

A FRAGMENT  
OF A MEMOIR  
OF  
FIELD-MARSHAL JAMES KEITH

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

1714—1734.

EDINBURGH MDCCCXLIII.

PRESENTED

TO

THE SPALDING CLUB

BY

THOMAS CONSTABLE.

T H E S P A L D I N G C L U B .

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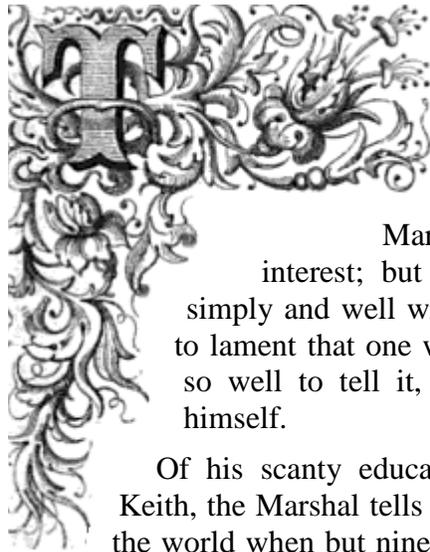
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THE following Fragment is offered to the SPALDING CLUB, in the persuasion that the general feeling will be one of regret, that it begins and ends so abruptly.

The autobiography of a man like Marshal Keith can never be without interest; but the present little Memoir is so simply and well written, that we find twofold cause to lament that one who had seen so much, and knew so well to tell it, should have written so little of himself.

Of his scanty education under the excellent Bishop Keith, the Marshal tells us nothing. He was launched into the world when but nineteen years old, and he begins this Memoir with the first public events of his life. In few words, and without entering into the intrigues of the party, he shows vividly and truly the characters of the Jacobite leaders in Scotland, and the petty views and jealousies which ruined their enterprises.

With equally slight touches, he paints the folly of the Stuart Court; the inconsistency of the Pope; the poverty and boasting of Spain; the cabals of the Court of Moscow, and its barbarism, thinly gilded over by the Empress's pretended civilization; while with a careless modesty he keeps his own deeds and merits out of view, and leaves us to learn the estimation his military genius and conduct obtained, by the rapid progress which he made to rank and honours, in a foreign service, and without friends.

It is much to be regretted that his Memoir does not bring down his history to the period of his Prussian service. His qualities as a soldier soon commanded the admiration of the great Captain of his age; and while Frederick appreciated his talents, he is said to have enjoyed his social qualities, and what with him was rarer, never to have laid aside for a moment the respect due to his adherence to his religion, so remarkable in a soldier of fortune, could scarcely fail to command the respect even of a Prince like Frederick William.

When Marshal Keith was found dead on the hard-fought field of Hochkirchen, Frederick showed more of feeling than was thought to be in his nature; while the Earl Marischal, who loved his gallant

brother, but was of a school which tolerated no display of tenderness, wrote to Madame Geoffrin—"Mon frère m'a laissé un bel hèreitage! Il venoit de mettre à contribution toute la Bohème, a la tête d'une grande armée; et je n'ai trouvé que 70 ducats dans sa bourse."

The MS. from which the Memoir of Marshal Keith is printed is in the hand-writing of the Marshal himself, who appears never to have completed it. It formed part of a collection of papers which the late Sir Henry Stuart of Allanton had made with a view to composing a history of the efforts in Scotland for the restoration of the House of Stuart. These he handed over to Mr. Chambers, the historian of the Jacobite Rebellions; and to the liberality of that gentleman, the Club is indebted for its use.

A notice of the elder brother of the writer of this Memoir is subjoined to the Preface. It is unluckily very meagre, and the copy from which it is here printed certainly contains some mistakes, of only a part of which it has been thought allowable to attempt the correction. Notwithstanding, it bears the stamp of being written by one personally acquainted with the Earl Marischal; and though the anecdotes it records are mostly well known, the notice may be regarded with some favour, if, as is believed, it be the composition of Sir Robert Strange, formerly known for his attachment to the party which the brothers Keith supported, and now better remembered as the first of British Engravers.

There are good pictures of the Earl Marischal, and of his brother, by Francesco Trevisani, the former at Craigston, the latter at Keith-Hall.

MEMOIRS OF GEORGE KEITH,  
HEREDITARY EARL MARISCHAL  
OF SCOTLAND.



HIS Nobleman was born in the year 1687. [?] At a very early age he served under the famous Duke of Marlborough, and was made Captain of the Guards by Queen Anne herself. At the death of this Princess, according to M. d'Alembert, he offered to proclaim the Pretender King of England, at the head of his troop. This, however, the timidity of the Jacobite party would not permit; and after having, with great honour, resigned his commission to George the First, he retired into Scotland, and was one of the first that took arms in the unfortunate expedition of 1715. Though Lord Marischal was strongly attached to the House of Stuart, when he proclaimed the Pretender at Edinburgh, he made him swear to restore to Scotland some of the rights of that Kingdom, which had been infringed by Queen Anne. After having wandered for many months from place to place in Scotland, at the risk of his life, he having been attainted, and a price having been set upon his head by the Government, he passed into Spain, with some brother officers of his in the service of the Pretender, and entered into the service of that Power, where Cardinal Alberoni offered him the rank of Lieutenant-General. Of this he would not accept, as not thinking himself entitled to it, either by his age or services, and accepted of a much inferior one.

From Spain he went to Avignon, where he found his old friend and commander, the Duke of Ormond, (in the praises of whose valour, liberality, and worth, all parties have ever united,) and who received him with open arms, and treated him as a friend, rendered more dear to him than ever, by the misfortunes they had undergone in the common cause.

From Avignon, Lord Marischal went to Rome, where the Pretender gave him the Order of the Garter, which he seldom or never wore, giving this reason for it, "Il faut renoncer sous peine de ridicule á ces vains ornements, lorsque celui de qui on les tient, n'est pas en état de les faire respecter." During the time of his residence at Rome, M. d'Alembert supposes that he was employed in many secret negociations. of which, however, nothing can now

be known, as he never intrusted his friends with any account of them; and thirty years before his death he burnt all his papers.

When Spain, in 1733, made war against the Emperor, Lord Marischal wrote to his Catholic Majesty, to request to be employed in his service. This the King of Spain refused at first, as Lord Marischal was a Protestant, though the year before, he had raised him to some command against the Moors in Africa. Lord Marischal was much attached to Spain, where, as he used to say, he had many good friends, not to mention the Sun; and he resided chiefly in Valencia. On hearing, however, that his brother, Marshal Keith, was wounded at the siege of Oczacow, he flew to his assistance, time enough to prevent the loss of a limb, upon the amputation of which, the surgeons happened at that instant to be deliberating. He followed his brother to the waters of Barege, and then returned to Spain. In 1744, the Court of France, then being at war with that of England, affected to make another attempt in favour of the Pretender, but did it so ineffectually, that Lord Marischal saw through it, and endeavoured to prevail upon the Prince not to be the dupe. The Prince, however, did not profit by his advice, and the event was as Lord Marischal had predicted.

Lord Marischal soon afterwards, on being treated with some slight by the minister, quitted Spain, and retired to Venice, where (as a man of sense and of honour is always at home every where), he continued to amuse himself with his books, and with the conversation of men of wit and of letters.

His brother, the Field-Marshal, having now quitted the service of Russia for that of Prussia, was very anxious that he should come and live with him at Berlin. To this he consented, and was soon after sent by the King of Prussia, the great Frederick, to the Court of France, where his Lordship remained for some years; liking the nation rather better than his employment. "Hélas!" said he, "Il faut pour ce métier là une finesse que je n'ai pas et que je ne me soucie point d'avoir;" and deserved the eulogium that was passed some years ago, on one of our celebrated orators, when he was for a short time Secretary of State, by a minister from one of the Northern courts. "J'aime beaucoup à avoir à faire avec M.F. Il n'est pas chicaneur!"

The King of Prussia afterwards sent him as his ambassador to Spain, where he has been supposed to have sent to that great

Statesman, the Earl of Chatham, the account of the family compact then settling between the two Houses of Bourbon; and which, by a timid and an interested council, was treated with a studied and ill-founded contempt, to mortify a minister; and when, as Peter the Great said of Cardinal Richelieu, "Most sovereigns would have given one half of their kingdom to have him govern the other half for them."

This notice, thus timely given, and given to such a minister, would have produced the most splendid victories and triumphs for this country, had not the effects of it been impeded by a senseless and low minded, though powerful, faction at that time.

During the intervals of his two embassies, the King of Prussia gave him the Government of Neufchatel, where he conducted himself in such a manner, as to make himself beloved by the people of that country, who submit with impatience to be the subjects of a Sovereign, so distant from them as the King of Prussia is. Lord Marischal's attainder being now reversed, he was permitted to return into his own country, that of Scotland, where, however, he did not stay long; the coldness of the climate not being congenial to his constitution, and his habits of life being now become different from those of his countrymen.

They, however, with a liberality which does them honour, would not bid against Lord Marischal, when he attended in person to buy his estate. On his return to Berlin, he lived in his usual familiarity with the King of Prussia, and would indeed have had the honour to have died in the arms of this great Prince, had not he been obliged to join his army in Germany. In April 1778, he was seized with a fever, which in the course of six weeks, and after he had suffered extreme pain, carried him to the grave, on the 25th of May, in the same year.

He used to say to his physician during his illness, "Monsieur, Je ne vous demande pas de me faire vivre, car vous ne prétendez point apparemment, m'ôter cinquante ans de mon age, je vous prie seulement d'abrèger (s'il se peut) mes maux. Après tout, je n'ai jamais été malade. Il faut bien que j'ai ma part des misères d'humanité, et je me soumetts a cet arrêt de la nature."

Two days before he died, he sent for Mr. Elliot, our minister at the Court of Berlin, and said to him with his usual cheerfulness, "Je vous ai fait appeler parce que je trouve plaisant qu'un Ministre

du Roi George, reçoive les derniers soupirs d'un vieux Jacobite. D'ailleurs, vous aurez peut-être, quelques commissions à me donner pour milord<sup>1</sup> Chatham, et comme je compte de le voir demain ou après, je me chargerai avec plaisir de vos dépêches?"

Thus died Lord Marischal, who to a sound head added a most excellent heart, and who was a man of such extreme good humour, that J. J. Rousseau himself, who had the honour of a very intimate acquaintance with him, and who personally had received very many obligations from him, had never the heart to quarrel with him.

Lord Marischal was remarkable in conversation, for telling with great point and brevity, an infinite number of very entertaining stories and anecdotes. His letters were remarkably concise and elegant. To Mr. Boswell (who has the talent of making friends wherever he goes), he gave the following letter (draft as Lord Marischal called it, upon a friend) near Neufchatel.

A Monsieur, Monsieur le Colonel,

Chaillot.

MONSIEUR,

Il vous plaira payer à M. Boswell, une bonne Truite du Lac, avec une bouteille de votre meilleur vin.

pour votre Serviteur,

MARISCHAL.

It seems perhaps superfluous to mention, in giving some account of this excellent man, that the King of Prussia presented him with the Order of the Black Eagle.

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<sup>1</sup> This celebrated minister had died about a fortnight before Lord Marischal.



## MEMOIRES



MEMOIRES are commonly so tedious in the beginning, by the recital of genealogies, trifling accidents which happen'd in the childhood, and relatione of minucies (hardly fit to be imparted to the most intimate friend), that it renders them not only uninstrutive to the reader, but often loathsome to those who wish to employ their time in any usefull way. I shall, therefore, begin these at the death of Queen Ann, at which time, tho' I was young, 17 years old, I was capable of judging a little of the state of the Kingdome of Scotland, and of the inclinations of the people. The long course of prosperity which her reign had been attended with, together with the hopes that she in her lifetime, or at least at her death, would settle the succession on her brother, had kept the Jacobits (who are the prevailing party in that Kingdome) not only from giving her any disturbance from the time of the miscariage of the descent which was designed from Dunkirk, but even made them . . . . . end of her reign . . . . . irs in the gover . . . . . soon they saw their . . . . . off by her death, a forreign family placed on the throne, and those who had made the fatal union of the two crowns, and who wou'd naturally sustain it, again in power, they resolved, in conjunction with those of the same party in England, to endeavour to shake off the double yoak, and free themselves from slavery and usurpation by the restoration of King James the 3d, son to King James the 2d, and in this they hoped to be assisted by those who had been employed by the late Queen in the later end of her reign (when she certainly had a warm side for that party), and who were now so obnoxious to the present Government and King for entring into these measures, as well as for making the peace of Utrecht, that some of them were forced to flee out of the Kingdome soon after her death, for fear of

being exposed and abandoned to the fury of the Whigs; and those who stay'd in it resolved to find their safety in that of their country, by boldly opposing the late come Prince, and raising what force they cou'd draw together in favour of his competitor.

The chief of these in England was the Duke of Ormond, who had been Generalissimo of the forces at the death of the late Queen, and in Scotland the Earl of Mar, late Secretary of State,—but who had been both dismissed from their employments on the arrival of King George, to make place for the contrary faction, who now ruled without rivals; and since those two had so great a share in this affair, I shall endeavour to give their characters as just as I can.

The Duke of Ormonde had been bred from his youth to arms, and had served under King William in quality of L. General during the war which began betwixt England and France after the Revolution, with the reputation of a very brave officer, tho' he never had that of a very able one. He was a man of a very easy temper, and of an ordinary understanding, so diffident of himself that he often follow'd the advice of those who had a smaller share of sence than himself; he was as irresolute and timorous in affairs as he was brave in his person, and was apt to lose good oportunities by waiting to remove difficulties which naturally attend great designs, and of which a part must always be left to fortune in the execution; he was a man of entire honour, a good friend, and a strickt observer of his word, generous almost . . . . . lity, and very affable but . . . . . with ch is nec . . . . . ble.

The Duke of Marr was of a quite different character. He was bred up to the pen, and was early brought in to bussiness; had good natural parts but few acquired, and knew so little of some of the commonest parts of sciences, that a gentleman of good credit assured me he saw him look for the Dutchy of Deux Pont in a Map of Hungary, Valachia, and Transilvania; but his character is so exactly given in Lockhart's Memoirs, that it's useless to speak more of it here.

To these two the Jacobits adressed themselves on the death of the Queen, but particularly to the Duke of Ormonde, who was then Captain-General of the British forces, but had much more credit with the people then he had with the troopes, who by the negligence of the Earl of Oxford (then High-Treasurer), were still

composed of the same Whig officers who had served under the Duke of Marleborough, many of whom having bought their employments, cou'd not well be turn'd out without being reimburs'd, which cou'd only be done by the Treasurer, the Officers who were designed to fill their places not being willing to lay out their own money in purchasing them. The Duke, finding himself not sure of the army, delayed entering into the measures which were proposed to him immediatly after the Queen's death, and an accident which shortly after happen'd convinced him that he cou'd stay no longer in England with safety, but must go seek the protection of some forreign Prince, who wou'd help the party, with arms and money at least, if not with men; and as I have often heard him blamed for his sudden departure at that time, I think my self obliged to discover the reasons he gave me for it, tho' perhaps they may not be much to the honour of some of the party, who, soon after King George's arrival in England, advised the Duke of Ormonde to attempt some thing in or near London, before the Parliament was assembled or the new King had time to put himself in a condition to oppose them. They assured him they cou'd bring him a list of Gentlemen then in toun, who with their servants wou'd amount . . . . . men, and who were in any . . . . . thing that they were all well armed and mounted, and that such a force drawn together, wou'd soon be joined by others, to whom the secret cou'd not then be trusted. The Duke desired some time to think of it, fully resolved to make use of their offer howsoon he cou'd secure a sea port by means of which he might have a communication with forriegn countries, from whence he might receive succours. Nor was he long before he gained this point, on which he sent to the managers, and acquainted them of his resolution, and was assured by them that every thing was in readiness, and their numbers rather augmented than diminish'd, so that finding every thing to his wishes he gave them their instructions and order'd them to assemble four days after, about 4 or 5 miles from London, from whence he cou'd either march streight to the city it' he found any mouvement in it in his favour, or retire under cover of the place he had secured, till he had raised forces sufficient to execute his desseign; but the day before the assembly was to have been, the managers sent him notice that most of those who were to have composed the body, wearied with the delays, had gone to the country, and that they cou'd not draw

together above the fift part of what they had first offer'd. This entirly disconcerted the project, and he seing the secret in the hands of so many persones, resolved to retire to France before the indiscretion or infidelity of any of those concerned shou'd bring the affair to light; and thus the rest of the year 1714 continued quiet enough, tho' not without signs that next year wou'd not be so.





1715



N the beginning of the year 1715, King George call'd a new Parliament, and promises and threats were both made use of to have it to his mind, and in this he very well succeeded; but the corruption was so open in many places, that it exasperated the people to the highest degree, and gave the Jacobits an opportunity of bringing over to their side almost all those who had not as yet taken party.

