

PART III

MURRAY'S MOVEMENTS AFTER CULLODEN

#### NOTE

THE MS. of this portion of the Murray Papers is not in the Secretary's handwriting, but several notes and corrections in his hand make it certain that he revised the whole.

The form, that of a reply to an imaginary letter, is frequent in eighteenth-century pamphlets.

## PART III

### MURRAY'S MOVEMENTS AFTER CULLODEN

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The dayly examples of the Instability and fickleness of mankind, with the ungratefull requitals they make to those from whom they have Received the most remarkable Instances of Friendship and affection, have, on many late Occasions, appeared to me in such Odious and glaring Colours, that had I not been possessed of that Immutable regard for you, which no time, place, nor Circumstance of life can alter, the horror I Conceived from the behaviour of others, to those from whom they had received the most Substantial favours, must naturally have made me reject the first dawn of thought that tended to lessen the just esteem I owe you; never allowing myself to Immagine that the good or bad fortune of the world could erase me from your thoughts, or have such an Influence upon you, as to banish me from that favour you have so long honoured me with.

Tho, I dare say, further arguments to convince you of the Sincere regard I have for your happiness is needless, yet allow me to Indulge myself, after a two years Separation, by expressing my affection for one, with whom I livd so many Years in that strickt Intimacy, known only to such who are Capable of real friendship. A passion which, I am sorry to say, Seems to be banished from this part of Christindome, as stale and old fashiond, lending to the Subversion of the New adopted Scheme of Self Interest, which is alone looked upon as the unerring path to happiness, and the only true mark of a man of Sence.

Let who will Swallow the gilded Pill, I was ever an Enemy to Physick, and am still determind upon no Consideration of

that nature to purge away what, to me, appears the most amiable of all Virtues, and which has been so much Contended for by the greatest and Wisest men amongst the Antients: whose examples in things of less Consequences we with so much eagerness endeavour to Imitate.

I could launch out into a boundless Ocean of the most feeling examples amongst our fore-Fathers, who, possessd of Souls uncapable of Corruption, and spurning at Self Interest, nobly sacrificed themselves, not only for their Country, but for the Sake of Individuals, whose preservation they esteemd preferable to their own: but that I know it would only Serve as a tedious repetition of facts with which you have been long and well acquainted.

It is a Common Saying, and often in the mouths of the most unworthy, that Virtue is admird and Esteemd even by those who have not the fortitude to pursue it.

The Coward is said in his heart to hate his fellow Coward: thus, that very friendship of which I am now speaking, is admird by those who were never blessd with the knowledge of it, and even to this day, though no one Individual will attempt publickly to declare how little he Values it, yet when any uncommon example of it is shown, he joins with the multitude, to call it a peice of Antient Don Quixotry, laughing at the Author for his generosity; and dispising him as Ignorant of his own Interest: which, from a love to mankind in general, I would willingly perswade myself to beleive, proceeds more from a regret to be outdone in Virtue, than a real disaprobation of their Neighbours' Conduct.

That it is a Christian Virtue, and Strongly Injoind us by the Author of our Salvation, is now, alas, no argument; and, I am sorry to say, it would rather tend to lessen than advance it with those from whom the Majority of every State ought to take their example. Mankind being now so thoroughly debauch'd that, to imitate the Vices of the great, is become the Touchstone of Politness amongst those of fashion, and the dayly Study of the Lower rank of Society.

But least I should depreciate a Subject, which has Employd the pens of the most learnd men in all ages, by throwing out a parcel of Crude and undigested thoughts, and lessen your

esteem of me by falling short of these Ideas and expressions, the Subject justly merits; I shall have done by assuring you that, next to my own unexpected deliverance, to be ascertain'd of Your Safty and happiness was the most Sensible pleasure I ever felt; which was so much hightned by the receipt of Your obliging letter, giving me to understand that your present Situation of Life, was answerable to your fondest wishes; as is easier felt than Express'd.

Would to God every one who Serv'd under the same banner could say he enjoy'd the like felicity; but alas, the Miserable, the unheard of havock, that has been made amongst us (was you here) would almost Induce you to beleive that there was no Survivor of that fatal day to relate the dismal Catastrophe; as to myself, you may beleive me when I tell you, that since my arrival in this unhappy Country, the extream joy I propos'd to myself is turnd to mourning. Happy is it for us that, even in the greatest trifles, we are ignorant of futurity, how much more than must it be so in affairs of greater Consequence.

Had I but known, or even been able to Conceive, the Melancholy prospect which now presents its self to my eyes, I would not only have Endeavour'd to banish the thought, but Triumph'd to think that, by directing my Steps else where, I was not the unhappy Spectator of the Missery of that land where I first drew breath.

Tho this is a moving Subject, especially to one who on all occasions Shew'd so particular a regard for the wellfare of their Country as you have done, yet the Strong effect it has had prevails with me to indulge my gloomy disposition by dwelling upon the theme, were it not my duty to answer your Commands so far as my present Situation will allow: which, tho upon an ungratfull Topick, yet as it obliges you, must prove the most agreable peice of amusement I shall have untill my affairs will permit of my absenting myself from this unlucky Spot where I propose no long Continuance, being extreamly desirous to attain to that Satisfaction which no true Scotsman can possibly find in his own Country.

And now that I may answer your letter, in the manner that I apprehend will prove the most agreable to us both, I shall mention your Several demands, by way of heads, and then

Speak to them in order as they follow. 1st. You desire to be acquainted with the Situation of our party in Scotland, and their manner of Acting.

2d. What has become of our old friend Mr. M——y.

3d. The reason of his Silence, being satisfyd from Your own knowlege of his Transactions, that he has only to make them publick for his Vindication.

4th. What methods he fell upon to Induce the Ministry to beleive that he had told them all he knew: especially how he accounted for the Chasm of four years from 1738 to 1742, during which time he kept a Closs Correspondence with Rome.

5th. A particular Account of the reasons that prevaild with him to leave the Highlands.

And lastly, what you know of the many hard things laid to his Wifes Charge, of all which, you Seem to Imagine I am not Ignorant, believing that I was not so far led away by the World as to give up all Correspondence with an old friend without giving him an opportunity of Saying somewhat to his Conduct.

Allow me, then, to begin by assuring you that you only did me justice, when you Conjecturd that popular Clamour could not prevail with me to desert a friend unheard, of whose veracity I was formerly so much Convinced: but before I say any more on that Subject, in Obedience to Your Commands, and in Conformity with the plan I have laid down, I shall begin with our party in Scotland, after giving a short hint of the Mortifications I myself have felt from the oposite faction.

The Sneers, the Vain exulting pride, and over-bearing Self-Sufficiency of the Whigs, big with their unexpected Success, and drunk with a Certainty of future Security, is dayly ready to make that Blood boil over, which you know was not wont easily to be put in a ferment: the Influence such a Carriage would have upon a temper Naturaly so warm as Yours is no hard matter to guess: in so much that I have been often ready to think that notwithstanding the great Mortification it must be to be Debarrd the Comfort of Visiting our Native Country, yet, in the present Situation of things, it is happy for you not to have it in your power, as the consequences, in all probability, might prove fatal, not only to you, but others.

And now to answer the Several particulars you mention, allow me to think it Strange that you should desire to be acquainted with the particular State of our party here; Sure you do not imagine that I could Commit any thing of So delicate a Nature to the Common Post, and at present I know of no other Conveyance. The Government, I am afraid, knows too much already; and this, in all probability, would be presenting them with too minute Intelligence; which, I cannot help thinking, would not only be an Ill timd peice of Politness, but would be granting them a favour, which I in no Shape owe them; so shall leave those particulars till Such time as I have the happiness of a tête-a-tête, which, I flatter myself, may happen in a few months. Till then, make your Self as easy as possible with what you can learn on your Side the Water. But that you may not be at a loss for the Conduct of our friends in general, I shall attempt giving you an Account of their procedure with all Imaginable Impartiality, which, tho I know it cannot fail to displease you, yet as it is no Secret to the World, should my letter fall into bad hands, no ill Consequences can Insue; in short, their behaviour is as little to be born with patience as that of their Enemys, and whither to pity or dispise them, occasions in me frequently Such Inward Disputes as are difficult to Determine.

Do not Imagine that when I write thus, I would be understood to mean the whole, God forbid. There are still some whose natural Good Sense will not allow the ill timd Zeal and Impertinent folly of the Croud to get the better of their reason; and the real Interest of their Party.

Silence is a Virtue or (if I may be allowd to say) a peice of knowledge, which the giddy and thoughtless part of either Sex Seldom attain to: and which notwithstanding their reverence and respect for Some Individuals, who Study to instile a different notion: yet if they do prevail, it is but with a few and that for no long Continuance; for it Soon breeks out like the Torrent of Confind Waters, Sweeping along whatever it finds in its way; Good and bad without distinction, so that it may not improperly be inferrd, that in regard to this one particular, the Remedy is worse than the Disease as it only Smothers the Embers for a time; which when by any Accident they take Air, never fail to breck out into a flame.

It Cannot fail to give one the Spleen to Observe a parcel of people, who whilst their hearts tremble within them, give a loose to their tongues unbecoming such who adopt to themselves the Character of having Common Sense, Railing against some in the most Childish, Malicious, Envious, and unjustifiable manner Imaginable, Depreciating and blackning others, and frequently Crying up Such to the Skies, whom you and I know never to have merited the least applause; nor Indeed ever had it in their power to be of any Service. Yet this you will not so much wonder at, when I tell you that it is the little low lif'd fellows of our Army who are now become our best Generals, and the finest Gentlemen, and all this only at the expence of a little truth, by Vainly boasting of their own (till now unheard of) actions; and finding fault with the Procedure of their Superiors; which tho often Visibly done with no other View than to procure a Dinner, is nevertheless greedily Swallowd down by their Patrons; and afterwards retaild as undoubted facts.

It is no uncommon thing to hear a minute detail of the proceedings in Council with the Arguments us'd by the Several Members, repeated in a Club of our well wishers with Such an Air of assurance and Certainty as gains the Credit of the whole; or should the Orator upon the least Seeming Contradiction be demanded to give his Authority, you will hear him Storm at the incredulity of his friend, telling that he had it from Mr. — the Barber.

It is incredible to Imagine what length their useless Zeal Carrys them, and what frivolous and trifling lies are laid for the bases of Scandalous Accusations Against the most deserving. Were the Storys well framd and without Containing palpable Contradictions in themselves, there gaining ground would not so much Surprize; but where there is not the least Shadow of truth but the Strongest Circumstances, nay even living Witnesses of their falsehood, the vast fondness they Seem to have for detraction, makes them reject truth as if the Authors only, from a peice of mistaken good Nature, would paliate and guild over the faults of their Neighbours.

It is not enough to Say that a person was *alibi* and Consequently not guilty of what was laid to his Charge, you are

told, no matter, Suppose the fact was so, that rather strengthens then weakens the allegation; the thing was done by his Advice, and he, purposely to avoid the just blame, order'd matters so, as to absent at the time. And the person who attempts to vindicate him is discovered either to be nearly connected with the Criminal or partner in his Iniquity and Sharer of his Gain.

A story will take its rise at the Abby and in less then three hours after, reach the Castle hill, with so many curious and good naturd additions, that the Original lie only serves in time coming as a ground of beleif for the whole.

The Actions of Gladsmuir, Cliftonmoor, Falkirk, and Culloden, are fought over at every Tea Table, with so much address and Gallantry and with such substantial and solid remarks upon the bad Conduct of our Leaders; that some of both Sexes seldom or never fail to convince the Rest of the Company of their Military genius, and occasions a full and ample Declaration of their Sencere regret that her Ladyship had not the Command, concluding with what pity it was that, this and t'other, had not been done, for sure never was any thing more obvious and easy.

The Castle of Edinburgh is starved before the punch Bowl is empty. The Batteries against Stirling erected anew, and the Garrison made Prisoners of War by the time it is replenish'd.

The Prince and Council are perswaded to wait C-mb-rl-ds Aproach at Bannockburn, and taught to rout his Army whilst the fine Lady sips her Hyson; and the passage of the Spey pronounced impracticable with a look of Scorn and flirt of the Fan.

A parcel of Antiquated Attorneys, with the help of a black Gentleman in a gown and Cassock, will march us to Derby, from thence make our way straight and easy to the Capitall, render the March of the Enemy impossible, rouse the Sleeping English, seize the Treasury, make the two Armys under C-mb-rl-d and Wade disband, their Officers sue for Pardon, and the Fleet send their Submission, erect Triumphall Arches, make the Mayor and Aldermen meet us with the Regalia of the City, which with their Charter returnd, and protection promised, compleat the Cavalcade to St. James's.

On the other hand, mortifyd beyond expression when they reflect that their easy Scheme was not put in Execution; plainly discover treachery in our retreat, continue the same Chain of Villany during our return to, and stay at Bannockburn, and make the whole Design as clear as Sunshine, before our Arrival at Inverness. Every Old Woman, Green Girl, Cock Laird, and Pettefogger being now become equally soldiers and Politicians, denouncing one a Coward, t'other Traitor, and a third a Blockhead, &c.

Tho what I have already mentioned is not only extreamly disagreeable but hurtfull, yet I could almost perswade myself to forgive them, and attribute it to the weakness of human nature, did they confine themselves to general reflections: but when they descend to Particular Characters and things, I cannot help being angry with them.

It is not only finding fault with the management of some few of the Principle people concernd; but of almost all those who have had the good fortune to escape, to whose charge such Stories are laid, as I once thought impossible to have proceeded from the most fertile Imagination, fraughted with Malice in its highest perfection, and you may hear such an abandond fellow as Donald M'Donald,<sup>1</sup> Kepocks Nephew, who was hanged at Kinnington, several Years latter than he ought to have been, spoke of with more Veneration than some of the most deserving.

To enter into particulars, and to confute what we both know to be false, would be equally Trifling and Tedious.

Do not imagine that what I have said is with a View to make you discredit all the Several Reports already reachd your ear, some of them, tho not as they are told, yet I am afraid are in part true, nor do you allow yourself to be forestald with the notion that I am intirely of Your Sentiments, till such time as you have impartialy examin'd the Whole.

