sisting of seven companies of his own regiment, and five of the independent companies.

On Friday last, Lord Loudon was joined by Macleod, at the head of 450 of his men; so that Lord Loudon is now about 1500 strong.

As to Perth and the environs, upon General Handyside’s arrival here, the number of the rebels at Perth was not above 400, and even they were to be lessened, in order to make up a party at Down to 600, who were to pass the head of the Forth, and proceed to England; but the rebels at Perth, dreading an attack from this place, called in all their out parties, and with the addition they received by the arrival of the Earl of Cromarty with 200 or 300 men, were, on the 19th, a good 1000 men at Perth.

I send inclosed a copy of a letter from my correspondent at Perth, dated the 19th instant; and for further proof of the great distress of the people of that country, I send a copy of a letter from the rebels to Lady Powrie, of whom they have demanded 300l. under pain of military execution; so that the distress of that country is but beginning.

I am well assured that a party of the Frasers are on the road to Perth; as also, that a party of the Duke of Gordon’s and Lord Aboyne’s men, which some call 400 or 500 men, under the command of Lord Lewis Gordon, was far advanced on
their way to Perth; so that I am afraid there may soon be an army of betwixt 2000 and 3000 rebels at Perth. Glengyle is soliciting a strong party to march into Argyllshire, and revenge his quarrel.

Your Grace will have earlier and exacter accounts of the surrender of the town and castle of Carlisle. One that I employed to bring intelligence took five days, another took six days, in coming hither; the weather was so bad, and the snow so deep, that they were obliged to quit their horses, and walk on foot through the snow, which makes me in great pain about M. Wade’s army, exposed to bad weather and long cold nights, while the rebels are got under cover. Besides great quantities of arms and ammunition, the rebels found at Carlisle about eighty horses well accoutred, and upon these so many rebels marched immediately to Dumfries, to levy money, as the value of about fifty or sixty cart loads of provisions and baggage, which, for want of horses, were left by them on the road, and carried by a party of the seceders to Dumfries. I hope the seceders, who are pretty numerous in that country, and very loyal and zealous, may come to give a good account of these eighty horsemen.

The city of Glasgow, fearing to be plundered by the rebels at Carlisle, if they should retreat to Scotland, or by the rebels at Perth, if they should march to England, applied for arms out of the castle, pursuant to the King’s sign manual, dated the 12th
of September last, and 1600 being the number demanded, were this morning sent with an escort of 100 dragoons; in which all our generals here were unanimous. Lord Home, who is always ready where any thing is to be done, has, with General Handyside’s approbation, gone thither with Lieutenant Cranston and some serjeants, to see the arms put into proper hands. The Magistrates of Glasgow say, that upon any proper occasion 500 chosen men shall be ready to march to Stirling. I send a copy of the Provost’s letter to me; and Lord Home told me, that in case the whole rebel army should march to Glasgow, he will, at least, take care the arms and ammunition be saved by the Custom-house boats.

No. XXXII.

John Hay’s Account of the Retreat of the Rebels from Derby.

There was a council of war held at Macclesfield, in which it was unanimously agreed to make some forced marches, so as to get between the Duke’s army and London, and then march on as fast as they could to the capital. One of the keenest for that measure was Lord George Murray.
When this was agreed upon, the army marched to Leek, and then to Ashbourn in one day. The general was beat at midnight, and they marched on to Derby, where they arrived early in the morning of the 4th December. Next day the army was ready to march, and everybody gone to their posts. Charles and Hay were alone, in a room of the house where Charles had slept. Charles was just going out, and had put on his bonnet, when Lord George Murray came in, and said to him, that it was high time to think what they were to do. Charles asked him what he meant, as he thought it was resolved to march on. Lord George said, that most of the chiefs were of a different opinion, and thought they should march back to Ashbourn, and join the army from Scotland, which was believed to be following them fast.—Charles was extremely offended, and absolutely averse to march back, since they had now so far carried their point as to have got before the Duke's army. Lord George Murray went and came, and used the names of many of the chiefs, who, he said, were bent upon a junction with the other army. The whole day was spent in intrigue and cabal, but no council of war was called. Charles, by the repeated asseverations of Lord George, and the people he had brought over to his way of thinking, was induced to believe that it was the general desire of the army, and forced to consent.
Next morning when they began their march, very few knew that they were marching back: many persons of distinction did not know it; amongst others, Lord Nairne. When the men, who had marched in the grey of the morning, began to know by day-light, from the marks they had taken of the road, that they were going back, there was a universal lamentation amongst them. Charles, who had marched a-foot at the head of the men all the way, was obliged to get on horseback, for he could not walk, and hardly stand (as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used.) After they had marched back as far as Manchester, and had lost the advantage gained over the Duke’s army, they heard nothing of the army from Scotland, and found themselves obliged to go further north in quest of them.—When they came to Leck, Charles said, he found they intended to carry him back to Scotland.

No. XXXIII.

QUERIES sent to Charles at Rome, called there the Count of Albany.

I. Whether or no was there a council of war held at Macclesfield, and the resolution to march on to London taken, as Mr Hay states it?
II. Was there a meeting of the general officers and chiefs held in the Prince's quarters at Derby? or did Lord George Murray stop the Prince, as Mr Hay says he did, and mention, as his reason for doing so, the opinion of the chiefs, which they only gave through him?

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

I. The answer to the second query is sufficient for this query, as the decision or determination of the last council of war, if different from the first, of course must annul the resolutions of the former council.

II. M. le Compte affirms, that the retreat of the army was in consequence of a council of war, held in his presence some time before the retreat took place, composed of the general officers and chiefs; and that all the members, except M. le Compte himself, were of opinion, that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and that M. le Compte endeavoured to persuade some of them to join with him, but could not prevail upon one single person.
No. XXXIV.

LETTER from MACPHERSON of Chuny, to one of his Friends in Scotland.

Carlisle, 20th December, 1745.