King James, at the . . . . . was not idle, and . . . . . in Lorrain, yet by his friends in Paris he had got assurances from the King of France that he wou'd assist him in every thing that did not fly openly in the face of the treaty of Utrecht; arms he promised him, and permission to take as many of the Irish troops in the French pay as cou'd be sent without the appearance of formed regiments. But what was most wanted, and most difficult to get was money.

The Duke of Ormonde asked 200,000 pound sterling, but the King was so little in condition to furnish that summe, that he had not what was necessary to make the expense of his journey to Fontainebleau, to which place he always used to go once a year. To remedy this he sent a courier to the King of Spain, to desire the loan of a million livres french, and acquainted his grandson to what use it was to be employed, who was so generous as to send it as from himself, saying, he thought himself happy to be able to contribute to so just an undertaking.

This encouragement which the Jacobites received abroad, gave great life to their party at home, and they now began to talk publickly that very soon an invasion was intended, and that the Highlanders in Scotland were preparing for an insurrection, which gave King George time to put himself in a condition to oppose them, by getting an act of Parliament pass'd for raising a new body of troops, and another suspending the habeas corpus act; and had the secret been better kept it's very probable the event might have

been different from what it was; but the treacherie of one, and the folly of another person ruined the first two enterprises, the one on Bristol and the other on Edinburg castle.

The Duke of Ormond being now out of the Kingdome, the King's friends applied themselves particularly to the Duke of Marr, especial the Scots, who tho' not so numerous as the English, were not inconsiderable on many accounts: first, because of the body of Highlanders which, on the first occasion, cou'd be drawn together, and if well commanded were able to have made themselves masters of the wholle kingdome of Scotland; and, secondly, on account of the many sea ports they were masters of, by which succours might come from abroad; and indeed the English resolved to make use of those advantages: they push'd on the Scots (who wanted no spur), to the attempt, giving them all the fair promises imaginable of help howsoon they shou'd take arms; and how well they performed it shall be afterwards discover'd. They concerted with the Duke of Marr that he shou'd immediatly go to Scotland, and there declare publickly for King James, and that howsoon they heard of his being . . . . . wou'd declare for . . . . . to enable him to prosecute his design, they gave him 7000 pound sterling to carry with him. The Earl of Portmore, an old experienced officer, who had commanded the English army in Portugal, offer'd to go along with him, and to bring a considerable summe with him; but whither the English thought he might be of more use in England, or that the Duke of Marr thought the glory of the enterprise wou'd mostly fall to his share who commanded the Army, which wou'd have been Lord Portmore's employment had he come to Scotland, he was left behind, and in his place L. Mar brought along with him L. General Hamilton, who tho' an old officer, was not in the least equal to the affair he was to undertake, for tho' he had served long and with very good reputation in the Dutch troops, yet being a man whom only experience, not natural genius, had made an officer, he did not know how to make use of his new troops, who are of a disposition as hot and quick as the Dutch are slow and fleg-matick; and this certainly was the occasion of his misfortune at the affair of Dumblain: besides, he having been always used to the regularty of the Dutch, thought all lost when he saw the first sign of confusion among the Highlanders.

With this supply, and many fair promises from the English, did the Earl of Mar arrive in Scotland about the beginning of July, and

without stopping at Edenborough went straight to his estate in the Highlands, where soon after L. John Drummond, son to the Duke of Perth, arrived from France with instructions from King James, and assurances that he wou'd very soon follow. The orders were, to lye quiet if possible, till his arrival; but if they found the affair discover'd, and the chiefs in danger of being apprehended, that in that case they shou'd take arms immediatly,—which they were forced very soon after to put in execution; for King George, having clearly discover'd their desseigns, issued out orders that the chiefs of party, to the number of 72 persons, of whom there was above 20 peers, shou'd repair to Edenborough, and there surrender themselves; on which the Earl of Mar assembled all those of them who cou'd conveniently come, and consulted them on the case, where it was unanimously agreed to refuse the summons and take arms.

The Earl of Mar, under pretence of a great hunting, had already assembled about 800 men, and with these he set up the Royal standart on the 3d of September 1715, proclaimed King James, King of Scotland, England, France and Irland, and published a declaration in which he deduced all the misfortunes the Revolution had brought on the Kingdome of Scotland, and particularly the hardships it groan'd under since the fatal union, and concluded that he had taken arms by the orders of their lawfull Souveraign, to free them from a burthen they were no longer able to bear.

Many, indead, thought it an ill omen, and even worse policy, to employ the person who had been one of the principal instruments in building the fabrick, and who had been so well paid for it, in the pulling it down; but the great employments he had been in, his knowlege of the country, and the sincere marks of repentance he gave, made the greater number approve the choise.

He immediatly after this step sent orders to all the touns to pay the taxes and duties only on the old Scots footing, but at the same time insinuations were made them, that without money to sustain these orders they must soon cease, and their load grow heavier then before; that, therefore, it was necessary they shou'd pay at the common rates till such time as things were entirly settled, and the war which was begun for their relief happily ended; and to this they all consented, tho' in a different manner, for some paid it according to the rates since the union, and others, fond of their new

privileges, chose rather to raise a certain summe, agreed on as an aid for the war, and paid only the Scots duties.

Every thing being now ready for beginning the enterprize, the Earl of Marr order'd the Highland chiefs of the clans to assemble their men with all possible hast, and fixed the rendezvous at Perth, which he order'd Collonel Hay, son to the Earl of Kinnoul, to seize on, which with a small party of horse he easily did, there being only a few militia in the place, who gave it up without making any resistance.

The chiefs of the Clans, according to their orders, immediatly assembled their followers and formed regiments of foot, and the Nobility of the low country formed the gentlemen of their party into regiments of horse; the common people flocked in from all quarters, but there being no arms yet arrived, no use cou'd be made of their zeal, and therefor they were dismissed. This was chiefly owing to the negligence of the Earl of Boulingbrooke's, who, tho' he had sufficient quantities in his power, did not in all the time the war lasted, send one single musket to Scotland.

In the midst of these preparations arrived the unlucky news of the King of France's death, which mightily discouraged many of our party, and raised the hopes of our enemies,—the succours we expected from him being one of the principal motives which made us engage in the attempt; but it was now too late to look back, and we flatter'd ourselves that the Duke of Orleans, who was declared Regent, wou'd follow the late King's measures.

In the mean time, our troops advanced from all parts of the north of Scotland towards Perth, which was the general rendezvous, and by the beginning of October we had assembled about five thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. The enemie lay at Sterling, under the command of the Duke of Argile, and were about a thousand foot and eight hundred horse, encamped under the cannon of the castle, where they cou'd not be attacked; and as the half of our foot, and those the best, were not yet come up, nor cou'd arrive in less than three weeks, it was resolved not to stir from Perth till they had joyned us.

But to give vigour to the Jacobites in England, some of whom had already taken arms, it was thought fit to make a detachment of 2000 foot to sustain them. The difficulty was, how they shou'd march. To pass the Forth above Stirling was thought impossible,

the Duke of Argile being posted there to oppose their passing the river; and to venture it below Edimburg was running the hazard of being taken by the men of war, who lay in the road of Lieth to guard those parts of the river. However, this last rout was resolved on, as most feasible, and boats being assembled at Bruntisland, the detachment set sail from thence; but before they cou'd reach the port on the other side to which they intended, they were discover'd by the men of war, who bore down on them, took a boat with about forty men, and forced about 400 in to the isle of May; however, those found means to get back again to Perth.

The rest being dispersed by the men of war, were forced to land in several different places, and howsoon they were joyned, marched under the command of Brigadier Macintosh, and took possession of the toun of Lieth, which, being within a mile of Edimburg, the capital of the Kingdome, alarmed the Duke of Argile, who ordering some foot to mount behind five hundred dragoons, marched with all speed to prevent any attempts might be intended against that place; but on the Duke's arrival, the Highlanders abandoned Lieth, and continued their march towards England, and about a hundred of their rear-guard, having lost their way in the night, were made prisoners. Whille the Duke was employed in securing the toun of Edimbourg, and observing the motions of that detachment, the Earl of Marr took the occasion of his absence from Stirling, and march'd with the rest of the army from Perth, designing either to force the passage of the river at Stirling, if the Duke continued in pursuit of our troops, or give them the oportunity to continue their march quietly, if he took the party to return and defend the pass; and finding that on the news of our march he was already return'd, the Earl of Mar immediatly retired to his former quarters in Perth, from whence he order'd a battalion of foot, with about a hundred horse, to Dumfermlin, to raise contributions in Fife, and to cover some convoys which were coming up from that country to the army. The foot on their arrival posted themselves in an old abbey, but the horse, who were almost all gentlemen, for the more conveniency, quarter'd themselves separatly in the toun; of which the enemy having had notice, surprized them in the night, and carried off about twenty prisoners.

Both armies after this lay quiet for some time, waiting the reinforcements which were on their march to join them. The enemy expected four regiments of foot and one of dragoons from

Ireland, and we about five thousand Highlanders, under the command of General Gordon, from the Highlands. About the beginning of November our troops arrived, and much about the same time we had accounts that those of the enemy were debarked near Glasgow.

All our troops being now assembled, the Earl of Marr resolved to march towards the enemy, and on the eight of November arrived at Denain, with fourteen battalions of foot and eight squadrons of horse, having left three battalions in Perth for the defense of the place; the ninth the army lay at Auchterarder, where he reveiu'd the troops, who consisted of about 6000 foot and eight hundred horse. Here we lay two days, waiting for two battalions from Fife; but finding those did not come up so soon as we expected, the twelfth we continued our march, the advanced guard lay near Dumblain, and the rest of the troops were quarter'd about a mile behind them, the want of tents and the coldness of the weather rendering it impossible for us to encamp. We had as yet no perfect account of the motions of the enemy, and concluded from the inferiority of their number, (they being not above 3000 foot and twelve hundred horse), that they wou'd fight us at the passage of the river, but we had hardly got the troops marched to their different quarters, when we received orders to join with all hast our advanced guard, the Duke of Argile having passed the Forth, and encamped about the town of Dumblain, within cannon shot of them. Both armies lay all night on their arms, and next morning by day break we discover'd a body of the enemies on a rising ground near our left. Before eight in the morning, our army was formed in order of battle, in two lines, without any body of reserve. The Earl of Marr call'd all the General Officers and heads of Clans to a council of war, which was held at the head of the line, and there asked their advice whither we shou'd attack the enemy, or return to Perth and wait the arrival of King James, who was every day expected, as also for accounts what success our friends in England might have; but it was carried almost unanimously to attack, none daring openly to oppose the current; the Marquess of Huntly only made some insinuations that it wou'd not be fit to remain in unaction till the King's arrival.

The resolution being now taken to attack the ennemy, the Earl of Marr commanded the Earl Marischal, with S<sup>r</sup> Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald's regiment of foot, and his own squadron of horse, to

take possession of the rising ground on which a body of the enemies horse still remain'd, and to cover the march of the army on the left (our right being cover'd by a river) to the town of Dumblain, where we imagined the enemy still to be. On our approach, the enemies horse retired; and we had no sooner gained the top of the hill than we discover'd their whole body, marching without beat of drum, about two musket shot from us. It was now too late to retreat; we therfor form'd on the top of the hill, and the Earl Marischal sent an aid-de-camp to advertise the Earl of Marr that he was fall'n in with the enemies army, that it was impossible for him to bring off the foot, and therfor desired he wou'd march up to his assistance as quick as possible,—which he did even in too much hast; for the army, which marched in four columns, arrived in such confusion that it was impossible to form them according to the line of battle projected, every one posted himself as he found ground, and one columne of foot enclining to the right and another to the left of the Earl Marischal's squadron of horse, that regiment which shou'd have been on the right, found itself in the center, separated from the rest of the horse, and opposed to the enemies foot; our foot formed all on one line, except on the left, where a bog hinder'd them from extending themselves, and encreased the confusion.

The Duke of Argile was no less embarrassed on his side. His army was not yet entirly formed; the rear, which was to have formed his left wing, was yet on their march, and showed us their flank, which being observed by Lieutenant-General Gordon, he order'd our troops immediatly to charge, which they did with so much vigour that in less than ten minutes they entirly defeated six regiments of foot and five squadrons of dragoons, which composed more than the half of the Duke's army, while the rest having taken the same advantage of our left, which had neither time nor ground to fire, entirly routed them. Both parties pursued the troops they had broken, not knowing what had happen'd on the other side, till at length the Earl of Marr, having had the fatal news of the loss we had received, order'd the troops to give over the pursuit, and having rallied them, returned to the field of battle, from whence we discover'd the enemy posted at the foot of the hill amongst mud walls, on the same ground where we had layen the night before.

The Earl of Marr, sent immediatly an officer to reconnoitre them, and at the same time assembled the General officers and

heads of Clans, to consult whither he shou'd attack them again; but the officer having reported that their numbers were equall to ours, and the Highlanders, who were extreemly fatigued, and had eat nothing in two days, being averse to it, it was resolved to keep the field of battle, and to let the enemy retire unmolested, which they had already begun to do under cover of the earth walls, as well as of the night which was now approaching, leaving us about fifty prisoners of ours, most of them wounded, whom they had not time to carry along with them. We continued on the field of battle till dark night, and then marched back to the same villages which had been marked for our quarters the night before.

The enemy had about seven hundred men killed or wounded, amongst whom was the Earl of Forfar killed, and the Earl of Hay wounded, and two hundred and twenty-three taken prisoners, and we about 150 killed or wounded, and eighty-two taken; but among those killed we had three persons of note, the Earl of Strathmore, his unkle Auchterhouse, and Clanronald, and the Earl of Panmure very much wounded. The loss of colours was almost equal on both sides; but the enemy got five piece of our canon, which we cou'd not carry off, those belonging to the train having run away with the horses when they saw our left broke; and thus ended the affair of Dumblain, in which neither side gained much honour, but which was the entire ruin of our party.

Some unlucky mistakes which hapned that day, must here take place: first, an order to the wholle horse on the left to march to the right, which so discouraged the foot of that wing to see themselves abandoned, that to it may be attributed their shameful! behaviour that day; nor were these horse of any advantage to us where they were posted, for the ground was so bad that they cou'd never be brought to engage. Another, of no less consequence, was the mistake of the officer who was sent to reconnoitre the Duke of Argile's army in the afternoon, for he having taken his remarks more by the number of coulours than the space of ground they occupied, made his report that the enemy was betwixt two and three thousand foot strong, when in reality there was no more than three battalions, not making in all above one thousand foot, the other coullours being what the Duke had just taken on our left, and being almost the same with his own, he now used them to disguise the weakness of his troops by making a show of four battalions more than he had, the ground and mud walls by which he was

cover'd not allowing to see that he had formed only two ranks deep; this mistake hinder'd us from attacking him in the evening, which it's probable we might have done with better success than we had in the morning.

Next morning the Duke of Marr, finding most of our left had run quite away and was not yet returned, retired towards Perth, as the enemy had already done into Stirling; he resolved there to reassemble those who had run away, and altho' a considerable number of them were there before us, yet they were of no use, having lost their cloaths in the action. To explain this, one must know the habit of the Highlanders and their manner of fighting; their cloaths are composed of two short vests, the one above reaching only to their waste, the other about six inches longer, short stockings which reaches not quite to their knee, and no breeches; but above all they have another piece of the same stuff, of about six yards long, which they tye about them in such a manner that it covers their thighs and all their body when they please, but commonly it's fixed on their left shoulder and leaves their right arm free. This kind of mantell they throw away when they are ready to engage, to be lighter and less encumber'd, and if they are beat it remains on the field, as happen'd to our left wing, who having lost that part of their cloaths which protects them most from the cold, and which likewise serves them for bed cloaths, cou'd not resist the violent cold of the season, and were therefor sent with their officers home, not only to be new cloathed but also to bring back those who had fled straight from the battle to the mountains, the Duke of Marr thinking that the rigor of the winter and the loss the enemy had sustained wou'd keep them from acting till the next spring, not doubting but the detachment we had sent to England, and who was already joined with the English, wou'd obstruct all succours coming to them from that country. But in this we were very soon undeceived, for news was brought us that the same day we fought the Duke of Argile's army, our troops in England had surrendred to the Generals Carpenter and Wills, who had penned them up in the toun of Preston; but as I design to write only the occurrences which has happen'd to my self, or to which I have been eye witness, I shall only touch this as it influenced our affairs in Scotland, where it had several bad effects: first, it gave the enemy oportunity to draw down forces from England against us, and to employ all the Dutch troops which they had brought

over, (consisting of 6000 men) against Scotland. A second bad effect was the disuniting us amongst ourselves, for several of our party, seing that the English, which we always looked on as our principal strength, were quelled, and indeed had never made any appearence equal to their promises, they having never been above eight hundred men, began to think of making terms for themselves; and accordingly the Marquess of Huntly formed a party in our army, who proposed to send to the Duke of Argile to know what terms we might expect if we submitted. The Duke answer'd he had no orders to treat with us in general, but that every one who in particular wou'd adress himself to the King's clemency, might expect pardon. This opened a door to all particular treaties, and many suspected that even our General, the Duke of Marr, from that time forward held a correspondence with the enemy more for his own particular interest than for the general advantage of his party. The Marquess of Huntly and Seafort, on pretence that their own countries were in danger of being destroyed by the Earl of Sutherland, who in the north of Scotland had formed a body of a 1000 or 1500 miserable troops, desired leave to march home with their troops, promising to settle the peace of that country in the winter, and to return early in the spring with a considerable reinforcement. The Duke of Marr, finding it impossible to get them to alter their resolution, was obliged to consent to their departure; and thus we were left in Perth with about 4000 foot and five hundred horse, to oppose an enemy who must in a few weeks be near 12,000 men strong, by the junction of the Dutch and English troops, who were on their march to Stirling. This made us with all hast begin to fortifie Perth, hoping that, and the violence of the weather (which was excessive that year) might give us leasure till the spring to wait for the return of our Highlanders and the arrival of King James, who was ready to embarck, and with whome we expected a recruit of officers and a quantity of arms and ammunition from France, of which we stood in great need, having lost most of our powder, which was even then in very small quantity, at the affair of Dumblain. The King indeed arrived safely in the end of December 1715, after a great many dangers, but came in a very small fishing barck with only two servants, and without any of those things which we had so much depended on, so that what shou'd have given our affairs the greatest life was rather a discouragement to them. Every one plainly saw that we had no

assistance to hope for from France,—the English were entirely suppressed, and we in too bad a condition to be able long to resist the power of those who were combined to destroy us.



