

THE  
JACOBITE LAIRDS OF GASK

BY T. L. KINGTON OLIPHANT, Esq.,  
OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Stemmata quid faciunt? ....  
... nobilitas sola est atque unica Virtus.  
JUVENAL, Satire viii.

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## PREFACE.

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THE materials for this book have been taken from the Gask charter-chest, and are the most interesting of the vast mass of papers there preserved. Few houses, I suspect, have been so careful of their records as the Oliphants.

In this work, it is designed to touch very slightly upon their first start in Scotland, when, under the old Celtic Kings, they climbed so high, and kept abreast of the Comyns and Stuarts for a hundred years. Nor shall I dwell upon their more modest career under the Kings of Norman blood, by which time the Oliphants had become a Scottish House of the second class.

My business is with the days of their decline, after their downfall in the reign of James VI., when about eleven-twelfths of their old lands had been rest away, and that most mournful of words, "Fuimus," had become appropriate in their mouths.

Their politics, I fear, will not gain the approval of our age of progress. None of their later Chiefs can challenge for themselves the proud surname of Publicola. True Scots of the old leaven, almost up to the last they loved France more than England. At the Reformation, at the Revolution, and in the Georgian age, the Oliphants were found on the side of reaction. Langside, Killiecrankie, and Culloden, all have the same tale to tell of this House. One exception there is to the rule; it is that of the youthful Master of Oliphant, who, in 1582, turned his father's Castle of Dupplin into the gaol of the hated Minister of James VI., and whose hard fate it afterwards was, if we may trust Calderwood, to swing at the yard arm of a Flemish pirate.

But even the sternest foes to the Oliphant politics will not grudge, I hope, some meed of praise to that unflinching steadfastness which was ever ready to give up life and lands, home and health, in the behalf of a doomed race of Kings. Never was the Jacobite tradition more abiding in any House. Early in 1689, even before Dundee had come down from

London to head the first of the Jacobite risings, Lord Oliphant was thrown into prison by the new Government. The reason was, that he had “signed an Association” to stand by King James with life and fortune.<sup>1</sup> In 1820, or thereabouts, the Oliphant Poetess was still at work upon her Jacobite ballads. In the long interval between these two dates, many of this name had to bear imprisonment, banishment, sickness, and loss of goods, all for the sake of the Stuarts.

There is another point, which the Oliphants of old would have thought worthy of the most earnest recognition by any one who might undertake to write their lives; I mean their alliance with certain neighbours of theirs in Strathearn. It will be remarked in the following pages, that whenever an Oliphant is in need, a Drummond is sure to step forward as the friend indeed. Such family friendships, handed down from age to age, have been more common in the Highlands than in the Lowlands of Scotland. Next to the Drummonds, the Houses standing highest with the Gask family were the Murrays, Graemes, and Robertsons.

Besides the Oliphant papers, I have had other help. Many hints have been given me by friends, and also by strangers, as my work advanced. My thanks are specially due to Dr. Robert Chambers, for allowing me to copy the papers of Bishop Forbes, particularly the conferences between Charles Edward and the Laird of Gask in 1769. I owe much, in my account of our last civil war, to a manuscript in the possession of T. Oswald, Esq., of Dunnikier; this manuscript, the work of an eyewitness, has evidently been consulted by Sir Walter Scott for his “Tales of a Grandfather.” My best assistant, however, has been the Rev. T. Morris, of Edinburgh, who has deciphered for me much crabbed handwriting, and whose services would be of great value to any persons having occasion to search old charters or to draw up family histories; he is especially strong in the lore of his native Perthshire.

I have deemed the publication of these papers the best monument that I can build for my ancestors. I only hope that I may be held justified in having once more asked the

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<sup>1</sup> Luttrell’s Brief Relation of State Affairs, ii. 20.

question, put long ago by the foremost of Italians to his  
great-great-grandfather in Paradise,—

“Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,  
Quai son gli vostri antichi, e quai fur gli anni  
Che si segnaro in vostra puerizia?”

T. L. KINGTON OLIPHANT.

Charlton House, Wimbledon,  
June 1st, 1870.

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## CHAPTER I.

JAMES OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF WILLIAMSTOUN AND GASK  
1696—1732.

I Believe that most of my readers will thank me for sparing them all the steps of a long Scottish pedigree. I shall therefore touch upon a few points only, alluded to in the Oliphant letters of the last century.

The Olifards (so the name was once written) came to Scotland in the year 1142, and at once rose into notice; four of them in succession held the high office of Justiciary, ranking next to the Crown; their names are recorded in many Monastic charters, in the state papers printed by Rymer, and also in the chronicles of Hexham and Melrose. Two renowned knights, belonging to different branches of the house, were taken prisoners at Dunbar by Edward the First, in 1296: one of these was William Olifard, mentioned by almost all the English monks who wrote in 1304; the other, William Olifaunt, acquired broad lands in Perthshire from King Robert the Bruce, and became the Lord of Gasknes and Aberdalgie; his tomb may still be seen at the latter village, four miles to the west of Perth: the three Crescents, the arms of his house, are clearly traceable on the stone. From him sprang every Oliphant who makes any figure in history after 1312. To the son of this champion was given Elizabeth, a daughter of King Robert; as is proved by a charter of King David's, bearing date 1364, confirming the lands of Gask to Walter Olyfaunt and to "Elizabeth his wife, our beloved sister." A month later, the lands of Aberdalgie and Dupplin were also confirmed to Olyfaunt. His house, boasting their descent from the great King Robert, throve in Strathearn side by side with the Ruthvens, Graemes, Murrays, and Drummonds. This last-named family and the Oliphants were bound together in a steady alliance, stretching over hundreds of years; their first achievement in common was a bloody deed, perpetrated at Crieff in 1413, according to the Continuator of Fordun.