The Duke of Cumberland came up to us at Clifton, very late Wednesday last, the 18th, accompanied with 4000 horse, or rather better than 3000 according to our information, and 2000 foot, about a day or two's march behind him. He indeed surprised us, as we had no right intelligence about him; and when he appeared, there happened to be no more of our army at hand than Glengary's, Stuart of Appin's, and my regiment; the rest of the army being at such distance, that they could not assist us at the time. Our three regiments planted themselves to receive the enemy, being commanded by our General, Lord George Murray. Glengary's regiment was planted at the back of a stone dyke on our right, the Appin regiment in the centre, and mine on the left, lining a hedge, from which we expected to attack the enemy on their march towards us; but the General spying another hedge about a gun-shot nearer the enemy, which he thought more advantageous, he ordered my regiment and the Stuarts to possess
themselves of that hedge directly; and at the same time planted himself at the right of my regiment, which put me to the left. Immediately we made towards the last-mentioned hedge, without any cover; which hedge was, without our knowing of it, lined by the enemy, and was so very close, having a deep ditch, that it was much the same as if they had been intrenched to the teeth. Upon advancing towards them, we received a very warm fire; I mean my regiment single, which we soon returned; and upon discharging our firelocks, we attacked them sword in hand, beat them out of their intrenchments, and put them all to flight. In a word, the whole ditch the enemy had lined, was filled up with their dead bodies, so that we had no difficulty in crossing it. This was only one advanced body of about 600 dragoons, that had dismounted, in order, as we think, to try if we durst face them; but I suppose they were so well peppered, that they will not be hasty in attacking us again. Glengary's regiment fired very briskly from the back of the stone dyke on the right, on a part of the enemy that marched directly to have flanked us; which routed that party, without losing above a man or two. The Stuarts did not attack in a body: a few of them by accident came in our rear, by which means they did not lose one man. I had twelve men and a serjeant killed on the spot, and three private men wounded; but not one officer
either killed or wounded. We cannot be positive how many were killed of the enemy, but it is generally said by the countrymen that there were 150, besides a great many wounded. We have great reason to thank Almighty God for our coming so safe off, as the attack, being after night-fall, was one of the most desperate that have been heard of for a long time. This is allowed by all the officers here, as well Scotch as French, who say, that the part my regiment acted was one of the most gallant things in this age, and an action worthy to be recorded, though done by the oldest and best disciplined regiment in Europe. Upon driving all the dragoons back, who had advanced to their main body, we retired and charged again to be ready for a second attack, when we received express orders from the Prince to return to Penrith.

I am,

Your sincere friend,

Evan Macpherson.

No. XXXV.

LETTER—Lord John Drummond to Lord Fortrose.

My Lord,

Perth, 6th December, 1715.

As I am an old acquaintance of your Lordship's, I will begin now by giving you some good and so-
lid advice. The only way you have of retrieving your character, and your past behaviour, is by immediately declaring, as some other people have done, that you waited for nothing but a reasonable appearance of success for joining the Prince's party. As I am afraid, however, that my salutary advice will have little weight, this is at the same time to give your Lordship notice of my arrival in Scotland; with a good body of men belonging to the King of France, and a great train of artillery, to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and all his adherents. My positive orders are to fall upon and destroy his Christian Majesty's enemies in Scotland, which he has declared over all Europe to be those who, upon his desire, will not immediately join and assist the Prince of Wales, his ally. I must likewise inform your Lordship, that as his Christian Majesty has left me judge of the way they are to be treated, punishment will certainly be inflicted in proportion to the harm they will have done to his Royal Highness's cause. I will tell your Lordship for news, that the Prince by this time has got amongst his friends in Wales, who are about 10,000; and that his Royal Highness the Duke of York will immediately join him, at the head of 10,000 men, and my Lord Marishall.

I send your Lordship a copy of the letter I have remitted by a drum to the commander of the Dutch troops. I hope you will be so good as to present
my most humble service to your Lady. I will add nothing more just now, but to desire your Lordship should favour me soon with an answer; and to assure your Lordship of the strong desire I have that you should behave in such shape as will be advantageous to your honour and interest, who am,

Your most obedient,
Humble servant.

P.S. Our Scots embarkation is of two battalions of the Royal Scots, a choice detachment out of the six Irish regiments, commanded by Brigadier Stapleton, Fitz-James's regiment of horse, with complete accoutrements for his men and horses.

No. XXXVI.

LETTER from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Milton.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 14th December, 1745.

I received last night, by express, the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant, with the inclosed copies of Lord John Drummond's letter to Major-General Blakeney and Lieutenant-General Guest, and laid it immediately before the King; and I have sent his Majesty's orders to Marshal Wade, to acquaint the French drummer
that he had transmitted an account of this matter to the King, and could not return any answer to the letter till he had his Majesty's orders upon it; and in the meantime his Majesty has directed that the drummer should be so strictly kept and watched, that he may not be able to get any knowledge of the strength and condition of Mr Wade's army. I shall probably, in a short time, send Mr Wade his Majesty's further orders relating to this affair; and Lieutenant-General Guest shall be then informed whether any thing is to be done by him in consequence of the letter he received.

His Majesty is extremely sensible of your Lordship's constant care and attention to his service; and is very glad to find that the spirit of the country to resist the rebels, and to hinder them from passing the Forth, is so strong; and that you are of opinion, that a body of 3000 men may be brought together to support and assist the King's troops at Stirling, which, it is to be hoped, will be sufficient to stop the progress of the rebels. And as your Lordship acquaints me that one half of that number of men will be able to maintain themselves, or will be maintained by subscription, and desires that his Majesty will allow pay to those who cannot maintain themselves, whilst they are necessarily employed at Stirling, his Majesty has been pleased to consent to it; and has ordered me to acquaint your Lordship, that you should let General Guest
know, that if he draws bills for any sum not exceeding that mentioned in your Lordship's letter, for the services therein specified, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have his Majesty's orders to answer them.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty is taking the necessary measures for having, in a short time, such a number of regular troops in Scotland as may, by the blessing of God, be sufficient to put a speedy end to the present unnatural rebellion. We are in the greatest hopes that we shall soon have the pleasure to hear of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland having come up with that body of rebels which are now retreating in great confusion towards Scotland; and in that case there is the greatest reason to hope, that his Royal Highness will have been able greatly to distress, if not entirely to reduce them.

Our latest advices from Dunkirk assure us, that the preparations that have been for some time making at that place for an embarkation, are in such forwardness, that we expect soon to hear of their being actually put to sea. It is generally thought their design is to make some attempt upon the southern or eastern coast of this kingdom, though some are of opinion that their destination is for Scotland. We have had the good fortune to take three or four of their ships going from Beau-
logue to Dunkirk with clothing and bedding for soldiers; and we have reason to hope, that the great number of ships we have now cruising will be able to prevent them from landing any troops in this kingdom. I am, with great truth and respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
Humble servant,
Holles Newcastle.

No. XXXVII.

LETTER from the Duke of Newcastle to the Lord President.

My Lord, Whitehall, Jan. 11th, 1746.
The Marquis of Tweedale having resigned the office of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and his Majesty having been pleased to direct that the correspondence with Scotland should be carried on by Lord Harrington and me, I could not but take the first opportunity of assuring you, that I shall have a particular pleasure in renewing a correspondence with your Lordship, with whom I have had so long an acquaintance, and for whom I have always had so sincere a regard.

My Lord Tweedale having laid before the King
your Lordship's and the Earl of London's late letters to him, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his Majesty was pleased to order that 1000 stand of arms should be immediately sent as desired by you, with a sum of money for the payment of the troops; and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were ordered forthwith to provide a sloop for conveying them with the utmost expedition to Inverness.

Your Lordship will have heard that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-General Hawley, an officer of great ability and experience, to be Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, and I have this day an account from Mr Hawley, that he was arrived at Edinburgh, and was making a disposition of his forces. He will soon have fourteen old battalions of foot, and three regiments of dragoons, besides the troops that have been raised at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and will also be joined by 4800 Hessians, that are ordered to land at Leith; which, with the troops raised in the Highlands, will make such a strength as there is the greatest reason to hope may, by the blessing of God, put an effectual and speedy end to the rebellion.