1716.



HOWEVER, in the beginning of January 1716, his Majesty came to Perth, whence he issued out orders to all those who had gone home, to return with all possible hast; but the deepness of the snow in the Highlands, the want of money amongst the gentlemen in the low country, who had already spent most of what they cou'd raise, and the particular treaties which some of the chief nobility, (such as the Marquesses of Seafort and Huntly) had already so far advanced, made these orders so ill executed, that the army rather diminish'd than augmented while his Majesty remained at Perth. On the contrary, the enemy hastned their preparations to prevent the effect of these orders; and the Duke of Argile, being joined by the Generals Cadogan and Vander Beck with the Dutch troops, and by two regiments of English dragoons, and a good train of artillery, marched about the end of January from Stirling, tho' the excessive cold, and the precaution we had taken to burn all the villages and houses betwixt Dumblain and Perth, seemed enough to determine him not to undertake it, and arrived in two marches at Perth, which we had abandoned the day before, neither our troops nor our half-raised fortifications being in a condition to resist him.

The King's army march'd by two different routs northward, and that body which he commanded arrived the first night at Dundee, next day at Arbroth, and the third day at Montrose; the other body arrived the same day within six miles of us at Breechen. His Majesties design was to assemble all the troops which were laying in his way as he marched, and to gain the toun of Inverness, which, tho' then in the enemy's possession, must have surrender'd to us on our coming before it, being a place of no strength, and there to have expected the Duke of Argile, and fought him with all our troops in a body, and so have put the affair to the decision of a battle; but his Grace gave us no time for such junction, and without giving his troops more than one day's time to refresch themselves at Perth, marched in pursuit of us.

The King, considering the ill state of his affairs, and having examined the strength of his army, found that he had not above 3000 foot well armed, and about 1000 very indifferently, and seven or eight hundred horse, and for these not ammunition enough for one day's action,—this made him consult the Duke of Marr what he ought to do, who positively advised him to return to France, telling him that the succours he expected in the North were not very sure, that the Marquesses of Seafort and Huntly, on whom most depended, had probably already made their peace with the Elector of Hannover; that even if they did join him, yet they were no better provided with ammunition than we were; that to retire into the mountains in that season of the year was impossible, there being neither cover nor provisions for such a body of men as we shou'd then have, and much less forage for the horse; and that if his Majesty did not take the opportunity to sail even from Montrose, he cou'd not answer but he might fall into the enemies hands; that while they had the hopes of getting such a prize, they wou'd stick at no fatigues or loss of men, but push us with the utmost vigour; but if once they knew that he was gone, they perhaps wou'd give some respite to their own troops, and by consequence to ours, who might lye separatly all winter in the mountains, while he endeavoured to get us supported from abroad, in which case we might appear again in the spring, and even at the worst that we might then make some terms for ourselves, which was impossible while he was with us. This, I believe, determined the King's resolution; however, he resolved to know the sentiments of some others of his subjects on the matter, and having call'd for the Earl Marischall, told him he desired his advice on the same head, but he excused himself on account of his age and want of experience; but finding himself still pressed, at last desired he might first have leave to speak with the Duke of Marr, who used the same arguments as he had done with the King; to which the other answer'd, that tho' we were in a bad situation he did not think the case so desperate as he represented; that the troops we had in the north wou'd amount to about 7000 foot and about 400 horse, which wou'd make us very near equal to the enemy; that it was true we had little ammunition, but that we cou'd get as much out of Aberdeen and the places where we past as wou'd serve to try the fate of a day, and that even if we lost it, we wou'd be no worse than we wou'd be in taking the present course; that as for the

King's person, he did not apprehend it could be in danger, because by sending ships away to the west of Scotland, where there was so many harbors for them to lye in, he could make his escape from thence with less danger than even from the port they were at, the mouth of which was blocked up by two of the enemies men of war; and that to conclude all, he did not think it for the King's honour, nor for that of the nation, to give up the game without putting it to a tryall. Lord Marr seemed to be convinced of the truth of this, and said he would advise the King not to go; however, a ship was already provided, and in the beginning of the night, fourth of February O. S., his Majesty embarked with the Dukes of Marr and Melfort, Lord Drummond, L. General Sheldon, and some domesticks, and sailed about the middle of the night for France, having left behind him an order for L. General Gordon to command the army in his absence, and a letter directed to the chiefs of his loyal subjects, in which he published the reason of so sudden a departure, which were almost the same as what I have already marked. He wrote likewise to the Marquess of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick, who was then at 4 miles distance, that he had left another ship for him and some others to follow him in, but that ship taking the allarm howsoon they knew the King was sailed, weigh'd anchor also, and went off empty. At the same time he embarked, orders were given for the foot to march, the horse having advanced six miles the day before. This was executed with much confusion, every body believing the enemy to be at our heels by the time we marched, and what augmented it was the rumor which began to spread that the King was gone, but it was given out that he was only gone by sea to Aberdeen, and would be there before us. This took well enough with the common soldiers for some hours, but next morning when we arrived at Ston-hyve, where the other division of our army met us, it became publick that he was gone for France. The consternation was general, and the whole body so dispirited, that had the Duke of Argyle followed us close, and come up with only two thousand men, I'm perswaded he might have taken us all prisoners; but he hearing at Montrose that the King was gone, halted there a whole day, and so gave us time to get to Aberdeen.

Howsoon we arrived there a councell of war was held, to which all the general officers and chiefs of the Highlanders were summon'd, together with a great many of the nobility and principal

gentry. There it was debated whither we shou'd continue the former resolution of marching to Inverness, assembling all the troops we cou'd there, and fighting the enemy; or if we shou'd march directly to the mountains, and there disperse, and every man to do the best he cou'd for himself; and it was unanimously resolved that we shou'd continue our march to Gordon Castle, and there consult with the Marquess of Huntly, and if we found him willing to join us we shou'd march on to Inverness,—if not, we shou'd retire to the Highlands. In pursuance of this resolution we marched next day from Aberdeen, where we left the prisoners, and most of our heaviest baggage to the enemy, and in three marches came to Keith, from whence G. Gordon sent the Earl Marischal to sound the Marquesses intention; but he easily perceived by his answer that there was nothing to be expected from him, and that we must be reduced to our last shift of gaining the mountains, which was next day put in execution; and in two days march we came to Ruthven in Badenoch, which, laying in the center of the Highlands, was judged the fittest place to dismiss our troops.

From thence every one took the road pleased him best. The low country gentlemen, who cou'd find no safety in their own country, resolved to keep together till they shou'd get to the west sea, and so take the first opportunity of getting out of the Kingdom. The Highland gentlemen, trusting to the unaccessibleness of their hills, resolved to stay in the country, and there endeavour to make their peace with the Governement. But before they separated it was resolved to write a letter to the Duke of Argile, acknowledging their fault, and desiring pardon, which was drawn up in so mean terms that few wou'd sign it, and it received the answer it deserved, or rather had no answer given it.

We, who had taken the party to get out of the Kingdome, continued our march with S<sup>r</sup> Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald's and Clanronald's regiments, who were going home to the west islands, where we arrived about the middle of March, after much fatigue and the loss of near a company of foot, who were overset in passing a river by overloading the boat, and here we remained near a month without any appearance of escaping, no ship being then on that coast, and the ships we had sent for to several parts in Scotland not daring to come to us for fear of the enemies men of war; but what troubled us most was the repeated advices we had that the enemy was preparing to attack us, and that two battalions of foot and three

fregats were already in the isle of Sky, not above ten leagues from us. At last, about the middle of April, a ship sent by the King, arrived for us from France, in which we embarked to the number of about 100 officers, the 20 of April, old stile, and after a very pleasant passage arrived the 12 of May, new stile, at S<sup>t</sup> Paul de Leon in Brittany.

One part of our company went straight to Avignon, where the King then was, but I and several more went to Paris, where I had several relations. Howsoon I arrived I went to kiss the Queen-Mother's hand, who received me very graciously; told me she had heard already how I had behaved myself in her son's service, and assured me that neither of them shou'd ever forget it; in a word, had I conquer'd a kingdome for her she cou'd not have said more. I ask'd her permission to go to the King, but she told me I must stay at Paris; that I was young, and that she wou'd put me to the Academy to learn my exercises; however in a month after I heard no more of it, and having left Scotland so abruptly that I had no time to provide any money to bring along with me, what I had was soon at an end, and my friends there not knowing to what part of the world I was gone, had sent no bills for me. I lived most of that time on selling horse furniture, and other things of that nature, which an officer commonly carries with him; and tho' I had relations enough in Paris, who cou'd have supplied me, and who wou'd have done it with pleasure, yet I was then either so bashfull or so vain, that I wou'd not own the want I was in.

About a month after the Queen sent me a 1000 livers, and order'd me to enter into the Academy, and much about the same time a Banquier in Paris came and told me he had orders from Scotland to supply me with money, and that the King had order'd him to give me 200 crouns a year, which was all his circumstances could allow him.

The rest of the year 1716 I passed at the Academy, and in the beginning of the year 1717, I received a commission of Collonel of horse, and orders to prepare to go to Scotland, the King of Sweden intending to invade that Kingdome in favour of King James; but it being discover'd and prevented, I continued all that year at the Academy.



1717.



IN month of June, the Emperor of Russia, Peter the 1st, arrived in Paris, and I resolved to try to get into his service; for having now nothing to trust to but my sword, I thought it high time (being about 20 years old) to quitte the Academy, and endeavour to establish myself somewhere, where I might again begin my fortune; but this attempt did not succeed, perhaps because I did not take the right measures in it.







1718.



ABOUT the beginning of the year 1718, the war betwixt the Emperor and Spain was begun by the preparations the latter was making for invading Sicily. My friends advised me to get recommendations for that Court from King James, and to go to Madrid and offer my service; but I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and tho' shame and my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly that I set out only in the end of that year, and had not my mistress and I quarrel'd, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose, so much was I taken up with my passion. But to explain the reasons that now carried me to Spain, its necessary to go back to the month of August of this year, when the English, without any previous declaration of war, or even any good ground for it, had attacked the King of Spain's fleet on the coast of Sicily, and entirely ruined it, which so exasperated the Cardinal Alberoni, who then governed Spain with the title of first Minister, that he resolv'd to assist King James, and so revenge himself on the Whigs, who had been the occasion of the breach of faith he complained of.

To concert the proper methods for this he wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, who was then in Paris, inviting him to come to Madrid, and he having discover'd the design of his journey to the Earl Marischall of Scotland, had promised him that if there was any thing to be done in Brittain, or if the Cardinal wou'd take him into the Spanish service, he wou'd immediatly write to him; and accordingly, in the beginning of December following he received a letter desiring him to come to that country, and to bring me along with him.

I was not at that time in a very fit condition to begin so long a journey, being not quite recover'd of a fit of sickness; however, I set out as I was, and before I had got to Marseilles the travelling

and change of air had entirly recover'd me.





1719.



E embarked at that place in the beginning of the year 1719, and after some bad weather arrived at Palamos on the coast of Catalonia.

Howsoon we landed we were carried before the Commandant, who asked us what we were and whence we came from. We told him we came from France, but as to the other question, answer'd only that we were English officers who were going to Madrid to seek employment in the army, for the Duke of Ormonde had desir'd us to keep our journey private. He then asked us if we had any recommendation to any at the Court of Madrid, and finding we had, or at least wou'd own none, he told us he cou'd let us go no farther, for that coming from an enemies country, and giving so lame an account of ourselves, he must send us to the next governor, who was D<sup>n</sup> Tiberio Caraffa, Governor of Giron, who might dispose of us as he thought fit, and that there being then an Irish regiment in that place, commanded by the Duke of Liria, perhaps we might find some of our countrymen there who might answer for us. The news of the Duke of Liria's being so near was no little agreeable to us, and we told him we ask'd no better, for that the Duke wou'd answer for us.

Accordingly, next morning we were sent to Gironne with a letter to the governor, and a soldier whom he told us he sent along because the roads were infested by robbers, but in reality to take care we did not make our escape. We arrived there in the evening, and having delivered the letter to the governor, he order'd us to be carried to the Duke's quarters to be examined, who was no little surprized at our appearance, and immediatly sent to acquaint the governor that he answer'd for the two gentlemen, but concealed our names at the desire of the Earl Marischal. We loged that night with him, and finding him alltogether ignorant of any intended enterprize on England, we concluded that we were sent for only to enter into the King of Spain's service, and therefore resolved to

continue our route slowly to Madrid, without fatiguing ourselves by going post. We accordingly hired chairs there, and two days after arrived at S<sup>n</sup> Andreu, hard by Barcelona, and from thence sent a letter from the Duke of Liria to Prince Pio of Savoy, who was then Captain General of that province, begging him to allow us to come in to the town without being examined at the Ports; and about an hour after we saw a coach and six mules (the first equipage of the kind I had ever seen), with the Prince's livery at the door of our inn. This surprized us, and still more the respect his Doctor, whom he had sent in his coach to receive us, paid to two strangers he had never seen. The reason, which we did not know till long after, was, that some days before he had received letters from the Cardinal that King James wou'd arrive very soon in some of the Ports of Catalonia incognito; that he shou'd receive him in the same manner, and take care to provide every thing for the despatch of his journey to Madrid. This, with the Duke of Liria's letter, occasioned our entry into Barcelona in this manner; and I believe he was sorry to have given himself so much trouble about us, when he knew who we were, yet he received us very civilly, tho' with some embarras.

As we did not open ourselves farther to him than telling our true names, so he told us no more than that he believed it wou'd be fit we set out immediatly for Madrid, which we did next morning, after vieuing the new citadelle he was building, and which he allowed us to visit; and after fifteen days journey we arriv'd at that place, and the same evening sent to acquaint the Cardinal we were come. He order'd us to attend him early next morning; and we had no sooner made him our reverence than he asked us why we had been so long on the way, it being eight days since he had accounts from Barcelona of our being there. We answered, that tho' we had been desired to come to Spain, yet not knowing that his Eminence had any pressing commands for us, we had come by the ordinary way of travelling of the country. He told us the business pressed; that it was to execute an enterprize on England in favour of its lawfull master; that the Duke of Ormonde was already set out to embarck at the Groine for England; and it was resolved he the Earl Marischall shou'd go to Scotland; but that he must know what he wanted for the expedition, and in what manner he designed to act when there;—to which the other answer'd, that as he did not know the plan the Duke of Ormonde had layed down, and as both parts

most go in concert, he begged leave to go to Valladolid, where the Duke then was, and that in three or four days he shou'd be back, fully instructed in every thing which might conduce to the good of the affair; to which the Cardinal consented, and order'd immediatly post horses to be brought, that he might set out without loss of time; and desired me to stay in Madrid, in case he might have occasion to speak to me in the others absence.

