to ym ye visible & real Advantages they had of an Enemy, * they had as often defeated as seen. But, deaf to his Example & Intreaties, ye greater part declined, qch so sensibly shockd ye Prince, that, remounting his Horse, he told ym with Tears in his Eyes, yt he did not so much regret his own Loss as yr inevitable Ruine. We immediately marchd back to our Camps at Culloden, where we arrivd at 5 in the Morning. At

ten o' Clock we were inform'd, yt ye D: of C: was in full March towards us. The Prince, on ys Report, gave ye necessary Orders for ye Attack, riding fm Rank to Rank, encouraging his Troops, & exhorting ym to behave as formerly at Prestonpans & Falkirk, & between 12 & one we began ye Attack & engaged ye Enemy, ye Prince commanding ye Centre. Our Right Wing immediately broke ye Left of ye Enemy; but yr Flank being exposed to nine Squadrons of Horse, q attack'd ym qn in pursuit of ye Foot, put ym into so much Confusion, yt they instantly dispersed. The Prince galloping to ye Right, & endeavouring to rally ym, but to no purpose, had his Horse† shot under him. The Left followed ye Example of ye Right, qch drew on an entire Flight, maugre all ye Prince could do to animate, or rather rally, them. He remain'd on ye Field of Battle till there were no more Hopes left, & yn scarce could be persuaded to retire, ordering ye French Picquets & Fitz James's Horse to make a Stand, in Order to favour ye Retreat of ye Highlanders, qch was happily effected. Previous to ye Battle, ye Prince ordered ye Chiftains, in Case of a Defeat, as ye Highlanders could not retreat as regular Troops, to assemble yr Men near Fort-Augustus. In Consequence of qch, immediately after ye Battle, ye Prince dispatched me to Inverness to repeat his Orders to such of his Troops, as were there, That ~~[illegible]~~ Night ye Prince retired six Miles fm ye Field of Battle, & next Day arrived at Fort-Augustus, qre he remained all yt Day in Expectation

† Not true, See Vol: 6. p: 1161.

pectation his Troops would have joind him; but, seeing no Appearance of it, he went to ye House of Invergary, & ordered me to remain yre, to direct, such as passed by yt Way, ye Road his R: Highness took. I remained yre two Days, & did ye Prince's Orders to such as I met, but to no Effect, every One taking his own Road. I yn followed ye Prince, qo was so far frm making a precipitate Retreat, yt he retired by six & six Miles, & arrived ye 20th of April at Knoidart, qre I joind him next Day, & on account of gave him, ye little Appearance there was of assembling his Troops. Upon qch he wrote circular Letters to all ye Chiftains, enjoining ym, by ye Obedience they owed him, to join him immediately wt such of yr Clans as possibly they could gather together, at ye same Time representing ye imminent Danger they were in, if they neglected it.

After remaining there some Days, in Hopes his Orders would have been obeyed, and seeing not one Person resort to him, & extreme Danger of his Person was remonstrated to him, being wt in 7 Miles of Ld London, Sr Alexr MacDonald & ye MacLeods; &, to evade this, it was proposed to retreat to one of ye Islands near ye Continent. After repeated Instances of ye like Nature, he reluctantly assented, leaving Mr John Hay behind to transmit him ye Answers of his Letters wt an Account of qt passed, & departed for ye Isles in an open fishing Boat, at 8 o'Clock that Night, accompanied by Colonel

Colonel O Sullivan & me. About an Hour after we set out, a violent Storm arose, qch drove us ninety Miles fm our intended Port, and, next Day running for Shelter into ye Island North Uist, we struck upon a Rock, ye Boat staved to Pieces, & wt ye greatest Difficulty we saved our Lives. At our Landing we were in ye most melancholy Situation, knowing no Body, & wanting ye common Necessaries of Life. After much Search, we found a little Hut uninhabited, & took Shelter there, & wt great Difficulty made a Fire to dry our Cloaths. Here we remained two Days, having no other provisions but a few Biscuit we had saved out of the Boat, qch were entirely spoild wt the Salt Water. As this Island belonged to Sr Alexr MacDonald, & not judging our selves safe, we determined on going elsewhere, and, by ye greatest good Fortune, one of our Boatmen discovered a Boat stranded on ye Coast, & having wt great Difficulty launched her in ye Water, we embarked for ye Harris. In our passage we unfortunately met wt anoyr Storm, qch obliged us to put into an Island near Stornway. Next Day ye Prince dispatched me for the Harris, to look out for a Ship, ordering me to embark on Board ye first I could get, & to make ye most diligent Haste, after my landing on ye Continent, to ye Court of France, enjoining me to give a most exact Account to his most Christian Majesty of his Disasters, & of his Resolution never to abandon the Country, untile he knew ye final Resolution of France, and, if possible, once more to assemble his faithful Highlanders. Unluckily ye person, his R: Highness sent wt me, getting drunk, told ye Master of ye Ship somewhat