It proceeds from a Sincere regard to you, who having imposd

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Macdonald (or Macdonell), 'aged about twenty-five years,' was a captain in Keppoch's regiment. He was captured at the surrender of Carlisle, and executed on Kennington Common, 22nd August 1746.—*Scots Magazine*, viii. p. 397.

this task upon me, I should be sorry to leave Ignorant of our Situation, as far as may be prudent after this Manner, and to assure you that I cannot help lamenting that notwithstanding the Experience of Threescore years shows, that by means of our Divisions, Inveyyings, and Heartburnings we have not only causd the desertion of some, but the Defidence, Distrust, and lukewarmness of many; they not not only go the Old game, but seem to have attaind to such a height of Scandal and Detraction, as is Sufficient to render their best friends their most enveterate Enemys.

Did it produce that Effect in some I should not at all wonder; it is not every man whose principles are so unalterably fix'd, or whose affection and partiality for his party is so great, but when Conscious to himself of having acted a part which he esteems fair and honest, will not, if too Severly Spurgalld, endeavour to throw his Rider. Nothing touches a man so nearly as Ingratitude, especially from those for whom he has sacrific'd himself. Revenge, tho not Laudable, is yet natural, and it is not every man who is possest of such an abundant Stock of Philosophy as not to think it allowable in some Cases.

There are two kinds of men we ought not if possible to disoblige—the Rogue, who will study to hurt us; and the honest man who has it in his power; but especialy the latter, who if once thoroughly irritated, will give no quarter, but expose all to the world to prove his own Virtue, and our Ingratitude.

As for my own part, I fairly own to you, that were I treated as some others are, I should be apt to hesitate upon the part the most proper for me to take. It is hard for one to determine when not in that case, how they would demean themselves; but I cannot help thinking that did my Conscience allow me, I should become the sworn, avowd, and never to be pacifyd Enemy of my persecutors: which induces me to beleive that did another take that Step, I should not much blame him. What in the Name of Wonder is a person to expect from such people, if in their power; when one considers the Inveteracy they show under their present Circumstances.

The unhappy people they now rail at, and to whom they attribute Actions, which I dare venture to say never once enterd their most unguarded thoughts, do not seem to have

the least grounds to imagine they shall be able to persuade them of the falacy of what is laid to their charge; or of even procuring common Justice, far less to convince them how much they merit their favour and attention.

Things being now at this hight with us, it is not difficult to form an Idea of the Influence it has upon those of better Sence, effectually deterring them from acting with that keenness, Vivacity, and Zeal, to which they are inclin'd; fearing least one day they should meet with no better requitall, did the Situation of things oblige them to swerve in the smalest degree, from that troden path prickd out by our Pseudo Polititions: and such whose principles are yet crude and undegested, are discouraged from imbarcking with a lott of People, whose friendship is so little to be depended upon.

It is in vain to argue with them that such a method of proceeding tends to weaken and enervate their party, and that unanimity has in all ages, and still is by men of Sence, deemd the most Effectual method to strengthen their hands, and make them feard and courted by their Enemy's; their present passion hurries them away and draws a thick Vail over all the bad Consequences that must insue.

And allowance for others failings is not to be propounded, nor can you prevail with them, to state themselves in the Case of those of whom they complain: and to insinuate the part that they themselves might have acted, if in their Situation: you are assur'd of losing their favour for ever.

I own it is not easy for a man to frame to himself the Situation of his friend or the just effects it might have upon him, but still it must be granted, that a man may in some degree judge what would then be his frame of mind: few of us have not in our lifetime experienced all the several passions incident to human weakness.

I have not been hitherto unfortunate enough to meet with any so ridiculous as not to own that to be unite is the only sure way to preservation, yet they cannot be prevaild upon to think but that the Party would reap considerable benefite from being weeded of such, whom they particularly dislike, which piece of Indulgence was it to be granted every one against those to whom they imagine they have just

cause of Exception, we should scarcely deserve the name of a Party. But to detain you no longer on a Subject which cannot fail to hurt you; I shall conclude by telling you, that what vexes me most is, the Satisfaction I plainly see it gives our Enemys, who take an advantage of our mutual quarrels, and to increase the flame, maliciously throw fuel into the fire, which when we greedily catch at, not only occasions a Secret Joy, but makes them hate and dispise us, as a people the dupes of our own folly.

Your Second Question may be solved in fewer words than it contains, by saying that he is well and in London.

The third, which tho it might be as easily answerd, I nevertheless incline to discourse more particularly, for reasons which the Solution itself will render obvious.

I did intirely agree with you in opinion that considering the great run that has prevaild against him, a publick explanation was necessary, least by a too long and uninterrupted train of Calumny, the dirt thrown might catch too fast hold, to be easily wipt off. This I took the Liberty to observe to him upon our first meeting, which having extreamly longd for, I made it my first care to procure after having obtaind my Liberty. Tho he readily agreed upon a Rendevous, and kept his apointment, yet for some time it was very plain, that he was not much inclin'd to come to an aclaircissement, from his industriously avoiding all particulars. This you may believe gave me a good deal of uneasyness, and made me begin to suspect that there was more couch'd under his reserve than I could have wishd; but determin'd to be at the bottom of it, and either force him to an Explanation or an absolute refusal, I took occasion to remind him of our former Intimacy, and to assure him that so far from being ready to be prevaild upon to join in the Common Cry, that I had taken all occasions to vindicate him, when to my knowledge the alligations were false.

That I had made it my business so soon as in my power to find him out, with no other View than to be able to show him that I still retaind the same regard for him as ever; not doubting but that he could account as well for his late as former proceedings, to the uprightness and dis-

interestedness of which, the whole Party were wont to give implicit faith.

That tho I knew him to be naturally reservd, yet I could see with one Eye that he was possesd of more diffidence than usual; and tho I could not much blame him to be so to the world in General, yet I could not help thinking that in regard to me as an Individual, his Silence was ill judged, my present meeting with him flowing puerly from friendship and a desire to be solv'd of some few doubts which I frankly ownd difficulted me a good deal: insomuch that when they occur'd in Common Conversation, as they were often the Topicks of Discourse, I chose to be Silent, averse to reflect, and unwilling to vindicate by halves.

That as he knew my unalterable attachment to the Intrest of the Party, I could not help being sorry to think that any one member should be lost to it, much more the Person formerly esteem'd one of the Chief propes in his Country.

That as I had hitherto incurrd the Displeasure of none, a happiness incedent to very few, I was ready to run all Risques to vindicate him, esteeming truth preferable to every other Consideration; which I could alone do by hearing his own Story; yet if there was any particular upon which he did not care to speak openly to the world, I was ready to pledge my honour, that it should continue a Secret untill he judgd it proper to propall it.

This Declaration, to which he gave earnest attention, seem'd to awaken him and draw the following Answer.

That he was not intirely Ignorant of the part I had acted, having had frequent occasion to hear it from some who visited the Prisoners, but that his ears were dayly stunn'd with so many falsehoods, not only charged upon himself, but on Lord Geo. M—y, and others, that he had laid it down as an unerring Maxim, not to be swerv'd from; to give Credit to nothing till such time as he had most convincing proofs.

The many years he had labour'd to serve the R—l F—ly, and the unwearied Zeal with which he had effectually promotted their Intrest, to the utter neglect and ruin of his own affairs, made the ungenerous requitall he had received from some of the Party, less easy to be bore.

That he had mett with such unexamplary ungratitude, not only from those on whom he had bestowd favours both before and during the time that the Army was on foot; but that the very people whom he had made, acted such a part as nothing but his having been Author of their ruin could vindicate; which, together with many other particulars needless to mention, had rendered him diffident of all mankind, a maxim quite opposite to his former principle that all men were to be esteemd honest till such time as the Contrary appeard and was provd.

In fine he was unwilling to open himself to any, not knowing how far friendship might be pretended with a View to hurt him, by making a bad use of what he said, a thing not at all improbable, as words were seldom retaild as first spoke: but as the assurance I had given him seemd to be so much of a peice with my former behaviour, he could not help thinking me Sincere; and would with pleasure and all the frankness I could wish endeavour to satisfy me in every particular I should care to propose, provided I previously ingagd my honour to repeat nothing save what he should agree to, and at the same time freely and without any restraint propose what Objections occur'd to his Answers.

These Conditions premisd, you may beleive very few (if any) material questions escapd me, being much upon my guard, and most of what I intended to say prepar'd beforehand.

In relation to most of what passd, let it suffice to tell you that I was not only thoroughly satisfied but pleas'd beyond expression to think that every step he had taken was as much with a View of being of Service to his Master, and the Intrest of the party, as any of those previous to his Landing. If he has been deceived in what he did, that must alone be owing to want of Capacity, not of Inclination, the former of which none of us till lately attempted to call in question.

But to satisfy you as to the reason of his Silence, I shall endeavour to give you as near as possible his words.

Notwithstanding the Natural diffidence he had of his own abilitys, and his reluctance to become an appellat to the publick, together with the doubts, and distractions, which the Malignity and invetracy of the World occasiond; yet he

was thoroughly convinced that it depended upon him to vindicate himself in the most ample manner by alone making publick the real matters of fact, but that the bad Consequences of such a Step appeard so Obvious, that notwithstanding his Severe and unjust Suffering, he must reject it till a time when publick declarations of that nature would not hurt the persons therein mentiond.

That tho to a person less warm then himself, the provocations he had met with would render revenge excusable, yet he could not perswade himself to hurt his Master by taking just Vengeance upon his own particular Enemys. Esteeming a private quarrel of whatever nature a thing to be put up with, when in Competition with the publick good.

Then referd to me if discovering numbers of people with whom I knew he had transacted his Masters affairs during the Space of Seven years, none of whom had ever so much as escaped his Lips, it had not been in his power to have filld the English prisons, and glutted the Government with the blood and Estates of those they wishd to have shed, and been possessd of.

From all which he argued that should he now in Vindication of himself lay the whole Scene open, and by shewing what was in his power, discover the particulars concernd, the Distracted and Ignorant Mob would not imagine that these Individuals had been conceald by him but overlooked by the Ministry, as having only his testimony against them. As to those of better sence and more reflection, suposing but not granting that they were satisfyd with his having till then conceald them, yet they would at no rate allow that any usage, however bad, could excuse his exposing them to the knowledge of their Enemys which would render their after actions for ever Suspicious, and their Services to the party deficult and dangerous, if not impossible. And demonstrated, that had he been willing, it was in his power to have namd Sufficient Evidence against many, at least persons who had it in their power to give it if they pleasd, several of whom were then in the Goverments Custody; and others he himself had taken care at his own expence to keep out of the way.

Upon the whole, it proceeded from no regard he could

possibly be imagin'd to retain for them, their behaviour having justly dissolv'd all the bonds of friendship that formerly subsisted betwixt them; but from a principle not to be alter'd, and a personal Affection for his Master not to be parallel'd. And lastly, as he imagin'd nothing could more effectually disturb the tender Conscience, or create a more Sincere Repentance, than that of a persons discovering his having been long stubbornly in a state of Sin, he was determin'd to lett time effect what reason could not. Besides, what title has the Party in general, says he, to any Vindication of myself or Explanation of my actions? who authorises them to find fault? who constitutes the Mobb my Judges? who impowers them to guess and conjecture at the Motives that induc'd me to act? and above all, from what Law of God or men do they arrogantly assume to themselves a right to determine of matters so far above their reach? who then are the people to whom I am to account? The question is easily answer'd. To the K—g, P—ce, and D—ke, and such who can with seeming Justice say, I have hurt them. The first I freely offer to satisfy. The second, let them call upon me, if I dont convince them they may have their revenge. If I chose to open my mind to any other Individuals, that is Voluntary, and to please myself.

As to your 4th query, I hope it will be Satisfactory to tell you, that it is allways in a mans power to know so much, and no more than he pleases, where there are no written documents to the Contrary against him; and for the four Years chasm you mention, from 1738 to 1742, as nothing appear'd relative to that time, it was easy for him to keep his mind to himself. The only Difficulty which occur'd concerning that affair, and which he ownd gave him the greatest uneasyness, was a letter which he had wrote the Summer before the P—ce's Landing, containing an abridgment of his Negotiations during part of these years, with the names of several persons concern'd; which might unlukily have fallen into the hands of the Ministry as well as others did less to have been expected: but as it was sign'd by a Cant name, he determin'd, in case of its being produced against him, totaly to deny it. And how it came to escape the hands of the Conquerors, considering the

management of his Successor in Office,<sup>1</sup> is a little wonderfull, but that it did, is certain: a happy Circumstance for many, who would in all probability have had the pleasure of contemplating the four walls of a Gloomy prison, for many months; had the Consequences provd no worse.

I come now to the fifth and most Interesting query, I call it the most Interesting, because from thence has flown all the other Misfortunes that has attended him; especialy as it has and still continues to be alledgd by many, that it was a previous design to betray his party, notwithstanding there are several people still living who knew the Contrary; yet so Cruel and ungenerous are they as not to do him that Justice which is due to our greatest Enemy.

The very Circumstance of his Journey, now known to Numbers, would seem Sufficient to persons indued with Common Reason, to demonstrate that he could have no such intentions; but even in that, people seem industriously to have studyd to caluminate him, by alledging facts as opposite to truth as light from Darkness, and these not people living at a Distance from the Scene of Action: but actually upon the Spot, and acquainted with the Privacy of his rout.

These Circumstances alone ought to be Sufficient to vindicate him in this particular, nor can the wisest of his Enemys pretend even a specious reason for a person in the weak Condition he was then in to undertake so fatiguing a Journey exposd to all the little rascaly Barbarians Morroding partys, then dispersd over the Country, when he had it in his power to have surrenderd himself at Fort Augustus, Fort William, or to General Campbell; neither of which were many miles from the place from whence he sett out.

But allowing of the reason they offer against his taking this Step, as it would have seemd a too barefaced and palpable a peice of Vilainy, yet to a person that had intended to act the part, they would have the World beleive he proposed, such Cobweb delicacys would have appeared as nothing; nor is it to be imagind that he would have taken the Rout of Tweedale, a Country where for some Generations no Troops had been quarterd, and from whence (save himself) no man of any

<sup>1</sup> Hay of Restalrig. Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 41.

Consideration had appear'd in arms, had he had the smalest Intention of being made a Prisoner.