Five days after the Earl Marischall returned, having been obliged to follow the Duke of Ormonde to Benevente, and immediatly went to the Cardinal and settled the plan of the undertaking. He asked four thousand arms and ten thousand pistolls; but the furnishing the Duke of Ormonde had so drained their magazins, as well as their treasury, that all he cou'd get was 2000 arms and 5000 pistolls, with six companies of foot to cover his landing. One difficulty still remain'd,—which was to get the chiefs of the King's friends, who were in France, advertised of this, which the Cardinal desired me to undertake. The Earl Marischal had brought with him from the Duke of Ormonde a little billet containing these words—'Pray have entire confidence in the bearer,' and signed Ormond, to be given to him who shou'd be sent; and with this and about 18,000 crowns, I set out from Madrid the 19 of February, and three days after arrived at S<sup>t</sup> Sebastian, where I deliver'd 12,000 crowns to the Prince Campo Florido, for the equipement of the frigats destin'd for Scotland, and with the little money which remained enter'd France privatly. I was not ignorant how much I risked in coming into an enemies country in time of war in that manner, but as the affair I went about did not concern France, I hoped that, even shou'd I be discover'd, I might be quitte for laying some time in prison; however, I pass'd without any difficulty, and got to Bourdeaux in the end of February, where I mett General Gordon, Brigadeer Campbell, and some others, to whom I deliver'd my message, and left them some money to hire ships to transport themselves to Scotland; only Brigadeer Campbell went to Spain to embark at S<sup>n</sup> Sebastian with the Earl Marischall. The greatest difficulty I had in my journey, was how to get post horses from this place; the Duke of Berwick, who commanded here, having given positive orders that they shou'd be furnished to none but those who had his warrant for them,—and this he never gave without examining the person either by himself or his secretary. This examination I knew I cou'd not stand, for I was not

only known to his Grace, but also knew that he was informed of my journey to Spain. To obviate this difficulty I made use of another person, who not being suspected, asked horses for himself and one servant to go to Paris, and as such I set out with him, and the 3d of March arrived at Orleans, where I found the Marquess of Tullibardine, who according to my orders I carried along with me to Paris next day.

Howsoon I got there, I advertised the Marquess of Seafort, who immediatly came to the house where I was, and brought along with him a brother of Lord Duffus's, and some while after came in Campbell of Glenderuel. I told them the reason of my coming, and showed them the short credentials I had brought from the Duke of Ormonde. Glenderuel smiled at reading them, and told me that that billet wou'd have been of little weight with them, had they not been already advertised by the Duke of Marr to obey what orders the Duke of Ormonde shou'd send. This plainly let me see that we had two factions amongst us, and which proved the occasion of our speedy ruin when we landed in Scotland. However, they agreed to obey the orders, and I went away next day to Rowen to provide a ship for them, which in ten days I got fitted out by the help of a merchant there, and ready to put to sea. Howsoon this was done, I wrote to them to come down with all hast, the ship being already at Havre de Grace. When they arrived, Glenderuel asked me if I had seen General Dillon while I was at Paris. I told him I had not; that General Dillon being at S<sup>t</sup> Germain, I durst not venture to go there, being too well known not to be discover'd; and that tho' the interest of those there was the same with ours, yet their imprudence was so great that they were not to be trusted with a secret which, shou'd it take vent, must occasion our being stopt at the instance of the Earl of Stair, then Ambassador from the Court of England; that besides, having no instructions to communicate any thing to him, I made no doubt but he had been advertised by some other canal.

Glenderuel declared he did not think those reasons valid, and that Dillon shou'd be advertised of this, and desired to let us know if the King (whose affairs he was then intrusted with at Paris) had given him no particular instructions on this head. This was the pretence; the true reason was to get a commission which they knew he had in his hands, and was design'd for the King of Sweden's expedition in the year 1717, by which the King constituted the Marquess of Tullibardine Commander in chieff of his forces in

Scotland. This Glenderuel thought absolutely necessary for his own private ends, being surer to govern the easy temper of the Marquess than of those who otherwise wou'd naturally have the command of the army, and particularly to prevent its falling into the hands of General Gordon, with whom he was not in very good intelligence.

The day before we embarked, the express they had sent to Paris returned with a paquet from General Dillon, of which they showed a letter full of common place advices relating to the conduct we shou'd hold in Scotland, but not a word of the commissions, which they kept to be drawn out on proper occasions.

All things being now ready, we embark'd the 19th of March in a small barck of about 25 tunns, in the mouth of the Seine, and shaped our course to pass betwixt Dover and Calais, and so round the Orkneys to the Isle of Lewis, which was our place of rendezvous; but the wind continuing at east forced us the Friday after, March 24, to alter our course, and stand away for S<sup>t</sup> George's Channel, or the back of Ireland, as we shou'd think best. Two days after we came up with the land's end in the evening, and about two hours after found our selves in the midle of a fleet, seven of which had out lights and the others none; these we conjectured to be men of war, and the rest transports; and finding the number of the former to agree with what the Duke of Ormonde had, I made no doubt but it was his fleet; however, the wind being favourable, we passed thro' them without speaking to them, in which we were very lucky, for it proved a squadron of English men of war transporting a body of troops from Ireland to England, where they had at last got the news of the invasion intended against them. From thence we stood for Cape Clear and the west coast of Ireland, and after favourable but blowing weather, arrived the 4 of April, N. S. in the isle of Lewis, where we enquired if no ship had touched there lately from Spain, or if there was no particular news in the country; but finding them ignorant of any thing that cou'd give us light into what we wanted to be informed of, we remain'd there some days, and at last had accounts that two frigats were come to an anchor on the other side of the island, on which I went with all hast there, not doubting but it was those we were longing for. I found them allready sailed, but a gentleman of the country informed me that they were the same, and were gone some miles

farther to Stornoway, the only town or rather village on all the island. I went the same night there, and found them in the harbour at an anchor, and the men still aboard. I acquainted the Earl Marischall of the success of my journey to France, and of the arrival of those whom I had been order'd to bring along with me; but at the same time told him what I suspected of the disposition of some of the company, who seemed to be dissatisfied to the work because the Duke of Marr had not been so much employed in it as they wished; and also that I had discover'd, while at sea, that the Marquess of Tullibardine had received, just before embarking, some commission from M<sup>r</sup> Dillon, but of what nature I did not know. He told me he had commissions too, and at the same time gave me one of Colonel in the Spanish service, with blank commissions for the officers of two battalions, which I was to raise in Scotland in the King of Spain's name; and assured me that as he had never pretended to more than a share in the enterprize, he was ready to obey any who shou'd have a higher commission than his own, which was that of Major General both in the English and Spanish service.

The Marquesses of Seafort and Tullibardine came and joined us next day, and in the evening held a council of war to resolve what was to be done. The Earl Marischall first asked to know what commissions each had, that the command might be regulated, and Lord Tullibardine not owning his late commissions the command remain'd in him as eldest Major General. It was then disputed whether it was fit to go immediatly to the main land of Scotland, or to continue in the island where we were till we had advice of the Duke of Ormonde's landing in England. This last party was much insisted on by Lord Tullibardine and Glenderuel, but all the rest being against it, because we might easily be block'd up in the isle by two or three of the enemies ships, it was resolved to follow the project which the Earl Marischall had proposed to the Cardinal, to land as soon as possible in Scotland, and with the Spaniards and Highlanders who shou'd first join us, march straight to Inverness, in which there was not above 300 of the enemies foot, who wou'd be in no condition to oppose us, and to remain there till we shou'd be joined by such a body of horse and foot as shou'd put us in a condition of marching to the more southern parts of the kingdome. The councell of war being at an end, the Spanish troops were order'd to debark, that they might refraich themselves after a

voyage of 42 days, and it was resolved to sail for the main land three days after.

But next morning Lord Tullibardine desired that a council of war might once more be assembled, and after having made a sort of speech, which no body understood but himself, he presented his commission of Lieutenant General, and the Earl Marisshall resigned to him the command, only reserving the command of the ships, for which he, as well as the commanders, had positive orders from the Cardinal. The Marquiss Tullibardine and Glenderuelle made another tentative to perswade us to remain in the island till the Duke of Ormondes landing; but finding that every one protested against it, they at last acquiesced, tho' plainly against the grain. Orders was given out to be ready to sail to the main land, where we arrived some days after, tho' not at the place we designed. The wind proving contrary, we were obliged to stay here some days; but our chief, being impatient, order'd the signal to be given to way anchor, tho' our pilots declared that the wind was still contrary for the port we intended, which was not above ten leagues from thence. We soon found that they were in the right, for we were not a league out of the bay when we cou'd neither continue the course we intended, nor gain the harbour out of which we had come; and it blowing very fresh we were forced once more to bear away for the isle of Lewis, where we arrived next morning; but two days after, the weather proving favourable, we got to our rendezvous on the Main land.

We had no sooner debarked the troops and ammunition, than the Earl Marischal and Brigadeer Campbel proposed marching straight to Inverness with the Spainiards and 500 Highlanders, whom the Marquess of Seafort promised to give us, to surprize the enemies garison, who as yet had no accounts of us; but the same demone who had inspired them with the design of staying in the Lewis, hinder'd them from accepting this proposition. We were all in the dark what cou'd be the meaning of these dilatory proceedings, which was discover'd to be the effects of the measures they had already taken, for before the Earl Marischal's arrival, they (not knowing but that he might have a commission superior to the Marquess of Tullibardine's) had wrote letters in a circular manner to most of their friends, acquainting them that it was the King's intentions that no body shou'd take arms till the Spanish troops were landed in England; and therefore the Marquess declared that

till then he wou'd not stirr from where he was, nor even allow any detachments to be made; and some days after, finding that we had still no accounts of the Duke of Ormonde, nor of any mouvement in England, he proposed that without further delay we shou'd embark aboard the same vessells and return to Spain, from which with great difficulty he was dissuaded.

But the Earl Marischal, fearing that he might renew the same design in case the news we expected was long a coming, declared to him the day after that he was resolved to send the two fregats immediatly back to Spain, they being no longer in safety where they were, for being already discover'd, it was natural to believe that the Government of England wou'd immediatly send ships to block them up, or to intercept them in their passage home, and in spight of all the arts they used to detain them, three days after they sailed; and indeed just in time, for not a week after their departure arrived three English men of war, much superior to ours both in force and equipage, who, finding we had put most of our ammunition and provisions into an old castel, situate on the shore, under the garde of a detachment of 45 Spaniards, immediatly began to batter it from the 3 ships, and the same night obliged them to surrender prisoners of war.

Our ships were no sooner sailed then the Marquess of Tullibardine began to think of other measures. His retrait out of the island was now impracticable in the manner he had designed it, and now he resolved to draw what troops he cou'd together, but it was too late; he had given the enemy time to draw troops not only from the remote parts of the kingdome, but even from Holland. The regiments of Kapell, May, and Sturler, were already arrived, and his circular letters had given those who were not very willing an excellent excuse, he himself having already wrote to them that they shou'd not take arms.

Our affairs were in this condition, when we received the news of the entire dispersion of the Duke of Ormond's fleet; but at the same time our friends assured us that all dilligence was using in Spain to put it in a condition to sail again that same spring. This left us still some hopes, and therefore we order'd the gentlemen who were nearest us to assemble their vassalls, but this last accident had so disheartned them, that not above a thousand men appeared, and even those seemed not very fond of the enterprize.

The enemy was by this time within three days march of us, with four regiments of foot, and a detachment of a fifth, and 150 dragoons, and waited only for the provisions which was necessary to be carried along (into a country full of mountains and possessed by the enemy,) to march to attack us in our post which, by the situation, was strong enough had it been well defended; our right was cover'd by a rivulet which was difficult to pass, and our left by a ravine, and in the front the ground was so rugged and steep that it was almost impossible to come at us. However the tenth of June the enemy appear'd at the foot of the mountain, and after having reconnoitred the ground he attacked a detachment we had posted on our right on the other side of the rivulet commanded by Lord George Murray, who not being succour'd as he ought, was obliged to retire, but without any loss. At the same time our center was attacked and forced with very little loss on either side; and after a skirmish of about three hours, in which not above a hundred men were killed or wounded on both sides, and of distinction only the Marquess of Seafort wounded, our troops were forced to retire to the top of the mountain, whose height hinder'd the enemies pursuit. By this time it was night, which gave the chiefs of our party time to consult what was to be done in this urgency, and on considering that they had neither provisions nor ammunition, that the few troops they had had behaved in a manner not to give great encouragement to try a second action, it was resolved, that the Spaniards shou'd surrender, and the Highlanders disperse. Don Nicolas Bolano, who commanded the detachment of the regiment of Galicia, offer'd to attack the enemy once more; but the general officers judging the attempt in vain, the first resolution was followed, and accordingly next morning the Spaniards surrender'd on condition their baggage shou'd not be plunder'd, and every body else took the road he liked best. As I was then sick of a feavour, I was forced to lurck some months in the mountains, and in the beginning of September having got a ship, I embarcked at Peterhead, and 4 days after landed in Hollande at the Texel, and from thence, with the Earl Marischal, went to the Hague, to know if the Marquess Beretti Landi, then the King of Spain's minister at that Court, had any orders for us; and his advice being that we shou'd return with all hast to Spain, we set out next day by the way of Liege, to shun the Imperial Netherlands and enter France by Sedan, judging that route to be the least suspected; but in arriving

there, the toun-major who then commanded, finding we had no passports, stopt us, and without enquiring either our names or qualities, order'd us immediatly to be carried to prison, which was executed with the greatest exactitude. I made no doubt but that at the same time, he wou'd have order'd our pockets to be searched, in which we both had our commissions from the King of Spain, then in war with France, but he was contented with having done the half of his duty, which was our good fortune, for howsoon we were come to our lodging, I took the two commissions, and pretending a certain necessity, threw them in to a place needless to be named. Some while after, the toun-major remembering that he had forgot to ask our names, sent to enquire who we were, or if we had any papers which could give account of us. The Earl Marischal happened to have a letter in his pocket, wrote in French to him, in which the Princess of Conti made him her compliments, on seing of which, he order'd us next day to be set at liberty, and we continued our journey to Paris, where we arrived in the heat of the Mesissippi, but having had no share in that affair, I leave it to those who either as they gained or lost by it, will praise or condemn it.

After about a month's stay in that place, I set out with the Earl Marischall for Montpellier, where, finding the difficulty of getting into Spain greater than we had imagined, I resolved to try what cou'd be done at Marseille, and he to pass the Pirenees; but after having stayed near a month at Montpellier without any opportunity having offer'd by sea, the news which came from Spain of a new embarckment at S<sup>n</sup> Andero, made me fix also on the route of the Pirenees, and accordingly in the month of November, I set out for Toulouse, from whence I hoped to find some oportunity of passing. Whille I remained there waiting for one, I was surprized one morning to see the Earl Marischal (whom I imagined long ago in Spain) come in to the room; who, after having searched several passages of the mountains with a miquelet, who had promised to conduct him, had at last been arrested by the Gouverneur of Bigor; and after six weeks prison, had been released by a special order, signed by the King of France, but with orders to quite the kingdome immediatly, for which they had given him a passport to go to Italy.





1720.



INDING the passage of the mountains impossible, I resolved to make use of the opportunity of his passe to go to Italy, from whence there was no difficulty of finding occasions every day for Spain; and accordingly, in the beginning of January 1720, we arrived at Genua, and being now so near to where the King our master was, we both resolv'd to go to Rome, and a gally which the Republick was sending to Leghorne, being ready to sail, we embarked aboard. We sail'd the 3d of February, with a very fair wind, and about mid-day arrived at Porto Fino, where, to my great surprise, we came to an anchor; I asked one of the officers, what we had to do there? he told me, it was to pass the night; that Porto Venere was too far off, and that the gally's of the Republick never keep the sea in the night, if not in the middle of summer. The Earl Marischal finding, we must stay all day here, desired the Captain to lend him his felouque to go to Cestri de Levante, where Cardinal Alberoni then lived; the Captain readily consented, and the Earl Marischal, who believed the Cardinal's disgrace to be only a politick one, to make the peace easier betwixt France and Spain, began to give him an account of what had passed in Scotland; to which the other answer'd, that having now no more interest in the affairs of Spain, and resolving never more to have any, he desired to be excused hearing it any farther than what concerned himself, whom he was glad to see safely return'd; so that after having passed the night there, he join'd the gally next morning, and we set sail for Porto Venere, where we arrived about the same hour as the day before; we was now within 70 or 80 miles of Leghorn, and cou'd certainly have reached that Port before midnight; but there was no perswading our equipage to run so great a hazard, and the wind having changed in the night, we were wind-bound there ten days. At last the weather seeming settled, we

sailed for Leghorn, and, about half way, the wind changing, and beginning to blow a little fresh, our Captain gave orders immediatly to return, and with much ado was perswaded by some of his officers, who knew more of the sea than he did, that there was no danger. I saw plainly there was no danger, however I was heartily glad to get a shore, fully resolved never to venture more in a Genuese gally, for had we had bad weather, the unskilfullness and timidity of the equipage was enough to have frighted any one.

We arrived in the evening at Leghorn, which is one of the beautifullest little touns can be seen; and after some days stay there we continued our journey by Pisa, Florence, and Sienna, to Rome, where, after about six weeks stay, we took our leave of the King to return to Spain. His Majesty, who knew that we were in want of money, sent his favorite M<sup>r</sup> Hay to the Pope, to desire him to advance him a 1000 Roman crowns on his ordinary pension, which the other refused on pretence of poverty; this I mention only to show the genious of Clement the XI., and how little regard Churchmen has for those who has abandoned all for religion. The King finding nothing was to be expected from that quarter, borrowed the summe from a banckier, and gave it us.