what, that induced him to refuse taking me on Board, & immediately alarm'd the Country, qch obliged me to retreat & join the Prince, who, upon qt I told him, re-solved for ye Continent by Way of Sea-Forth's Country; but ye Boatmen abso-lutely refused to comply, qch made us take ye Road we came, &, meeting wt three Ships of War, we were constrain'd to re-tire to at Desart Island, qre we remained eight Days in ye greatest Misery, having no Sustenance but dried Fish providence threw in on ye Island. When ye Ships disap-peared, we put to Sea, & next Morning we met wt anoyr just coming out of one of ye Lochs, who pursued us near an Hour; but ye Wind rising, we made our Escape. In ye after-noon we arrived at ye Island of Benbicula, & one of ye Boatmen being acquaint wt a Herd of ye Island, we all went to his House, where, passing for Friends of the Boatman, we remain'd four Days, & yn the Prince sent ye Boat to ye Continent wt a Highland Gentleman, whom he charg-ed wt Letters to ye Chiefs, Secretary Mur-ray & John Hay, requiring an exact ac-count how Affairs stood. Not thinking our selves secure in ye Cottage, by ye Advice of a Friend, we retired to ye Mountain of Corradale to wait ye Return of ye Gen-tleman, where we remained 22 Days, qn ye Gentleman returned wt a Letter frm Secretary Murray, importing, that almost all ye Clans had delivered up themselves & Arms, & consequently they were no more to be depended upon. He likewise acquain-ted

† Vol: 2. P: 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297.

ted. ye prince of two French Ships, ye had arrived at ye Continent wt Money & Arms, & in qch ye Duke of Perth & his Brovr, Sr Thos Sheridan & John Hay had embark'd for France. Here we remained for some Days longer, till ye D: of C: having Intelligence ye prince was concealed in ye Isle of Sky & ye Independent Companies to go in Search of him. As soon as we had Notice of yr Landing, we retreated to an Island, about twelve Miles Distance, called Hoya, qre we remained, tile we found they had followed us. We then went for Loch-Boysdale, & staid there for eight Days, qre Capn Caroline Scott landed wt in a Mile of us, qch obliged us to separate, ye prince & I taking to ye Mountains, & Sullivan remaining wt ye Boatmen. At Fall of Night we marched towards Benbicula, being informd Scott had ordered ye Militia to come & join him. At Midnight we came to a Hutt, qre by good Fortune we met with Miss Flora MacDonald, qm I formerly knew. I quitted ye prince at some Distance from ye Hutt, & went my self wt a Design of being informd if ye Independent Companies were to pass yt Way, Next Day, as we had been informed ye young Lady answered in ye Negative, saying, they would not pass till the Day after. I yn told her, I brought a Friend to see Her. She wt some Emotion asked, if it was ye prince. I answered in ye Affirmative, & instantly brought him in. We then consulted on the immediate Danger ye prince was in, & could think of no more proper or safe Place or Expedient, than to propose to Miss Flora to convey him to

to ye Isle of Sky, where her Moyr lived. This seem'd ye more feasible, as ye young Lady's Father, being Captain of an Independent Company, would afford Her a pass for her self & Servant, to go visit her Mother. The Prince assented; & immediately propos'd it to ye young Lady; to get She answered wt ye greatest Respect & Loyalty; but declined, saying, Sr Alexr MacDonald was too much her Friend to be ye Instrument of his Ruine. I endeavoured to obviate this, by assuring Her Sr Alexr was not in ye Country, & yt She could wt ye greateft Facility convey ye Prince to her Mother's House, as She lived close by ye Water side. I then remonstrated to her ye Honour & Immortality yt would redound to Her by such a glorious Action; & She at length aiquiesced, after ye Prince had told Her the Sense He would always retain of so conspicuous a Service. She promised to acquaint us next Day qn Things were ripe for Execution, & we parted for ye Mountain of Corradale. Next Day, at 4 in the afternoon, we received a Message from our Protectrix, telling us all was well. We determined joining her immediately; but ye Messenger told us, we could not pass any of ye Fords, that separated ye Isle and we were in from Benbicula, as they were both guarded. In this Dilemma a Man of ye Country tendred his Boat to us, qch we readily accepted of, & next Day landed at Benbicula, & immediately marched for Rushness, ye place of Rendezvous; qre we arrived at Midnight, and, instead of our protectrix, found a Guard of ye Enemy. We were constrained to retreat four Miles, having eat Nothing for