As it may perhaps be more proper to delay any further observations of this nature untill I have told you the Story as it really was, I shall now endeavour to relate it, as minutly as my memory will allow me, having made it my business to enquire into the truth of the Account he gave me, from some who sculked in the Country long after the Battle: but of this you can easily inform yourself at these who were alongst with him, and who I am told are still living. I mean Lochiel, his Brother the Doctor, Mr. M<sup>c</sup>—d, S<sup>r</sup> Steuart Threpland,<sup>1</sup> Major Kennedy, and others. And as you are Ignorant of what happend after our defeat, it may not be disagreeable to give you a Cursory Account of his proceedings from that date.

You may remember upon the Fleets appearing near to Inverness, and the Troops being ordered to evacuate that place, his friends were of opinion that it was necessary to remove him thence, in case of a Descent being made to insult the Town. In Consequence of this resolution, he was next morning carried upon a litter to Foyers, a Gentlemans house, about half way from Inverness to Fort Augustus, upon the Side of the Lake, where he lay the day following, and in the Evening, being anxious to know if any Action had happend, these that were in Company, afraid least the news of a defeat might alarm him, and occasion the return of his fever, gave him to understand that, the P—ce not being join'd by the detachd Partys from his Army, had retired across the River of Nairn to a Strong ground where the Enemys horse could not act.

This gave him great Satisfaction, as he had taken the Liberty, before his removal from Inverness, to send repeated Messages to his Master, begging him not to risque a Battle till his army was compleat; And should he be too hard press'd by the Enemy, to retire to the ground above mentioned, where he might feight upon his own terms.

Thus satisfied that all was well, he continued there till

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<sup>1</sup> Third Baronet of Fingask, M. D., President Royal College of Physicians, 1766 to 1770, Edinburgh, died 1805.

next morning, when he was told it was judgd proper to carry him accross the Lake, which, tho it seemd a little Strange imagining the Army intire, he nevertheless consented to, without inquiring particularly into the reasons; and being carried to Mrs. Grant of Glenmorristsons house after he had got a little rest, Doctor Cameron acquainted him with the Disaster of the preceeding day.

Numbers of people having fled from the field of Battle by that road, it was thought not improbable that partys would soon follow, upon which Account he was removd two Miles higher up the Glen that Evening, and the day following to the head of the Country: where, having staid that night, was met next morning by M<sup>c</sup>D—ld of Barrisdale with his Regiment, and the M<sup>c</sup>gregors from the County of Ross. The latter of these Regiments transported him to Fort Augustus, where he desired to be carried, never doubting but that a Rendevous had been appointed, either there, or at Ruthven, where he was of opinion a Stand might be made, to prevent the advance of the Enemy for some time, if not to keep the high grounds and act upon the defensive the whole Summer; but being carried to Mr. M<sup>c</sup>D—lds of Lochgarys<sup>1</sup> house, he was there informd by one of the D—ke of P—ths Aid de Camps,\* that near to three thousand men (including the M<sup>c</sup>phersons who had not been in the Action) were dispersed by the D—kes and L—d Go: M—ys orders; that the D—ke was to be that night at Invergary, and that every one was doing the best they could for their own Safty.

Quite vexed to think that no attempt had been made to draw together the remains of the Army; and that tho late, it was not yet impossible, he desired to meet with the D—ke of P—th next day at a place two miles above Invergary; where, finding his Grace quite wore out with fatigue, and no notion that there was a possibility of retrieving their affairs, most of the Cheifs being then amissing, he resolved to continue his

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\* Mr. Warren.

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Macdonald of Lochgarry escaped with the Prince, and died in France. His mother was a Cameron of Lochiel. He had a commission in Lord Loudon's regiment before the '45.

journey to Locheils Country, and there wait for Accounts of the P—ce.

He was that night carried to Cluns, and from thence next day to Achnacarry, and the morning following to Glenmely, where he was no sooner arrived, than Accounts were brought that Locheil had reachd his own house; which occasiond an universal joy, his death being generally reported all over the Country. About two hours afterwards he arrivd with Stuart of Ardsheal<sup>1</sup> and some others, where, after consulting for some time, it was determind to attempt raising a body of good men, and with them to keep the hills, till such time as they could be satisfied that the French either was, or was not, in earnest to suport them; and that this might be the more effectually executed, it was agreed to give Intelligence of it to the Several Commanders still in being, and to procure a meeting some few days after to agree upon the time and manner.

Having remaind at this place for two nights, he was, together with Locheil, carried up Loch Arkike, to a place calld Callich, where the third day after it was judgd proper to cross the Lake, and take up their residence in a Wood where they had some little hutts erected for the purpose.

Here they had Intelligence of the P—ce being upon the Coast, in the Country of Arrisaige, upon which Mr. M—y proposd to send to him to receive his orders, and to remonstrate against his leaving the Country, which it was said he was then advised to. Doctor Cameron was accordingly dispatchd, but upon his arrival could not procure Access, Mr. H—y,<sup>2</sup> to whom he aplyd first, telling him that he could not see him, and soon after, that if he would acquaint him with his message, he would endeavour to deliver it, but Mr. Cameron giving him to understand that his Instructions was to Communicate his Message to none but the P—ce himself, and that he thought it a little strange that his place of abode should be kept a Secret from him, especially coming from his Brother, and Mr. M—y hinting their dissent to his scheme of leaving the Country, Mr. H—y told him that he was already gone,

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Stewart of Ardsheal remained in hiding in Scotland till Sept. 1746, when he escaped to France.

<sup>2</sup> Hay of Restalrig.

which the other not seeming to beleive, and still insisting to know where he was, H[a]y offerd to send one to know what was become of him.

The person sent having staid but a very short time, which plainly demonstrated that he could not have been at the Coast, before he had an opportunity of delivering his message, H[a]y mett him at some distance, and talkd to him, which made the Doctor naturaly suspect that he was instructing him what to say; as the man assurd him that he was Sailed some hours before.

The uneasiness which the Doctors report occasiond upon his return, is easier to be imagind than expressd, and Mr. M[urra]y, unwilling to think that any person about his Master could advise him to so rash a Step, hopefull that he was still upon the mainland, wrote a threatning letter to Mr. H[a]y, insisting that the bearer, Mr. M<sup>e</sup>l[eo]d, should have Immediate Access, but before the Gentleman had reachd half way on his Journey, he met H[a]y coming to Locharkike, who assurd him that the P[rin]ce was actualy gone, with which answer he returnd, and further, that Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Sheridan, then in Glendichory,<sup>1</sup> proposd being in the Wood that night, and H[a]y in the morning.

Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. Mackl[eo]d, Mr. H[a]y, and Mr. M[urra]y, and others being together, and Accounts at the same time brought of the arrival of two French ships, with money, Arms, and Amunition, the P[rin]ce being gone was much regreted, not only as it would tend to procrastinate the assembling of the Troops proposd, but that he should have lost so fair an opportunity of returning to France; if thought advisable.

H[a]y took occasion from this, and on Account of the letter before mentiond, to have been wrote by Mr. M[urra]y, to vindicate himself by declaring in the most Solemn manner, that he was intirly Innocent of advising his Master to leave the Country, and that he was actualy gone before Doctor Camerons arrival, which nevertheless was very much doubted by all present, not only from prior Circumstances, but as it generaly happens

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<sup>1</sup> Glendessary.

to most people who endeavour to clear themselves by Voluntary Oaths and Imprecations; a method the truth never requires: but what seemd above all to confirm people in their opinion, was his own over fondness to be gone, which he witness'd in the strongest manner by an extream uneasiness during the short time he staid.

Whilist other people present seemd without any hesitation to resolve to lay hold of the present opportunity, Mr. Cameron of Locheil retired into a little hutt with Mr. M[urra]y, where he expressd his unwillingness to desert his Clan in the unhappy Situation they were then in, as Inconsistant with his honour and their Intrest; and observing that as them two had gone all along hand in hand during the whole affair, he hoped he would not now leave him, but begd they might share the same fate together.

This Mr. M[urra]y readily consented to, unable to refuse the desire of a person for whom he had such a regard, and with whom he had lived so many years in the strickest Intimacy. This, together with his own opinion that the P[rin]ces retreat was ill advised, made him think it his duty, as being the person there next to him in Intrest with the Clans, to endeavour at supporting the Party as much as their then Situation would allow.

Upon this he took occasion to represent to the Gentlemen present, that it was his opinion that the errors already committed ought if possible to be retreivd; which he thought was alone to be done by raising a body of men Sufficient to protect the Country, and to keep on foot during that Summer untill they should see whither or not the Succours promised from France was realy intended; and as he had been a Chief Instrument to ingage numbers to join, who he did not doubt were still willing to appear, he thought it would be dishonourable in him to desert them, for which reason he was determind not to lay hold on that oppertunity, to quite the Country, notwithstanding his present Condition (being then scarce able to stand upon his legs) renderd his Safty very precarious.

Having taken this resolution, ever watchfull of his Masters Safty, he proposed that one of the Ships should sail for the

Isle of Uest, where it was said the P[rin]ce was gone, and failing to find him there, to proceed to the Orkneys, where it was not doubted he would go, in case he did not either find a Ship, or Sutable Conveniency in the above mentiond Island, and that Mr. M<sup>e</sup>[eo]d should be sent aboard the Ship with proper Instructions to persuade him to return; if not, it would still furnish him with a more immediate and better oppertunity of going to France, then he could otherwise find in these Seas.

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Sheridan very readily offerd to stay provided he could be of any Service; but as the Inconveniency flowing from his Age and infirmitys, must have counterballanced his Advice, it was thought more advisable for him to repair to France, where a favourable representation of their affairs would be of greater advantage, than any Service he was capable of doing them in their present Situation.

It may be perhaps needless to mention to you how generously Major Kennedy<sup>1</sup> proceeded, who, notwithstanding the example he had, not only of the Surrender of his Brother Officers after the Battle of Culloden but the Sanction of L[ord] J[ohn] D[rummond] and others, who were then ready to go without making the least Inquiry into the Situation of affairs, or so much as asking if their Stay could be of any Service, declared his willingness to become a partaker with Locheil and others of what ever difficultys, dangers, or hardships might ensue; but least it might not have reachd your ears, I imagin'd it would not only be agreeable to you, but judgd it a piece of Justice not to be denyd him.

It was imagin'd that from the report made to the Comodore and Officers aboard of the French Vessels, that they would be unwilling to land the money, finding the P[rin]ce was gone, and the Army dispers'd, especialy as there was none on the Coast with Sutable Authority to receive it; to prevent which, there being little or no money in the Country, it was judgd absolutly necessary that Mr. M[urra]y should repair thither to procure it; as without that, it would be impossible to raise any body of men or keep them together. Doctor Cameron, with Major Kennedy, sett out that night to acquaint the Officers to whom

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86, 87. Major Kennedy was Locheil's uncle.

the money was intrusted, that he was then on his road to receive it, and he accordingly sett out next morning, tho supported on horseback, but being taken ill by the way was obliged to sleep that night in Glendichery.

Being a little recoverd next morning he continued his journey, and early the day following arrived at Kepoch, opposite to the Bay where the Ships then lay, some short time before the action was over with the three British men of War who had attacked them. Upon his arrival he was informd that so soon as the French observed the English bearing down upon them, they had landed the money consisting of Thirty-five thousand Louis d'ors in Six Casks, which had been deposited in a Wood: fear of a Descent in case the English had got the better, and that in the Confusion and hurry they were in, one of the Casks was a missing. The English Ships having mett with a Severe drubbing, were obliged to make the best of their way to refitt, upon which Mr. M[urra]y, seeing that the danger from that Quarter was over, and in case of any further Accident of the like nature, orderd the remaining five Casks to be brought to the house where he was quarterd. The Difficulty of procuring Silver made him apply to Sir Thomas Sheridan to know what was become of all the Spanish money, who telling him that there was still to the Value of Six or Seven hundred pound in M<sup>c</sup>D[ona]ld the Bankers possession, desired he might send for it, which he did. In the Evening, whilst a Court Martial was sitting for the Tryal of two men suspected to have stole the Cask, it was discovered to him where it was, and returnd next morning with the loss of one bagg of money only; the Authors by description guesd at, and the Sum upon examination found to be about Seven or eight hundred Louis d'ors.

The Comodore being determind to sail next morning, there went on board the D[uke] of P[er]th, then in a dying Condition, his Brother Lord John, the L[or]d E[lch]o, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. L[oc]k[h]ar[t] of C[ar]nw[ath] Younger, Mr. H[a]y, with Several others, who with a fair wind were out of Sight in a few hours.

Mr. M[urra]y being given to understand that Mr. M<sup>c</sup>D[ona]ld of Barrisdale, C[la]nr[ona]ld the Younger, with some others,

now that the P—ce was gone and an end apparently put to all Affairs, seemd to think that the money ought to be divided amongst them by way of an equivalent for their losses. To prevent this he sent for them, and told them in a friendly manner that as he was sensible that they had been irregularly paid, from the beginning of March, he would take it upon him not only to pay their arrears,<sup>1</sup> but allow half a Lewis d'ore for each wounded man, and a Consideration for the Widows; not doubting but his Master would approve of it: desiring them to make out their Accompts and at the same time telling them that he intended to carry it further into the Country, esteeming it unsafe to leave it upon the Coast; and begging they might meet in Loch Arkike, some days afterwards, to concert a method how to raise the Country.

Having settled affairs in this manner he sent off the money under Doctor Camerons care, and followed himself some hours afterwards, in Company with Mr. Mcl—d, Major Kennedy and others. Tho from the promises he had made to Barrisdale and Clanronald, they appeard to be satisfyd, yet upon his arrival in the Island of Lochmorrar, he learnt that some of Clanronald's Emissarys had endeavourd to prevent its being carried any further, but that Doctor Cameron, partly by threats and flattery, had prevaild. From thence in two days he reachd Locheil, preparing for the Rendevous where they went two days afterwards, at a place calld Mortleg, about three Miles down the lake, and were mett by Lord L—t, with whom it was concerted what was to be proposd next day in the meeting; his Lordship at the same time taking Occasion to apologise for his Clans not having acted with that Vigour and unanimity the others had done; but tho his excuses were in themselves frivolous, and consisted more in telling a parcel of Old Stories, and vaunting himself of a Loyalty which his Actions gave him no tittle to, yet the uncoughth flattery, of which he was so much master, and the privaliged Custom which he had ashumd to himself, for so many years, of being the Oracle of the Country; got so far the better of most of his

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Murray's Account of Charge and Discharge printed by Chambers as an Appendix to the *History of the Rebellion*.

hearers, that tho they were Conscious to themselves, of the falsity of what he said, yet it had no other Effect then to induce them blindly to beleive, that in his Superior wisdom and knowledge, did he speak, he was able to vindicate his proceedings; but that his Silence flowd from prudence, or some other cause above their Comprehention, so that he seldom or never had incurrd any other reflection, than that of being a strange and unaccountable man.