His Majesty is persuaded your Lordship will correspond with Lieutenant-General Hawley, and from time to time send him such intelligence, and give him such lights, as you shall think may be
useful to him in carrying on his Majesty's service; and that your Lordship will continue that zeal, activity, and vigilance, which you have so eminently exerted on occasion of the present rebellion, and of which his Majesty has the truest sense.

I shall be always glad to receive your Lordship's commands, and to shew myself, with the greatest truth and regard,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient and humble servant.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

No. XXXVIII.

LETTER—Lord Milton to General Hawley.

SIR,

Edinburgh, 26th January, 1746.

As I have by your permission been sounding the temper and inclination of the soldiers (who rather seem ashamed as disaffected,) I am afraid the shooting two soldiers, while it is not known what determination is against the officers, supposed without doors to be more guilty, may have a bad effect among the common soldiers. I therefore submit to your consideration, whether it may not be for the general good, that the execution of these private men be delayed at least for some little time.
Pardon my using this freedom, which nothing but my regard for you and the service could have induced me to take. I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ANDREW FLETCHER.

No. XXXIX.

ADDRESS from the Chiefs to Charles, after the Battle of Falkirk, advising a retreat to the North.

Falkirk, 29th January, 1746.

We think it our duty, in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness.

We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil, is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent. And as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion, that there is no
way to extricate your Royal Highness and those who remain with you out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring, we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by your Royal Highness's friends, both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them, or to make a powerful division elsewhere.

The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the river Forth, as that your Royal Highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehended must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to, and
gone about without the loss of one moment; and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your Royal Highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are persuaded that your Royal Highness can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions. Nobody is privy to this address to your Royal Highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your Royal Highness, that it is with great concern and reluctance we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done, but the unhappy going off of so many men.

Signed by Lord George Murray,
Lochiel,
Keppoch,
Clanronald,
Ardshiel,
Lochgary,
Scothouse,
Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat.
No. XL.

JOHN HAY's Account of the Retreat from Stirling.

Before the retreat from Stirling, a plan of battle was drawn up by Lord George Murray, and shewn to Charles, who approved the plan, and corrected it with his own hand. That night Charles was unusually gay, and sat up late at Bannockburn. Lord George Murray held a council of war at Falkirk, where he was quartered; and early in the morning his Aid-de-camp came to Charles's quarters with a parcel for him from Lord George. Charles was a-bed, and Mr Hay would not allow him to be called for some time. When he got up, Hay went into the room with the dispatch. Charles opened it, and found a paper signed by Lord George Murray and many of the chiefs, advising a retreat to the north as absolutely necessary; for many of the men, they alleged, were gone home, particularly the men of Glengary's regiment. When Charles read this paper he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. His words were, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk to signify his opi-
nion to the chiefs against a retreat. Sheridan returned with Keppoch and several other chiefs, who were of Lord George's opinion, and argued for a retreat.

It was afterwards known, that the account of the number of men said to be absent was greatly exaggerated. Glengary's regiment had only lost ten.

No. XLI.

LETTER—Secretary Murray to Cameron of Lochiel.

Dear Sir,

Fort Augustus, 14th March, 1746.

I was this length to make you a visit; but upon receiving the inclosed letter, I think it better for me to return where I may possibly be of some small service, and send you my message from the Prince in writing, which is, in a few words, to hasten the siege as much as possible; and that over, he proposes your people, Keppoch's, Clanronald's, Glengary's, and the Stuart's, should march through Argyllshire, not only to correct that crew, but to give an opportunity to our few friends to join, while he, with the rest of the clans, and our Low-country people, march by the Highland road, and get to Perth before Cumberland, or join with you
in Monteith, or wherever shall be thought most proper. This our scarcity of money renders absolutely necessary, as we have no prospect of getting any unless in possession of the Lowcountry; and as Cumberland must of necessity follow us, the coast will be left clear for our friends to land.

Mr Sullivan set out the night before last with orders to follow Loudon wherever he went; and the Duke of Perth followed him yesterday with 300 Frasers; but till we have some certainty of the enemy's motions, I suppose they are ordered to stop. Lord George prevailed with the Prince to allow him to go with a regiment of his Athole brigade into Badenoch, and accordingly set out on Wednesday; but I reckon he has likewise got orders to stop. For my own part, I cannot imagine the enemy intend seriously to march towards us, but are rather making a feint to oblige us to draw together, and abandon the siege and our pursuit of Loudon; and I shall give you three reasons which persuade me to believe this. First, by being situated at Aberdeen, they are masters of the whole coast southwards, and the length of Portsoy to the north, which is within a few miles of the river Spey, so that nothing can land in these parts; whereas, if they advance to Inverness, the whole coast is open, and in case of a defeat, the river Spey behind them. Secondly, notwithstanding they give themselves out to be 10,000 strong, by all I
can learn they are not 5000, and these very sickly. There was not above 8000 regular troops in all at Falkirk; and they have at present left 500 at Perth, 500 at Blair Castle, with near the same number at the Weem; and it is positively said 1500, with the Hessians, who are still at Edinburgh; so, allowing for death and sickness, they ought not to be so many as I mention; and with such a handful I cannot believe Cumberland will be so rash as come to this country; and thereby, did the Prince incline to give him the slip, he may, after assembling all, save yours and Keppoch's, divide the army when the enemy are within two days of Inverness, send those designed for Argyllshire to Fort William, (which in all probability will then be taken,) and march his other column straight south, and either cut off the Hessians, or oblige them to retire, and to have it always in his power to fight the two bodies separately; so that, upon the whole, I do not imagine that they intend to come further than Speyside. I beg you may write me fully, and send the Mc'Leans without further delay. You will likewise give orders that the arms from Clanronald's country be brought up, as they are wanted for the Mackenzies, and there ought to be a great number of them. Those that were sent from Tergarf Castle I am afraid are lost. I will send you an express from Inverness immediately upon my return, with what
news we have got. My compliments to Keppoch, and the Brigadier, and all the gentlemen with you. Order David off early in the morning. I am, as ever,

My dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

J. Murray.

No. XLII.

COPY LETTER—Lord George Murray, calling himself De Vallignie, to William Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour.

Mr Hamilton, Emerick, 5th August, 1749.

I have, by last post, your letter from Paris, by which I understand you were to go soon to Rouen, and from thence home; so I doubt if this letter can reach you before you leave France, which makes me put it under cover to Mr Lumsdane, for you never sent me an address to yourself. I wish you all happiness and contentment in the Land of Cakes, where I assure you my heart is; and though the pleasure of being there be debarrued me, yet I promise you it gives me much satisfaction to know that some of my fellow-countrymen who were engaged with us, have escaped the jaws of the voracious wolves, though I am apt to believe
it was more owing to their oversight than mercy. Be that as it will, I wish from the bottom of my heart more were in the same situation, and that I were myself the only sufferer, which would make me bear my own private loss without a grudge.