As we were now resolved to go directly for Spain, we went to Leghorne, hoping to find passage from thence; but there being at that time no ships bound to that coast, we went to Genua, where we stayed near six weeks, which gave great uneasiness to D'Avenant, the English Minister there; and being pushed on by M<sup>r</sup> de Chavigni, the French Minister, (who diverted himself with his extravagancies,) he gave a memorial to the Senate of Genua, in which he desired we might be order'd out of their territories, as rebelles to the King his master; and threatned in all companies, that if it was not complied with, they might expect a bombardement, worse than what they suffered from the French. Though the Senate knew, that all this was without order from his Court, yet they were not a little embarrassed. The Marquis de Mari having advertised them, that in case they complied with that demand, and turned out of their territories two officers of the King of Spain's, they cou'd not refuse doing his C. M. the same justice in turning out all the Catalans out of their dominions, who, having followed the fortune of Charles the 3<sup>d</sup>, were reputed rebelles in Spain; and they having insinuated to us, that they wou'd take it for a favour if we wou'd leave the toun; we answer'd, that we waited only an oportunity of

getting to Spain, but that there being an English fregate who cruised before the harbour for some time past, we cou'd not venture to sail whille she continued there. Some days after, the same persones returned, and told us that if we wou'd take a good felouque of 14 oars, we needed fear nothing from the fregate, and that going along the coast of France, where we wou'd lye every night ashore, we did not risk meeting any other English ships of war at sea. This appeared so reasonable, that we accepted the proposition, and in 29 days we arrived at Valentia, and from thence went to Madrid in the month of July 1720.

As I had been obliged to destroy my commission when I was stoped at Sedan, immediatly after my arrival I gave a memorial to the Minister of War, desiring a copy of it, which he promised me; but on searching the journal where the patents are enter'd, there was no such one to be found; the reason of which was, that the Cardinal kept always by him a certain number of commissions already signed by the King, and fill'd them up himself, without acquainting the Minister of the War, for those whom he did not wish shou'd be seen publickly. This was my case, and the minister, Don Miguel Duran, knew very well that I had had such a patent, yet there was no getting it renewed; but after waiting several months, he told me the King of Spain had order'd me my pay as Collonel, but without being placed in any regiment, and in this manner I continued all the rest of the year 1720, though not without chagrin. The campagne of the year before, and the journeys I had made since, had entirly exhausted what mony I had; and the Cardinal Alberoni being no more in Spain, I was, as the French says, *au pié de la lettre sur le pavé*, I knew nobody, and was known to none; and had not my good fortune brought Rear-Admiral Cammock to Madrid, whom I had known formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me; he immediatly offer'd me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of.



1721.

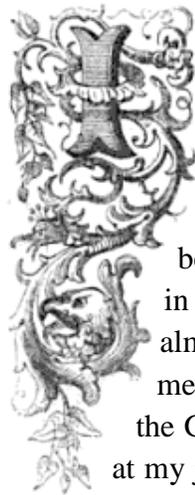


ON MIGUEL DURAND having, in the year 1721, been found guilty of several malversations, touching the provisions which was sent to the army at Ceuta, was turned out of his employment, and the Marquess of Castellar named in his place. This occasion I took of renewing my suite, but finding no better succes than before, I asked permission, and a passport, to go to Italy, which was granted me,—and took leave of all my friends in Madrid before my departure, and amongst others, of a Jesuite, who asked me what was the reason of my journey. I told him plainly, that finding so little encouragement where I was, I resolved to try my fortune else where, and next day I set out for Barcelona, where, at my arrival, I found my commission which the Jesuite had procured by the means of the King's confessor; but on examining it, I found it to be a new commission, of the month of September, instead of the copy which I asked of the one I had in the month of January 1721, on which I immediatly sent it back to him, declaring I wou'd accept of none but what I formerly had had; but on his assuring me that I shou'd have such a one, I returned to Madrid, where I continued all the rest of the year 1721.





1722.



IN the beginning of the year 1722, my mother wrote to me from Scotland, that having made consult my case by the best laweyrs in England, they were all unanimous that I might return with all safty, and that till such time as I appeared myself, it wou'd be impossible to recover my patrimony, which had been confiscated. The small hopes I had of advancing in Spain, where the difference of religion rendered it almost possible for me to make my fortune, determined me to comply with what all my friends desired; but that the Government in England might not take any suspicion at my journey, I went to M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope, than Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, and acquainted him with my design, at which he seemed very much surprized; and finding me fixed in my resolution, he told me that I had taken my time very ill; that the Governement was actually under apprehensions of some enterprize against them, and that if in so critical a juncture I went over to England, they might justly suspect I had other affairs to manége, than what I pretended; that they were well informed that in the year 1719, I was employed to assemble the chiefs of our party in France, and from thence had gone over to Scotland, to give advertisement of the Duke of Ormonde's embarkment; that his advice to me was to go to Paris, and there wait the end of the present affair, which cou'd not be long, it being entirely discover'd, and the Bishop of Rochester, and Lords North and Gray, already seized. I thanked him, and took his advice; and accordingly, in the month of October, I set out from Madrid, with the Duke of Liria, for Paris.

On the road, our discourse fell on the affairs of Scotland in the year 1715, and as both of us laid the blame of its miscarriage on the Duke of Marr, the Duke of Liria said he had a good mind to revenge himself on him as far as he cou'd; that he knew he was extremly jealous, and that to vex him he wou'd make his court to

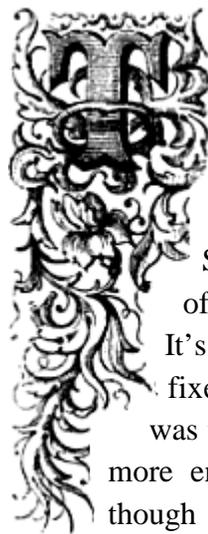
his wife. This piece of malice cost the Duke of Liria dear, for what he began in jest turned earnest; and having it seems found charmes in the Dutchess which before he had not discover'd, he in the end as heartily loved the wife, as he hated the husband. We arrived at Paris, some days before the sacre of the King of France; and finding, that I must remain some time there, I employ'd in getting myself cured of a tumor which was grown on my shoulder; but while I waited at Paris, I had account that my affairs in Scotland were finish'd, and the money the Government owed me, paid.

Having now, no more business in Scotland, and no inclination to return to Spain, I used my endeavours, by a famelle friend of M<sup>r</sup> Le Blanc's, to get into the French service, which I was more induced to by the perswasion of another of the same sex, than by any reall inclination I had myself; knowing well how difficult it is for a stranger to make his way in a country where all the nobility serves, and where, commonly, the King has more officers, than he has bread to give them. By good luck it did not succeed, and so I remained at Paris, still under the pretence of my cure, all the year 1723 and 24.





1725



THE affairs of Europe having changed face in the beginning of the year 1725, by the unaccountable proceeding of Monsieur le Duc de Bourbon, in his manner of breaking of the marriage of the King of France and the Infanta of Spain, I cou'd no longer with honour stay there, after the notification the Spanish Ambassador gave, that all the Spanish officers then in Paris, shou'd return with the Infanta. It's true I hardly looked on myself as such, since I was fixed to no regiment, but the hopes of a war, which was thought inevitable, made me hope that I might find more encouragement than I had mett with before; and though I cou'd not set out with the Infanta, because of a very considerable operation the surgeon had been forced to make on my arm, yet how soon it began to heal I follow'd, and joined her at Bayonne. She was conducted home with all the magnificence possible; but that was too small a satisfaction to allay the resentment of the Queen and the fury of the nation against the French—in a word, we arrived at Madrid, in the middle of ten thousand execrations against those who had been the occasion of our journey; and the people were so exasperated, that it was enough to be dress'd in the French manner, to occasion being insulted in the streets. This, joined with the peace which the Baron of Riperda at the same time concluded at Vienna, confirmed the ideas of an aproching war; but the King who still retains a tenderness to his own country, soon forgot the injury done to his daughter, and the disgrace of the author M<sup>r</sup> Le Duc, made up in a good manner the breach which he had occasioned; nevertheless, both sides prepared for the worst that might happen, and Count Koninseck's arrival in Spain, in the end of this year, gave great jealousies not only to the French, but also to the English, who believed, or rather seemed to believe, that something extraordinary had been stipulated by the treaty of Vienna in favour of King

James. But things not coming so soon to a crisis as was imagined, I retired for the rest of that year to Valencia, which was the place marked for my payment, hoping that the next might produce something that might occasion my being employed.



1720.



HERE I remained till the month of June 1726, when news came that a rupture was unavoidable betwixt England and Spain; that a part of the English fleet was already sailed to the West Indies to intercept our Gallions, and that another cruised in the Bay of Biscay, with three regiments of foot aboard, to attempt the burning of the ships of war which the King of Spain was then building at San Andero. What the design of these really was is uncertain; they appeared before that port, but without committing any acts of hostility, perhaps because they found the place too well provided, as indeed it was;—the misfortune at Port Passage, where the French burned six men of war in the year 1719, which were building there, and almost fit to put to sea, having taught the King to use more precaution for the future. The King of Spain, on the other hand, order'd a considerable body of troops to march to Andalusia, on pretence of building a new fort at the Algeziras, oposite to the toun of Gibraltar on the same bay. It was plain enough to see that this cou'd not be the reall design of marching 20 thousand men, but the rest was a mistery; as the number was too great for the building a new fort, so it was too small for attempting so strong a place as Gibraltar. This made many believe that an enterprize was formed on England it self, and that those troops were to be embarcked at Cadiz, and this made me go immediatly to Madrid to desire to be employ'd in the expedition. I received the ordinary answer, that being a Protestant, the King cou'd not give me any command in his troops, on which I asked the permission to serve the campaign as a volunteer, fully resolved it shou'd be the last I shou'd make in that country; where I saw, that only meer necessity to be revenged on the English, had made them take me in to their service, and where I must pass the rest of my life not only without advancement, but even without exercising the employment I had; however, I resolved to pass the campaign without complaining, and then take my party. Accordingly, I addressed myself to the Duke of Liria, who was named as Major-General for that army, that we might go together, but some days before we were to set out he was named Ambassador to the Court of Russia, and Count D'Aidie named Major General in his place.

In the beginning of December I set out from Madrid, and in the end of the year arrived at S<sup>n</sup> Rocque, within a league of Gibraltar, where I found seven or eight regiments of foot, and one regiment of horse encamped—the foot weak and sickly, but the horse in good order. From day to day the rest of the troops arrived, and before the end of January we were about 20 thousand men, viz.—the Spanish and Waloon Guardes 4200, two brigades Spanish 3900, one brigade Italien 2600, one brigade Irish 2600, one brigade Suisse 1850, one brigade of Flemish 1950, the regiment of Savoye 1300, the artillerie 600, and a regiment of dragoons, called Francia, 390, with about one thousand horse. This composed our wholle army, with which we were to take one of the strongest places of the world, and which the enemy, being master of the sea, cou'd provide with all necessaries at their pleasure. The English at first began to suspect, that we had some design on the place; but when they saw how weak we was, they concluded, that the new fort was all we had in vieu, and I don't know if this presumption might not have cost them dear, had we had a more enterprizing General at our head, for the garison was then not full a 1000 men, and the service of the place so negligently observed, that very often the guard of the port was not above a dozen men. They allowed our soldiers to come into the toun in what numbers they pleased, without ever searching them for hidden arms; and at lesse then four hundred yards from the place, there are sand bancs where a 1000 men may lay concealed, and which they then had not the precaution to make reconnoitre in the morning: how easy wou'd it have been to have render'd ourselves master of the gate, for sometimes we had above 200 soldiers, and 40 or 50 officers at a time in the place, and then have made our grenadiers hid amongst the sand bancks, avance; but this was not the design of the Count de Las Torres, our General, who said that wou'd the Englis give him the toun, he wou'd not take it but by the breach.





1727.



OUR troops being now all arrived, we expected immediatly to have open'd the trenches, but very misfortunatly we had no cannon; our train, consisting of 80 piece of Brass, and forty Iron cannon, which shou'd have come from Cadiz, and which they imagined, might be brought in three or four days, (which indeed might have been so, cou'd we have brought them by sea without danger of being intercepted by the English fregats,) cost them as many weeks, the rains, which fell that winter in greater quantity than ever had been seen before, having render'd the roads in the mountains impractikable.

The bringing of such a train, discover'd our true design to the English, and the slowness of its march gave them time to advertise S<sup>r</sup> Charles Wager (who still cruised in the Bay of Biscay) of their danger, so that much about the time our cannon arrived, he arrived likewise, and reinforced the toun by three regiments from the fleet.

Every one now saw the temerity of the enterprize; but the King, or rather the Queen, of Spain wou'd have it so, and therefor the night of the 21 to the 22 of February we began to raise a battery at a very great distance from the toun, and without opening any communication, the sand bancs covering us so far. Howsoon the Commandant saw that we had begun to break ground, he sent a secretary to the Count de Las Torres, to know the meaning of it; to acquaint him that it was contrary to the treaty of Utrecht to raise any fortifications so near the toun; and that if he did not recall the workmen and desist, he wou'd take his own measures to hinder it. The Count de Las Torres answer'd, the King was master to build what he wou'd on his own ground; that the battery which he was raising was only to cover the bay, and protect their small barcks, which were some times in danger by the Moores; that it was out of shot of the place; and, that therfor the Governour had no reason to say, it was contrary to the treaty of Utrecht, but that if he thought otherwise, he was master to make the proof.

This message happen'd in the morning, and every thing was

already prepared for opening the trenches the same night; the town continued quiet, and our workmen labour'd with all possible dilligence to raise their batterie to the height to cover them, which they effectuated about two in the afternoon, when most of the general officers went down to see in what condition it was. Whille we was all standing round the batterie, the enemie fired a shot from the mole, which serves as a flanck to the left of the face of the place, but so high that we easily perceived it was rather an advertisement than with design to do any harm; but some few minutes after, seing our workmen still continued, they fired a salve of about twenty piece of cannon, which did no more harm than to kill a trooper's horse, and disperse us spectators, who, being a-horseback, cou'd not cover ourselves in the battery, as our workmen did. All the rest of the day they fired very sharply, but without any success; for, to our great grief, the Count de Las Torres was almost in the right when he said it was out of shot, being 700 toises from the fortifications. The orders were already given out for opening the trenches the same night; and, accordingly, 2 battallions of the Spanish guards, 2 of the Walloons, the regiment of Granada, the regiment of Flandres, and the regiment of Corsica, began to break ground about nine at night, and so near the rock, that the enemies cannon cou'd not point so low, and even their musqueterie did us no harm; but in the morning we found our ingeneers had mistaken their ground, and that the parallel which we had drawn was seen from a guard which the enemy had posted on the top of the mountain; and, at the same time, three of the enemies ships having turned out of the bay of Gibraltar, came to anchor just behind our trenches, where the water was so deep that they were hardly a cable's length from the shore. They made a prodigious fire all day, but howsoon the evening aproched, they set sail and returned to their station in the bay, having killed or wounded 2 of our officers and 72 soldiers; and an accident, which happen'd just after, had like to have cost us dearer. Our troops, to cover themselves from the enemies fire, had been forced to lay all day almost on their bellies, in the same posts which they had occupied the night before; and as there was an intervalle in our trenches, which we had not time to join the night before to the other part of our trench, a battallion of the Spanish guards had lain there all the day without being discover'd by us, and indeed almost forgot. Howsoon the ships retired, the officer

who commanded that battalion order'd them to pass the intervale, and join the rest of the troops; and as this passage was under the musqueterie of the toun, they marched as quick as they cou'd: this, joined with the darckness, made the regiment of Corsica, who was nearest to them, mistake them for the enemy, who, they imagined, had made a sally from the toun, and accordingly they fired on them; and seing them still advance, most of that regiment threw doun their arms and run away. The example was followed by several others; and had not a battalion of the Walloon guards (who had marched to attack them with their bayonets) discovered them to be a part of our own troops, its probable the confusion had been much greater.

We continued our works above three weeks befor our batteries were in condition to fire; and when they did, we found the effect did not answer our expectation, they being at too great a distance from the works of the place to do much execution. In this manner we continued cannonading one another till the 22 of June, without any hopes of taking the toun, which, by the works the Earl of Portmore had raised during the siege, was even in a better condition then, than when we began it. At last, June the 23, orders came from Court to cease all acts of hostility, and to agree on a suspension of arms with the Gouverneur; and thus ended a siege of five months, in which we had about 2000 men killed or wounded, and in which all we gained was the knowlege that the place was impregnable by land.