34 Hours before. The Prince ordered me to go to yᵉ Lady, & know yᵉ Reason She did not keep her Appointment. She told me, She had engaged a Cousin† of hers in North Uistᵗ to receive Him into his House; qᵗᵉ, She was sure, He would be more safe than in yᵉ Isle of Sky. I immediately dispatchd a Boy wᵗʰ these News to yᵉ Prince, & mentioned to him yᵉ place of Appointment; whither his R: Highness came: But. yᵉ Gentleman absolutely refused to receive us, alleging, for a Motive, he was a Vassal to Sʳ Al: McDonald. In yᵉ unexpected Exigence, being wᵗʰin a small Half-Mile of a Capᵗⁿ & 50 Men, we hasted for Rushness, being apprizd yᵉ Enemy had just abandoned it. The Prince sent me to acquaint Miss Flora of our Disappointment, & to intreat her to keep by her Promise, as there promised was no Time to be lost. She faithfully next Day. I remained wᵗʰ her yᵗ Night, yᵉ Prince remaining at Rushness attended by a little Highland Boy. Next Day I accompanied Miss Flora to yᵉ place of Rendezvous; qᵗᵉ we had not long been, qᵗᵉ we had an Account yᵗ Genˡ Campbell was just landed wᵗʰ 1500 Men. We now were apprehensive, we were betrayed, & instantly got to our Boat & put to anoyᵗʰ place, qᵗᵉ we arrived at Day-break. We yᵉⁿ dispatchd a Person to McAnronald's House to learn qᵗ News, & brought us Word, yᵗ Genˡ Campbell was yᵉⁿ wᵗʰ Capᵗⁿ Ferguson, & yᵗ he saw Capᵗⁿ Scott's Detachment coming to join ym, & yᵗ they amounted in all to 2360 Men.

The Prince intreated yᵉ young Lady, that I should accompany him; but She absolutely refused it, having a pass but for one Servᵗ. His R: Highness was so generous as to decline

† Vol: 3. p: 526, 529.

cline going, unless I attended Him, untill I told Him, that, if he made ye least Demur, I would instantly go about my Business, as I was extremely indifferent y^t became of my Self, provided his Person was safe. He at length embark'd, attended only by Miss Flora MacDonald, &c.

Remarks, &c. and particular Sayings of some, who were concerned in the Prince's preservation. Leith-Citadel, July 20. 1747.

'Tis pity, that Capn O Neil has not been more particular in his Journal; for he has not so much as mentioned the Necessity the Prince was in to disguise himself in a Female-Dress, which serves to explain his Distress & Danger as much as any Thing can do. Besides, by studying too much Brevity, he has altogether omitted several remarkable particulars, which he minutely described to those he conversed familiarly with both in the Castle of Edr & after he was set at Liberty. He used to tell, that, when He was along with the Prince, they happened to be twice within a Gun-shot of parties of the Enemy, that he quite despair'd of being any longer kept out of their Clutches, & that he failed not to represent to the Prince the Impossibility of not falling into the Enemy's Hands. "The Prince (said "he) always reproved me for my Despon-"ding Thoughts, & endeavoured to encou-"rage me in Times of the greatest Dang-"er by saying" — "O Neil, Is this all y^e "Faith & Trust you have in God? Let us

† Vol: 3. pag: 529.

only

"only take Care to have enough of Faith
"& Trust in his ~~Goodness~~ Providence, & there is no Fear
"of us at all. Pull up your Spirits, Man,
"never Despair." — O Neil frankly own'd,
that, in Place of his being useful to the
Prince, by endeavouring to comfort & sup-
port Him when Dangers thicken'd upon
them, the Prince had the like good Of-
fices to perform to him, & that he fre-
quently exerted himself in different
Shapes to raise his Spirits. One Time, hav-
ing Nothing to eat, for about two Days, but
some mouldy dirty Crumbs in O Neil's
Pocket, they luckily happened at last to
come to a very mean Cottage, where they
found only an old poor Woman, who re-
ceived them kindly, & gave each of them
two Eggs & a Piece of Bear-bannocks;
but, having not so much in her Hut as a
Cup of cold Water to give them to put
down ye Morsel, She told them, that
some Lasses had lately gone up the
Hill to milk the Goats, &c, and, that,
if they would follow them, probably they
might have a Drink of Milk from them.
The Advice was very seasonable, & away
they went, the honest old Woman direct-
ing them the Way they should go. The Prince
skipped so speedily up the Hill, that O Neil
could not keep up with him. The Lasses
gave them plenty of Milk, & poor O Neil
lay along upon the Grass, being quite un-
done with Fatigue & Fear. The Prince did