Laurence Oliphant, Dominus de Aberdalgie, received a Peerage from King James II. in 1458, and became the First and greatest of ten Lords Oliphant . He it was who founded

the Greyfriars' House at Perth. His son had two children killed at Flodden, Colin the Master of Oliphant, and Laurence the Abbot of Inchaffray, the great monastic house of Strathearn. Colin left two sons; Laurence the Third Lord Oliphant, and William the forefather of the Gask line. The Abbot, a fair specimen of the Scottish churchman of the period, had a bastard son, from whom sprang the Oliphants who owned Bachilton after the Reformation.

The exploits of the Lords Oliphant may be read in Hall's chronicle, in the Edinburgh diarists of Queen Mary's time, and in Calderwood's History. The Fifth Lord, called in the Gask papers of his age, "ane base and unworthy man," sold his great estates in many different shires, soon after the year 1600. Gask alone was saved from the wreck and was made over to his cousin; Dupplin and Aberdalgie came into the hands of the first Earl of Kinnoull. The Sixth Lord Oliphant received a new Peerage from Charles I. in 1633, and obtained lands on the Deveron in Banffshire, having married a Crichtoun; this lady seems to have bequeathed to her offspring an attachment to Romanism and to Jacobitism. A daughter of the Sixth Lord by a former marriage had been wedded to her cousin, one of the Oliphants of Gask.

These sprang from William Oliphant, the brother of the Third Lord. William's grandson, Laurence Oliphant, bought Gask from the Spendthrift Lord in 1625. The purchaser's son, also called Laurence, married Lilius, the daughter of the Sixth Lord. The bridegroom is thus described in a manuscript drawn up by his descendants a hundred years after his time. It must be borne in mind that some of the Oliphants, who had been well acquainted with him, lived far into the next century; one of them died in 1754, at the age of ninety-one. Thus the writer of the manuscript which I am about to quote becomes a fair authority.

"Laurence Oliphant was in the year 1650 knighted at Pearth by King Charles the Second when in that town; he bought the Lands of Williamstoun from S<sup>r</sup> William Blair of Kinfauns, and payd for them thirty years purchas, when mony was at ten per Cent Interest.<sup>1</sup> He afterwards inveigled

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<sup>1</sup> He was made to do penance by the Covenanters for his

himself in a foolish trifling plea, which occasioned his attendance for thirty Sessions before the Lords of Session at Edin<sup>r</sup>, & to assist him in the gaining of it, he proposed a match betwixt his eldest son Patrick and a Sister of the Marquis of Douglas, & made up the Bargen without having advised with his son, who had never seen the Lady; when he informed him of it, his son refused to comply, because he was not sure if he should like her, & that it must be to the ruine of his family to mak such an unequal match. Upon this Sir Laurence married his second son Laurence to a daughter of Preston of Vallefield, one of the Lords of Cession, & by the contract of marriage he gave to this 2<sup>nd</sup> son and his heirs the whole lands of Gask, Cowgask, & Williamstown, reserving to himself a power of redeeming the lands of Williamstown for a certain sum, which lands he redeemed & gave to his eldest son Patrick with the burthen of his debts.<sup>1</sup> The said second son Laurence possessd the first two Baronys, Gask and Cowgask, all his life; & his son George succeeded him and dieing without heirs, William his brother succeeded him, who died A.d. 1704 unmarry'd. He left two sisters; Ann married to Peter Hay, Provost of Perth, knighted by King James y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> year 1715, & Catherine marry'd to Hugh Peterson, Surgeon apothecary in Eden<sup>r</sup>. The said William gave each of them a bond for two thous<sup>d</sup> p<sup>d</sup> Ster, besids the portions that were left them by their Father Laurence.

“Patrick, eldest son to S<sup>r</sup> Laurence, by the treatment he had from him married rather below his rank, but a very good woman & fitted for his temper and sircumstances, Margrite Murray, daughter to M<sup>r</sup> John Murray, Minister of the Parish of Trinity Gask, decended of y<sup>e</sup> family of Tullibardin. He had by her James who succeeded him.”

Margaret Murray, the lady named in the above statement, first appears before us as obtaining an instrument of interruption, in behalf of Patrick Oliphant of Williamstoune her husband, against Lieutenant-General William

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zeal in behalf of Charles I.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Laurence had bought Cowgask from his neighbour, the great Earl of Montrose. The Earl's signature is one of the most valuable in the Gask charter chest.

Drummond of Cromlix, for casting peats on the moss of Soutartoun, on the 24th of June, 1682. The Drummonds at this time were at the height of their power; but the greatness of their old allies the Oliphants had long been waning. The Lords Oliphant might now almost bear the name of Lackland, and Gask was held by an usurper. Meanwhile the Drummonds obtained out of the eight Scottish peerages granted by James VII.; and one of these, the Viscounty of Strathallan, will often reappear in the course of this work. The first Viscount was the General Drummond above mentioned, renowned both as a soldier and an antiquary; as he himself says in his well-known "Genealogie," he long served the great Czar of Muscovia; he was afterwards much employed against the Covenanters. The Episcopal Church was now in full sway in Scotland; we find once more at Dumblane an Archdeacon, who grants feu charters to the Laird of Gask. The Covenanters in the neighbourhood of Perth had a stern foe in Lady Methven, who lived but four miles from the Oliphants' seat. Her letter of October 13th, 1678, has often been printed; she describes the flocking of men and women from east, west, and south, to a field conventicle two bows' draft above her church. She took up arms at the head of sixty men, and threatened the Presbyterians with a bloody day. Seeing her desperate, they marched over the Pow, but swore to return the next Lord's day. "If the fanatics chance to kill me," she writes, "it shall not be for nought."