This war being now at an end, and I in the same condition as before, I resolved to make one push more before I left Spain; and accordingly wrote a letter to the King of Spain's confessor, representing to him how long I had served, and that being the oldest Collonell reformed of the British nation,

I hoped he wou'd solícite the King in my behalf, that I might have the first Irish regiment vacante, to which I received the answer I expected: that His Majesty assured me that howsoon he knew I was Roman Catholick, I shou'd not only have what I asked, but that he would take care of my fortune. On the receipt of this letter, I went straight to Madrid, and desired His Majesties recommendation to the Empresse of Russia, since I found my religion was an invincible obstacle to my continuing in his, which he immediately granted me, and order'd the Marquess of Castellar

to write to the Duke of Liria, then Ambassador at the Court of Russia, to recommend me, in his name, to that Souveraigne.





1728.



So good an effect was produced by the Duke Liria's solicitation, that, in the beginning the year 1728, I received answer that the Emperor, Peter the Second, had received me into his service, in quality of Major General, and immediatly after, the Prince Stcherbatof, the Russian minister at Madrid, told me had orders to advertise the King of Spain of it, and to give me the necessary passports for my journey, which, in some weeks after, I began—the King of Spain having given me a gratification of 1000 crowns at my setting out.

In my way I halted about six weeks at Paris, and from thence, taking the route of Flandres and Holland, I resolved to pass thro Germany, and embarck at Lubeck for S<sup>t</sup> Petersbourg; but finding that I must necessarily pass thro the Electorate of Hannover to gain that, and not knowing what surely I might find there, I went to Amdersdame, where I found a ship of 26 guns ready to sail for Peterburg, on which I embarked, and after a passage of 26 days, arrived safely at Cronstad without any remarkable accident.

Howsoon I arrived, I wrote to the Duke of Liria, who desired me to come with all hast to Moscou; but as I was fatigued with my voyage, I remained three weeks at Cronstad, and in the beginning of October went to Moscou. The Emperor was not then in that city, having gone some days before a-hunting, and I remained almost three weeks so before his return, which time I spent in making visits to all the generalls and principall ministers to whom the Duke of Liria presented me.

On the Emperor's return I went to Count Osterman, who, with the title of Vice-Chancelor, was realy first minister, and begged of him to do me the honour to present me to the Emperor, which he did the Sunday following in the chappel; and some days after, I received orders from the Felt Maréhall Prince Dolgoruski, to take the command of two regiments of foot belonging to his division, and which were in quarters near Moscou; but being as yet entirly

ignorant both of the language and manner of service, which I already saw was very different from that of other countries, I desired a delay of three months, in which time I might inform myself both of the one and the other, which he readily granted me, and ordered I shou'd take the command of these regiments only in the month of March; against which time, having examined a little the methode of their detail, I began my service.

In the mean time the Duke of Liria gave me an idea of the Court, and acquainted me who were the leading persons; but it was easily to be perceived that there was one who had entirly the ear and favour of the young Emperor, the Prince Ivan Dolgoruski, to whom the Duke of Liria particularly recommended to me to pay regularly my court; and as I saw that the Count Matueof was his favorite, I endeavour'd to gain his friendship, and by his means to introduce myself to the other. But what I hoped shou'd be the means of raising my fortune had like to have ruined it; for, some time after, there happening a quarrel betwixt the Duke of Liria and Matueof, in which both sides were to blame, the Prince Ivan quarrel'd me for not having prevented it, tho it was entirly out of my power; and tho I showed him plainly how innocent I was, yet that, and the Duke of Liria's friendship to me, ruined the little favour he had formerly showed me; but as I received orders at the same time to pass the regiments I commanded in revieu, I hoped my absence might make him forget or losse the bad impressions he had received of me. At my return, I found him more in favour than ever, and that a marriage was talked of betwixt the Emperor and his sister; but as I still observed a coldness in him towards me, I paid my court to him seldomer than before, and more frequently to the Felt Maréchal Dolgoruski, who was not in favour with the other.

The Court was, at this time, entirly governed by the Dolgoruskis, the Prince Ivan, favorite to the Emperor, his father, the Prince Alexis, his governor; and tho the Count Osterman had the chief managment of foreigne affairs, it was easy to be seen that it was rather necessity than choice that made them continue him in the employment, tho its certain that the affection the Emperor bore him was the chief reason why they did not then endeavour his ruine, hoping, that after the mariage, which was now looked on as certain and near at hand, they might with more ease effectuate their designs; and that the affectionate councelles of Osterman might not

obstruct their private interest, they kept the Emperor hunting most of that summer and harvest at a distance from Moscou and Count Osterman; and having carried their whole family along with him, they used all possible methods to hasten the projected match, which, soon after the Emperor's return, was publicly declared, to the grief of the greatest and best part of the empire, who saw the schemes of Peter the Great neglected and like to be forgot, and their Prince govern'd by one much fitter to direct a pack of hounds, (which had been his study the greatest part of life,) than such a vast empire.

The marriage was declared in the end of November, and orders given for the necessary preparations to celebrate it in the beginning of the ensuing year, with the magnificence fitting such a ceremony. Several of the Princesses relations pressed to have it immediatly consumated; but those who desired to have it done with pompe prevailed, and couriers were dispatched to Paris for the cloaths and other things necessary. The Princesse, in the meantime, was treated as if she actually had been Empress: the horse guards marched with her wherever she went, and the equipage and domestiques of the Emperor served her; all the forreign ministers complimented her on the match, most of whom gave her the title of Empresse, and the rest of Princesse Imperial, while several of the nation did not scruple to say that she never wou'd really have the title; and what proceeded only from their disgust to the marriage, was afterwards look'd on as a profecy, there being at that time no reason to imagine that it cou'd be changed, and thus ended the year 1729.



1730.



UT the beginning of next year entirely altered the face of affairs, by the death of the young Emperor, which was chiefly occasion'd by the following accident.

The Greek Church has a ceremony the day of the Epiphany, of blessing the waters, and, at the same time, it's the custome to blesse the coulors and standarts of the troups, at which ceremony the Emperor always assisted as Collonel of the first regiment of guards, at the head of which he remained on the ice of the river of Mosco at least two howers, and the cold being extreamly violent, he found himself seized by it, and complain'd to the Prince Alexis Dolgoruski that he was indisposed, who, instead of having any regard to what he said, carried him immediatly a-hunting. In the evening, at his return, he was forced immediatly to retire; and the phisitians being called, declared that he already had a feavor, with simptoms of the small-pox, which, however, was contradicted by the principal phisitian, who said it was only a feavour of cold, and traited him accordingly; but some days after, the smal-pox discover'd themselves, and of so bad a kind, that severals already dispaired of his life; but every thing was kept so secret in the palace, that those who were not near his persone did not know the danger, and even the night of his death, it was talked in the toun that he was out of danger; and what made it generally believed, was the indifference which appeared in the Prince Ivan, who, all the time of his sickness, diverted himself as formerly, and most people were surpris'd the 19 of January, with the news that the Emperor was dead the night before.

Howsoon he expired, orders was sent to all the ministers, general officers, and persons of distinction in Mosco, to assemble immediatly in the Senate-house, where the Great Chancellor, Golofskin, acquainted us that the Emperor was dead; and immediatly the Prince Demetrius Michailovitz Galitzin rose and made a harangue, at the end of which he declared that Ann,

Dutchess of Curland, was to succeed. All that were present signified their approbation, and the joy was universal, but did not last long; for shortly after, it was known that the Dolgoruski's had formed a scheme of government, by which the Empress was to have the name, and themselves the power, and to show an effect of it, they imprisoned the G<sup>l</sup> Jagousinski, with all possible marks of indignity, for having wrote to the Empress without their knowledge, and for not aproving their kind of government, which was half Commonwealth, half Monarchy, and so ill digested, that it was impracticable in any country, but much more in Russia, where the genius of the nation, and the vast extent of the empire, demands a Souverain, and even an absolute one.

Howsoon this meeting was ended, they sent a deputation to Curland, to acquaint the Empress of the election, as they termed it, and to propose certain restrictions, by which she was to govern; to which she answer'd, that being resolved to repair, with all possible hast, to Mosco, it wou'd be fitter to settle the form of goverment after her arrival there; and tho' she was perfectly informed of their pernicious designs, she treated the deputies with all the attention possible, and particularly the Prince Basil Dolgoruski, who was chief of the Embassade, and who having been emploied in several forreign ones, viz. in France, Sweden, and Danmarck, had acquired some knolege of forraign affairs, and was the chief projector of their scheme; and indeed he was only fit for a projector, his natural indolence rendring him incapable of execution.

The Empress arrived in the month of February, at a village about a league from Moscou, where she resolved to remain some days, till every thing was prepared for her entry. Osterman, who had continued sick ever since the death of the late Emperor, found himself well enough to receive her there, and two days after, the Empress declared herself Capitain of the Chevalier Guards, and Collonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards, as the Empress Catherine had formerly been. This was a thunderstroke to the Dolgoruskis, who had resolved that the disposition of the great employements of the empire shou'd be with the consent of what they called the High Counsel; and as the Empress had executed this resolution with the general applause of the wholle officers and nobility, they saw that it was equally in her power to alter all the rest, which soon after was effectuated; for howsoon the rest of the nobility perseved that the genius of the Empress was capable of

every thing that her uncle had formerly undertaken, they presented an address, declaring their dislike of the projected government, and desiring Her Majesty to assume the same sovereignty as the rest of her predecessors had had, to which the Empress consented, and order'd the oath of allegiance to be taken by all her subjects, according to the ancient forme; the High Counsel having, before her arrival, forced the whole officers and others, to take an oath, intelligible only to those who had framed it.

Howsoon this was executed, the whole empire took another face. A part of the family of Dolgoruski, who had been the chief fomenters of this confusion, were banished to Siberia, some forbid the Court and sent to their own estates, and the rest, of which number was the Felt Maréchal, continued in favour as formerly; and every thing being now pacified, the Empress was solemnly crown'd in Mosco, in the end of April, soon after which she went to a country seat, called Ismailof, where she remained the rest of the summer. Whille she was here, G<sup>l</sup> Lacy, who was Governor of Riga, wrote to Court that D<sup>n</sup> Emanuel, brother to the King of Portugal, was arrived there incognito, on his way to Mosco. The Court, who knew nothing of his journey, was a little surprized at so unexpected a visit, and it was thought that Count Wratislaw, who was the German Emperor's minister, was he who had made him undertake it; however, when he was known to be near Mosko, the Empresses equipages were sent to receive him, and he was lodged in a palace of the Crown's in the German suburbs, where, after having remained about three weeks, serv'd by the Empresses domesticks, he return'd back to Germany, from whence he had come. It seems Count Wratislaw had flatter'd him with hopes that a marriage might be made betwixt the Empress and him, of which he was soon undeceived; however, he seem'd to leave Russia with peine, for he stay'd several weeks at S<sup>t</sup> Peterbourg and Riga in his return, and perhaps wou'd have stay'd longer had he not perceived that he was less looked on than at first, and that so long a stay was not agreeable to the Court.

The Empress having now some leisure to look into the state of affairs, order'd a certain number of general officers to form a plan for the better regulating the army, there being several points which Peter the Great had not time to bring to their entire perfection. The General Munich was named chief of this commission, which was brought to perfection in about a year after. The other parts of the

Government were treated with the same care, and the foreign affairs were not neglected; and as Count Osterman had now even more credit than in the last reign, several advantageous alliances were concluded with the principal powers of Europe. All these affairs did not make the Empress forget to reward those who had served her faithfully, General Jagousinski was made Count of the Empire, many of the Generals advanced; nor did she neglect those who had served her while Dutchess of Courland: Biron, a Courland gentleman, but originally of French extraction, who had served her long as Chamberlain, was made Lord High Chamberlain, and Korf, who had been her agent in Russia, was made Groome of the Bedchambre; others were likewise provided for; and as she was resolved to reward the eldest Count Levenwolde for the zele which he had showed for her service, a new regiment of foot guards was order'd to be raised, of which he was made Collonel, being already her General Adjoutant, and his brother, who was one of the Chamberlains, was declared Great Marêchal of the Court.

As I had no pretentions to any advancement, being little more than a year in the Empire, I saw all these favours with the pleasure one naturally has to consider that, being in the service of a generous Princesse, I shou'd have my share when time had given me occasions to rendre any service; and having little or no acquaintance with Count Levenwolde, the General Adjoutant, one evening I was surprized to receive a billet from L<sup>t</sup> General le Fort, advertising me that the Count Levenwolde desired I shou'd come to Court (which was then in the country) next day, he having something to communicate to me. I reaved all night what cou'd be the meaning of such a message; I consulted myself if I had done any thing amiss which might deserve a reprimande from the Empress by her Ajoutant; and finding myself entirly innocent, I concluded I might have some enemy at Court who might misrepresent me. Full of these thoughts, I went next morning to L<sup>t</sup> General le Fort, whom I found with his cousin, the Polish Envoyé, and the Duke of Liria. My first question was, if Count Levold had told him nothing of what he had to say to me, or if he had discover'd nothing in his face that marked his being displeas'd with me? He assured me no, and that he told him nothing of what he had to say. The Duke of Liria, who was present and who saw my embaras, said, that he was informed that the regiment which

was raising for Count Levold was to be guards, and that perhaps he designed to propose me as L<sup>t</sup> Collonel; to which I answer'd, that it was already published in the army as an ordinary regiment, with the difference of a battalion more, in which case I cou'd not accept the Lieutenant Collonel, and if it was a regiment of guards, I was pretty sure the employment wou'd not be proposed to me, (being commonly filled by Generals in Chief, or L<sup>t</sup> Generals,) who was one of the youngest Major Generals of the army. Every one agreed with me that it must be something else, and in this doubt I arrived at Ismailof, where the Court then was, and where I made my reverence to Count Levenvolde, *d'un air très embarrassé*. Howsoon he saw me, he took me aside, and after a compliment which entirely assured me, he proposed me the L<sup>t</sup> Collonel of his regiment, which was to be guards; and at the same time told me that I might take 24 hours to consult if I would accept it. I thanked him immediatly for the preference he had given me over so many who deserved such a trust better, and for the 24 hours they were needless, since I accepted the honour in the instant; and two days after he presented me to the Empress, who declared me L<sup>t</sup> Collonel of her Guards. All Mosco was as surprised as I was myself; and as the emploiment is looked on as one of the greatest trust in the Empire, and that the officers of the Guards are regarded as domesticks of the Souveraign, I received hundreds of visits from people I had never seen nor heard of in my life, and who imagined that certainly I must be in great favour at Court, in which they were prodigiously deceived.

Soon after the Empresses accession to the throne, there arrived an Ambassador from the Emperor of China, and very soon after, from the Schach of Persia, and another from the Ottoman Porte; and as all the Princes of Europe had ministers in Mosco, it was at Court a mixture of Europeans and Asiaticks, which showed the regard all the world had for the Empress and the Empire; and as the Empress naturally loves magnificence in her Court and domestiques, it was push'd as far as ever it was in the Court of France; and as the ancient palace of the Czars of Russia was not to the Empresses gout, the appartements being too little, and some of them obscure, she order'd a palace to be built of wood with all diligence, and which was finished in less than three weeks, to the surprize of all those who saw it. Howsoon it was ready, the Empress left her country house at Ismailof, and repaired to Mosco,

where she passed the rest of winter in regulating the several affairs which yet remained undecided, the principal of which was the succession.

The Emperor, Peter the Great, had made all his subjects take an oath to acknowledge for successor whatever person he should name; and to make way for this, he had already made publish a law, by which the right of primogeniture was abolished, and the father got the power to leave his estate to the son whom he thought most worthy of it, and this was to take place likewise in the succession of the Crown. The reason he gave for this was, that while the eldest son had the certitude of succeeding, tho' he had perhaps as good natural parts as the others, yet he did not give the same application as the others, who knew that their fortune was to depend on their merite, but that while it was uncertain, each one wou'd strive to outdo the other, that thereby he might have the preference. This was the pretext, the true reason was, that he might exclude his eldest son's children, and leave the Empire to a son of his own by the Empresse Catherine, who, in the beginning of her reign, had made the subjects take the same oath; but the Emperor, Peter the Second, being dead, without leaving any will, and the Empresse having been called to the throne by the voices of the subjects, she resolved to put this likewise on the same footing as it was before. This was treated with all the secrecy possible, and all precautions taken that it might succeed without any disturbance, the notion of Commonwealth and Elective Government not being entirely yet forgot since the death of Peter the Second; and tho' the Feldt Marêchal, Prince Dolgoruski, appeared well enough at Court, yet it was known that he wished the former project of a limited Government had taken place, and that he had talked to several persons on the subject; and, therefore, howsoon every thing was ready for the publikation, in the beginning of December, the Guards got orders to be under arms next morning before day, round the Kremlin, and the other regiments, each in their own quarters, round the town. As none but a few of the Privy Counsellors knew the reasons of this, the appearance of so many troupes under arms occasioned a little surprize in the morning when the people first perceiv'd them; but the Empresse having immediatly order'd all the Senators, Privy Counsellors, Generals, and others of the first rank, to repair to the palace, she made them an harangue, in which she told them that several things of the

greatest consequence having been forgot to be regulated after the death of Peter the Second, and no mention having been made of the succession in the oath which had been taken to her at her accession to the Throne, it was fit to settle that point; and as most of those who were present had approved the oath taken to her uncle, Peter the Great, she designed to follow his example, and therefore desired they wou'd renew the same oath to her; and having at the same time presented formularys of the oath to the officers who commanded the Guards, and to the Generals who commanded the other troupes, she order'd them to give them to all the regiments who were already under arms for that effect. Howsoon I had admisstrated the oath to the regiment of Foot Guards of Ismailof, which I commanded, I went and gave it to all the field regiments who were drawn up round the toun, who not only received it without reluctance, but declared themselves perfectly satisfied that so timely care had been taken of an affair which was of so great importance to the Empire. The Felt Marêchal, Dolgoruski, alone seem'd dissatisfyed; and having, as it's said, spoke disrespectfully of the Empress, he was seized some days after, and being tryed by a Counsel of War, was condemned to losse his head, which the Empresse changed to imprisonment, and accordingly he was sent to the Citadelle of Sleusselbourg in confinement; and at the same time, another Prince Dolguruski, a Prince Baratinski, and two or three more, were sent to Siberia, for crimes much of the same nature.