I am sorry you have not finished the work you were about before you left this side; but I hope, *quod desertur non ausertur*. It would have been extremely agreeable to me to have had the pleasure of seeing you. I would have shewn you all my collection, amongst which there may be some original papers, that would have served as vouchers: though I will refuse copies to none of my friends, I do not incline to send any of the originals, which I value most, to any great distance. I do not know what route you propose to take; but if you should embark at Havre de Grace, or Dieppe, for Holland, (and I imagine there are frequent occasions,) I could hope for the pleasure of seeing you. Rotterdam is but twenty-four hours' sail from Nimmegen, and a scoot goes every day from the one to the other of these places; and Nimmegen is but four hours from this town, either by land or by water. There is also from Amsterdam to Cleves a coach twice a-week, which makes it in a day and a half by Utrecht and Arnheim. Cleves is an hour's walk from this, but the coach stops at a village, —— not above half an hour's walk from this. Mr
Ray at Rotterdam is my correspondent, and could inform you further. I shall not be any ways from this till I have your answer, or Mr Lumsdane's; and shall expect to have it by course of post.

I am persuaded you saw a copy of the letter which I wrote the 10th of May, 1746, which copy I left at the Scots College at Paris. In that letter was a pretty circumstantial account of what I knew of these two last days, (15th and 16th April, 1746;) but, to be sure, few paragraphs in that letter but could be much enlarged upon. The question you at present wish to be informed of, is, "Was your Lordship for the night attack? and if so, in what manner was you for the attack being conducted? I know the advanced guard under your Lordship's command was far enough advanced to have got in time to Nairn; but the other corps of the army did not march proportionably, so as to have made the attempt feasible by attacking all at once. That transaction I think should be cleared up; and I am persuaded your Lordship has no reason to wish it should be otherwise." Now, sir, I shall make an answer to your demand in as few words as I can; for, as you observe, I have no reason to wish but that this matter, (and indeed every other,) should be cleared up; for doing so will satisfy others, as well as do me justice.

I was for the night attack, as well as all the
principal officers who were spoken to upon the subject, provided it could be done before two in the morning, so as to surprise the enemy; which, if it could have been done, there were hopes of success. Our reason for being for this attempt was, that as his Royal Highness had declared two days before, he was resolved to attack the enemy without waiting for those who were to join us; (the expression was, had he but a thousand men he would attack them;) and it was that day (the fifteenth) resolved not to abandon Inverness, (because I suppose so much of the army's baggage was there) but to wait the enemy in that plain moor. My opinion, and that of the chiefs, (at least those who were present) was to retire to a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn; where, if the Duke of Cumberland should attack us, we were persuaded we could have given a good account of him; and if he did not venture to cross that water, and come up to us there, we proposed (if no opportunity offered to attack him to advantage) to retire farther, and draw him up to the mountains, where we thought, without doubt, we might attack him at some pass or easy ground. This, I say, was proposed; and, to the best of my knowledge, it was the general opinion of the commanding officers, for they were not all present; nor was a council of war held at that time, nor any time after the one at Fairton, which his Royal Highness called after the retreat
from Stirling. I sent Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr, about mid-day (his Royal Highness and many of the officers being present when I gave them the directions) to view the ground on the other side of the water; as I was myself persuaded of the strength of that situation. They returned about three o'clock, and their report was entirely conformable to what I had said. Notwithstanding this, it was determined not to take that ground, as perhaps the enemy might pass on to Inverness without attacking us. It was also said, that there was no provisions: this last was indeed a great article, which had been unaccountably neglected; and yet I was convinced there was enough at Inverness, which might even then have been brought out; part to where we were, and the rest sent towards Loch Moy, where our army must have retired, if the Duke of Cumberland did not cross the water at Nairn, and give us an opportunity of fighting him to advantage. It was after Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Carr's return, past three in the afternoon, that the night attack, and surprising the enemy, was agreed upon, rather than to fight upon that plain moor. The army was to have marched in a body, till they passed the house of Kilraick; then the van, making about one third part of the army, which I commanded, was to have crossed the river of Nairn, and marching on the south side, while the other two third parts of the
army marched on the north side, till both of them came near the Duke's camp. Then the van was to have crossed the river again, and attacked the King's army from the south, while the other part of the army was to have attacked them from the west. This was the plan, and we got very good guides. You are to observe, it was agreed, that if we could make this attack by one o'clock in the morning, or at the least at two, we might have had great hopes of success; but no one ever imagined we could attempt it later. Betwixt six and seven at night, a little before the march should have begun, the men went off on all hands, and in great numbers, to shift for themselves, both for provisions and quarters: many officers were sent after them, but all to no purpose. I am positive to the number of 2000 men went off before the march began: then, indeed, I do not know of one officer who had been made acquainted with the resolution of surprising the enemy, but declared in the strongest terms for laying it aside; much was spoken by them all for not attempting it then; but his Royal Highness continued bent on the thing, and gave me orders to march, (he embraced me at the same time) which I immediately did: it was then eight at night, or past it. I marched at the head of the line, (not of an advanced guard, as you term it) which all followed in order, as they had been drawn up that day. I had then great hopes that in six
hours time we might have been upon the enemy; and if the line had all marched at an equal pace, I still believe we might have been at Nairn by two in the morning. I had not marched half a mile till I was stopped by a message, that the half of the line were at a considerable distance, and ordered to halt till they should join. Though I did not halt, yet I marched slow; hoping that might do: but all to no purpose. I am positive I was stopped, by aid-de-camps and other officers sent for the same purpose, fifty times before I had marched six miles; that is to say, opposite to the house of Kilraick,* and now it was two o'clock of the morning; for I believe ten watches were looked, at a little house or two, just as the van got out of the wood of Kilraick. By this time most of the officers of distinction were come to the van, and there was a halt; for in the wood of Kilraick there was, amongst several, one very great defile, occasioned by a stone wall. For when I was marching slowly, to give the line time to join, the Duke of Perth (James,) who was as keen as any man in the army, crossed the narrow road with his horse, and said it was impossible the line could join if I did not halt; and this was the first full halt the van made; for when I had information that the lines were not

* Kilraick, or Kilravock.
joined, I always chose to march slow; for a halt in the van always occasions a much greater one in the rear, when the march begins again; whereas by marching slow, the rear may join without that inconvenience. It was at this halt (which was not above a quarter of an hour) that the watches were looked, and it was found to be two o'clock in the morning. Several of the officers that came from the rear assured us, that many of the men had left the ranks, and had laid down, particularly in the wood of Kilraick. This must have been occasioned by faintness for want of food, for it could not be weariness in a six miles march. You will observe, from what I have said, the van could not be at Nairn, or were not advanced far enough (as you imagined) to have got there in time. What I am persuaded of is, that if all the line had marched as quickly as the four or five first regiments, they might all have been at or near Nairn by two in the morning; but the van, as the thing happened, were four full miles from Nairn at two in the morning. At this halt, all the principal officers, who were come to the van, agreed that the thing was now impossible. A surprise was designed, but now it was palpable they could not, even by a quick march, advance two miles before day-break, so that they must be for two miles in the enemy's sight before they could come at them: add to this, that the officers were also convinced, that they had not
half of the men that had been drawn up the day before. Mr O'Sullivan also came up to the front, and said his Royal Highness would be very glad to have the attack made; but as Lord George Murray was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Perhaps Mr O'Sullivan may choose to forget this, but others are still alive who heard him. But suppose this had not been so, there was not one officer present that thought it possible to make an attack, when they could not have hopes of surprising the enemy. I desired every body to give their opinions: Mr Hepburn, one of the volunteers, said, that though it were day-light, the red coats would be drunk with solemnizing the Duke of Cumberland's birthday, &c. but no one officer was of that opinion. To get back to Culloden, so as the men could have some hours' refreshment, was what they all agreed in. The Prince was a mile back, and no way in the dark to ride through the wood but by the line, where the men were; and in some places it was very narrow; so it would be a work of a considerable time to have sent back and fore. All the officers being thus unanimous, it was agreed to march back with as much expedition as possible, which I ordered accordingly; and most of them were at or near Culloden by five in the morning; for they returned in two lines, and had not the same reason to make circumferences to shun houses in the
return, which they had in advancing; I mean that of a discovery. I am certain, as things were situated, had we advanced from Kilraick to Nairn, it would have been near five before we could have reached it, and made the dispositions that it would have been requisite to make in our army, before we attacked the enemy. No person, who knows the truth, can find fault with this retreat. The design was a surprise and an attack upon the enemy before break of day. I never yet heard of one man who thought it was to have been done in another way. We had not half of our men; and it was found impossible to make the attack in the time it was proposed. What then could be done? was there any thing left but to retire as quick as possible, so as the men might have a little rest and refreshment, in case they must fight that day?