all he could to rouse him up, both by arguing & joking with him; but all to no purpose. At last the Prince, turning from him, said, "Come, my Lasses, "what would you think to dance a High-"Land-Reel with me? We cannot have "a Bag-pipe just now; but I shall sing "You a Strathspey-Reel." The Dance went merrily on, & the Prince skipped so nimbly, knacking his Thumbs and clapping his Hands, that O Neil was soon surprized out of his thoughtful Mood, being ashamed to remain any longer in the Dumps, when his Prince had been at so much pains to divert his Melancholy. He was sure, he said, that the Prince entred into this Frolick merely upon his Account; for that there could be no Dancing at his Heart, seeing at that Time they knew not where to move one Foot.— The Captain used to say, He believed, there was not such another Man in all ye World as the Prince.

It is worth noticing too, that O Neil has not mentioned his Going on Board wt O Sullivan, after parting with the Prince & how he was taken Prisoner upon his coming ashore again about Something they wanted to have; how he was very roughly used, particularly by Some of ye Campbells, who took from him his Gold, &

† Vol: 3. p: 528, 529. Vol: 4. p: 688, 689.

& Watch, & every valuable Thing about Him; & how he was stript naked, & threatened (if he would not tell where the Prince was to be found) with being put into that racking Machine, which Barisdale invented, & made Use of, to extort Confessions from Thieves, & in wch one could not live above one Hour. But perhaps the Capn reserves these & some other Points to be the Subject-matter of another Journal, when he comes to a Country, where he can make a plain Declaration of all that he knows with Freedom and Safety. [Vol: 4. p: 690.

Capn O Neil had very great Difficulty to prevail upon Miss MacDonald to undertake being Guardian to the Prince. She was not only frightend at the Hazards & Dangers attending such a bold Enterprize; but likewise insisted upon the Risque she would run of losing her Character in a malicious & ill-natur'd World. The Captain was at some Pains to represent to her ye Glory & Honour She would acquire by such a worthy & heroic Action, & he hoped, God would make her successful in it. "You need not fear your Character (said he) "for by this you will gain your self an im- "mortal Character; but if you will still "entertain Fears about your Character, "I shall (by an Oath) marry you directly, "if you please". After she had consented, O Neil then thought it a proper Time to

to say Something for himself, & earnestly begged, yt he himself might have the Happiness of being taken under her Tuition; but she positively refused to grant his Request. At last he became so pressing in his Suit, that he fell down upon his Knees, & prayed Her to consider his Case & the Desire he had to share in the Prince's Fate, whatever it should be. She steadily resisted all his Importunities, & judiciously remarked to him, that the Safety of the Prince depended much upon few being in Company, that She could more easily undertake the Preservation of One than of two or more; & therefore She desired, that he might not insist upon that point, for if he should, She resolv'd not to embark in the Affair at all. He found himself obliged to desist, & owned afterwards, upon Reflection, ye Wisdom of her Resolution. Her Step-Father (Hugh MacDonald of Armadale in Sky) did really serve her with a Passport, although at that Time he was Captain of Militia, & had a Command of Sr Alexr's Men in South-Uist in Order to prevent the Prince's Escape. He is reckoned the strongest Man of all the Name of MacDonald, as I have more than once heard Kingsburgh declare; & his Strength of Mind seems

seems to bear proportion to the Strength of his Body. He was obliged for some Time to keep out of the Way, till the Suspicion of the Passport began to be forgot; but every one would not have been desirous of the Task to lay Hands on him; for he never quit with his Arms when he was skulking; & the people in Sky stood in Awe of him. Before they went to the Boat, the Prince renewed the Request about O Neil's going along; but Miss nicely persisted in her former Resolution, & would not hear of the Proposal, tho' ye Prince pressed the Matter with great Earnestness.