Patrick Oliphant, a near neighbour of this fiery Lady, got from his nephew all that he was entitled to, according to the dispositions of Sir Laurence. While Scotland was in the throes of the Revolution, an instrument of seisin, dated 14th February, 1689, appears, in favour of "Jacobus Oliphant filius legitimus Patricii Oliphant de Williamston," in the lands of Williamston. Four years later, Patrick and James were contracting as to the maintenance and provision for the daughters of the former. Patrick Oliphant, the most unlucky of all the Gask line, died before 1696.

His son James Oliphant, born soon after 1660, deserves to rank with his great-grandfather as a thrifty guardian of the Gask heritage. He it was who regained what Patrick had lost.

Like his father, he married a Murray, a daughter of the house of Woodend. On the 18th of August, 1691, we find a Sasine in favour of Janet Murray, spouse of James Oliphant, in life rent of the lands of Wester Dubheid, part of the Craig of Madderty, and of two bolls victual out of part of the lands of Soutartoun. The marriage had taken place two years before this; the father-in-law, Mr. Murray of Woodend, is described in the contract as a Minister of the Gospel. He had already refused the mitre of Glasgow, offered to him by James VII.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the epitaph on the Minister's tomb at St. Ninian's was forty years later sent to Gask, at the request of his grandson, Laurence Oliphant: it is as follows:—

“Hic conduntur cineres summi et moderati viri D.

Antonii Murray de Woodend, Pastoris Presbyteriani; quem tamen ea tenebat in suas partes firma constantia, ut Archiepiscopatum Glasguensem alto vultu rejecerit. Fidem Regi Jacobo Septimo semel datam pectore inconcusso semper intemeratam prestitit. In reditu à Glasguâ ad ædes suas Woodendianas, juxtâ Cœnobium Inchaffriense, obiit Livelandii Kal. Aug. 1689.”

James Oliphant of Williamstoun, with three other neighbouring Lairds, applied to the Scotch Parliament on the 9th of October, 1690, for an Act to compel all the heritors to drain and ditch the Pow of Inchaffray, which had been flooding the neighbouring lands. Eleven Commissioners were accordingly appointed to tax the adjacent heritors for the work. This is the only instance on record of a great agricultural improvement being effected under the authority of the Scotch Parliament.<sup>2</sup> Part of the marshes had been reclaimed by the monks of Inchaffray so early as the year 1218.<sup>3</sup> Water was not the only hindrance to the tillage of Perthshire acres. On the 22nd of January, 1691, Lord Rollo,

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<sup>1</sup> One of this branch of the Murrays had been tutor to Charles I., and afterwards Provost of Eton College; he must have been one of the first Scotsmen who got the chance of laying hold of England's good things.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber InsulæMissarum* (Bannatyne Club), p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

whose lands were separated from Gask by the Earn, complained to the Privy Council that “in the Harvest last, the Highland robbers came down and plundered his ground, and because of his seeking redress according to law, they threaten his tenants with ane other depredation, and affrights them so as they are like to leave the lands and cast them waste.”<sup>1</sup> The old Earl of Breadalbane, the statesman so deep in the Glencoe butchery, shielded the Oliphant lands from Highland Caterans, most likely for a consideration.

Here is a specimen of an Indenture of apprenticeship in 1697; the youth referred to was a kinsman of James Oliphant. I give the most striking clauses:—

“This Indenture of partnership made at Dundie the 28th day of January, 1697, beand proport leall and southfast, that it is contracted between Robert Ranken, skiper, in Dundie one the ane part, and Laurence Oliphant with consent of his friends on the other part. The said Laurence becomes prentiss and servant to and with the said Robert Ranken for learning the mariner’s calling for the space of three years, and obleidges him to abide in his said master’s service without absenting himself without leave of his said master under the paine of thirteen shillings four pennies for ilk dayes absence. And that he shall be ane leall true servant to his said master, keeping secret what shall be so recommended to him. And that he shall not haunt idle or prophaine companie nor play at unlawful games, but that on the contrary he shall keep all holy ordinances. And yf it shall happen the said Laurens Oliphant to committ the fact of fornication during his prentiship, as God forbid, Then and in that case he obleidges him to serve his said master three years as ane prentiss immediately after committing of the said fact.”

Three hundred and fifty merks Scots were paid for the fee. In old times, Oliphant cadets had been provided for by the neighbouring Abbey of Inchaffray, of which the Lords Oliphant were hereditary Baillies. But at the Reformation, Inchaffray had been given to the Drummonds.

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<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Record, quoted by Chambers.

The Usurpation was now coming to an end. I quote once more the old Gask manuscript which has described the disinheriting of Patrick:—"James succeeded to Patrick in the lands of Williamstoun, & when forty years were near expired that S<sup>r</sup> Laurence's 2<sup>d</sup> son and grandsons had possess'd the Estate of Gask, he intented a process against his Cousin Will<sup>m</sup> for recovering the Estate. The Plea was determined by a submission to John Drummond of Coquhalzie for y<sup>e</sup> said James Oliphant, and James Graeme of Orchil for Willm, who chose John Halden of Glenaggies for Oversman. By their decret Arbitral they ordeaned the partys to entaile their estates upon each other, with power nevertheless to either of them to contract whatever debts they pleased." William Oliphant sat in Parliament for Perthshire shortly before the Union.