I take it for granted it is by the rectitude of a measure, not by the success, that a thing of this nature is to be weighed. I shall make one plain and natural supposition: Had we after this retired to a strong ground, (which was our opinion,) and we might have done it when the enemy were even in sight;—had we fought upon such ground and proved successful, which I verily believe we had a very good chance for, would then this measure of a retreat from Kilravock have been found fault with? or had we been so advantageously situated upon the south side of the water of Nairn,
that the Duke of Cumberland would not have ventured to have attacked us, (which might have been the case,) and that we had drawn him up afterwards to passes in the mountains, harassed him, cut off some of his convoys, and at last defeated him, would then the retreat from Kilravock have been well spoken of? Why what I have now mentioned was not performed, let them answer who were determined against a hill campaign, as they called it. What I can aver is, that myself and most of the clans, at least all those I spoke with, were for this operation; and his Royal Highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It is true, Sir Thomas Sheridan, &c. could not have undergone it; so we were obliged to be undone for their ease. As to provisions, had I been allowed to have any direction, we would not have wanted (though perhaps not the best) for years, as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands. Now, sir, I know there is one thing that evil-disposed people lay hold upon; not that they can say the measure was wrong, or that it could have been otherwise, but that they are resolved to lay the blame on somebody, and I am pitched upon. They say, why return from Kilraick without the Prince's positive orders? he was general—and without his immediate orders no person should have taken so much upon him. My answer to this is, (waiving what Mr O'Sullivan
said from the Prince,) that all the officers were unanimous;—that, as it could not be done by surprise, and before day-break, as had been proposed, and undertaken with no other view, it was impossible to have success; for it was never imagined by any one, that it was to be attempted but by a surprise. Whatever may be the rules in a regular army, (and it is not to be supposed I was ignorant of them,) our practice had all along been, at critical junctures, that the commanding officers did every thing to their knowledge for the best. At Gladsmuir, (the plan of which attack I had formed,) I was the last that passed the defile of the first line, and the first that attacked; and gained, in going on, a good part of the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch, by the front having, on account of the darkness, marched a little too far. When I came up with the enemy’s cannon, I did not stop to take them, but went on, against both foot and dragoons, being very quickly followed by our right. I received no orders (nor did I wait for any, otherwise the opportunity would have been lost) from the time I passed the defile till the battle was over. At Clifton, where I expected to have been supported by all our army, John Roy Stuart brought me orders from the Prince to retreat, for he had ordered the march for Carlisle, which was begun. The officers who were with me agreed in my opinion, that to retreat when the
enemy were within less than musket-shot, would be very dangerous, and we would probably be destroyed before we came up with the rest of our army. We had nothing for it but a brisk attack; and therefore, after receiving the enemy's fire, we went in sword in hand and dislodged them; after which we made our retreat in good order. I own I disobeyed orders; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded. At the battle of Falkirk I never received an order or message from his Royal Highness after I passed the water at Dunipace, till the battle was over. I could say much more on this subject: all I shall now add is, that, at the time we returned from Kilravock, there was no officer of any distinction with the Prince, (except Sir Thomas Sheridan be reckoned one,) they being all in the van. Brigadier Stapleton was indeed in the rear, but he knew nothing of the ground there; and his people were only to have been a corps de reserve, and not in the attack. If I have ever the pleasure of seeing you, I can explain many things which I do not wish to commit to writing.

I have a friend in Scotland who will give you copies of most of my papers; but, were it possible, I wish you saw them here. Wishing you all health and prosperity, I am,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

De Valignie.
William Hamilton, of Bangour, Esq. was a gentleman eminent for his wit and classical learning; but having been engaged in the rebellion, he undertook to write a history of it; and for that purpose, Lord George Murray and others furnished him with a good many papers relative to that business. But Mr Hamilton never made any considerable progress in the work he had undertaken; and his son, the present Mr Hamilton of Bangour, was so good as to give Mr Home a copy of some of his father's papers; amongst which is the Remonstrance of the Chiefs to Charles, which occasioned the retreat from Stirling, and the preceding letter from Lord George Murray.

No. XLIII.

John Hay's Account of the Retreat after the Night March to attack the Duke's Army at Nairn.

At the halt, which was the last of a good many, Hay came up, and heard Lord George Murray arguing against going on, particularly with Hepburn of Keith. He immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him, that if he did not come to the front of the
army, and order Lord George Murray to go on, there would be nothing done. Charles, who was on horseback, set out immediately, and, riding pretty fast, met the Highlanders marching back. He was extremely incensed, and said, Lord George Murray had betrayed him.

[The author of this History, perplexed with these contradictory accounts of this and every other retreat given by Lord George Murray and John Hay, mentioned the difficulty he was under to Mr Geddes, the Roman Catholic Bishop at Edinburgh. The Bishop told him that he corresponded with several persons at Rome, who saw the Prince very often, and if Mr Home would give him the queries which he wished to have answered, he might depend upon having an answer from Rome in a very few weeks. Mr Home then gave him three queries concerning the retreats, the principal one of which was, Had Lord George Murray, in the night march from Culloden to attack the Duke’s army, begun the retreat without orders?]

No. XLIV.

ANSWER by CHARLES, called the Count of ALBANY, at Rome.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY led the van of the army in the night march, and M. le Comte marched in the rear. Upon the army's halting, M. le Comte rode up to the front to inquire the occasion of the halt. Upon his arrival Lord George Murray convinced M. le Comte of the unavoidable necessity of retreating.

[This answer which Charles made to the query, when compared with Lord George Murray's account of the night retreat, is a proof that no person who does not commit to writing an account of events which he has seen, can be certain, when some years have passed, not only of what happened in his presence, but even of what he himself did or said.]
No, XLV.