In the Journal taken from the Mouths of the Laird of MacKinnon, Malcolm Macleod, &c. Miss MacDonald has omitted several Things, which she particularly mentioned to those who conversed with Her, when she was lying in the Road of Leith, on Board the Eltham & the Bridgewater Ships of War. She told, that, when ye Prince put on Womens Cloaths, he proposed carrying a Pistol under one of his Petticoats for making some small Defence in Case of an Attack; but Miss declared against it, alleging, that, if any Persons should happen to search them, the Pistol would only serve to make a Discovery. To which ye Prince replied merrily, "Indeed, Miss, I've

"we shall happen to meet with any that
"will go so narrowly to Work in search-
"ing as what you mean, they will
"certainly discover me at any Rate."
But Miss would not hear of any Arms
at all, & therefore the Prince was ob-
liged to content himself with only a
short heavy Cudgel, with which He
design'd to do his best to knock down
any single Person, that should attack him.

She us'd likewise to tell, that, in
their passage to the Isle of Sky, a heavy
Rain fell upon them, which, with for-
mer Fatigues, distressed her much.
To divert Her, the Prince sung several
pretty Songs. She fell asleep, &
to keep her so the Prince still conti-
nued to sing. Happening to awake
some little Ruffle in the Boat, she
found the Prince leaning over her
with his Hands spread about her
Head. She asked, what was the Mat-
ter. The Prince told Her, that one of
the Rowers, being obliged to do some-
about the Sail, behoved to step over
her Body, the Boat was so small; and
lest he should have done her Hurt
either by stumbling, or trampling upon
Her in the Dark (for it was Night) he
had been doing his best to preserve
his Guardian from Harm. When Miss
MacDonald was telling this particular
part of the Adventure to some Ladies
that

that were paying their Respects to Her on Board the Bridgewater in Leith-Road, some of them wt Raptures cried out, "O Miss! what a happy Creature are "You, who had that dear Prince to lull "you asleep, & to take such Care of you "with his Hands spread about Your Head, "when you was sleeping? You are sure- "ly the happiest Woman in the World!" "I could (says† one of them) wipe your "Shoes with Pleasure, & think it my "Honour so to do; when I reflect, that "you had the Honour to have y Prince "For your Handmaid. We all envy You "greatly!" — Much about the same Time a× Lady of Rank and Dignity being on Board wt Miss MacDonald in y fore-said Ship, a brisk Gale began to blow & make the Sea rough & not so easy for a small Boat to row to Leith. The Lady whispered to Miss MacDonald, that She would wt Pleasure stay on Board all Night, y She might have it to say, that She had y Honour of Lying in the same Bed wt y- person, who had been so happy as to be Guardian to her Prince. Accordingly they did sleep in one Bed y Night. ⊕ Several Ladies made valuable presents to

† Miss Mary Clerk. × Lady Mary Cochran. ⊕ My Lady Bruce, Lady Mary Cochran, Mrs Rattray, Mrs Cheap, Miss Peggie Forbes, Miss Susie Graham, Miss Magdalen Clerk, Miss Mary Clerk, Miss Rachie Houston, Miss Peggie Callander.

to Miss MacDonald, viz. Gowns, Shirts, Headsuites, Shoes, Stockings, &c, &c. Commodore Smith made her a present, when She was in Leith-Road, of a handsome Suite of riding Cloaths wt plain Mounting, & some fine Linen for riding Shirts, as also a Gown to her Woman (Kate MacDonal) & some Linen to be Shirts for poor Kate, who could not talk one Word of English, being a Native of Sky, & who generously offered her self to Miss MacDonald, when She could get not one, that would venture to go wt her.
The Prince gave to Miss MacDonald the Garters he wore with the Womens Cloaths, which were French of blue Velvet, covered upon one Side with white Silk, & fastened with Buckles. Miss MacDonald's Brother (Son of honest Armadale) coming South to find a Passage for Holland, where he was to enter into the Dutch Service, brought these Garters along with him, & deposited them in ye Hands of a † Friend in Leith, to be kept for his Sister, till She should be so happy as to return from London. He said, his Sister had writ from the Road of Leith to Sky concerning the Garters, intreating, they might be carefully preserved; for that She put a great Value upon them.
When Miss MacDonald was a Prisoner, She happened, in courting about from place to place, to fall in luckily wt Capn O Neil

† My Lady Bruce of Kinnaird.

then a Prisoner likewise (198)
O Neil, to whom She made up, and, giving him a gentle Slap upon the Cheek with the Loof of her Hand, said, "To yt "black Face do I owe all my Misfor "tune." — The Captain wt a Smile replied, "Why, Madam, what you call "your Misfortune is truly your greatest "Honour, and, if you be careful to demeam "your self agreeably to ye Character you "have already acquired, you will in ye "Event find it to be your Happiness." She told him, She was much afraid, they designed to carry her to London, which She could not think of but with the utmost Uneasiness, not knowing what might turn out to be the Consequence. Upon this O Neil told Her, that he would take upon him to commence Prophet in the Case, & to foretell what would happen to Her. "For "(said he) if you are carried to London, "I can venture to assure You, it will be "for your Interest & Happiness, &, instead "of being afraid of this, you ought to "wish for it. There you will meet with "much Respect, & very many good and "great Friends, for what you have done "Only be careful to make all your Con-"duct of a piece. Be not frightend, by "the Thoughts of your present Circum-"stances, either to say or do any Thing, "that may in the least tend to contra-"dict, or sully, the Character you are
now