His reflections upon past errors were not looked upon as the natural result of a Cool reflection, and a Judgement founded upon Consequences, but a Superior knowledge with the Experience of many years, nor did that ever extend itself the just length it ought, by showing that none but himself was to blame for not having taken that Command upon him, and thereby have prevented the blunders of others.

The day following Gordon of Glenbucket, Colonel Roy Stuart, Clanronald, Lochgarry, Barrisdale, Scotus Younger, Cap<sup>t</sup> Macknab—M<sup>c</sup>Donal, Nephew to Kepoch, and others being present in Consequence of what had passd the night before, his Lordship, after being desired to favour the meeting with his Sentiments upon their present Situation, and the part most advisable for them to Act; declard in a Sett Speech the honour the meeting had done him, the Loyalty and Sufferings of himself and family, with his present unhappy Situation, being obliged to fly his Country; then shewing how little reason any person there present had to expect forgiveness for what they had done, and how much it consisted with their honour to stand it out to the last, he proposed to get such a body of men together as would enable them to protect the Country, and to free themselves and their familys from the insults of the Enemy, untill such time as they could procure terms, or had a final answer from abroad; regreting at the same [time] that his age and infirmitys would not permitt him to Share either of the honour or danger of the field; but promising that his Son should bring them four hundred Frasers as his Quota.

As the Scheme had been already agreed upon amongst a few, and none there Ignorant of what was intended in general, an unanimous aprobation was expressd and the Numbers that

every one was to bring fix'd upon, when, notwithstanding what his Lordship had before promis'd, yet when the 400 Frasers came to be named, he refus'd ingaging for his Son, and put it upon Locheil, who immediatly comply'd, nor would he accept of the Sum aloted for his Sons men, desiring it might be given to one he call'd his Steward.

This appearing to Mr. M—y in a very odd Light, and as evading the comming under obligations, without consulting any upon the head, he determin'd to try whither his Conjecture was Just, by the following method.

He propos'd that as the Army then to be rais'd were to be under the Strickest Discipline and with as little expence as possible, some alterations might be made from the Constitution of the former, and that an obligation should be sign'd by the persons there present, not to desert one another, which being consented to, and dictat'd by him, Lovit refus'd to sign upon some trifling pretence; which confirming him in his former opinion he likewise declin'd, saying that as he could bring no force into the field, his Subscription was unnecessary; having already put his hand to a most Solemn engagement not to desert the Standard without the Consent of the Majority of the Army, which had notwithstanding been done by many without any previous agreement upon the head.

Many difficultys occur'd as to provisions and transporting their ammunitiion, all which M—y obviat'd by ingaging to provide Cattle for their Mentainance; and to have a Sufficient number of horses at the head of Lochshiel to carry the ammunitiion, provided Clanronald would agree to have it brought thither from his Country, where it then was; which after great persuasion he was prevail'd upon to promise against a certain day: After which the meeting broke up. The Several members returning to their respective homes, and he with Locheil to the hutt they had erected on the oposite Side of the lake.

The Randevouse having been appointed ten days after at a place call'd Glenmely, upon the South Side of Loch Arkike, three miles above Locheils house; every body was then employ'd in raising their men to be able to keep the Apointment. Mr. M—y in the Interim went to Glendicherry,<sup>1</sup> where his wife then

<sup>1</sup> Glendessary.

was, and in Consequence of Locheils and other Gentlemens opinions with whom he was in Company, advised her to write letters to Lord Albemarl,<sup>1</sup> Lord Cathcart,<sup>2</sup> and Colonel James Kennedy, representing her Situation (being then bigg with Child), to beg a pass to carry her to the Low Country.

This she was with great difficulty prevaild upon to do, and as it was impossible at that time to find a person to carry them to Inverness, Mr. M—y advised her to send them to Fort William, with a letter to Capt. Scot beging he would take the trouble to forward them.

He at the same time went to wait of L—d L—t, who was then Quarterd on the oposite Side of the Glen, with a View to know whither he had punctually performd his promise in sending to his Son as he had agreed upon at the meeting, but finding that he had not, he represented to him the bad Consequences of a Delay, shewing him not only how detrimental his Sons not joyning must prove, but at the same time that it would give a handle to the party to suspect that he was not Sincere in their Interest. To which his Lordship answerd in his own evasive manner, and promised that his Steward should be gone next day, calling at the same time for his Secretary and making him write a letter to his son in Mr. M—ys name, relating the purport of what had passd in the meeting, and encouraging him by all possible arguments to get the 400 men promisd and join with Lochgary as was agreed upon.

This procedure of his Lordship, tho a further proof that he declind stating himself a party in the business, was nevertheless agreed to by Mr. M—y, desirous at any rate to have a body in the field to keep up the Spirits of the party; and shew the world that the affair was not over.

In Conversation his Lordship took occasion to observe that notwithstanding the Misfortunes that had happend, could Mr. M—y and he get over to France, it would be much in their power, by the Representation they should make, to procure Sufficient

<sup>1</sup> William Anne Keppel, second earl, died 1754, succeeded Cumberland as Commander-in-chief in Scotland in July 1746. Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Ninth Baron, born at Edinburgh 1721, A.D.C. to Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, Commissioner to General Assembly 1755-63, 1773-76, Ambassador to Russia 1768-1771, died 1776.

Assistance to restore things at least to their former Situation, and complaind that the order he had requird to impower him to seize upon the person of Mr. Forbes of Culloden had not been granted in the terms he demanded, viz., dead or alive. From which he endeavoured to show how easy it would have been to accomplish his death, and thereby have prevented the Junction of Mcl—d with the other Northern Clans; who had done so much hurt to the P—ces affairs: And that provided the order had been in these terms, the attempt upon his house would not have provd abortive: but as they had not Sufficient power, they were obliged to make a shamefull retreat inconsistant with the honour of his Clan.<sup>1</sup> A great deal more of this nature passd, with the most proper methods to be taken at the randevous, and the Strongest assurances that the person and letter should be conveyd to his Son next day, upon which he took his leave, and retired to Locheil then in the wood, bussied in procuring a meeting of his Clan against the time appointed.

Mr. M—y did not till now receive an answer to the Letter he had wrote to Mr. M<sup>c</sup>D—ld<sup>2</sup> for the money, which I wish with all my heart I could send you a Copy of, it being of so extraordinary a Nature. He told him in substance that he had then only about one hundred and odd pounds, a Sum inferior to what he had spent in the P—ce's Service, and was therefore determind to keep it, but if he would send him gold to the Value, he should have it. Then telling him that if he had managed the P—ces money better, there would not have been such a Scarcety of it, that he had cook'd a fine Amelot, and should now be glad to see what method he would fall upon to make a better, with a great deal more such Scuroulous Stuff; and, as if that had not been Sufficient, uses some of the most unbecoming expressions, with unjust and false reflections against the P—ce! as if he had been Author of the ruin of himself and Army.

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<sup>1</sup> This passage is quoted by Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 325. Chambers saw the Murray MSS. when they were in the possession of Mr. W. H. Murray of the Edinburgh Theatre, the father of the present owner.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Æneas, the banker. See *ante*, p. 273.

You may believe this letter, in which there was not one word of truth, fir'd Mr. M—y not a little, but being resolved not to take any Step of himself, he read it to the Gentlemen there present; who advised him to take no Notice of it, but to look upon it as a thing below him, and as the produce of a frantick brain, calculated with a View to excuse his keeping the money. But as he did not know what use such a fellow might be Capable of making of his Silence, he desired M<sup>c</sup>Donalds brother, who came next day, to let him know that he had received his letter, but did not think fit to answer it. I thought it not amiss to let you know this, in case of its ever having reach'd Your ears, and which, Locheil, Sir Stewart Thripland, and Major Kennedy, when you have occasion to see them, will inform you of.

The time agreed upon for the Randevous being found too short, it was delayd for a week longer, and in the Interim fifteen thousand Lewis d'ors were buried in three several parcels in the wood, it being judgd Improper to carry so large a sum about with them; and now the day appointed being come when he with Locheil and the other Gentlemen repaired to the place, they did not find above 200 Camerons and a few M'leans with 120 Macdonalds under Barrisdale, so difficult was it to persuade the Country people, that the only method to procure their own and their familys Safetys, was to keep together in a body.

Having staid there two days expecting a reinforcement of the Camerons, and Macdonalds under Barrisdale, with the Frasers, and Lochgary, with whom it was determind to march to Braelochabar, to join with the Macdonalds of Kepoch and the Mackfersons; to their great Surprise as many deserted as came in. The Master of Lovat was never so much as heard of; Macdonald of Lochgary brought about 100 in place of 400 he had engaged for, and having only staid a few hours while his men were musterd, and himself paid part of the arrears due his Regiment, he returnd the same Evening to the oposite Side of the Lake.

I am unwilling to tire you out with particular Stories, but as this is in my humble opinion a piece of History worthy observation, I cannot prevail with myself to pass it over in

Silence. You must know that Lochgarys behaviour from the time of the Battle of Culloden untill the time of their meeting at Mortleg demonstrated such a Coldness and Indifferency to the Intrest of the party, that those of most penetration imagind he had nothing in view, save that of making his own peace. Tho his seeming keenness at this time seemd to have intirely dissipated it.

Having retired from Glenmely because of his Cattle that were grazing in the oposite Glen, about two miles distant from Locheils house, where it was proposed to march on the morrow, it appeard not only feasible but lending greatly to the advantage of the whole; he having engaged to send Centinels to Clunes upon the Side of Loch Lochy, and over the Hills to Glengary, whereby to procure timeous advertisement in case of troops marching from Fort Augustus by either of these roads; and engaged that the next day, when it was agreed upon to march to Achnacary, he would send Intelligence of the Enemy by noon. He was no sooner gone than Barrisdale came to Mr. M—y, inquiring of him how his departure came to be agreed to, being certain that it was all design, and that was he once gone, they should never see him more. Notwithstanding that Mr. M—y was sensible of the Enmity that subsisted betwixt them two, and of the plausible Scheme that Lochgary had proposd, yet from what Barrisdale had said, he was willing to prevent a Separation, least it should be a means to prevail with Barrisdale to make his peace; being known to study his own Interest above every other Consideration.

With this View he immediatly repaired to Locheil, and together with Barrisdale represented to him the doubts and Difficultys that occurd: from whence it was agreed to send Cameron of Clunes<sup>1</sup> alongest with Barrisdale in pursute of Lochgary, to attempt his Stay, but before they could overtake him some of his people had already crossd the Lake, and he resolvd to continue his march; they returnd with the most ample promises from him of performing the engagements he had laid himself under; which, by the Sequel, you will plainly see how he performd, and from thence be able to judge how

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<sup>1</sup> The Camerons of Clunes were a branch of the Earracht family.

far the Conjecture of his Cousin Barrisdale was Just or not. As to my own particular I cannot help thinking, according to the Old Maxim, a Theif is aptest to catch a Theif.

Notwithstanding the almost total dissappointments which the Gentleman there present had meet with, there being in all not 400 men compleat! whereas there ought to have been at least 1300, Barrisdale having engaged for 300, Lochgary for 400, Clanronald for 200, &c., yet Barrisdale had not above 120, and Locheil not half of the Number he propos'd, with a few M<sup>c</sup>Leans, Clanronald intirely disapointing them, not only to his Quota of men, but the Amunition he had engaged for. To transport which M—y had bought up the horses and sent them to the place appointed: Yet overlooking all these Difficultys as Circumstances to be regretted, but not to turn them from the Execution of the project already concerted; it was determind to march the day following to Achnicary, there to wait for a Junction with Lochgary, and the arrival of some of Locheils followers under the Command of Mr. Cameron of Dungallon,<sup>1</sup> then upon their road, from the Countys of Swenart and Ardnamurchan.

In Consequence of this Resolution they mov'd about noon from Glenmely, and in their march was mett by a person who desired to speak with Barrisdale. Mr. M—y, who was alongst with him, judging from the hour of the day, and the promise made by Lochgary the night before, that this must be the person intrusted with the Intelligence, desired to know of Barrisdale, the news he had received: to which he was answerd, that it was only a message from Lochgary desiring to meet him that night at a place calld Kenmure, two miles from thence on the oposite Side of the Lake; but not a word of Intelligence concerning the Enemy, nor no Intimation that he intended to join according to promise.

This you may beleive gave Mr. M—y a good deal of uneasy-nes, being a strong foundation to suspect treachery either committed or intended: but tho he knew the mutual hatred that subsisted between the two fornamd partys, yet he would

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<sup>1</sup> Archibald Cameron of Dungallon was Lechiel's uncle by marriage, having married Isabel, daughter of Sir Ewen.

neither seem to doubt or reflect ; fear of giving a handle to the other to quarrel and follow the foot steps of his Cousin.

Barrisdale declaring himself discontented with the others procedure, and saying that as he was certain he could have nothing of Consequence to intimate, for which he refusd to meet him, and would continue his march to Achnachary, made him in some small degree easy. But soon after his arrival there, having dispatchd two Several persons, one to Glen ——, where Lochgary said he would be, and the other to Clunes, where he had promised to post Centinals to observe the Enemys motion on that Side ; both of them soon returnd, with assurances that there was no persons to be found in either place ; he seemd certain of the Treachry he had only before suspected, and made no Scruple to declare his opinion to Locheil and the others present ; yet as they were all unwilling to think that a man who seemd so hearty in the affair, could be Cappable of so bare faced and palpable a peice of Villany, it was conjectured that to obtain more certain Intelligence of the Enemys Motions, he was marched further into the Country.

The day following, Barrisdale took occasion to say that it was necessary for him to return into Knoydart, as well to look after his own affairs, which he had left in great Confusion, as to bring out the rest of his men, which the short time before alowd him had renderd impossible ; that he would make all haste imaginable thither, as like ways on his return : and in the Interim would leave his Son to command his Corps.