NARRATIVE of FLORA MACDONALD, giving an Account of her Interviews with CHARLES in the Long Island, and the manner in which she conducted him to the Isle of Skye.

MRS MACDONALD first saw Prince Charles in South Uist. She then resided in the family of Angus Macdonald of Milton, her brother. Mrs Macdonald, (then Miss Macdonald) being upon a visit in Clanronald's family, saw one Colonel O'Neale there, a native of Ireland, a French officer, and constant attendant of Prince Charles in his distressed state. Miss Macdonald expressed an earnest inclination to see the Prince, and said, that provided she could in any degree prove serviceable in saving him from his enemies, she would with all her heart.

Colonel O'Neale then proposed to Miss Macdonald to take the Prince as her maid, dressed in women's clothes, and conduct him to Skye. This undertaking appeared to her so fantastical and dangerous, that she positively declined it. A Macdonald, a Macleod, and a Campbell militia, were then in South Uist in quest of the Prince: a guard was posted at every ferry: every boat was seized: no person could travel out of the country
without a passport; and the channel between Uist and Skye was covered with ships of war. Soon after this conversation the Colonel introduced the Prince to Miss Macdonald at a farm belonging to her brother. The Prince at this time was in a state of bad health, of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly exhausted with fatigue and want of proper accommodation. Under these calamities he possessed a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, remarkably great, and incredible to all but such as saw him then. Miss Macdonald was so strongly impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that she instantly consented to conduct him to Skye.

Leaving the Prince and his conductor at the farm, Miss Macdonald, without loss of time, repaired to Clanronald's family, to provide the necessary requisites for the voyage to Skye. She procured a passport from Captain Hugh Macdonald, who commanded the Macdonald militia in South Uist. Captain Macdonald was father-in-law to Miss Macdonald. The Prince was denominated Betty Burke in the passport, and recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife at Armadale in Skye, as an excellent spinster of flax, and a faithful servant.

The night before the Prince left South Uist, he very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Miss Macdonald having procured an open boat, with six
hands, and every other necessary, walked along the shore to the distance of a mile from Clanronald’s house, where, according to appointment, the Prince (dressed in female apparel) and the Colonel met her. As the Prince, along with Lady Clanronald, Miss Macdonald, and the Colonel, were in the evening taking supper upon the seaside, a messenger came to Lady Clanronald, informing her, that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson were in her house in quest of Prince Charles. She instantly repaired home. Soon after her departure, four armed cutters appeared on the coast. They were so close to the shore, that they could not get away unobserved by the soldiers on board, and therefore skulked among the rocks till the cutters passed them.

The day following being calm and serene, the Prince, Miss Macdonald, and the six boatmen, set out in the morning for Skye. As the boat was passing the point of Vaternish in Skye, a party of the Macleod militia stationed there observing it, ran to the shore with their guns, and levelled them at the boat. The tide being out, the boat got out of their reach before they could get so near as to force them to land, or launch out a boat to pursue them. The boat landed at Mugstole, the family seat of Macdonald. Miss Macdonald dined with Lady Margaret Macdonald, and after dinner she and the Prince (still disguised as her maid) set out for
Kingsburgh, where they arrived in the evening, and lodged that night. Next day the Prince went to a hill, near the house of Kingsburgh, and put on a Highland dress. Miss Macdonald accompanied him to Portree, and left him there. He was then greatly restored to health, had recovered much strength, and was in good spirits. Miss Macdonald went to Armadale, to her step-father’s house.

The men who ferried the Prince and Miss Macdonald to Skye were, after their return, suspected of what they had done, and being apprehended, were forced to make a confession.

Captain Macleod, of Talisker, (now Colonel Macleod) who commanded the militia in Skye, ordered a party to go to Armadale, and apprehend Miss Macdonald. They took her prisoner, and gave her up to a body of fuzileers, who delivered her to General Campbell, at that time on board Captain Ferguson’s ship, which lay between Skoncer and Rasay. She was on board this ship twenty-two days. General Campbell treated her with much humanity and politeness, and afterwards consigned her to Admiral Smith, on the coast of Lorn, in Argyllshire. This most worthy gentleman treated her not as a stranger, nor as a prisoner, but with the affection of a parent.
Cluny's Account of Lochiel and himself, after the Battle of Culloden; of their meeting with Charles; and the extraordinary Habitation called the Cage, where Charles lived with them till he received notice that two French Frigates were arrived at Lochmanuagh.

After the fatal catastrophe of the Highland army at Culloden, upon the 16th of April, 1746, they meant to make head again about Auchnica-r-y, till, upon Lord Loudon's approach with an army, the few that had got together were made to disperse. Lochiel being then bad of his wounds, was obliged to shift from his own country to the Braes of Rannoch; near which, about the 20th of June, in a hill called Benouchk, Cluny Macpherson met him, and Sir Stuart Threipland, physician, who attended him for the cure of his wounds. Cluny brought them from thence to Benalder, a hill of great circumference in that part of Badenoch next to Rannoch, and his own ordinary grassings, where they remained together without ever getting any certain notice of what had become of the Prince for near three months, when they received the agreeable news of his being safe at LochARKAIK.
from one John Macpherson, a tenant of Lochiel's, who was sent by Cameron of Clunes to find out Lochiel and Cluny, in order to acquaint them that his Royal Highness was safe, and where he was to be found.

Upon Macpherson's return to Clunes, the Prince being informed where Lochiel and Cluny were, he sent Lochgarry and Dr. Archibald Cameron with a message to them. When these gentlemen met with Lochiel and Cluny, it was concerted among them, that the Prince should come to their asylum, as the safest place for him to pass some time; on which Lochgarry and Dr. Cameron immediately returned to his Royal Highness, to acquaint him of the resolution taken by his friends; and that Cluny would, on a certain day, meet his Royal Highness at Auchnicarry, in order to conduct him to Badenoch.

Upon the return of Lochgarry and Dr. Cameron to the Prince, they having set off a day or two before Cluny, his Royal Highness was so impatient to be with his two friends, whom he had not for a long time seen, that he would not wait for Cluny's coming to Auchnicarry, but, expecting to meet Cluny on the way, set out with guides for Badenoch. The Prince arrived in Badenoch the 29th of August, having in the meantime missed Cluny, who went on to Auchnicarry, where he was acquainted of the turn his Royal Highness had ta-
ken; on which he made all the dispatch possible to join him, but did not come up with his Royal Highness till a day or two after his arrival in Badenoch.