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Glenbean [illegible] Glenadale

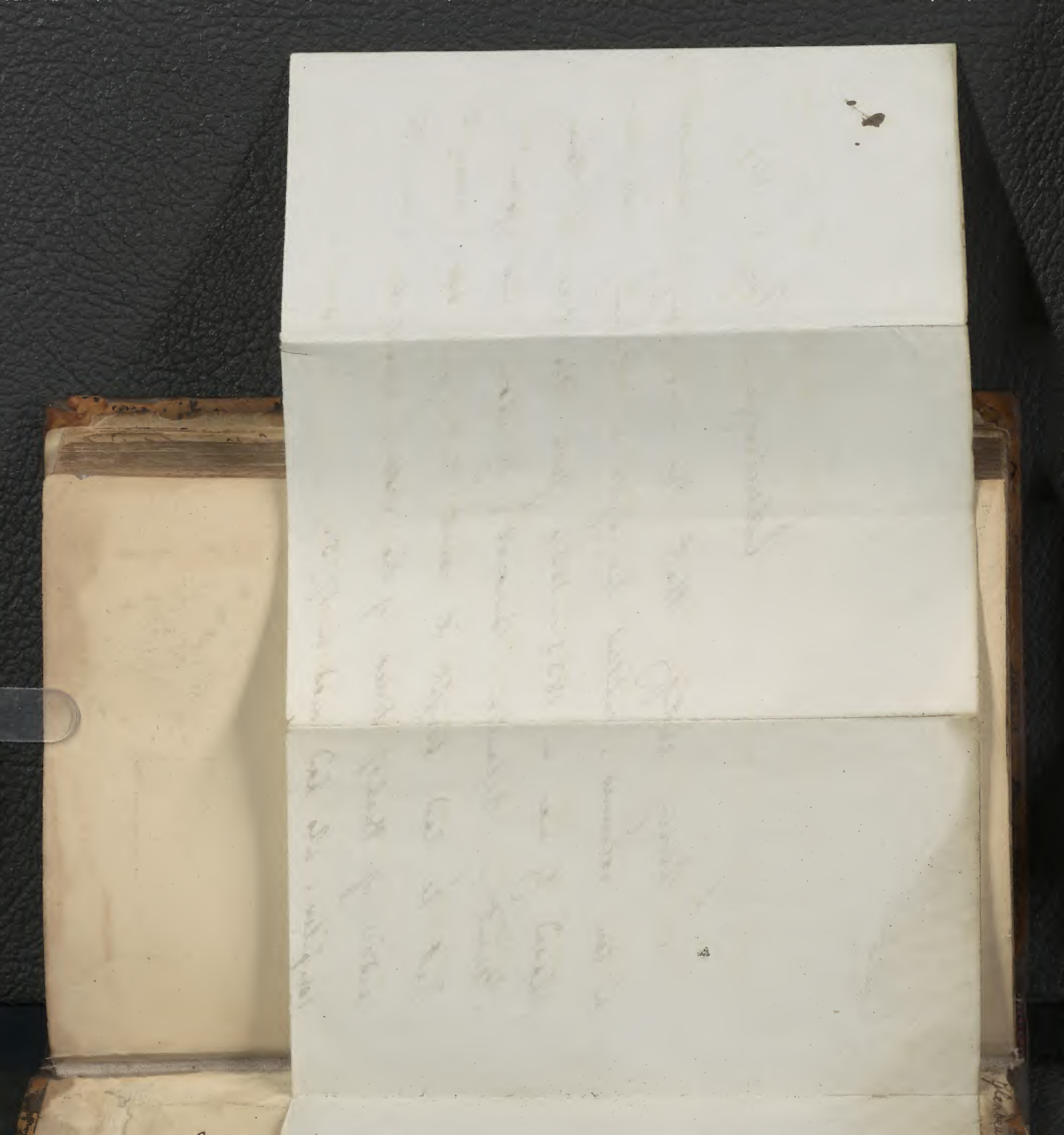
Edinburgh, May 5, 1847.