1731.



VERY day the Great Chamberlain Biron's favour appeared more and more; and about this time the Empresse honour'd him with the order of S<sup>t</sup> Andrew, and the Emperor of Germany made him Count of that Empire. He did not seem to medle in any affairs but those of his own employment, tho' the confidence the Empresse had in him, and the long knowlege she had of his fidelity, he was looked by every one as her cheif favorite. Osterman, Jagousinski, and Lewenwolde, were also much in favour, and General Munich was he who was most consulted for the affairs of the army; but Jagousinski's humour not agreing with the other ministers, it was thought fit to send him to the Court of Prussia in the beginning of this year, and Prince Cherkaskoi was declared a Privy Counsellor and Minister of the Cabinet. I believe the chief reason of his advancement was the character he had of being an easy man, and very lazy, and therfor a man fit to represent, whille Count Osterman managed all the affairs, which were now so well regulated that the Court employed most of the time in the amusements fit for the season. Whille the Carnival lasted, there was, twice a-week, balls in mask at the palace, the other days, Italien comedies, musick, or play; and as Peter the Great lov'd neither regularity nor magnificence in his equipage and family, so the change appeared newer to the Russe nation; for tho' the Empresse Catherine had a numerous Court, yet I've been told by those who frequented it, that there was so little order kept, that it had hardly the air of a Court, and certainly the present Empresse cannot enough be commended for the alteration she has made; for as the reputation of a nation is what is to be almost as much regarded as its real strength, nothing was more necessary than the

changes which might the soonest efface the notions which most of Europe has of the barbarity of the Russian nation; and as strangers form an idea of a whole country by what they see at Court, it's certain they must form a very favorable one of Russia, and of this we have already the experience, since it's said every where that in five years the present Empress has done more to the civilising the nation than Peter the First did in all his reign. I shall not enter into the comparison, but I'me perswaded that every one who will consider the situation of the country and affairs in the different times, will agree that Peter the First had enough to do to introduce what was absolutly necessary; and that the present Empress finding that already established, cou'd not do better than to give them an example of politness and good ordre at her Court, which it were to be wished her subjects each in their spheres wou'd imitate.

The country being now entirly settled, both as to internal and forreign affairs, the Empresse, who was informed of the declining state of the toun of Peterbourg, resolved to trasferr her Court there, and in the end of the year 1731, after having regulated all that was necessary in the interior of the Empire, she repaired to the other capital, which, tho' realy not in Russia, is certainly of more importance to the Empire than Mosco, both by the advantages of trade, as by being the capital of all the provinces conquered from the Swedes; and to convince the world that her stay was to be of a considerable time, she was no sooner arrived than she order'd a magnificent palace to be built for her repair. The house where she then loged being only what was left to the Crown by the Admiral Apraxin, the palace being in the gout of Peter the First, who loved more to employ his mony in ships and regiments than sumptuous buildings, and who was always content with his lodging when he could see his fleet from his window.



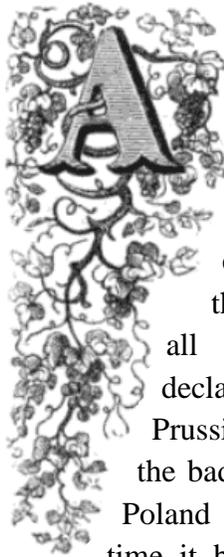
1732.



IN the beginning of the followins year, all the new regulations, which had been projected at Mosco, were published; and amongst the rest one for the army, by which an Inspector-General, and three Inspectors, were established for the detail of the army, of which number I was named one, and got the departement of the frontier of Asia along the rivers of Volga and Don, with a part of the frontiers of Poland about Smolensko; and in the month of June set out from Mosco, where I had been left to command the troops after the Empreses departure for Peterbourg. I employed all the rest of this year in passing the revieu of about 32 regiments, who, laying at great distances one from another, obliged me to travel more than 1500 leagues; and in the beginning of next year I return'd to Peterbourg, to make my report to the Empresse and College of War.



1733.



At my arrival I found every thing in mouvement, occasioned by the death of the King of Poland. As the interest we must have in the new election, both by our neighbourhood and treaties with the Republique, was known to all Europe, the forreign ministers, residing at Peterbourg, endeavour'd each to draw the Court of Russia to their side. The Imperial and Saxon Ministers used all their endeavours to engage the Court to a declaration in favour of the Elector of Saxony; the Prussian Minister, on the contrary, insinuated always the bad effects it might have to perpetuate the crown of Poland in one line, which, if by a certain succession of time it became hereditary in the same family, might at length prouve a troublesome neighbour to Russia, it being naturally a consequence that the power of the King wou'd augmente in such a case. The French Minister, perswaded that his remonstrances in favour of King Stanislave wou'd have little effect, made no great instances; and the Spanish, tho' entirly united with him, had no pretence to medle in this affair; the Swedes and Danes seemed quite indifferent; and the English, tho' he appeared in publick to act on the same principle, yet gave all the assurances possible to obstruct the election of Stanislave, or any prince of the blood of France, in case he shou'd be proposed; the Hollander declaimed on the necessity of a free election, provided that the peace of Europe was not endangered by it, which was just saying nothing, and leaving himself the liberty of acting afterwards according as he found it his interest. In this situation the Empresse had only two party's to chuse,—either the Saxon and Imperial, or the Prussian,—for the Treaty of Grodno, to which Russia was garantie, had given such an expresse exclusion to King Stanislave, that there was no thinking of entering into the French scheme; and as the objections of the Prussians were of weight, Count Levenvolde,

who was just returned from his Ambassade at Vienna, was sent to Warsaw, with instructions to sound the sentiments of the Poles; and in case he found a party strong enough, to chuse a Pole who might be agreable to the Court of Russia, to aide and support that interest; but that if he found that Stanislave's party wou'd be too strong for such a one, or the Saxon separatly, that then he shou'd join the Saxons, to give the exclusion to his competitor. But at his arrival at Warsau, he soon perceived that even the two factions joined wou'd not be near equal to the French at an election, and therefor was obliged to declare that the Empress was resolved to maintain the exclusion of King Stanislave, as agreed on at the diete of Grodno, where, in the year 1717, he had been declared by a constitution a traitor to his country, and incapable not only to hold any employment for the future, but even of possessing any lands in the Kingdome. The Poles did not deny such a treaty, but insisted that the intention of the treaty shou'd be more regarded than the words; that the design of it in excluding Stanislave was to take away all hopes of his troubling the Republick during the life of Augustus, and consequently to prevent a civil war; but that in the present disposition of the nation, our maintaining that garanty, instead of preventing it, was certainly engaging them in one, and therefore entirly contrary to the design for which it was made; but as several of the greatest family's in Poland solicited the Court of Russia to oppose Stanislave, with the assurance at least to make a double election, it was resolved to have an army ready to sustain them, in case they wanted such a help, which they owned themselves might probably be necessary; for which intent a body of about 30,000 men were drawn together near Riga, under the command of General Lacy; another body of about 16,000 near Smolensko, under Lieu<sup>t</sup> General Sagraskoi; and I was commanded, with six thousand foot from Mosco, to the Ukrain, to be ready to enter Volinia, in case it shou'd be necessary. Howsoon the Poles got account of the mouvement of our troupes, they advanced some of their company's of light horse to the different frontiers to observe them, and pressed the holding of the diete of election, tho' several of the wisest of the Poles earnestly entreated the Primate Pototski to delay it, till such time as they might come to a better understanding amongst themselves; but he being already

engaged to Stanislave, and led by one of his relations, the Podstoli of Lithuania, (who was just arrived from his ambassade in Russia, and who confidently assured them that all the long list they saw of Russian forces was only formidable on paper, but that they cou'd not draw the tenth part of them into the field,) limited the diet from about the end of August for six weeks, in which time a King must be chosen.

The contrary party, seing that no time was to be lost, wrote to the Court of Russia in the end of Jully, that it was high time the army shou'd enter Poland, that it might arrive before a King was chosen; and accordingly in the month of August General Lacy began his march straight for Warsaw, which made the Primate and the French faction press the election still more, in hopes that the Russes might retire if they found that before they cou'd arrive the affaire was over, and a King publikly acknowleged by most of the Republike; but tho' they used all methods to gain the others to their party, yet the Prince Visniovetzski and the Prince Radzivil with a great part of the Lithuanians, continued positive in their sentiments, and having complain'd of several irregularity's, and even of force having been made use of to compelle them to join the Primate's party, they retired from Warsaw, and having pass'd the Vistula, encamped on the other side at Prague, having protested against all the proceedings which shou'd be done in their absence, on the same reasons which they gave for their retrait; they were joined immediatly after by the Prince Loubomirski, P. Sangusko, and two Bishops of Cracow and Plotsk, and a considerable number of those of Great Poland, by which their party being so much strengthned, that they were not affraid of being attack'd by the others, they resolved to wait in the same post for the arrival of the Russe army, and then proceed to another election, having already protested that what shou'd be done by those who had remained at Warsaw, shou'd be look'd on as nulle.

The Russian Ministers, the two Counts Levenvold, continued still in Warsaw, which gave so much umbrage to King Stanislave's party, that they received a message to retire

out of the Kingdome, with which they refused to comply, declaring that they had orders from their court to continue their functions in Poland; but as they run risk every day of being insulted, and, perhaps, murder'd, by those of the contrary faction, they retired into the Imperial Minister's house, resolving to wait there the issue of the election, which happen'd in the beginning of September, when Stanislave was chosen by those remaining in Warsaw, (who were by much the greatest part of the Republique,) King of Poland and Great Duke of Lithuania. Those who had retired to the other side of the river, renewed their protestations, and sent to General Lacy, pressing him to hasten his march; but the rains had so spoiled the roads, that he cou'd not arrive before the end of September, during which time King Stanislave used his utmost endeavours, as far as persuasion cou'd extend, to bring them to an unity with the rest of the republick; but as they were encouraged by the approach of the Russian army, they wou'd hearken to no proposals; and King Stanislave not finding himself in a condition to oppose such a formidable body, abandoned Warsaw, and retired, with most of the great men of Poland, and about a battalion of the crown guards, to Dantzic. This step lost him the crown; for if he had keep'd himself at the head of the small army he had, and retired to the Palatinat of Sendomir or Russia, and, at the same time, sent all those great men, with whom he lock'd himself up in Dantzic, to the different provinces, it is not to be doubted but their interest, join'd to the love the Polish nation had for his person, wou'd soon have formed him a formidable army. There is only one reason can be given for so weak a step; and, indeed, the reason is as weak, viz. the desire of joining immediatly the succours which the Marquis de Monti assured them was already on its way from France; and thus while the King was impatiently waiting for the French army, he gave time to ours to elect the Elector of Saxony King, to take possession of the Capital of the Kingdome, which was abandoned to us by the retreat of the Regimentar General, the Palatin of Kiof, and to reduce most of the provinces round it to take the oath of allegiance to that Prince, tho' much against the grain.

However, King Stanislave did not want partisans in the other parts of the Kingdome. Poceï, whom he had made Regimentar General of Lithuania, raised a body of 8 or 9000 men, and the Palatine of Volinia raised one of about 4000 in that palatinate. Each of the other Palatinates chose Marêchals of their confederations, who commanded the few men their Palatinate had raised. The Regimentar General remained with the army of the Crown near the Vistula, and the Palatin of Lublin had a body of 7 or 8000 men in Great Poland. This separation of the Polish army obliged us to have likewise separate corps in the several parts of Poland. General Lacy marched with the army he commanded to block up King Stanislave in Dantzig; Major-General Ismailof was ordered to oppose Poceï in Lithuania, in conjunction with the Prince Michel Visniovetzki, who had the title of Regimentar General of Lithuania from King Augustus; and I was order'd to march to Volinia, to disperse the confederate troops of those palatinates, which had been reinforced by a detachment of about a thousand of the Crown troops under the command of the Staroste of Radome; and accordingly, about the midst of December, I passed the Nieper on the ice, and enter'd Poland with six battalions of foot, 600 dragoons, and 4000 Cossagues, and marched ten days without seing any enemy, or almost hearing of one, only that they were raising new troops in Volinia, and that their army might amount to 10 or 12,000 men. This news made the Court of Russia judge the corps I commanded too small, and therefore the Lieu<sup>t</sup> General Prince Schahofskoi was order'd to take the command, and to march with a reinforcement of 2000 dragoons, who joined the army at Nemirof the 5th of January 1734.



1734.



NOTHING remarkable happen'd before his arrival. The enemy was still at a great distance; only the 24th of December, a troop of the enemies horse being on their march to their army, were taken prisoners by a party of our dragoons and Cossagues; and tho' P. Schahofskoi had orders to attack the enemy without giving them time to continue their leveys, yet the want of provisions forced him to remain near a month at Nemirof, which time he employ'd in ruining the enemy's estates. The 11th of January, he gave me orders to march with about 3000 horse for that expedition; but as I did not think it a very honourable one, I did what I cou'd to be excused, which he positively refused me. In my march I assembled some thousands of cattel, and some hundreds of miserable bad horses, which I sent immediatly to the army, and at the same time reported to him, that the wholle inhabitants were abandoning their villages, and most of them retiring into Moldavia; that if he continued to ravage the country it wou'd very soon become a desert, and our own troops wou'd be in hazard of dying of hunger. This prevailed with him to recall me, and our provisions being now ready, we marched the last of January from Nemirof, and in two marches arrived at Vinnitz on the Bug, where we got account that the enemy had been joined by one of the Princes of the family of Loubomirski, called the Staroste of Kasimir, and that their army consisted of about 10,000 men. This made us immediatly advance to endeavour to bring the enemy to a battel, and next day we loged at a village called Litin, where a Pole, belonging to P. Sangusko, came and informed us that the enemy were quarter'd about four leagues from us, and were resolved to fight us at the entry of a plain near

Latitchef, hoping to find us in confusion at our coming out of a thick wood, thro' which we must necessarily pass; but as the same personne had brought us false intelligence some days before, P. Schahofskoi took him for a spy, and told him if ever he came back to our camp he wou'd make hang him as such. However, I represented to the Prince that having woods to pass thro', it wou'd be fit to alter our disposition, and instead of our Cossacks, who before had had the vanguard, to command the granadeers, a batalion of foot, and two pieces of cannon, who wou'd keep the Poles at a distance, and give us place and time to form at our coming out of the wood; but he was so far from taking my advice, that he commanded the quartermaster to take quarters in Latitchef, without giving them any escorte, and made them march several hours before the army. About mid-day, when we were in the midle of the wood, we had account that our quarter-masters were attacked, and soon after we began to hear the fire; but as the wood was not very thick, our Cossaques and some of our dragoons got through it, and having attacked the enemy, who were not above 2000 men, put them to rout, killed and took about two hundred men, with two standarts and a pair of kettle-drums. We had one Captaine taken prisoner, and about twenty soldiers killed. The enemy retired about six leagues from us, and we quarter'd that night in Latitchef.