In 1704, James Oliphant gave a bond of provision for 2,000 marks Scots to the natural children of his cousin, the Laird of Gask; one of these became a glover in London. On the 16th of February, 1705, we find the Retour of the general services of James Oliphant of Williamstoun, and heir and nearest lawful heir of Tailzie and provision of the deceased William Oliphant of Gask his cousin german, expedie before the Bailies of the Burgh of the Canongate. James Oliphant, now settled in his rights, was soon at war with his neighbours about their marches. In 1706 he had a dispute with Haldane of Gleneagles as to the lands of Dalreoch; and he annoyed Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch by building a new dam-dyke across the Earn, and also a new Mill on that stream.

The Laird of Gask was at this time looked upon as the main prop of the House, though there were at least four lives between him and the Title. There was Charles, the Seventh Lord Oliphant, who had been a Roman Catholic under James and a Protestant under Anne; he was one of the sturdiest enemies to the Union, as the Acts of the Scottish Parliament show. There was his brother William, a Colonel in the French service, who had come over from Ireland and joined Dundee just before Killiecrankie. There was another brother, Captain Francis, who left issue. There was lastly Patrick, the son of Lord Charles, a youth much given to horse-racing. Even before James Oliphant had removed from Williamstoun to

Gask, these uncles of his (they were the half-brothers of his grandmother, Lilius Oliphant) were fond of applying to him for loans. I give a specimen; the writer is Colonel William Oliphant, whose feats against his Royal Dutch namesake, both abroad and at home, may be read in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

Letter:

Addressed:

ffor the Laird Of Williamstone at Williamstone

Pearth shire.

Roterdame. 20. Aprile 1695.

DEAR NEPHEU

Having the good occasione of the bearer my very good friend going to your Country I wold not feale (fail) to salut ye good Lady and all ye familie. When the bass was surrendered the Last year<sup>1</sup> the gentlen belonged to it came over hier amongst the which was my old Stewart James Mackdonnald who told me that hee hade been with you and Gask and that you told him to show mee if I wanted for some mony that I shoud draw a bill upon you or Gask for what mony I wanted and that upon sight it should be ansuered, so accordingly I drew a bill upon Gask for thertie pounds starling and sent it to Edr. to George Clerk the Englishe factor ther, who after four munts returned back the sds billes unpayed which dous very much trouble mee since I did certainly expect the mony and wants it extreamely to pay some dets I have contracted hier and to by mee a sout of cloaths which I want lykways the bearer hierof my good frind cann informe you sufficiently of my present circumstances, which are harder than you cann imagine, therfor I earnestly desir that Gask Orchell and my other friends about you will gett mee about four hundreth pundts scots and give it to my frind the bearer hierof who knows how to gett it saifly conveyed to mee wher I ame and it shall bee the last trouble of this nature you shall have from mee and I hopp in a short tym to requit this and all the former civilities of this nature I have gott from you all during

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<sup>1</sup> The Bass was the last place in Scotland that held out for King James.

my aboad amongst you three years bygon give credit to my frind the bearer hierof who cann informe you sufficiently of my present circumstances and all other particulars at this place. I expect that you will not only contribute in this afaire but bee my agent amongst the rest four hundreth punds will dou much to put mee frie out of dett and by me a sout of cloaths and I hopp it shall bee the last trouble of this nature you shall have from mee. I refrer all other particulars to the bearer hierof Mr Drummond my good frind. my kynd respects to yr good Lady to whom I hold myselfe extremly oblidge and assure yr selfe I shall never be ungrait when I ame in a condition which I hopp will be or long, when you have occasion to wreat to the north to my brother show him I expect hee will mynd my present circumstances and assur him I will mynd thos [who] mynds mee now when I am in better circumstances. when you see young Rankillor my cussing giv him my kynd respects and to his father and all my other frinds in generall of my aquantense. My wyfe saluts you and yr Lady kyndly and all my relations. I salut all yr family in generall god send us a mirrie meitting. I am in all deutie dear Nephew

Your most affectionat Wncle

and humble st<sup>t</sup>. WILL: OLIPHANT.

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Letter from Charles Ld. Oliphant to the Laird Of Williamston.

HONOURED NEPHEW

I have received yours. and am heartily glade to heare of yo<sup>r</sup> good health and families, the which I wishe the continuance of, and I give you thanks for the caire ye have hade of my affairs, and for that of Condies I refere it to your owne manigement, and since he is at so great a distance from me, I hope ye will acquaint me what he is to doe therine, when your convenience cane serve, I will be glade to heare from you att all occasions, my wife, my sone and I gives our Love and respectes to your selfe your Lady and children, to Gaske and all other freinds, and I continue,

Honoured Nephew,

Your very affectionate uncle

to serve you,

OLIPHANT.

MILTOUNE OF KEITHE,  
*2 March, 1697.*

After the death of this Lord Oliphant, his son Patrick became the Eighth Lord. The youth, wishing to serve under Marlborough, sold his lands in Banffshire to James Oliphant of Gask; they had been heavily mortgaged. The deed was signed at Invermay on the 31st of May, 1709; by it Lord Oliphant made over to his cousin "our haill house and chamber plenishing and furniture of what kynd so ever, with all right and title that we have or can pretend thereto; also our ferry boat upon the Water of Deveron." On the same day, the vendor handed over to the purchaser the keys of the Oliphant charter chest. Lord Oliphant, though by no means the last of his own branch, gave a formal Resignation of his Honours to the Crown, in favour of James Oliphant and his heirs; this was registrated in the Books of Council and Session, July 14, 1711. James in this deed is called "the only person capable of supporting and preserving their family." The son of Patrick the Disinherited must have been a thrifty man. The Oliphants had been brought very low, while the Graemes, Murrays, and Drummonds had risen to Dukedoms.<sup>1</sup>

The Laird of Gask was unwilling to embroil himself in behalf of the banished Stuarts, though three different branches of his house took up arms for them a few years later. He was doubtless one of the five hundred Scotsmen waited upon by General Hook, shortly before the time when Louis XIV. was planning to land his troops in Scotland.