I hereby certify that the accompanying manuscript in ten volumes, entitled The Lyon in Mourning, was purchased by me in 1833 or 1834 from the late Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton, Baronet, by whom I was informed that he had bought it about thirty years before from the widow of Bishop Forbes, of the Scottish episcopal church, the compiler, who had died in 1775.

The volumes contain in a chronological progress many documents and anecdotes respecting the civil war of 1745 and the individuals concerned in it. On this account, I desired to possess it, as I designed to make use of its contents for the improvement of a history of the insurrection which I had written.

Robt Chambers.

(Over)



4.

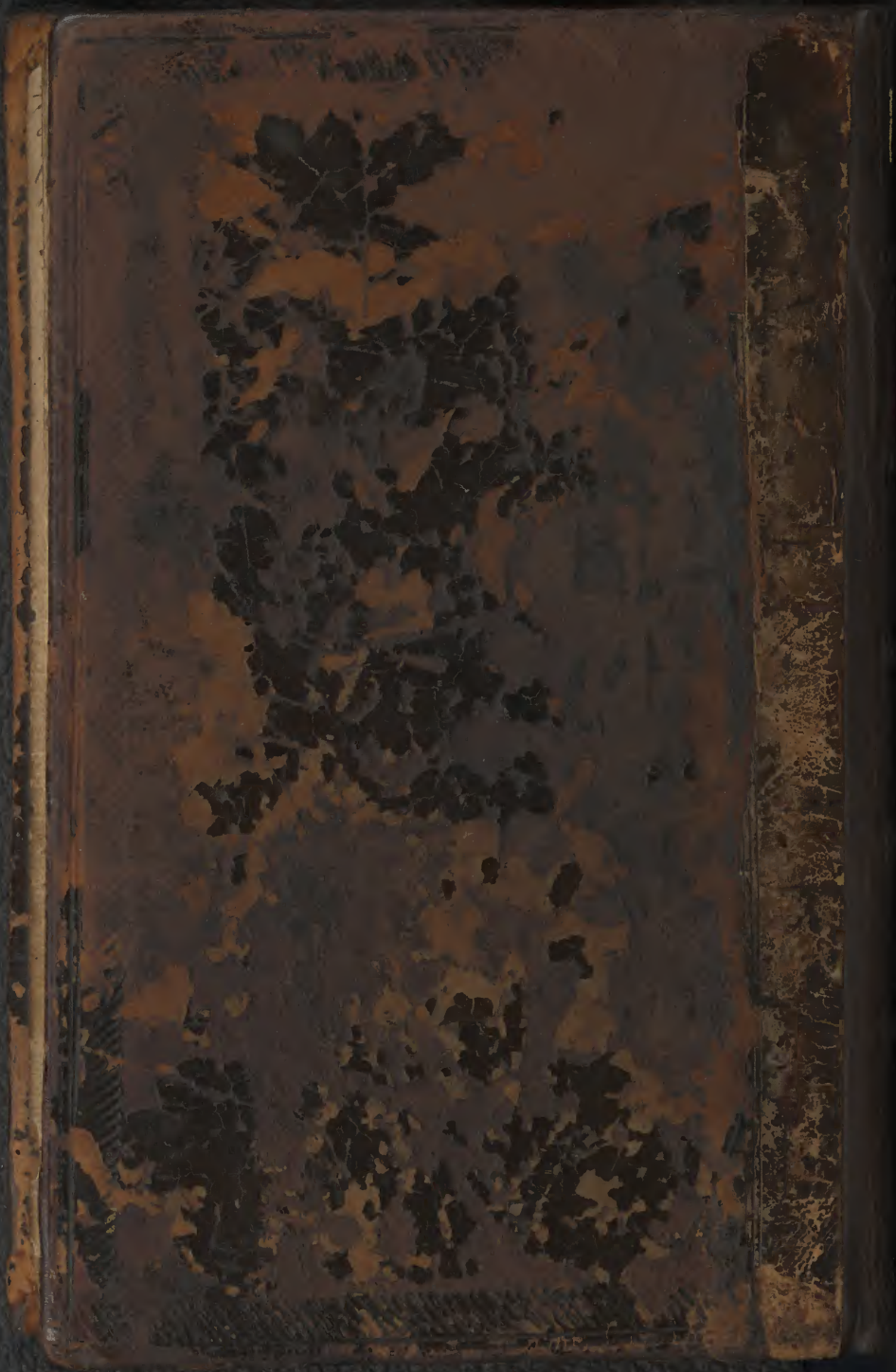
In an obituary notice of Bishop Porteus, in the Scots Magazine for November 1775, he is highly praised as a clergyman and a private citizen. I extract a small part of this notice — "In the worst of times, and in the most critical scenes of life, he maintained a firmness and intrepidity of mind hardly to be equalled. His classical knowledge was extensive and accurate, and his researches into the history and antiquities of his native country employed many of his leisure hours, and rendered those studies familiar to him." There is abundant evidence in his writings of his anxiety to ascertain and hold by the truth.