The Prince lay the first night at Corineuir, after his coming to Badenoch, from which he was conducted next day to Mellanauir, a shieling of very narrow compass, where Lochiel, with Macpherson of Breakachie, Allan Cameron, his principal servant, and two servants of Cluny, were at the time. It cannot but be remarked, that, when Lochiel saw five men approaching under arms, being the Prince, Lochgary, Dr Cameron, and two servants, taking the five men to be of the army or militia, who lay encamped not above four or five miles from them, and were probably in search of them; as it was in vain to think of flying, Lochiel at the time being quite lame, and not in any condition to travel, much less to run away, it was resolved that the enemy, as they judged them to be, should be received with a general discharge of all the arms, in number twelve firelocks and some pistols, which they had in the small shieling-house, or bothie, (as such small huts are commonly called,) in which they at the time lodged. Whereupon all was made ready, the pieces planted and levelled, and, in short, they flattered themselves of getting the better of the searchers, there being no more than their own number; and likewise considerin
the greatest advantage they had of firing at them without being at all observed, and the convenience of so many spare arms. But the auspicious hand of Almighty God, and his providence, so apparent at all times in the preservation of his Royal Highness, prevented those within from firing at the Prince with his four attendants; for they came at last so near that they were known by those within. Lochiel, upon making this discovery, made the best of his way, though lame, to meet his Royal Highness, who received him very graciously. The joy at this meeting is much easier to be conceived than expressed. And when Lochiel would have kneeled, on coming up to the Prince, "O no, my dear Lochiel," said his Royal Highness, clapping him on the shoulder, "we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills; and if they see any such motions, they will immediately conclude that I am here." Lochiel then ushered him into his habitation, which was indeed but a very poor one. The Prince was gay, and in better spirits than it was possible to think he could have been, considering the many disasters, disappointments, fatigues, and difficulties, he had undergone. His Royal Highness, with his retinue, went into the hut; and there was more meat and drink provided for him than he expected. There was plenty of mutton, an anker of whisky, containing twenty Scots pints, some good beef sausages made the
year before, with plenty of butter and cheese, besides a large well-cured bacon ham. Upon his entry the Prince took a hearty dram, which he sometimes called for thereafter, to drink the healths of his friends. When some minced collops were dressed with butter, in a large sauce-pan, which Lochiel and Cluny carried always about with them, being the only fire vessel they had, his Royal Highness ate heartily, and said, with a very cheerful countenance, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince;" though at the same time he was no otherwise entertained than eating his collops out of the pan with a silver spoon. After dinner he asked Lochiel if he had always lived here, during his skulking, in such a good way. "Yes, sir," answered Lochiel, "for near three months that I have been hereabouts with my cousin Cluny, he has provided for me so well, that I have had plenty of such as you see; and I thank Heaven your Royal Highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

In two days after, his Royal Highness went and lodged with Lochiel at Mellonaur, to which place Cluny came to them from Auchnicarry. Upon his entering the hut, when he would have kneeled, his Royal Highness prevented him, and kissed him as if he had been an equal; saying, "I am sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden: I did not hear, till very lately, that you were so near us that day."
The day after Cluny arrived, he thought it time to remove from Mellanuir, and took the Prince about two miles further into Benalder, to a little shiel called Uiskchibra, where the hut or bothie was superlatively bad and smoky; yet his Royal Highness put up with every thing. Here he remained for two or three nights, and then removed to a very romantic habitation, made for him by Cluny, two miles farther into Benalder, called the Cage; which was a great curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. It was situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which re-
clined from the one end, all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking. Here his Royal Highness remained till the 13th of September, when he was informed, that the vessels for receiving and carrying him to France were arrived at Lochnanuagh. The Prince set out immediately; and travelling only by night, arrived at Boradale near Lochnanuagh, on the 19th of September, and embarked there on the 20th.

[The original of this paper, which was dictated by Cluny, and written by one who had a very bad hand, has several words which are not legible; but when the author of this History had caused a copy of it to be made, fairly written, he was sensible that he had mistaken the sense of the original; particularly in that part of it where Cluny says, that after the battle of Culloden, the High-
landers meant to make head again about Auchnicarry. As Mr Home had obtained from the present Macpherson of Cluny, many of his father's papers and letters, concerning the rebellion, he had recourse to that collection, and found there, an account of a plan, formed by certain chiefs and heads of clans, to take arms after the battle of Culloden; with several letters, containing an account of this design, and the manner in which it was defeated.]

No. XLVII.

RESOLUTIONS by the REBEL CHIEFS, after the Battle of Culloden.

At Muirlaggan,* the 8th of May, 1746.

We, subscribers, heads of clans, commanders and leaders, do hereby unanimously agree, and solemnly promise forthwith, with the utmost expedition, to raise in arms, for the interest of his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and in defence of our country, all the able-bodied men that all and

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* These are two Muirlaggans, one in Lochaber, and one in Badenoch.
every one of us can command or raise, within our respective interests or properties.

Item, We hereby promise and agree, that the following clans, viz. Lochiel, Glengary, Clanronald, Stewarts of Appin, Keppoch, Barrisdale, Mackinnon, and Macleods, shall rendezvous on Thursday next, the 15th instant, at Auchniecarry, in the braes of Lochaber.

Item, We also promise and agree, that neither of us shall discover or reveal, to any of our men or inferior officers, the resolutions of our present meeting; or the day and place appointed for our rendezvous, till such time as our respective corps are assembled.

Item, To facilitate the junction of our army with all possible speed, it is agreed, that the Frasers of Aird, and others our friends on the north side of the river Ness, shall join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengary; and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Mackintoshes, and Macphersons, shall assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch, on Thursday the 15th current.

Item, The Macgregors, Menzies, and Glenlyon’s people, shall march to Rannoch, and join the Rannoch and Athole men; and be ready to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or any other place that shall be most convenient.
Item, It is agreed, that Major-general Gordon of Glenbucket, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen of the north, with the resolutions taken at this meeting; and that they shall agree among themselves as to a place of rendezvous, so as to be able to join the army where it shall be judged most proper.

Item, That Cluny Macpherson, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise the principal gentlemen of the Macintoshes of our resolutions.

Item, It is agreed, that there shall only be one captain, lieutenant, and ensign, two serjeants, and two corporals to every company of forty men; and an adjutant, quarter-master, and surgeon, to every regiment.

Item, That every corps shall appoint an officer and a number of men, not exceeding twelve, to remain in the country; with ample powers to punish deserters, who, immediately at their first appearance in the country, are to be hanged; unless they can produce a pass or furlough from a general officer.

Lastly, We further promise and engage ourselves, each to the other, to stand and abide by these our resolutions, for the interest of his Royal Highness, and the good of our country, which we apprehend to be inseparable, to the last drop of our
blood; and never to lay down our arms, or make a separate peace, without the general consent of the whole. And in case any one engaged in this association shall make separate terms for himself, he shall be looked upon as a traitor to his Prince, and treated by us as an enemy.

[This copy of the resolutions to take arms, dated Muirlaggan, May 8th, is not signed; but it is evident from the names of the clans mentioned in that paper, and from the letters of Lochiel, Cluny, and Secretary Murray, which follow in the Appendix, that almost every chief and chieftain, who escaped from the battle of Culloden, had agreed to the resolutions; nor is it at all surprising, that no signed copy of the resolutions has been found, for the houses of Lochiel, Cluny, and most of the rebel chiefs, were set on fire and destroyed by the King's troops, when they came from Inverness to Fort Augustus; so that no papers were preserved, but those which, before the arrival of the troops, had been buried in places where the ground was very dry.]
No. XLVIII.

LETTER from Lochiel to Cluny.

DEAR SIR,

Locharkaik, May 13th, 1746.