Tho this Conduct of itself seemd very suspicious, yet, when joint to the absence and failure of his Cousin Lochgary, together with the message sent him the day before, you will easily suppose the Conjectures that were formd by one and all ; tho seemingly neglected as a thing of no Consequence, his Son and men being to remain : so his reasons and Excuses being held as Valid, he took his leave, proposing to be that night thirteen Miles off.

A small number of Locheil's people arrived in the Evening, with an account that the rest were on their march under Dungallon, and some hours afterwards a Spanish and French Officer who had landed some days before in Loch Cruen from on board a Ship in which there were a number of Officers,

who upon hearing the Melancholy Situation that things were then in, returnd to France; but these two Gentlemen continued their rout, on account of a large packet of Letters they were chargd with, containing dispatches for the P—ce, the Marquis De Guille, and others.

Being disapointed of the Intelligence promisd by Lochgary, and uncertain of the motions or Situation of the Enemy, Mr. M—y procurd three of the Camerons, well acquainted with the Country, to go that afternoon towards Fort Augustus, with Instructions to keep the Hills, and so soon as they descried them, to send back one of their Number with a particular Account of their Situation, and another to follow him in the morning, or so soon as they should observe them to make any motion.

Having carried the Six Casks with him one half filld with Stones, so as to give no Jelousy to the other Clans of his having more Confidence in the Camerons than they, which they might have suspected had he declar'd its being deposite in their Country. Yet now esteeming it unnecessary to carry so large a Sum for the pay of the few men they had, and risquing the intire loss of it in case of any Sinister Accident, he made 12,000 \* Lewis d'ors be burried near to the foot of the Lake, reserving only about 5000 for all necessary expences.

Things being now put upon the best footing their Circumstances would allow, they determind next day to cross the River of Lochy and march to Braelochabar, to join with the M<sup>c</sup>donalds of Kepoch, and from thence to Badenough, to meet the M<sup>c</sup>fersons; but in the morning, about four o Clock, whilst they were all a sleep, one of the Scouts dispatchd the night before, brought intelligence that the Enemy was then in motion, but whither to Fort William, or against them, he could not say, having lost Sight of them before they passd later finely some miles short of the Road leading to Achnacary.

Two days before they marchd from Glenmely, some letters were brought to Locheil, intercepted on the road to Fort

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\* *N.B.*—This Sum was burried by D<sup>r</sup> Cameron and Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>leod in two parcels in the wood about a mile from Locheil's house at the foot of Loch Arkike.

William, intimating that part of the Army would soon march thither, and amongst others a letter to Cap<sup>t</sup> Car Scot, sign'd Robert Napier, Aid de camp, intended, as was supposd, to serve for an answer to the three letters which Mrs. M—y had been prevailed upon to write, as I mentiond before, which containd in Substance that no pass would be granted her, and if She was afraid of Stragling partys, she might deliver her Self up at Fort William: Concluding that if His Majesty was pleas'd to pardon her treason, the Law would not pass over her robbery of Mr. Hope. This letter, than which never such another was writ to a Lady, especially in her Condition, gave them too just an idea of the Enemys generosity to expect the least Clemency, and the Author being easly guest at, the Gentleman who Subscribd, being known to have too much humanity to do it of himself, Intelligence was immediatly sent her of the favour She had to expect, with directions to keep as private as possible. Reflecting then upon the Contents of the letters they had intercepted, the Intelligence brought them did not occasion any great Alarm, beleiving it to be a detachment marching to Fort William to join the forces under General Campbel, then expected from Appin. But in less than two hours afterwards a Second gave notice that they were upon the road to Achnechary, at no great distance from the River of Lochy. Upon this, orders were given for the whole body to march, and, if able, to obstruct their passage of the River; if not, to retire by the Southside of Loch Arkike to Glenmely.

When they came in Sight of the Enemy, than upon the banks of the River, they found them so numerous, both in Highlanders and regular Troops, that to oppose their passage would have been in Vain; And therefore retir'd to the foot of the Loch, where Young Barrisdale insisted upon marching by the Northside, which oblig'd the whole party to follow rather than separate, and upon their arrival at the head of it, to the great Surprise of some, they found Barrisdale awaiting their Coming, which plainly demonstrated, that if he had ever been possessd of a real Intention to act up to his engagements, he would not have deserted them at that time; his reasons for leaving them appearing by his stay there to be a mere faint,

and gave grounds to suspect that if not in Intelligence with the Enemy, he had been with his Cousin Lochgary, who it then was obvious had betrayd them, never having sent the Smalest Accounts of the Enemys Motions, notwithstanding they had marchd above 500 men under Munroe of Culcairn, through the heart of Glengarys Country, and by the road where he promised to be posted. From which it is plain, that had not Mr. M—y sent out these Scouts the night before, they must have been surrounded and taken before they were aware, the party under Culcairn having been so near as to pursue them for some miles, and made one or two Prisoners, amongst Whom was an Uncle of Cameron of Caillarts,<sup>1</sup> since transported to the west Indies.

They had not been long at the head of the Lake, when they had the Melancholy and dismal prospect of the whole Country on fire, and considering the Strength of the party sent against them, it was determind to disperse, looking upon the small body of men they had as insufficient to defend them, and served only to discover their Rout.

Whilest every one was consulting what Corner of the Country would be the most proper where to conceal themselves, Mr. M—y was told by Locheil that he had that moment received a message from the P—ce, acquainting him with his being in the Isle of Uist, where he had not yet been able to procure a Vessell, and desiring to know if he could provide one upon that Coast.

Another Gentleman at the same time brought certain Accounts by letters from that Country that the L—d of M<sup>c</sup>l—d had been wrote to by one of his Presbyterian preachers, of the P—ces being there, which made Mr. M—y naturaly conjecture that from M<sup>c</sup>l—ds former treachery and the orders he had given to his people not to grant him protection, he would in all probability be taken. To prevent this, he determind to go to him and endeavour to bring him to the main Land; So after intimating his design to Locheil, of which he approved, he spoke with the two Gentlemen who

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<sup>1</sup> Allan Cameron of Callart fought at Culloden, taken prisoner, tried at Westminster, and found guilty.

had brought the message, and appointed to meet with them the Night following, upon the Coast where their boat Lay: but being taken ill upon the road, it was the Second day in the Evening before he arrived, where the Gentlemen did not come till the morning after.

It being upon reflection judged improper for him to go as unable to Travel, and not having the Language, he would soon be found to be a Stranger, and might thereby occasion his Masters being discovered; In which he having acquiesced, wrote him a letter acquainting him with the Intelligence he had got, the danger he apprehended he run in being taken in that Island, and begging him to come over upon the receipt of it, which letter he read to Major Kennedy, then in Company with him, and having agreed with the Two Gentlemen that if the P—ce was willing, they should immediatly return with him; if not, at any rate one of themselves to meet him, or send a letter against the munday Se'night following, to a Gentlemans house about three miles from the Coast, to acquaint him what was become of the P—ce.

This they agreed to, telling him at the same time that it was not impossible but the P—ce might be gone from the Island before their return; for when they were coming away there was a meal Ship on the Coast, which a Gentleman\* of the Country was endeavouring to engage to carry him off, and then represented that his money was run short, and demanded a Suply, to which Mr. M—y answerd, that he was surprized they had not mentiond that when at the head of Locharkike; where it was in his power to have given them any Sum they could demand; but that now he had none alongest with him save a little for Common necessarys on the road.

This Story I thought proper to mention, as it has been Maliciously alleged by some, that he refused to supply his Master when it was in his power, though at the same time Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Donald, the Gentleman who demanded it, did him Justice in that particular whilst prisoner in London. You must likewise observe that the P—ce had then been but a

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\* M<sup>c</sup>d[ona]ld of Buisdale.

short time away, and carried above a thousand Guineas alongest with him, which it was not natural to imagine he could have so soon expended; So that had I been in Mr. M—ys case (with this difference only of having a Sum of money about me), I should not have been very ready to have sent it, first, on Account of the uncertainty they themselves appeard to be in of meeting with the P—ce, in case the Ship which they mentiond had been procurd; Secondly, on Account of the money he had carried along with him, and being uncertain how far they had realy got orders to make such a demand, having nothing in writting to shew for it: and lastly, not easy to judge how far, in the Circumstances things were then in, a fair Account would have been made of it; not by this that I mean to doubt of the Gentlemens honesty, but that I am of opinion a person cannot err in being over Cautious with people whose Characters he is a Stranger to, as here was the Case. A great deal more might be said upon this head but that I think it intirely needless to trouble you; the fact was that Mr. M—y had no money, so could not send it. This one particular I must observe to you, that when Oneil was taken he had 500 gueneas about him, which shews that the P—ce was far from having expended the Sum he had carried with him: how that Gentleman will answer for reserving so large a proportion of his Masters purse for his own use is more than I shall pretend to divine. He was a little God amongst the wise heads here; perhaps you have him in high esteem with you. It is a true Saying that it is safer for one man to steal a horse than for an other to look over the Hedge.

After taking leave of these Gentlemen, he was lett to understand that the person\* in whose house he had slept that night, observing a Small Trunk in which was some plate belonging to General Stapleton, which Major Kennedy carried alongest with them, both for use and Safety; imagining from the weight that it containd money, and being angry that his arrears had not been paid, offerd to seize it, but was prevented by the person who Mr. M—y left in the house to

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\* Allan More M<sup>c</sup>hemish.

take care of it. This necessarily brought Mr. M—y to an Explanation to prevent any further attempts of that Nature whilst in Clanronalds Country, who being himself than present, he told the Gentlemen that he had some time before paid Clanronald, not only all the Arrears he had demanded, but about 40 Lewis d'ors at half a Lewis d'or a man, according to a list he had given in of his wounded, so that if he had not Justice done him, it was his Chiefs fault, not his, and that he ought to apply to him there present for redress.

This particular you may think I might have passd over in Silence, and indeed I inclind to have done it as a Trifling Incident; but that I am well informd that not only Clanronald himself denied his having received it, and pocketed the money to the prejudice of his Regiment, but to my certain knowledge the Old Lady, his Mother, when in London, took frequent occasion to complain of Mr. M—y as having wrongd her Son, who, She alledged, never received a half penny due to him.

That night he and his Company slept upon the Coast in a little house belonging to Bishop M<sup>c</sup>donald, and the Night following at the Ferry on the River Sheil, from whence they went next morning to Glenhurick, with a View to get intelligence of Locheil, and having learnt that he was at a Farm about Seven miles from thence upon the Side of Loch Sheil, he went to him, and returnd the same night to Glenhurick, where, being informd that General Campbell was expected at Strontian, and probably some partys might advance thither that night or early in the morning, he went two miles higher up the Country, where he met with his wife and Mrs. Cameron, who had left Strontian a little before the Troops landed. He staid here till early next morning; after proposing a method of procuring a boat to carry Mrs. M—y to Ireland, and giving part of the money he had that day brought with him from Locheil, to such who he thought had most occasion for it; \* he set out in Company with Major Kennedy for the

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\* *N.B.*—He gave a hundred Lewis d'ors to Cameron of Dungallon, besides lesser Sums to others in Company.

place where he had left Locheil the day before, leaving his Nephew Sir David Murray to Doctor Camerons care, it having been agreed upon to send him to a Gentleman's house of the name of Campbell,\* where it was imagin'd he would be safe.

Upon his arrival at the place where he imagin'd to find Locheil, he was inform'd that he had, for further safty, gone to a small Island in the lake, where he desired Mr. M—y might be brought to him; he accordingly went thither when dark, having agreed with Major Kennedy that, upon the return of the boat, he should cross over to Glenaladale, where he would meet him next day, and dispatch'd Steuart, one of his Clerks, to the house where he engaged to meet the Gentlemen or receive his letter the Munday following, it being impossible for him to go thither himself, the Coast road being now guarded by the Troops under General Campbell, and the inland roads so long and over such vast Mountains as he was at that time unable to attempt; having been taken extremely ill in crossing the Hills that day.

He staid in the Island all night, and next Evening, upon return of the boat, being inform'd that some partys had cross'd that Morning at the Ferry below, and that they were expected up the Lake to search these Islands, it was resolv'd to quite their Station, and go to a Wood about four miles higher upon the south side of the Lake; which they did that night, after burning a large parcel of Letters and other papers which had been preserved with some of the P—ces baggage, after the Battle of Culloden.

It being late before the boat came, and the hurry they were then in making it impossible for him to keep his apointment with Major Kennedy; the person to whom the boat belong'd had orders to go over next day in search of him, with Instructions how to proceed in case of their having left the wood before he could reach them. Having staid there two days and two nights, and being inform'd that the Enemy were marching to the head of Locheil, upon the arrival of a Servant from Stuart of Ardsheil, he proposed that they should cross over to

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\* Campbell of Ardslishish.

Appin, where there was no Troops at that time, as it would be impossible for them to keep themselves private in the parts where they were, being quite surrounded with partys, and the whole Country cut with Lakes, on which, as all the boats would be seizd, it would be impossible for them to escape.

Locheil, convinced that the advice was good, immediatly returnd the Servant with Instructions to have the boat at a certain place, upon the Coast of Argower, some miles below Fort William; the fourth night following, when they would take care to be there.

Things being concerted after this manner. Mr. M—y Locheil, with his Uncle Torcastle,<sup>1</sup> etc., set out when dark and slept at a little old Sheiling four miles from thence, and about nine of the Clock next Evening continued their Journey to another ruinous hutt about the same distance, where they were next day joind by Major Kennedy and Sir David Murray, who, finding it impossible for him to reach the Gentlemans house before mentiond, had casuality mett with the Major, after his crossing Lochsheil.

They staid there all this day, and according to Custom set out in the Evening, and by day light next morning got to a place in Glen — about two miles from the Coast, where they staid till night, that they received Intelligence of the boats being come, where they immediatly repaired and crossd over (leaving their Servants behind, the boat being unable to contain them), to a place a little above the Ferry of Ballaheulish, where they mett with Ardsheil.

Two days after, their Servants joind them, together with Stuart, who, as before mentiond, had been dispatchd by Mr. M—y to the place where he had appointed to meet with the Gentlemen from the Isle of Uist; who acquainted him with his having been there where he staid all twesday, and that there was neither man, letter, nor message, nor any expected; from which it was naturaly conjecturd that the P—ce had gone off in the Ship before spoke of; but to prevent all Mistakes, he made him return the same Evening least some Accident had prevented their keeping their appointment, with

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<sup>1</sup> Ludovic Cameron, of Torcastle, eighth child of Sir Ewan, was Major in Lochiel's regiment.

orders to make all possible haste back, at the same time letting him know where they should be found.