I give from one of the Gask manuscripts a story which refers to this time.

"General Hook told Dr King at Paris, that in the year 1708, when the french fleet made a show, as if they intended to land in Scotland, he being one Night not disposed to sleep, went

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<sup>1</sup> The Dukedom of the Drummonds was a titular one, from St. Germain.

about midnight on the Deck, & as he was bred to the sea, saw they were stirring on Newcastle Bay; when he challenged the Man at the Helm, he answered he was going the Course ordered; upon which the Gen<sup>l</sup> went to the Commander, to know the meaning of it, who came immediately on deck, reprimanded the Stirsman severely, & ordered him to keep the proper Course; being still unable to rest, the

Gen<sup>l</sup> soon after returned to Deck, & found they were again got upon the wrong Course, & being told it was by Direction, the Gen<sup>l</sup> went instantly to the K. . . 's appartments, and telling him the Story, said they were betrayed. The Cap<sup>n</sup> of the British Ship of War, who took some of the French ships, sent for the f Captain, & asked whether the King was on board his Ship, & being answered in the negative, said he would THEN do his duty, & took them all prisoners.<sup>1</sup> ..... The Gen<sup>l</sup> told D<sup>r</sup> King at the same time, that during his stay in Scotland, he had negotiated with five hundred Noblemen & Gentlemen of that Country, & not one of them had betrayed his trust or revealed his Secret.”

Two other tales are in the same handwriting on the same paper; and these I add, though they do not bear upon Scotland or the Oliphants. They must have been jotted down before 1768.

“M<sup>r</sup> Bish, Fellow of New College, Oxon, being in low circumstances, was asked to be Chaplain to my Lady Plymouth, which he refused; alledging he would rather take the poorest Living in the Church, than be considered as a better kind of Servant, as proud women of Quality's Chaplains generally are. Soon after, a Difference happened in the College about an Election, in which M<sup>r</sup> Bish thought himself ill used, & determining to leave it, wrote his friend that he would go into Lady Plymouth's Family, if not otherwise supplied: in two years the Lady married him & Queen Anne made him Bishop of Hereford.”

“Lord Torrington, one day at Table with his heir at Law, whom he hated, the conversation turned upon the poor Quality in England: after mentioning many, M<sup>r</sup> Loving, a

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<sup>1</sup> St. Simon gives an account of this expedition.

Gentleman in company, said, they had forgotten L<sup>d</sup> Lincoln, a noble Family, with only £500 p<sup>r</sup> Ann. L<sup>d</sup> Torrington agreed, & tho' he never saw Lord Lincoln, left him his Estate of £6000 per Ann. at his death, which happened a few days after. The present Lord is Auditor of the Exchequer, £10000 per Ann., & will be Duke of Newcastle at this Man's death by marrying one of the Pelhams."

Mention has been made of the steady alliance between the Oliphants and the Drummonds. I give a letter from the Head of the latter house, the renowned Chancellor of James VII., the Minister so roughly handled by Lord Macaulay. The titular Duke of Perth was then living at St. Germain's.

For Collonell Oliphant at Orleans.

SIR,

I have Delay'd until now to tell you the contentment the marriage of your Daughter gave me it was not want of kindness, nor anything of that nature that occasioned it. I now give you and all your family the assurance of my Good wishes that all of you may have much joy of so hapie a settlement for hir. All the world speak well of hir and I hope in the state she now is in she wil do nothing that is unsuitable to her birth and the Good Name hir virtue and merite have Gained to hir Give my service to your Lady to the young Goodwife and to hir husband. And belive I am

Sir,

Your mod humble fervant and  
Coufen

PERTH.

St. G<sup>n</sup> 3 Jan. 1711.

My Lady Perth gives her service to you to your Lady and the lately marry'd couple.

The next letter is from Lord Oliphant, who must have borne a share in one of the most wonderful of Marlborough's achievements, the taking of Bouchain. The youth was serving in Dumbarton's regiment, the most Jacobite corps in the British army after the Revolution, with warlike traditions

reaching back to Lutzen and even to Ivry.<sup>1</sup>

To the Laird Of Gask at Gask.

Gent Jan<sup>r</sup>. 2th 1712.

DEAR GASK

I hop this shall find you and your family in health I'm wery will thanck God but has had great loss this campagn besyds on the last comand when the french cam out I lost tuo horses with my beding wich has oblidge me to draw this bill of thretie pound on you wich I hop you'l except as you would oblidge me I hop you're now satisfied that your bargan with Kinardiehas payed you the monie you advanced me so pray let me intreat you not to mack seremony to accept this bill for I assour you that if I could bien [relieved] without troubling you I would not done it for I can neather gett hors nor bead without ready monie this shall be the last so let me intreat you to mack no seremony as ever you can oblidge me. My service to your self and Ladie to Laurence and Tom and all other frinds is from

Dr. Gask

Your affectionat cousien  
and humble servant

OLIPHANT.

Here is a letter dated from London on the 26th of May, 1713, and copied by Gask's eldest son. The Oliphant view of the Union seems by this time to have gained many converts; Charles, the Seventh Lord, had been its most steady opponent in the last Scottish Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

"Our Commoners did not make that motion yesterday for Leave to bring in a Bill for dissolving the Union. But yesterday they desired our Scots peers to meet with them

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<sup>1</sup> See Cannon's Historical Record of the First or Royal Regiment of Foot.