D. L.

An account of the Bowdlers of Bath

Glenbeun

An account of the Wonders of Bath
in Britton's Beauties of Wiltshire, p. 192.

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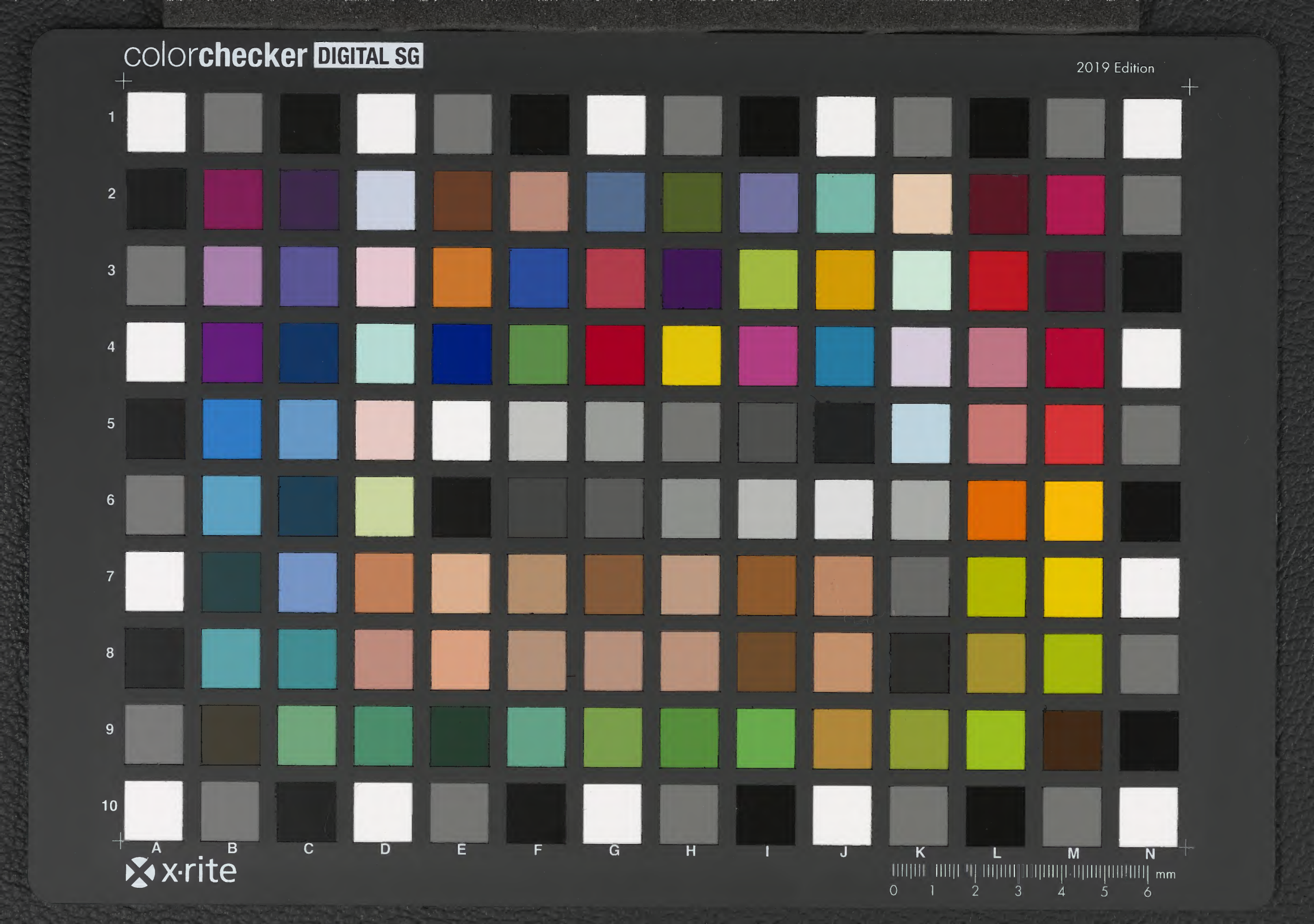
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