Here they staid five days, and conjecturing that there was no probability of hearing off or from the P—ce, Major Kennedy, finding he could be of no further Service, surrendered himself at Fort William, with the advice and approbation of all the Gentlemen in Company, at the same time two different proposals were made how to procure a Ship to transport themselves. Ardsheil mentiond the sending to his Wifes relations to hyre one at Glasgow; but this was disaproved of by Locheil, not only on Account of the apparent difficulty there was in finding the master of a Vessel from that port to whom they could intrust themselves, but likeways the impossibility there was of coming on the West Coast without being examind by men of War or armd Vessells, of whom there was then a good many in these Seas, as likeways the Difficulty they would find in transporting themselves safely thither, through a Country full of Troops.

The other proposal was made by Mr. M—y, and aproved of by Locheil, that they should endeavour to procure a Ship from Leith, naming two Masters,\* both of whom he was acquainted with, and who he could safely trust, that one of these, or what ever other Ship might be found in case they were not in port, should take in Coals as the readiest Loading, and procure a pass for Holland, that they should appoint a particular place upon the east Coast of Fife, where to take them in; and that one should be sent to Edinburgh to execute this project with all possible dispatch.

There being none judgd fit for such an Interprise save himself, and Sr Steuart Threpland being necessary on account of Locheils wounds all the others unacquainted with the Low Country except his Servant, and he had not thought to have influence enough to effect it; as it would have been madness to riske Letters. Mr. M—y agreed to go, which, in effect was only executing the plan concerted betwixt Locheil and him ten days before, for upon their meeting the first time upon the Side of Lochsheil, they had agred that the most proper Step for them to take in case of the P—ces being gone was to give

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\* Ogilvey and M<sup>c</sup>quivar.

instructions to a person in whom Locheil had intire Confidence, and who had not been in the Army, to procure a pass to go to Edinburgh on pretence of private business, and when there to inform a Relation\* of Mr. M—y's that he would probably be obliged to come south to procure a Ship, and to desire him to purchase two of the best horses he could find in Edinburgh to meet him at Killysyth against a certain day, which he would advise him of by another hand, and likeways to provide Sailors' habits for eight or ten persons of different sizes. As it was likely that there being in that part of the Country would soon be discoverd, it was thought improper that such a number of them should be together, Locheil, with his Brother, Mr. M—y, and his Nephew Sir David M—y, Sir Stewart Threpland, and two Gentlemen of Locheils family took boat for Kinloch leven, leaving Ardsheil behind with proper Instructions to forward Charles Stuart, who it was then expected would be returnd in two or three days at furthest. And having got to a wood near the head of the lake by next morning at break of day, it was agreed that Mr. M—y should set out that evening for Glen Lyon (about twenty miles from thence) in Company with Doctor Cameron, Mr. John Cameron, Sr David Murray, and three Servants; to get what Intelligence he could from his Sister who was expected there at that time to drink Goat Milk and least he should find his Journey south more difficult than he imagin'd, he propos'd to persuade her to return to execute his scheme. He likeways agreed upon the particular house† where he would either be found, or directions left where he was, should Charles Steuart return with Accounts that the P—ce was still in the Country; in which case he would immediatly come back and endeavour to procure another to go to Edinburgh, and lastly promised to try to procure a meeting with Clunie to acquaint him with their Schemes and propose his going alongest with them. Having thus settled matters in the most distinct manner possible, he set out in the Evening and arrived the next day at Rannoch having endeavourd to no purpose as he went along to meet with

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\* Mr. M'dougall, Merchant in Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup>

† Macknaughton's, officer to Menzies of Culdairs.

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<sup>1</sup> Murray's brother-in-law. See *infra*, pp. 301, 304, 307.

Mackpherson of Clunie. He stayd at this place all that night untill next day in the Evening, when it was judgd proper to cross over to Glen Lyon; all the people being in an uproar, Lord Loudon with one party expected from Badenough, and Glen Lyon the Younger<sup>1</sup> with another from the foot of Loch Rannoch, amongst the Hills to the southward; which together with a partie stationd at \_\_\_\_\_ who keep a small number detachd at the head of the Lakes; would have made it impossible for any to escape. For this reason they proceeded on their Journey, and arrived at a publick house in Glen Lyon about twelve at night where they staid till the Evening following, and when dark went into a Wood upon the side of the Hill, where they remaind for two nights longer. The fourth Evening they returnd to the publick house, and next night went to the opposite side of the Glen, where they slept amongst the Rocks; being assur'd by the person they had imployed to get Intelligence, that the Parties in Rannoch were expected that night or next morning to be in Glen Lyon.

It was now necessary to think what was further to be done, for him, who was then (having a flux upon him) unable to travel above four or five Miles of a night: to have attempted returning to Rannoch would have been ridiculous, as in case of either meeting or being near to a party, it would have been impossible for him to have escaped. The Lady expected, not being come to the Country renderd his scheme of making her return impossible; so that he proposd as the properest method of all that they should go some four miles further, to Broadalbain under the Conduct of Capt. Macknab, who he had procurd to be along with him some days before, being still not above thirty Miles distant from Locheil, and where in a day and a

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<sup>1</sup> John Campbell, younger of Glenlyon, got a commission in the Black Watch in 1745. His father, a staunch Jacobite, who had commanded the Breadalbane contingent in 1715, never forgave his son, and on his deathbed refused to see him. Young Glenlyon, who succeeded in 1746, was ordered to garrison his own house. His younger brother, who had been out with Prince Charles, was in hiding in the neighbourhood. One day, according to Stewart of Garth, young Glenlyon, when with some English officers, saw the brother on the hill. He called out to him in Gaelic, directing him where to go, then returned to call out the soldiers, who hunted for him in all directions except the right one. John Campbell exchanged into the Marines in 1748, rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and died in 1783.

half's time or two days at most, he might have been advertisd of Charles Stuarts return, and message, which he impatiently lookd for every hour.

In consequence of this proposal he left his Nephew, Sir David Murray, under the Care of an old Servant,\* born in the Country, and well acquainted with every Corner; giving him directions to carry him to some safe place, and to keep a strict look out, when the Lady expected should come, that he might meet her, and taking her footmans cloaths should pass in the Country for her Servant; under which Character he might easily get to Edinburgh, being but little known. He at the same time gave to this person to whose care Sir David was committed money to purchase Cloath to make a Livery for himself so as to be able to go with the less hazard to the low Country if found necessary, and orders to purchase a fair wigg, and some other things to perfect his disguise; proposing to return so soon as the partys were gone, which was expected would happen in three or four days at most.

That night he went to a wood on the oposite Side of the River [Lyon] four short miles from the place where he had been the day before, and dispatchd Mr. John Cameron,† up the Country to a friend‡ to get Intelligence of what was passing. In this wood he continued two days during very heavy rains, and his flux still upon him. The second day in the afternoon he received a message from an old Acquaintance§ in Glen Lyon to whom when there he had by a third hand applyd for advice saying that he had discoverd a small Cave in a convenient place, where he thought he might continue private for some three or four days; in which time he did not doubt of falling upon some other device for his concealment. This gave him great Satisfaction, having a singular regard for the person, and a high esteem of his good sence; but as he was only four short miles from Capt. McNab's house, where he was promisd a good bed, with other conveniencys, which he had been a stranger to for several weeks before, he imagind his reposing himself there for some days, would enable him afterwards to bear the fatigue of traveling.

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\* John McNaughton.

† Chaplain at Fort William.

‡ Robert Cameron, Forrester to Breadalbain.

§ Culdairs.

Being persuaded, not only from his own opinion, but that of others in Company, that this was the most advisable part he could take, and being convinced as it was now ten days since he had left Locheil, and no accounts of Charles Stewart, the P[rin]ce certainly must be gone; and judging it full time to acquit himself of his promise to Locheil by sending back his brother<sup>1</sup> to acquaint him with what had passd, he proposd to him to return and carry his own Servant \* along with him, who having the Language and being acquainted with the Country might be sent back in case any message was come; and that he would either find him in Glen Lyon by calling at the publick house, or if not there, that he should proceed to Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Nab's where he would either be or leave word where he was to be found.

Having parted with them upon this distinct footing, at the distance of two easy days walk to one of that Country when in health, it was very natural for him to expect, nor did he in the least doubt of having a return from Locheil the fifth day at furthest; which time he proposd if no accident happend to remain at M<sup>c</sup>Nabb's house. As he was not then able to travel on foot, Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Nabb, with whom he was left alone, procurd a horse for him, which he carried to a hill above his house, and then returnd him to the owner, with a letter to a person in whose hands he had deposited some money in beging them to give what they thought necessary to his nephew Sir David who, he reflected, had returnd him twenty Guineas which he had given him two days before, his cloaths being much wore and his pockets full of holes.

Being come to a rising ground above Cap<sup>t</sup> N<sup>c</sup>Nabb's house, about five in the morning, the Gentleman advised him to ly conceald till such time as he went down to one of the Servants whom he could trust and order matters so as he might come to the house without being observed. M<sup>c</sup>Nabb soon returnd, and

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\* John Bain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 66, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> In the Register of Old St. Paul's (Episcopal), Edinburgh, under date of July 8, 1750, is the following: 'In my house baptised a dau. of Geo. Bean and — Harper named Jean. John Baine, the honest servant of — Murray, a false master, and two women Spo<sup>rs</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 483.

carried him into the Goat house, where he lay upon the ground with a wheel barrow for his pillow, for some hours, quite spent with fatigue, till things were so prepar'd that he got into the house without being discover'd.

Having staid there for two days, mostly in bed, and finding that he did not grow stronger, he propos'd to the Cap<sup>t</sup> to prevail with his Father to go to a Minister's in the neighbourhood with whom he was very intimate, and to offer him 100 Guineas provided he would conceal a Gentleman in distress for a fortnight, but with an absolute Prohibition to let him know who he was: which the old gentleman was good enough natur'd to undertake. But returned with an Answer in the negative, when it is not difficult to imagine the many and sincere Benedictions that were bestow'd upon the Pastor.

From thence he went to a Country house about half a mile distant, where he continued for two nights longer; and the third day Cap<sup>t</sup> McNabb's Mother received a message from a Gentleman of that Country, acquainting her that he was to be upon a party early next morning to search her house, and all that Nighbourhood and begging that neither her Son nor any concern'd with them might be near as it would not be in his power to save them. So peremptory, so friendly, and so generous a message, was not to be over look'd, and as this was now the fifth day since he had parted with Doctor Cameron, it made it not only necessary for him to shift his Quarters, but to take his rout southwards; being intirly ignorant of the Situation of the Partys in Glen Lyon and further North.

As he still continued unable to travel,<sup>1</sup> it was necessary to carry him on horse back; which kind of Conveyance was then very difficult to be procur'd. Notwithstanding of which Cap<sup>t</sup> McNabb did provide him one on the oposite Side of the River, which was so swell'd by the great rains that had fallen for two days, that he was oblig'd with the utmost difficulty to carry him through upon his Shoulders; and that night came to a Sheiling in Balwhidder, above Loch——<sup>2</sup> about four Miles from where they had sett out. Still in hopes of hearing from Locheil, he did not think of moving from thence till late next

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* walk, still so used in the Highlands.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Loch Voil or Loch Doine.

night when from the partys than behind him, and the weak Situation he was in justly esteeming it impossible for him to return, without the Obstacles of the Enemy were removd: and giving up all hopes of hearing of his Master, he lookd upon purshuing his Journey south as the only proper Step to be taken.

With this View he purchasd a horse, and had an old Coat Waistcoat and Britches given him by a Gentleman of that Country. Thus equipt he set out in the night with Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Nabb and — Macgregor, Brother to Macgregor of Glenkernoch,<sup>1</sup> and arrived in the morning at a farm house belonging to the D—ke of P—th upon the Side of St. Mary Loch.<sup>2</sup>

Now concluding that the only part he had to take was to make the best of his way towards Edinburgh, he prevaild with Mr. Macgregor to send for an acquaintance of his to be his guide to Clydsdale, and that night went to Stuart of Glenbuckys where, after staying about two hours, and shifting himself, it having fallen an excessive rain all the Evening, he crossd the lake and with these Gentlemen took up his Quarters in an old Barn on the oposite Side; the alarm being given in the Country that Lieu<sup>t</sup> Campbell would be at Glenbucky that night or next morning.

About four in the afternoon the person Mr. Macgregor had sent for arrived, and with a good deal of Difficulty was prevailed upon to be his guide. They set [out] about seven in the Evening, and after riding all night arrived at his house where he continued till next night. Having had all that day to ruminat, he bethought him self of three different roads, to witt, Stirling Shire, Linhouse<sup>3</sup> near to Mid Calder in west Lothian, or Tweeddale by the way of Clydesdale. As to the first the difficultys were obvious: a number of Troops quarterd at Stirling and dispersd over the Country; a market day in the Town, with a Concourse of people upon the road; some of whom might either have known him, or from the dress of a Drover in which he was in, put such Questions as he could not

<sup>1</sup> Glenairnaig.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to discover any loch in the Drummond Country which bears the name. The context seems to indicate the neighbourhood of Crieff.

<sup>3</sup> Murray's aunt Mary was married to Muirhead of Linhouse. She was then eighty-two years old; she died in 1758, aged ninety-four.

well have answerd which would necessarily have renderd him suspected, especialy as the people of that Country had been for some time upon the Catch, and the only house where he imagin'd he could be safe too hard to come at.

As to the second road, the difficultys tho different in some particulars, were more numerous. In the first place neither he nor his guide were masters of the way, and making too frequent Inquiry was the most probable means to discover them. In the next place he did not know that there were any in the house save his Aunt, an old Lady of eighty, and Servants; to her he could not discover himself without doing it to the whole family through her deafness, and as the people in that part of the Country are either Seceders or extreemly bigotted in their way, he was justly affraid of being blown; at the same time he did not doubt but there were Troops at Calder, which was only two miles from Linhouse.