<sup>2</sup> Young Oliphant misdates the year, calling it 1711, when copying the letter. Queen Anne's Tory ministry had suddenly brought in a bill to levy the malt-tax upon Scotland, contrary to the articles of the Union.

about it.

“This morning the Peers met at E. Hay’s house, (Hay came to town last night) and after talking the affair over amongst themselves they all mett at another place with the Scots Commoners, and there they came to the following Resolutions,—That a motion be made for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Union; That they will now and in all time coming promote the said Bill.

That they will oppose the measures and interests of all persons whatsoever that shall oppose that Bill. That two peers, viz, D. Argile and E. Mar on behalf of the Peers, and M<sup>r</sup> Lockart and M<sup>r</sup> Cockburn on behalf of the Commoners go immediately and acquaint the Queen that they have unanimously agreed upon these Resolutions.

“Never was greater Unanimity and more firm Resolution shown as at this occasion. Every man was more forward than another. There had been some people speaking yesterday of some smoothing expedients, such as that our people need not be unapie, for that the Goverment would look through their fingers in the collecting of the Malt tax. But no such Expedient was so much as talkt of at the meeting; on the contrary, some said they had heard of such expedients, but all unanimously declared, That they would hear nor admitt of none, no, not if they should intirely take of all taxes whatsoever; That nothing should hinder or obstruct their Resolution both now and on all future occasions to insist upon the Dissolution of the Union, and upon all measures whatsoever for obtaining it. They are to meet to morrow in order to concert whether to make the motion in the house of Peers or Commoners. I am of opinion it will begin in the house of Peers, pray God give them good success.

“Since I wrote what is above, these gentlemen have been with the Queen. The Duke of Argile delivered the Message; the Queen said she was sorry they had been so hasty in their Resolution, for that the hardships they complained of might have been otherways redrest; they answered that it was not this single point of the Malt tax they complained of, for that ever since the commencement of the Union every hardship that offered itself was put upon us. The Queen said her

servants had no hand in these hardships. The Duke said that perhaps her servants had made her believe so, but that he begged leave to tell her it was not so, for that some people, which had no bread but from her, had spoke most violently and insolently against us in that very Bill, and that in several points reparation had been promised them, but no reparation given them. The Queen ask't if they had considered well whether or not they could offer a Motion for dissolving the Union, and if they talked with Lawers whether or not any man could with security to his person make such a Motion. They answered that they had not thought it needful to talk with lawers upon it; that indeed they had heard that some of her Ministers had been speaking of sending some people to the Tower, if they offered any such Motion. But that they were Resolved to take their venture of that, and that they were always ready either in an United or Separate state to behave themselves dutyfully to her Majesty, but that the state of the Union was uneasy to both Nations and ruinous to Scotland, and they were resolved to follow all possible means to dissolve it."

I give a specimen of a receipt for a school bill in the days of Queen Anne, just as it was sent in to the Laird of Gask. The "Cornell" must be William Oliphant, the great hero of the House; he had most likely come home after the peace of Utrecht.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

William has not need to stay long from his Books, and truly he went to Crief on teusday last far against my will, designing to see the Cornell, but I designe not to give him all his will again in such Respects. I desire your honour & the Lady may take inspection of his Cloths & tell me freely if I have not been a good Merchant. For my part I may say I never prigged so much on my own behalf. This with my humble respects to your honour & family is all at present from

Your honour's most humble servant  
J. COLDSTREAM.

FOWLIS.

Dec. 25. 1712.

J. M<sup>r</sup> John Coldstream, schoolm<sup>r</sup> at Fowlis grants me

hereby to have received from y<sup>e</sup> Right honourable the Laird of Gask the sum of twentie five pounds eighteen shillings & six pence Scots for mounting William Oliphant in Coat, Vest, Breeches, Shirts, Cravats, & oy<sup>r</sup> necessary Aboulziements as they are presently to be seen, & twelve pounds ten as his Board wages, school dues, paper, pen, & ink, according to Paction w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Laird of Gask, and y<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> quart of ye year from Hallowmass in 1712 to Candlemass in y<sup>e</sup> year 1713, extending in heall to thirty eight pounds eight shillings & sixpence. In witness whereof I have sub<sup>t</sup> these presents at Fowlis, Dec<sup>r</sup> 25, 1712.

J. COLDSTREAM.

One of the Laird of Gask's visitors was George Crawford, the antiquary, who came to gather materials for his *Peerage of Scotland*, published in 1716. Not having before him the documents which have been unearthed since his day, Crawford, and indeed Douglas some years later, have made mistakes in the early history of the Oliphants. The former writer gives many references to the "chartæ penes Jacobum Oliphant de Gask," and seems to have been much struck by the sight of the many bonds of Manrent, given by the Perthshire Lairds to the First Lord Oliphant. Crawford writes to Gask's son Laurence in 1717; "What do you intend about the reprinting of the page? I'll willingly gratiefie you in what you would incline to have of your own branch of the Oliphants. . . . You may let the Earl of Kinoule know I have no publick encouragment but the Gratifications I get for composing the Accounts from the nobility themselves. . I present my very humble respects to your father & my Lady your mother, and to yourself & honest Tom."<sup>1</sup>

Nisbet, in the first volume of his "Heraldry," p. 245, gives a long account of the Lords Oliphant and their cadets, legitimate and illegitimate. He commands our confidence more than the famous Sir George Mackenzie, who, in a genealogy now at Gask, discovers Sir Donald Oliphant settled at Aberdalgie, in the year 830! Nisbet must have drawn up his account about the time of the Union, since he speaks of

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Kinnoull, living at Dupplin, was the nearest neighbour to Gask on the East.