I have nothing new to acquaint you of. We are preparing for a summer campaign, and hope soon to join all our forces. Mr Murray desires, if any of the pickets, or the men of Lord John Drummond’s regiment, or any other pretty fellows, are straggling in your country, that you convene them, and keep them with yourself till we join you; and give them money if you have any to spare. If not, send a trusty person here, and what money will be necessary for them, or other emergencies, shall be remitted to you. I have scarcely a sufficiency of meal to serve myself and the gentlemen who are with me, for four days, and can get none to purchase in this country; so I beg you will send, by the bearer, as much meal as the two horses I have sent will carry; and I shall pay, at meeting, whatever price you think proper for it, besides a thousand thanks for the favour. I have not yet heard of the man I sent from your house towards Inverness to get intelligence. You sent one of your men along with him. Let me know if you had any account of him, or of the woman sent to Edinburgh,
with any news you have from the south or north. Mr Murray sent an express to Mr Seton, and to ——, desiring they should come to him without loss of time. He is surprised what detains them, and begs you will desire them to hasten.

I am yours,

Donald Cameron.

No. XLIX.

LETTER—Secretary Murray to Macpherson of Cluny.

Dear Sir,

Invermely, May, 19th, 1746.

It has not been possible, for numberless reasons, to keep the time fixed upon at our meeting; neither will the ammunition be here before Friday night, by which time I hope we will have many more men than have yet appeared; but you may depend upon it I shall advertise you twenty-four hours before we march from this. Lochiel, Barrisdale, and Lochgary, offer you their kind compliments: and I am, most sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

Jo. Murray.
Letter from Lochiel to some of the Chiefs who had agreed to take arms.

Gentlemen, May 25th, 1746.

I send you this, to acquaint you of the reasons of our not being in your country ere now, as I last wrote you. Our assembling was not so general nor hearty as was expected, for Clanronald's people would not leave their own country, and many of Glengary's have delivered up their arms; so that but few came with Lochgarry to Invermely on Tuesday last, where he staid but one night, and crossed Locharkaik with his men, promising to return with a greater number in two days, and that he would guard the passes on that side; neither of which was done, nor have we had any return from the Master of Lovat; so that there was only a few men with Barrisdale, and what men I had on this side of Lochy, who marched Wednesday night to Auchnicarry, where, trusting to Lochgary's information, we had almost been surprised on Friday morning, had we not learned by other look-outs, that the enemy was marching from Fort Augustus towards us; upon which we advanced, thinking to make them halt; but their numbers were so much superior, that it had no effect, and we were almost
surrounded by a party that came by the moor on the side of Locharkaik, who actually took an officer and two men of mine, which made us retreat for twelve miles; and there, considering our situation, it was thought both prudent and proper to disperse, rather than carry the fire into your country without a sufficient number, as was expected. It is now the opinion of Mr Murray, Major Kennedy, Barrisdale, and all present, that your people should separate, and keep themselves as safe as possible, and keep their arms, as we have great expectations of the French doing something for us, or until we have their final resolutions what they are to do. I think they have little encouragement from the government, as they get no assurances of safety but for six weeks. I beg you will acquaint all your neighbours of this, viz. the Mackintoshes, Macgregors, &c. for at present it is very inconvenient for me to acquaint them from this; and be so good as let us hear from you as oft as possible; and when there is any thing extraordinary, you may expect to hear of it, and the particulars of the enemy’s motions. Let me hear from you by the bearer, who will find me: and when any of you write to me, please direct as the bearer shall inform you, and let him know how I shall address to you. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Donald Cameron.
P. S.—As Cluny has an easier opportunity of sending to the Master of Lovat than I, it is begged of him to send a double of this to the Master, to let him know what is doing. The above is our present resolutions, and what I have advised all my people to do, as the best and safest course, and the interest of the public; yet some of them have delivered up their arms without my knowledge; and I cannot take it upon me to direct in this particular, but to give my opinion, and let every one judge for himself.

No. LI.

*Extracts made from his Majesty's State Papers relative to Scotland, in the Year 1745-6.*

By Order of Lord Hawkesbury, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, dated July 7th, 1801, the following extracts were made from his Majesty's State Papers, and delivered to John Home, Esq.

Extract of Sir John Cope's Letter to the Marquis of Tweedale, dated Lauder, Sept. 21, 1745.

"The battle was fought on a field near Prestonpans.—I cannot give any account of the number
of killed or wounded;—the whole baggage taken, and the military chest and papers belonging to it.”

Statement of the effective force of the army, under the command of General Hawley, from the return, dated Jan. 13th, 1746.

“Dragoons . . . 519
“Infantry . . . 5488”

Return of killed at the battle of Falkirk, Jan. 17th, 1746.

“Officers . . . 12
“Privates . . . 55
“Killed, wounded, and missing . . . 280”

Statement of the effective force of the army, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, from the return, dated at Aberdeen, March 28, 1746.

“Effective rank and file . . . 7179”
Extract of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated Spey Mouth, April 13, 1746.

"According to my dispatch of the 6th, continued to the 7th, we marched the 8th from Aberdeen; but instead of joining at Fochabers, we encamped the 11th at Cullen, where Lord Albermarle joined us, and the whole was got together; and yesterday we marched to the Spey, and passed it with no other loss than one dragoon and four women drowned."

Extract of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, dated Inverness, April 18, 1746.

"The three lines of foot, (reckoning the reserve for one) were broke into three from the right, which made the three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The cavalry made the fourth column in the left."
Return of killed, wounded, and missing, at the battle of Culloden, April 16th, 1746.

"Killed—Captains . . . 2
   " Serjeants . . . 3
   " Drummer . . . 1
   " Rank and File . 44

     ——50

"Wounded—Lieut.-Col. . 1
   " Captains . . . 7
   " Lieutenants . . 4
   " Ensigns . . . 5
   " Serjeants . . . 7
   " Drummers . . . 2
   " Rank and File 233

     ——259

"Missing . . . . . 1

     ——

     310"

(Examined)

John Bruce,
Keeper of State Papers.

State Paper Office,
July 14, 1801.

FINIS.
ADDENDUM.

Page 225, after line 13, add—"Robert Nairn, an East Lothian gentleman, and nephew of Mr Hepburn of Keith, (who has been frequently mentioned in the History,) was deputy paymaster of the rebel army. At the battle of Culloden, he advanced with the Athole brigade, which lost so many men by the fire of the King's troops, and of the field-pieces loaded with grape-shot, that the brigade was not able to go on, and halted.

"Mr Nairn left the brigade when it halted, and, joining the next regiment, which was Lochiel's, he advanced with the Camerons, who attacked Barrel's regiment, which was so completely broken, that Mr Nairn, some years after the Rebellion, told the author of this History, that he saw only two of Barrel's men standing; one of them was a grenadier, who pushed his bayonet into Mr Nairn's eye, and brought him to the ground, where he lay all night insensible of his condition, for he had received a good many wounds as he advanced with the brigade. Next day he was carried to Inverness, and by the care of some medical students, (his companions at the university,) who had been brought from Edinburgh to assist the regimental surgeons in case of a battle, his wounds were cured, and by their help he was enabled to make his escape from Inverness, and get to Edinburgh."

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