The above mentiond difficultys made him determine to go to Tweedale; being little known in Clydsdale, through which he was to pass, and mostly during the night, and his passage in Tweedale but short, and early in the morning, the Country but thinly inhabited, and not the least probability of meeting with any Troops, where, except in the Rout from Dumfries to Edinburgh, I am ready to beleive there have been none quarterd these 60 years save flying partys of Dragoons in 1708 and 1716, and had this further Incentive, that there he imagin'd he should be amongst his friends, and execute his Commission without risking himself at Edinburgh, where he was too universaly known.

Having reasond himself into this determination he set out with his Guide as soon as it was dark, and when about eight miles from Carnwath, imagining himself master of the road and Magregor desirous to return home, he gave him his leave, but unwilling to stop at any house by the way for fear of a Discovery. A little on the other Side of the Henshaw he missd his road: and with great Difficulty reachd Carnwath, where finding his horse fail he had strong Inclinations to have stopt; but reflecting upon the behaviour of the Inhabitants to young Mr. Lockhart, who they endeavourd to apprehend upon his return from England, he Judgd it more advisable

to push on; and after stoping some time upon Gladstones Hill to lett his horse eat, he proceeded by the end of the Village of Bigger to Hartrie,<sup>1</sup> where he proposd to have put up for some hours: but finding the family were from home, he passd on, and being extreamly fatigued reposd himself about an hour upon the oposite hill calld Crosscraing.

Obliged to remount, having observed several country people upon the road, he continued his Journey with a resolution to have gone without stoping to Polmood; but finding his horse quite knockt up and uncertain but the River of Tweed might be impassible (it having rained incessantly for some days in the Country from whence he was come), he bethought himself of taking a private road by a place calld the broadfoord to his Brothers house at Stobo, but again considering with himself that that Gentleman had not only refusd being Guarding to his Children, but the triffling favour of protecting his horses whilest the Issue of the War was uncertain, he wisely judgd that he would not now venture to harbour a person denounced a Rebel, tho his own Brother.

This Consideration inducd him to continue his rout but when near to Killbucho his horse being scarce able to walk, he found himself under a necessity to stop there, however much against his Inclination: where to his great mortification neither the Gentleman himself<sup>2</sup> nor his youngest Son were at home. I specify the younger, being certain that had the Eldest been there, Mr. M—y would not have put it in his power to have deliverd him up. How soon he had alighted he begd of Miss Dickson the Daughter that no Ceremony might be usd with him least it might give Suspicion to the Servants, knowing that they would naturaly be surprisd, did they observe that any difference was shown to a person in a jocky Coat and blew bonnet: but notwithstanding this precaution, the old Ladys ill timd Complaisance in calling for a Glass of wine, when a dram of Whiskey would have suted better, set the whole family agog, and made them conjecture it most be a Rebel.

Add to this that he must needs dine with the Ladys and a

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<sup>1</sup> Murray's Aunt Anne married John Dickson of Hartrie.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's Aunt Margaret married William Dickson of Killbucho.

Servant waite at table, against which when he found his objections was of no avail he proposd to be calld by another name, and to pass for a Companion of her sons; beging Miss Dickson not to forget herself when the Servant was present, which she never the less too often did, and was often reprovd by her good Mother.

Observing from the looks of the Servant whilest at table that his being in the Country would be soon whisperd abroad, to put the family upon a wrong Scent he led the Lady to understand that he heartily regreated her Sons absence, for had he been at home he would have persuaded him to take a jaunt to London that he might have the benefite of passing as his Servant; imagining that did he find it convenient to stay any time in that Country this pretended discovery of his Scheme would be a means to make them beleive, that he had put it in execution and thereby prevent any Search for him in these parts.

Amongst other Conversation that passd, the Lady told him tho she was of opinion upon the news of the defeat at Culloden, that no more could be done, yet her Nephew Mr. W. L. still insisted that all would go well, and that even so lately as the preceding week, he continued in the same way of thinking, to which Mr. M—y answerd smiling at the aboundance of her Nephews faith, that he wishd it had been so, but Mr. L— was quite mistaken, for he would not give a half penny for any probability there remaind at present; which just and natural Answer served as a bases for the eldest Son of the family to run about and assure every body, that Mr. M—y had declared to his Mother and Sister that all things were quite over, the Party ruind, and that he would not give the family of Stuart a half penny for their chance in time coming. Which Story, however ridiculous in itself, and notwithstanding the aparent improbability that if Mr. M—y really thought so, he would have imparted his opinion to the Lady Killbucho and her daughter, has nevertheless been credited, and imputed to him as a high Crime. Some people have got such voracious Stomacks, that they will swallow any Victuals however bad rather than want a belly full.

As he could not propose to reach Polmood before it was late

and the family probably in bed, he made Miss Dickson send a letter to his Sister to acquaint her that he was coming; which he would not have done, inclining rather to have stayd a night there, that his horse might be fresh in the morning, but the blunders committed before the Servants, and a party of Dragoons being at his own house, only a mile distant, made him fear the quarters might be too hot for him.

And now, that I may close this affair, about which so many vague, childish, false, and impertinent Conjectures have been made, he set out from this place betwixt nine and ten at night, and arrived at Polmood<sup>1</sup> in less than two hours, where after mutual and sincere professions of affection and good will had passd betwixt him and his Sister, and agreeing with her that she should next day send an Express to Edinburgh to desire Mr. M<sup>c</sup>——, his B——r,<sup>2</sup> to meet him; who he intended to have imployd to engage the Ship, quite over come with fatigue he went to bed at two in the morning, and before five was wakd the Dragoons at the Gate.

When he was taken some of the fellows were so barborous, that with Difficulty they would consent to his puting on his Cloaths, and without allowing him further time kept him standing in the Yard till his Coat and Stockings were brought him. On the road to Edinburgh they told him that his discovery was owing to a Servant of Killbучо's, who, having heard it whisperd in the family, waited till he saw him mount and immediatly went to Broughton and informd of his being gone to Polmood; which they were with the utmost Difficulty persuaded to beleive.

Tho he had access to see few people during his short Confinement in the Castle, and that only in the presence of an officer, yet he was so anxious for the Safty of his friends, especialy Locheil, for whom he allways testifyd a peculiar regard, and to Execute the Commission he had come upon in the best manner then in his power, he laid hold of an opportunity to Acquaint Gentleman \* with it; who having assurd him the Ship he had

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\* Doctor Cochran.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Hunter of Polmood was Murray's sister, cf. *Lyon in Mourning* vol. iii. p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> MacDougall, his brother-in-law, cf. p. 137.

in View was then in the road of Leith, he earnestly begged to have her engaged, and told him where money was to be had to pay the freight, desiring at the same time that he might send to acquaint Locheil with it.

One would imagine this particular fact in the hands of a man of Character and Credit would have provd sufficient to vindicate him as to the falsity of what was alledged, as indeed it was impossible for him to give a stronger proof of his Sincerity and attachment to the Interests of his friends: and I cannot help thinking that mankind are not yet so deprav'd, but an advowal of it would have provd sufficient.

What Idea can we have of the friendship, and uprightness of that person, who would be capable of hearing such things advanced without declaring against them? Timidity and doubt of ones own Safety may be a reason, but it is now a great while since all occasion of fear was removd, from which time I should have look'd upon it as an indispensable duty, had I been the man to have declar'd to the world what I knew.

People who have not Courage to own a fact in Vindication of their Neighbour, and for the sake of truth which cannot in any Shape hurt themselves, have no title to take it amiss if the world doubt their Constancy and resolution in matters of greater moment. It is in vain for a man to say that this or it self is nothing, or but a Trifle when compar'd with other Incidents: let him clear up those of greater Consequence and then I am ready to do him Justice. The more Spots the worse the Coat. Had so material a fact as is here mentiond been made publick, which evinc'd his regard for his friends, of whom he was mindfull in Spite of his own Misshap, it would have prevented many from making their unbounded Conjectures, and venturing upon Suppositions so void of Sence and reason.

To say that judging from Consequences is unfair, and the undoubted Sign of a fruitless Imagination, is advancing no more than what has been done by thousands; but I will venture to affirm that it is a duty incumbent upon every man to judge from preceeding facts of the Candor and Integrity of another, in which case there is ne'er a man of the Party who has spoke against him, that must not allow his Conjectures and Suppositions to be unjust, rash, and uncertain. Did he sitt still without

being able to assign sufficient reasons for his Silence and bear the burthen with Shame and Confusion of face, there then might be reason to judge from his last proceedings that he acted wrong; tho even that would not in the smallest degree support the malicious and false assertion of his having come South with a view to be taken.

It is now well known that many of the Gentlemen concernd did make their way to London, as the place of the greatest Safety and with no other View than to save themselves. This method was mightily aproven of, for no other reason that I can form to my self, but that the most of them succeeded. Some were taken on the road, yet it has never been imputed to them that they left the Highlands with a View to be made prisoners. Had Mr. Lumsden, who was for some time in London, been unhappily seized, it would in all probability have been said with equal truth that it had been agreed betwixt them; from whence we see, how cautious we ought to be in giving Judgement, or in pretending to interpret and explain the designs and Views of others.

It would neither be difficult nor troublesome to show from several Circumstances of the foregoing Story, that so far from having the design now laid to his charge he us'd all possible precautions whereby to prevent it, but I esteem it needless as the Truth must appear evident to you, being capable to conceive it in a much stronger and clearer Light then I am able to represent it.

I shall now answer your last demand in as few words as possible. It would admitt of being done in two very opposite ways, either by a flat refusal, and denial of every one of the Stories alleg'd, as all equally false and scandalous. Or by a long discussion of every particular; neither of which methods I incline to follow. The first being only a bare assertion which would still leave room for the envious and mallicious to satiate their daring dispositions; by alleging that as no Contradiction or paliation was offerd you was conscious of his guilt.

The second would not only be too tedious, but descending to that depth of littleness by raking into a parcel of the most ridiculous trifling Stories ever yet invented; as I cannot help

thinking unbecoming me to write and you to peruse; so shall only mention two or three of the most material, and leave the rest, as proper only for old Women and Dotards.

And first in regard to the Picture which it was aledgd she had given to the Earl of Albemarle then Commander in Chief at Edinburgh, there were many witnesses to her giving it to Locheil in the wood upon the Side of Loch Arkike, and which he afterwards carried about with him in his strong box, and restord it to the P—ce in whose possession I venture to say it still is, and which I cannot allow myself to doubt but you must have seen in his Custody. But to prove this beyond contradiction she has long ago procurd letters from Paris declaring the Truth of what is above mentiond, which I, as well as many others have seen, and of which I am of opinion you cannot be ignorant.

The Story of her having carried down large Sums of money from the Highlands is equally false, and tho the manner in which the money was disposd of as before observed may be sufficient to disprove it: yet to be a little more particular and satisfactory the whole Sum she brought with her amounted to forty guineas, a very trifle, and a just cause of reflection against her husband for providing her so poorly; and which afterwards reduced her to the disagreeable Straits of asking a Supply from one of his relations<sup>1</sup> to enable her to go abroad; having bespoke her passage in a Ship bound to Holland; and tho this Gentleman had some hundred pounds, belonging to Mr. M—y, was never the less so kind as to say that he had no orders nor had he any money in his hands.

Tho I am convinced that the two facts already mentiond will to you appear sufficient to disprove every other alegation with which she has been unjustly taxed; yet to prove her Innocence beyond a doubt and to leave no room for the most subtile and physical Cavils, I shall give you a short narrative or Journal of her proceedings with respect to the places of her residence and with several persons with whom she conversd from the 25 of June 1746 to the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1747 when at Mr. M—ys request she set out for London.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. M'Dougal, his brother-in-law.

It may be objected by some of the persons afternamd that exposing them to the Knowledge of the World is a bad return for the Services they renderd her in her distress. I own to you I am so much a Stranger to Invention and the quick Sallies of the Imagination which the world call repartee that such a fancy never could have enterd my brain had it not been proposd by one or two of the persons concernd.

She was neither attainted, or by any other Law now in force excepted or convicted, nor to be convicted, never having acted the Amazon by bearing Arms; so not having been denounced a Rebel, her protectors could not incur the penalty of any Statute: but supposing the Case to have been quite otherways, the persons concernd in protecting her were exempt from all prosecution by the Act of Exceptions commonly calld the Act of Indemnity; which had been issued for some considerable time before she proposd to use these names as Vouchers for her Conduct.

The most of them when it was proposd that they should sign proper attestations to prove the reverse of what the world had said, readily complyd, esteeming it not only just but necessary, others professd their willingness to do her Justice but at the same time replied that making their names known might redound to their disadvantage, and seemd to insinuate that from a publication of that nature she could reap no advantage. A selfish and jesuitical\* pretext whereby to indulge and foster their own timidity at the Expence of her Character; whereas in my opinion had they judgd right an open and honest declaration of the Truth must have greatly redounded to their honour and inward Satisfaction.

As they from a principle of Caution would have themselves conceald, so she on the other hand from a regard to her own Character infinitely superior to any effect it can have upon them, and in Conformity to all the rules of Nature and Society must be excusd to take what ever methods she shall find most proper to vindicate herself to the world, provided She dont thereby render any material hurt to the Persons named.

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\* Made by Harper the Minister.

The extraordinary behaviour of some of them, one in particular,\* whilst she was last in Scotland, would be more than a sufficient excuse for her naming him in full; but as I dare say she thinks it greatly below her to harbour any grudge, I shall from the same principle in the following narrative only insert the initial letters of their names.

As to her Journey from the Highlands it will be sufficient to tell you that she came in the most private manner imaginable passing in the low Country for a Soldiers wife, and enduring hardships hardly to be bore by one in health, much less by a person with a big belly, till lately accustom'd to all the care and Conveniences of Life.

On the 25 of June 1746 in the Evening she came to her mother Mrs. Fergussons house in Cants Closs, Edinburgh, where she continued only three days and during that time saw no body besides those of the family but my Lady Murray her mother in law, Mrs. Bain her former waiting maid, the R[everen]d M[r] H[ar]p[er] and another Gentleman a near relation, during which time she expressd great Anxiety and Concern for the friends she had left behind her; hunted from Hill to Hill, and with difficulty able to procure the common necessaries of Life. Upon the 28 of the same month about ten at night she was conducted in the most private manner to Lady Wallaces house at the Abby Hill where her residence was unknown to any of the family but my Lady, her maid Mrs. Broky, Miss Erskine, Miss Maul, and her Mother Mrs. Ferguson.