Charles Lord Oliphant as then head of the House. The author mentions the Gask branch and nine others, some of which had become extinct in his day. They were not all of the true blood. He quotes their arms, crests, and differences, from the Lion Register. One of them bore “an Eliphant’s head couped Argent,” another bore “a Proboscide or Eliphant’s Trunk, proper.” Nisbet assuredly could not apply to the Oliphants this sentence of his preface; “there are some who, tho’ they have Charters in their possession, yet are not willing to communicate them; and there are many of such an indolent disposition, as not to regard the history of their own, or of other considerable families.” There are about fifteen Oliphant genealogies in the Gask charter-chest, drawn up between 1640 and 1840; the earlier ones showing more zeal than knowledge.

We may be pretty sure that the Laird of Gask and some of his stalwart sons were at Drummond Castle, in October, 1713, when great rejoicings were being held for the christening of the heir of the house, that titular Duke of Perth so renowned long afterwards as a Jacobite leader. The Tory reaction of the last years of Queen Anne was now in full swing, and Roman Catholics were becoming bold. Wodrow says, “The baptism of my Lord Drummond’s son was performed in October at his own house by a popish bishop with great solemnity. The whole gentlemen, and several noblemen about, were gathered together; and when the mass was said, there were very few of them went out. Several justices of peace and others were there. This is a fearful reproach upon the lenity of our government, to suffer such open insults from papists.”<sup>1</sup>

In the next month we find a letter from one of the guests at Drummond Castle to his nephew. The rising of 1715 was being hatched; and that cunning fox, the Earl of Breadalbane, was reckoned upon as an accomplice.

To the LAIRD Of GASK at Gask.

DEAR NEPHEW

Necessite obliges mee to give you the trouble of this to send mee a Cuple of guines to furnish me with some linnings

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<sup>1</sup> Analecta, II., 254.

I want at present very much, being I have not bought any this two years bypast, so that at present I am in want of some shirts and cravats having the help of none to mend my old ones so that all my linings are worn and not fit to be seen by any honest body. I am ashamed to give you so much trouble, but having no other resource but yourself at present obliges me to rely altogether on your goodness, but I hope a short time now will put me out of my difficulties, being by all probability our affairs are now at a crisis so consequently must take another shape. I shall keep an account of all I have got from you and God willing shall be so just so soon as I am in a condition which I doubt not will be ere long: I will be obliged to wait on the Marquess of Drummond the next week to Taymouth to see my Lord Broadalbin as he goes to make some other visits before I can see you.

My Lord Drummond and Lord John give you their respects and I can assure you wish your family very well. You will be so kind as to give the money to my servant Louis the bearer hereof and your other commands to me. My kind respects to my dear Niece and all your pretty family to whom I wish all prosperity and you may assure yourself whenever I am able I will do them all the pleasure in my power as in gratitude I am bound. This being at present what offers dear Nephew from

Your most affectionate  
Uncle and humble servant

WILL: OLIPHANT.

DRUMMOND CASTLE,  
10, November, 1713.

Colonel Oliphant seems to have taken up his abode at Drummond Castle; for he writes again to Gask in 1714, when matters were looking most hopeful for the Jacobite cause.

DEAR NEPHEW

Your servant came here yesterday about seven o'clock, and as soon as he came to me I went to the stables and ordered my Lord's Groom to get on of the stout horses for , which accordingly was done, so that I believe he requires is sufficiently discussed I am for my present

circumstances cannot allowe mee to serve you in matters of consequence but I hope ere long the waters will run thorow clearer channels for me, so that you may expect then and your family justly to find a graittfull friend on all occasions. all this good family is in perfect good health and gives you and yours their hearty good wishes. I believe my Lord and Lady will make some visits the next week eastwards, so if your conveniency can allow you this week with your sone to come this Length and dyne with my Lord, I am confident he will tak it very kyndly, and drink a glass of his good wyne to our friends healths. I know very well you will be as welcome to the family as any Gentleman in Strathearne, as he expresses himselfe frequently to me. my humble duty to my Niece and all the pretty family, god grant you never bee wors than I wish you all. we have no newes of consequence for the present, but that all friends over the water are in good health and wishes to see us soone as much as wee doe to see them, but matters of that importance must be concocted with great deliberation, this at present Dear Nephew from

Your most affectionat Uncle  
and humble fervant

WILL: OLIPHANT.

Drummond 30 June 1714.

The accounts of the Laird of Gask were kept in pounds Scotch; thus in his account with Drummond of Drumquance we find—

January 26, 1715.	£ s.
Thirty oxen's grass. to Midsummer	60 0
Two oxen a whole summer	6 0
A gray mear at nine £ sterline	108 0
A stoned horse at twentie one £ sterline	252 0
A setting Bitch at two Gineys & half a crown	27 0
A gray Gelding	212 8

This was settled by young Laurence, the eldest of the Laird's many children; this stripling, with his next brother, Thomas, a Writer in Edinburgh, bore arms under Mar later in the year. We find Laurence, then twenty-three years of age,

ordering for his campaign.

Three coarse Hatts & three p<sup>r</sup> of spurs.

A tent bed.

A Twill & four p<sup>r</sup> Blankets or Hyland plaids.

Box with weegs, pouder, & oyle.

The little case full of Brandy.

A Brod sword.