Next morning, P. Schahofski detached several parties of horse to get intelligence of the Poles march, and one of them who had been at Medziboz, brought us account that they were retired to Plezkorova, about twelve leagues from us; and as the Prince was preparing to follow them, he received orders to leave me the command of the army, and to return to the Ukrain, where, the Hetman being dead, the Empress had form'd a commission for the government of that country, of which Schahofskoi was named cheif; and as the enemies parties were all round us, he took 1200 horse with him for his escorte, which very much weakned the corps. However, the same day I advanced to Medziboz, a toun and castel belonging to the Prince Schartorinski, who, tho' he was of King Stanislave's party, yet had given orders to his governor of that place not to make any resistance, but to receive our

troops, and ask safeguards; and, accordingly, the governor had been with me two days before, to make his submission, and had returned home that morning with the quarter-masters to mark the quarters. When I arrived near the town, the governor met me, and told me that every thing was prepared for the reception, and my lodging in the Prince's own house; on which I order'd the Major-General Heidenreich to form the army near the town, and to make distribute the billets; and I myself, with only 24 dragoons for my escorte, went straight to my quarters, which I found in a tolerable good castle, fortified with a good ditch, drawbridge, and a kind of cover'd way palisaded; and in coming into the court I was received by the garison, consisting of about 200 Poles, drums beating and colours flying. I soon perceived the folly I had committed; but it was too late to retreat, and my only way was to put a good face on the matter. I sent immediatly my adjoutant to make my equipage come to me, and at the same time order'd him to mix a hundred and fifty granadiers amongst the waggons, and to come with all hast; but had they shut the gate before their arrival I had certainly remained a prisoner,—for having no cannon but some three pounders in the army, they cou'd not have taken the place in which there was fourteen pieces of cannon and ammunition in abundance. However, at last my equipage arrived, tho' not so soon as I wished it, and howsoon I had got the granadiers in, I told the governor, that as I designed there shou'd be a guard and a pair of colours of ours in the castle, he must lodge his garison in the town. He told me they were servants of the Prince Schartorinski's, and cou'd not leave his house; but finding I wou'd be obey'd, and that I was in a condition to make myself be so, he order'd them immediatly to march out.

Next day I assembled a counsel of war to consult if we shou'd march on in quest of the enemy, or remain there till the return of the detachment who had convoy'd the Prince Schahofskoi, and it was agreed that we shou'd wait their return, because in marching farther we might give the enemy an occasion of attacking that party, which being only 1200 men, wou'd be too weak to resist the Poles, who, according to all our intelligence, were about 9000. I employed the time of

our stay here in preparing biscuit for the march, there being no provisions to be found in the villages, which were for the most part abandoned by the inhabitants; and howsoon I got an account that the detachment was within a day's march of me, I order'd the army to be in a readiness to move; but the same day I received a letter from the Baron Wedell, Coroneel of the regiment of Troitski dragoons, that he was on his march to join me with 600 dragoons and about the same number of Cossagues; that he had fresh orders for me from General Wiesback, and beg'd I wou'd wait his arrival at Medzibos, where he wou'd be in two days. The same reason that made me wait the first detachment, made me likewise delay my march till this one shou'd arrive; but on opening my orders I found one not to advance any farther, but to put the troops into quarters near the Niester, and to have an eye on the Chan of Tartary's movements, who had marched out of the Crime with about 12,000 men into Moldavia, with a design, as it was suspected, of joining the Poles; on which I immediatly divided the army into three. I posted myself in the center at Bar, with a regiment of foot, two of dragoons, and two thousand Cossacks. I left the same number with Major-General Heidenreich at Medzibos; and sent Wedell with as many to Brailof. Whille we remain'd in these quarters, which was to the end of March, we had some trifling skirmishes with the Poles, but none of any consequence.

In the beginning of April I received a letter from General Weisback, acquainting me that twelve companies of the Crown Guards were in garison, with some troops of the Palatine of Kiove's, in the toun of Brodi; that he was informed that the Crown guards were not well affected to Stanislave, and that he had reason to hope that on the approach of our troops they might change party, and give up the place; and therefor order'd me to detach Colonel Wedell with 2000 dragoons, to make himself master of that place;— on which I represented to him that the situation of the enemy's army render'd the march of that detachment entirly impossible, they laying just in the way with about five thousand men; but that the grass being now far enough advanced to furnish fourrage for the army, I was resolved to

draw it out of winter quarters, and to march with the whole corps straight to that place; but that as it was not entirely sure that the guards would take the party he imagined, and that place cou'd not be taken with the artillery I had, in case they took that of defending themselves, I begged he wou'd prepare, in all events, a small train at Kiove to be ready to send me; and having received an approbation to what I proposed, the 3d of April I marched from Bar, and having assembled the other quarters, arrived the 6th at Zinkof. I halted to get certain intelligence of the enemy, who I knew was not far from thence, and next day a party of Kalmucks brought me three prisoners, who assured me that the Palatin of Volinia was, with about 5000 men, near Husiatin, about 6 Polish leagues distant, and the Starost of Badom at Butchiatch, about four leagues, with about 1000 regular troops; that the Palatin had sent orders to the other to join him, which he had refused as not being under his command; on which I order'd the half of the horse, and the equipages of the foot, to fourage the 9th, and to be ready to march the tenth in search of the enemy; and as I knew that the Cossacks fouraged with very little precaution and less regularity, I order'd the Baron Wedel to have seven hundred horse ready to march, in case the enemy shou'd attempt any thing. About eleven o'clock in the morning, a Cossack came and acquainted me that some troops of the enemy appeared near where they were fouraging; on which I order'd Baron Wedell to advance with the reserve, and to draw of the Cossaques, in case he saw that the enemy was too strong; and at the same time I order'd the rest of the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march, which they were obliged to do immediatly, for Baron Wedel had not marched a quarter of a league when he got account that the Cossaques were shut up by the van-guard of the Poles in the town of Solobkoftsé, and that the Palatin of Volinia, with the rest of his army,—in all 110 troops of horse,—was in full march to attack them. I sent him orders immediatly to march with all diligence to the relief of the Cossacks; and with the rest of the horse I followed him with all the speed possible, leaving Major-General Heidenreich to bring up the three regiments of foot as fast as they cou'd conveniently march. At my arrival I found our Cossacks relieved, and joined with Baron

Wedell to the number of about 1000 men, and the enemy's vanguard retired and joined their corps, who was drawn up about a thousand yards distance to the number of about 5000 men, a wood behind them, and an open plain betwixt them and us. As I had now about 1700 dragoons and a 1000 Cossacks, I order'd them immediatly to charge, but the Poles after a very weak resistance retired into the wood, where being vigourously attacked by Colonel Stockman with 500 dragoons, they were drove into the plain, where they immediatly dispersed, leaving behind them three pieces of canons, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, and a standart. As this plain was surrounded with woods, they saved themselves in them with the loss of about 300 men killed, and thirty-eight taken, amongst whom was the Colonel Boreiko one of their famous partisans: on our side we had about ninety killed, but mostly before the coming up of the Baron Wedell. Next morning I returned with the troops to Zinkof, resolving, after having given them a day's rest, to pursue the enemy,—but that evening I received a letter from the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, acquainting me that, the Empress having given him the command of that army, he was arrived at Medzibos, and ordering me to send him a detachment of dragoons to conduct him to Zinkof; and having sent 200 he arrived the 13th and took the command, and having next day reviewed the army, he ordered them the 18th to march to Hussiatin, where, our provisions falling short, we were forced to remain till we provided others. As all this part of the country belonged to gentlemen who were in Stanislave's interest, we cou'd have no help from the inhabitants who were mostly retired either to Moldavia, which is only some few leagues distant, or to Kaminieck Podoloski; but as we found every where great quantities of corn unthreshed,—this being one of the richest countrys in the world in grain,—our soldiers thresh'd it, grinded it, and made biscuit, so that in about three weeks time, we had at least a month's provision ready for the wholle army, and about the midst of May continued our march to Tarnopole, the Prince of Hesse having resolved to pursue the project already formed of attacking Brodi. On our arrival at Tarnopole a counsel of war was held to consult if we shou'd first attack Zbarage, a little fort belonging to the Palatin of

Kiove, which, lying behind us, might incommode our communication with the Ukrain; but finding the garison consisted only of a hundred and twenty foot, and thirty dragoons, and that the place was so little that it cou'd not contain a garison numerous enough to incommode us, it was resolved to take no notice of it, and to continue our march to Brodi. On the first of June we arrived at Podkamen, a Convent of Bernardins, three leagues from Brodi, and after some days stay there we marched to Brodi, and encamped out of cannon shot of the place; and next day the Prince of Hesse sent Baron Wedell, Colonel of the regiment of Troitski dragoons, to summon Hansen, Lieut Collonel of the Crown gardes who commanded in the toun, to surrender, which he refusing to do, it was resolved next night to attack the toun, sword in hand, and Tchirikof Collonel of the first regiment of Mosco, was commanded with a 1000 foot, 500 dismounted dragoons, and 500 Cossagues,—but on his approach he found the toun abandoned, the garison having retired into the citadelle, in which they acted very prudently, for the toun being only surrounded with an earthen rampart, with almost no ditch, they certainly wou'd have been forced; we found only one soldier in the toun and three or four friers in a convent, all the rest of the inhabitants having retir'd either to other places or into the citadelle, but by them we learned that the garison consisted in 12 company's of the Crown gardes, making about 800 men, 200 foot of the Palatin of Kiove's to whom the place belong'd, and about a 100 of his dragoons; that they had 32 pieces of cannon and three mortars, with a considerable quantity of ammunition but very little bread, which gave us good hopes they wou'd soon surrender, considering the number of inhabitants they had allowed to retire into the citadelle with them, which wou'd have been an unpardonable fault in any other country; but in Poland the officers having very little authority, and the place belonging to a particular person, his governor received whomever he thought fit without consulting the Commendant of the troops. The Prince having had this account of the state of the place, order'd it immediatly to be blocked with all the exactnes possible, and as it's surrounded with a bog on all sides, but that towards the toun, posts and patrolles were placed every where to hinder any

communication thro' it; and next day the Prince sent Baron Wedell again to acquaint the Commendant that he was not ignorant how little provisions he had, and that if he continu'd obstinate, not to surrender till he had eat it all up, he wou'd then not receive him on any terms; he seem'd now not so resolute as the first time, and Baron Wedell discovered that there was two factions in the place, one who were for capitulating immediatly, the other for holding out till the Palatin of Kiove should arrive to their succour, which he had promised should be in a few days. This last yet prevailed, so the blockade continued for some days longer, with a very small fire of cannon from the enemy and none from our side, who, having only six three pounders, chose rather to be silent then to show our weakness; and tho' the Prince of Hesse had wrote to General Wiesbach to send him some large cannon from Kiove, yet the distance, which is above 50 Polish leagues, made it impossible for them to arrive in less then three weeks; however we still made a show as if we were raising batteries behind some wooden houses which stood on the esplanade of the citadelle. After 8 days blockade the enemy beat a parly and demanded hostages in lieu of a Captain and Lieut of the guardes, whom they desired to send to make proposals to the Prince, and as I happen'd to be at the barricades, I sent immediatly two officers into the citadelle, and received theirs, and the Prince of Hesse having order'd me to receive their propositions, they offer'd to abandone the place provided they were allow'd to retire to where ever the other half of their regiment was, carrying along with them all the artillery and ammunition they pleased, and that what they left shou'd be under the care of the Palatinof Kiove's governor, and under no pretext should be employed by the garison we might put into the place; that the Palatin's troops shou'd have the permission to retire to his army, with several other articles, which were all refused them, and no other offer'd, but to surrender prisoners of war, with a promise that they should not be sent farther into Russia than the toun of Kiove, to be there kept till they were either relieved or the war at an end: While we were disputing these articles, I was advertised that the enemy was opening two new embrasures in the parapet, on which I sent one officer with a drum to advertise the governor, that if he did

not make immediatly cease the work, I wou'd break of the conference and demask the battery's which I pretended were all in condition to fire; on which he ceased, and at the same time sent orders to his two deputy's by ane oficer to finish the capitulation at any rate, which in two howers after was agreed on; that the garison should that evening deliver the gate of the place, and next morning shou'd march out colours flying and drums beating, but that at arriving at our camp, they should deliver their colours and arms, and be conducted prisoners of war to Kiove; that whatever was in the fort shou'd be faithfully deliver'd to our Commissary's; but that the inhabitants who had carried in their goods shou'd have the liberty to retire where they pleased with them. This was exactly put in execution, and the 13th of June we took possession of the place after a blockade, rather than a siege of ten days, in which we did not lose ten men; and tho' the Palatin of Kiove to whom the toun belonged was lying with an army superior to ours, within fourteen leagues of it, he did not make the least mouvement, either to relieve them or to incomode us.

As we had only six battalions of foot in the army, the rest being dragoons and Cossacks, howsoon we were mastters of the place, I proposed to the Prince of Hesse to blow it up, that we might not be obliged to diminish the army, which was already too weak; but he fearing it might not be aproved at Court, resolved to keep it, and accordingly put into it 500 foot and dismounted dragoons, and with the rest, which did not amount to above 9000 men, prepared to march toward the Palatin of Kiove and endeavour to force him to an action, when he received an order from General Weisbach not to advance any farther, but to remain about the place where he was till he sent him new instructions; but as we had already eat up all the fourrage round Brodi, it was found impossible to remain any longer there, and it was agreed on to march towards Zbarage, the plentifullest country in all Poland, and perhaps in the world. Before we marched from hence, the Crown guardes took the oath of fidelity to King Augustus, on which the Prince gave them their arms, and camped them on the left of the foot, reserving the right for the oldest regiment Russe, and on the 19th of June we marched back to

Podkamen, and two days after continued our route for Zbarage. On the march our advanced garde sent to acquaint that they discovered a considerable body of horse marching towards us, and the Prince having sent an officer with some dragoons to reconnoitre them, he returned soon after with one of their officers whose language no body understood; but at last an interpreter being found, told they were Moldavians who out of regard to the Empress of Russia, as being a Princesse of the same religion, were come to offer their service to her to the number of a 1000 horse, but that the Palatin of Volinia having fallen on them two days before had destroyed about 300; tho' we know that however religion was the pretext, yet plunder was the real reason of their coming. The Prince received them into the army, and with this reinforcement we advanced towards Zabarage, and encamped about a 1000 yards from the fort, which the Prince of Hesse made summons to surrender, and on their refusal it was resolved to attack it; and howsoon the facines and other preparatifs were ready, the Prince Basil Repnin, Colonel of the regiment of Butirski, was order'd to open the trenches with 600 armed men and 400 workmen; and as the Prince had recommended to me the care of the seige, I posted them in old approaches which had remained since the time the Cossaques had formerly beseiged the place, above 80 year before, and which brought us under cover within half-musquet shot of the covered way. Before day break the work was perfected, and howsoon the Dianne was beat, we began to fire on the enemy who had not discover'd us in the night, with four peices of cannon and our musketry, to which they answered very briskly, till about twelve the same day, when they surrender'd prisoners of war, with the loss of only two killed on their side and two wounded on ours. We found in the fort 150 foot and 50 dismounted dragoons, 14 pieces of cannon, and 2 morters, with abundance of ammunition and provisions for a much longer defense.

As Count Weisbach's last orders restricted the Prince of Hesse to remain near this place, and not to advance till further orders, we employed our time from the 15th of July, that the corns ripened, in making reap them by the soldiers, and furnishing the magazins of this place and Brodi; and

during our stay here we were joined by General Major Spiegel with two regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and a 1000 Cossacks, so that the army consisted in ten batalions of foot, six regiments of dragoons, and 5000 Cossacks, making in all about 18,000 men, with which we cou'd easily have drove the confederate Poles to the other side of the Vistula, had we had the permission to advance towards them; but the Prince's hands being tyed up, we remained here in inaction till the beginning of October, in all which time the Poles attempted nothing but surprizing two of our parties the Staroste Jaselski, having fallen on a party of a hundred foot and a 100 Cossacks, killed about 40 men and 2 officers; and the Palatin of Volinia with about 3000 men attempted to surprize Colonel Stockman's quarters near Tarnapole, but finding him prepared to receive him with 500 dragoons and as many Cossaques, he retired with precipitation to the other side of the Dniester, at above 20 leagues distance. The weather being now very cold, and the snow beginning to fall, the Prince of Hesse distributed the winter quarters to the troops; one battalion was placed at Medziboge, to keep our communication open with Kiove, 300 foot and most of the sick were left in Zbarras, and 1000 foot in garison at Brodi. Major General Spiegel, with 3 regiments of dragoons, had their winter quarters assigned about Loutsk, and the Prince himself with the rest of the army advanced to the river Bog, along which river from Vlodzimir to Sokal the rest of the army quarter'd, the Prince himself with Major General Heidenreich at Berestetsko, and I at Sokal; the Palatin of Kiove, Great General of the Crown, remaining in the toun of Leopold, round which place his army was quarter'd; in which situation we remained till near the end of December, when the Prince, having advice that the Great General had quitted Leopold and retired to Jaroslave on the other side of the Sanne, he advanced with the wholle troops quarter'd on the Bog, and took possession of that toun the 30th December 1734, which is one of the richest and most mercantil of the kingdom, and which render'd us masters of all the Palatinat of Russia; and now the Prince being in quiet possession of all the east side of Poland from the Sanne to the Dnieper except the toun of Kaminieck Podolski, resolved to push no farther

this winter, but by giving the army good quarters, to put it in a condition to take the field early in the spring ...