During her Stay here it was thought improper to acquaint her with her husbands being taken, least such a Shock should indanger both her own and the Childs life, and all methods were endeavoured to procure her a passage for Holland.

Being given to understand that the place of her residence was suspected, she was obligd to remove on Sunday the 6<sup>th</sup> of July to Mr. Hamiltons house at the Wright's houses<sup>1</sup> and there lodge in a Garret Closet, where for fear of a discovery

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\* Ramsay, Surgeon.

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<sup>1</sup> Then a suburb of Edinburgh near Bruntsfield Links.

she durst neither use fire nor Candle. The Gentleman himself knew nothing of her being in the house and tho his Lady did, she did not see her. The only persons admitted to her whilest in this place were Miss Erskine with three of Mr. Hamiltons Children, Mr. Ross,\* and Mr. Polston.

Her passage being now taken aboard a Ship bound from Leith to Holland, and only waiting for a fair wind, it was thought necessary to acquaint her of her husbands Misfortune least she should have accidently heard of it when in disguise on Ship board.

It would be in vain to discribe the Terror and Surprise with which this information struck her, so shall leave it to your own Imagination as a thing to be felt, not expressd. Mr. M—y having strictly enjoynd her at parting to get out of Brittain as quickly as possible, justly beleiving that she would meet with no favour did she fall into the hands of the Enemy; together with her friends opinion that this was the only proper Step for her to take, prevaild with her to continue her resolution of going abroad; but as Missfortunes seldom come single the Master of the Ship who had engagd to give her passage sent her a message about six hours before he saild on the 3<sup>d</sup> of August to acquaint her that he would have carried her with great pleasure but was advised against it by some of her own friends.

Tho the shortness of the time made it impossible for her to make inquiry to whom this disapointment was owing yet it was not difficult for her to guess at the Authors; there being few acquainted with her intended Voyage. And I dont think it requires the Art of Divination, nor ought it to be esteemd want of Charity positively to conclude that the man who was capable of refusing her a part of her Husbands money,<sup>1</sup> was from the same consciencious disposition the instrument of stoping her Voyage.

New Ships were sought after, but hard to be got, as it was

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\* N.B. Ross was recommended to her by Mr. Harper, and neither he nor Polston saw her till some time after she was acquainted of her Husbands being a prisoner.

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* M'Dougal, Murray's brother-in-law.

very rare at that time to sail without a Convoy. Some never the less were found, but the Characters of the Masters were such that it was not thought safe to trust her to them, and if she had gone it was absolutely necessary to put the master upon the Secret, as her Condition would not admitt of her being with the other passengers.

It was now proposd she should go to New Castle and take Shiping from thence or some neighbouring port, but before she could be equipt for her Journey her cold quarters and anguish of mind occassiond such a numness in her Limbs that she could scarce move, which, together with threatnings of her Labour made her friends give up all thoughts of her intended Journey, and aply themselves to find a place where she might be deliverd with the utmost privacy. The house of Mrs. Cumming in the Land Market was fixd upon as a place not suspected, it being often frequented by young Gentlemen to gett cured of a desease of a very different nature. She was secretly conveyd thither, upon Saturday, the 16 of August, late at night and kept extreamply private, there being no person in the house save the Land Lady and her daughter. Doctor R—th—r—rd who attended her, being obliged to leave the Town for some weeks, recommended Mr. Ramsey the Surgeon to wait on her during his absence, with Mrs. Bisset, Midwife at Leith, who staid privatly in the house untill she was a little recoverd.

When she came to this house it was given out that she and Miss Erskine, who staid closs with her, were gone to Holland in order to prevent any further Inquiry after her. To the time of her being brought to bed she saw nobody but her mother, Doctor Rutherfoord her Physician, Mr. Ramsey, Surgeon, Mrs. Bisset, Midwife, the Land Lady and her daughter, Miss Racheal Maul, Miss Racheal Hamilton, and some times Mrs. Bain. She was deliverd of a Son the 25 of Sept<sup>r</sup> in the morning, and the Child christened that same evening and named Charles by the R—d Mr. Harper, a non jurant Clergy man, none being present but the Surgeon, the Midwife, the Landlady with her daughter and Mrs. Bain. Two days after Miss Rachel Hamilton came and staid closs in the house with her to attend and take care of her, she being then in a very

dangerous way. And after this she saw nobody but these just now mentiond, save one Evening that Lady Wallace made her a short Visit.

The death of her Child having happend soon after and her health continuing extreamly bad, together with her anxieity of mind made her friends judge it proper to remove her to her mothers house as the place of all others where she could hope for the greatest care and tenderness in her unhappy Situation.

She was carried thither friday the 24<sup>th</sup> of October fully determind to go to Holland how soon she was able to undertake the Voyage. Here she continued to be visited by her Physician, Lady Wallace, Miss Racheal Hamilton with four Gentlemen, her particular friends and none of them in the Government Service, as also Major Kennedy a French Officer who had become acquainted with her in the Army and was now a prisoner of War. These were all she conversd with whilest in her mothers house, except Miss Racheal Erskine, who staid closs with her, and a Lady\* a near Relation of her Husbands who came twice to visit her; and it must at the same time be observed that to make the concealment the more private, when these Gentlemen were admitted, she generally came in a plaid pretending that she had been sent for from the place where she lodg'd.

Her extream bad state of health made her friends strongly remonstrate against the Voyage to Holland upon which she was very much bent and notwithstanding the natural anxieity she lay under apprehensive of her own personal Safty; yet the Coldness of the Season, the difficulty of finding a passage, and the continuall remonstrances of her friends, without whose assistance she could not pretend to go, prevaild with her to go to the Wrights houses where her Mother, Mrs. Fergusson, took Lodgings for her recovery; and from the 29 March, 1747, till the fourth of May following, she saw no person but Miss Racheal Hamilton, Mrs. Bain and those of the family.

From the forgoing narrative it is worthy of Observation how singularly providence has put it in her power to disprove the Scandals raisd against her in a manner infinitely more plain and

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\* Mrs. Hay.

obvious than things of such a nature will generally admitt of. I shall make but this one further remark, that in place of having frequent meetings with my Lord Albemarle in her Mothers house to give informations, his Lordship was never there but once.

Mr. M—y judging it unfit for her to continue longer in Scotland under so much restraint, so soon as he could find an opportunity made my Lady Murray write for her to come to London.

In consequence of this message she set out from Scotland on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, and arrived at London the day of , where she lived privately, under a borrowed name, at Mrs. Pitcairn's, Miliner in Newport Street, and saw no body who knew her but my Lady Murray, her Physician, Major and Cap<sup>t</sup> Bagotts then prisoners of War with one other Gentleman,\* an old acquaintance of her husbands in Scotland; and never did appear publickly till the November following.

I would now most willingly have done, but knowing there is nothing so dear to you as truth, I shall bestow a little more time to cut the throat of another Story or two that have been propagated here.

It is confidently affirmd that Mr. M—y while at the Abby took care to provide against future accidents as to money matters, by embazling that of the publick,<sup>1</sup> and as a proof of this Mr. David Graham the writer, Brother to Sir John, has been very industrious to spread a report that he applyd to him to secure £1000 or £1500 for his use, which, Says he,

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\* Mr. Lesly.

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<sup>1</sup> An anonymous correspondent of the Countess of Denbigh, June 3, 1748, says: 'Since I am in a way of story telling, I must tell you one I had from Sir John Douglase, wh. is that Secy. Murray, who never had above three hundred a year in the world before the P. left Edinburgh to come to England, wrote to a Gent<sup>n</sup> that Sir John knew very well, and beg of him he would take two thousand pound of him which he wanted to lay out, that he was in such a hurry then he could not stay to have a bond drawn, but would take the gentleman's note for the money, which he must certainly have cheated his Master off, and undoubtedly betrayed him in all things, for a man that could be so low a Rogue to pilfer such a sum of money would undoubtedly get it by any bad way he could.'—*Hist. MSS. Comm. 7th Report*, p. 231a.

must needs have been part of his Master's money. As you may, perhaps, never have heard this particular, I shall tell you the Story as it really was.

The difficultys that occurrd to Mr. M—y in paying Lord March the price of the Estate of Broughton<sup>1</sup> had occasiond him to retain part of the Sum in his hands, by which means he came to have some thousand pounds due to him upon bond. A gentleman who owd him some few hundreds, reflecting that should they prove unsuccessfull all would be forfeited to the Crown, offerd to his Brother in Law, Mr. M<sup>c</sup>dougal, to pay up his debt. This frindly and generous offer made Mr. M—y sensible how neglectfull he had been not to secure what was in his power, and tho late, he did not doubt but he might prevail with some of his debtors to advance their several Sums.

Upon examining into the Characters of the persons in whose hands his money was lodged, he found that the most he could propose to raise during these Confusions might amount to £1000 or £1500. Before this was to be attempted it was necessary to find out a proper method how to secure it, and having reflected that Mr. Murray of Abercarney was said to lend out money almost every term, he judged the fittest way would be to put it into his hands, trusting to his honour, and that he should lend it out as his own.

Being resolved upon this as the only means whereby in case of Missfortunes it would be impossible for the Government to discover it, Abercairney being then retir'd to his brother in Law Mr. Rentons house near Berwick,<sup>2</sup> not caring to witness the Confusions in the Country where he generally resided, Mr. M—y desired to speak to his Agent, Mr. Graham, and propounded the Case to him, desiring he might write to Abercairney to know if he would grant him that favour. Mr. Graham very frankly complyd with his request, and in some few days after told him for Answer that he had wrote, and in return received his refusal.

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<sup>1</sup> The price of Broughton was £6000. Murray sold it to Mr. Dickson for £16,000. Cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. iii. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Mordington—still in possession of the family.

This Denial, together with the hurry of business, made him lay aside all further thoughts of it, leaving his affairs as much to chance as he done before, having only raised £300, with the intrest due upon it, the Sum offerd by the person\* above mentiond. I am very desirous to mention this Gentleman, as it might enable the disbeleivers to inquire into the Truth of the fact from himself, but did it prove in the least detremental to him, I should never be able to forgive myself, nor, I am sure, would Mr. M—y approve of it, however much it might tend to his Intrest, as it would be a most unjust return for such a peice of uncommon generosity and goodness. If the Gentleman himself is of opinion that it cannot hurt him, I shall not allow my self to doubt but the same goodness of heart that then induced him to do it, will now prevail with him to declare it. How much below a Gentleman Mr. Graham's proceeding in this has been is so apparent that I should be ashamd to blot paper with a View to expose him further; it is enough that you and all the world must be sensible of his littleness and regret that fortune should have destind so mean a Creature to be the Son of so singularly good a man as was Graham of Newton, and Brother to one of such worth and honour as Sir John.

I would with all my heart pass over Mr. M<sup>c</sup>dougal in Silence, did I not think him so much the more to blame as how much his relation ought to have renderd his ties of friendship the stronger. You are no Stranger to the Intimacy that allways subsisted betwixt Mr. M—y and him. It was too remarkable not to be observed. I have often taken the liberty to tell him that I thought it ill judged, for let a fools Inclination be never so good, he is still a fool. And tho in the common Occurances of Life they may be of Service, yet in affairs of a more delicate nature they never fail to hurt us, either through rashness or timidity.

There is an old proverb, I have now forgot to what Country it properly belongs, That Ignorance is a Jade who makes the person who rides stumble at every Step, and renders those who leads him the laughing Stock of the Spectaters. They

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\* Mr. John Erskine, Advocate.

are seldom capable to judge when to speak, and should fortune prove so favourable as to make them stumble upon the proper time, they are allways at a loss what to say, in so much, that by a wrong representation of things, they are more ready to hurt then serve us. To this I never could procure any other answer then that he confided in M<sup>c</sup>dougal, trusting that his honesty would suply the defect of his understanding.

How much he has been deceived is now evident; and tho he may not be ready to own it, yet sure I am he must not only be sensible of it, but sincerely resent it. Whoever had endeavourd three years ago to perswade him that M<sup>c</sup>dougal would have been so unjust as to have heard him reflected on for the Story I have been relating, without declaring his knowledge of the contrary, might as well have attempted to make him beleive that there was no such person in being.

And yet this man, notwithstanding his having been Accessary to the whole affair, has never had the honour, Conscience, or honesty, to gainsay it. Happy I that have no such friends and relations, and still more happy that I am sure never to have any such. From such baseness, such timidity, such fawning upon, and fear of contradicting the world, Good Lord, deliver me. Fye upon him, tis below, tis unbecoming the very Image of a man.

The last Story which I shall trouble you with, which has been propagatd and asserted with full as much Confidence as the preceeding, is his having injoyd a pension of £300 a year from Rome, which, tho the falsity of it is known by many, yet I thought it would not be amiss to mention it, to show you how much it has been the Study of a Sett of folks here to advance what ever they thought would conduce to make him the more odious in the Eyes of the world, without having any, even the most distant, regard to Truth.

It has often Surprisd me that they did not in this, as in other things condescend upon the persons to whom it was remitted: others there was, and I know still are, who have allowances from thence, and the Bankers from whose hands they receive it well known; why not pitchd upon the same persons to be his paymasters, but they were afraid that a

particular Condescention would have been a means to discover the Lye, so were in the right to make their alledgece in general.

I have often expressd my Surprize that it was not so, and has heard him as often declare that he never had, nor never would receive one half penny from that Quarter so long as he had any of his own; that he knew their abilitys was not very considerable, and that there were many of their friends who realy wanted, and if they supported them it was all they could well do. That upon this principle he never did apply for any assistance from thence, notwithstanding the extraordinary Expence he was put to in the management of their Affairs, but inconsiderately, and (I may venture to say) unjustly to his family, lavishd away his own, is not only well known to many, but now severly felt by himself.

In place of receiving any money from Rome, were it necessary I could instance to you the time when, and the person from whom he borrowed money to pay away on their Accounts, when such as would take it extreamly amiss to have their Attachment to the family calld in question, and even some of those who now ride him very hard would not advance one half penny upon the Chevalier's letter, notwithstanding the pressing Occasion for it at that time, and not to be to tedious upon a Subject that scarcely merits Confutation, the Sum mentioned is still owing.

Dont imagine that I instance this with a view to make you beleive that he has any Scheme of being reimbursd; I dare say he thinks it was well bestowd, and is ready to let it go with the rest.