The Rebellion of 1715 was now to break out. The Earl of Mar came down from London, and on the 17th of August was at Dupplin Castle, close to Gask; the castle being the seat of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Kinnoull. Mar soon caused his presence in the North to be felt. The Duke of Athole, a Whig, turned two of his Jacobite sons out of doors; as we learn from the following letter, written by the eldest of them, the Marquis of Tullibardine, to the Master of Nairne.

FASCALY, August 22.  
9 at night.

DEAREST COUSIN,

It is not now time that I can write as I would to you, and therefor without saying more (since I hope you are satisfied how much I am atatched to you in the strictest maner) this is to tell you that the good Elector of Ranoch,<sup>1</sup> Lord George, and I are come here this night in our way to Mar, and have sent this express to know what accounts you have of things, & that if possible we may be in some sertainty gainst we come there, and if you have any account of my Lord Nairn, pray lett us have it, for it is verry nessary that wee meet with him upon severall accounts, if he is come from Mar before wee gett there, therefor wee would indeavour to meet him any wher that is not much out of the way. I cannot now give you an account of all that has falen out at Blair of late, only I got my dimision from thence to day upon what happened yesterday. Pray give my most humble service and remember it most lovingly to my Lord S., Lord T., Lady M., and all the Ladys my Cousins. Adieu and fare well.

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<sup>1</sup> Robertson of Strowan, the Poet, and the Chief of his clan.

The bearer is expected back before 6 in the morning, for it's nessary wee go as soon as possible.

On the 27th of August, Mar held his great huntingmatch in Aboyne, which was attended by Lord Tullibardine, and by Gask's neighbours, the Lords Rollo, Drummond, and Strathallan. The Duke of Athole, who leant to the other side, writes thus to his steady friend and correspondent, the Laird of Gask.

BLAIRATHOLL, Sept<sup>r</sup> 2, 1715.

SIR,

The concern you was pleased to shew for me when you was here makes me trouble you with this.

I call'd all my principal Vassalls to this place on Monday last, who were fforty in Number; they gave me all the assurances I could desire of their firm adherence to me. Last Account I had of my Son Tullibardine was, that he was with the Earle of Mar, and that George after being a night there went towards Irland to his post. I doubt not but he would call for you, and desire you will send me what accounts you can give of him.

I received my Commission of Lieutenancy of this Shyre and am Rendezvouzing my men Company after Company.—I am, Sir,

Your affect. freind  
& humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

ATHOLL.

A few days later, Mar set up King James' standard at Braemar. He wrote as follows to Lord Tullibardine.

INVERCALL. Sept<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>, 1715.

MY LORD,

I intend now, with the assistance of God, to begin my march from hence on thursday morning next very earlie, & intend to quarter that night at the Spittle of Glenchie, where some more of the King's forces are to joyn us on Friday morning, when we intend to proceed on our March to Athol, & to quarter on Friday's night at Moulin. These are therfor empowering & requiring you forthwith to get the Men of

Athol, Ranoch, &c. in readiness to joyn us at Moulin on friday's night to attend the King's Standard, as they will be answerable to their King & Countrey, for whose service it may so much contribute.—I am

My Lord,  
Your Lo<sup>p</sup>'s most obedient &  
most humble servant,  
MAR.

I'll expect to hear from your Lo<sup>p</sup>, on our march to Athol, as soon as you can, & you would endeavour to make some provisions at Moulin against we arrive.

L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine & Strowan.

Since writing what's on the other side. I leave it to your Lo<sup>p</sup>, whether you think it best to come your self & meet us in Stratharle on friday morning, or wait our coming to Athol that night, or Saturday, which since writting I am affraid it will be, before we get there, by an accident that has happen'd which is too long to write now. You can judge best of it on the place, but at this distance I encline to think you had best come to Stratharle to us, & if not, your Lo<sup>p</sup> should certainly write to your vassals thereabouts to joyn us at the Spittle on friday morning, & they must have the letter on thursday night at farthest. I have sent an order & also wrote now to Ashintilly.

MAR.

The day after Mar wrote this letter, we find one of his followers making his own preparations. The subjoined notes are in the hand of young Laurence Oliphant.

GASK, Sept<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup>, 1715.

#### Taken to the Camp

1. Eighteen sute fine shirts, as many Cravats, three coarse linnen shirts, & three other shirts for the night.
2. Three pair silk stockings, a pair Kilmarnock hose, & a pair understockings.

Further on, he refers to "the shirts of my brother," who was to be his comrade.

On the 28th of September, Mar entered Perth at the head

of 5,000 men. James Oliphant sent his two eldest sons to the war, while he himself staid at home, and thus kept his lands out of the clutches of Government. In this he imitated his friend the Duke of Athole, whose conduct is thus explained in the old ballad.

“Brave generous Southesk;  
Tilebairn was brisk,  
Whose father indeed would not dra’, man,  
Into the same yoke,  
Which serv’d for a cloak,  
To keep the estate twixt them twa, man.”

The Oliphants came well to the front in 1715. Foremost was old Colonel William, who probably had tales to tell of Condé and Turenne, Dundee and Sarsfield. He it must have been, who rooted his Jacobitism so deep in the hearts of his nephews at Gask, that it never left the house for fourscore years from this time. I give the orders he received from John Hay, who was to become later the titular Earl of Inverness.

By Vertue of a Commission from John Earle of  
Mar, Commander in Cheif of his Majesties  
forces in Scotland.

These are Ordering and empowering you forthwith to repair to the house of Rossie Oliphant in the Aichills and there seize what horses and Arms etc you shall find fitt for his Majesties fervice and bring them to the toun of Perth to be employed that way:

And this shall be to you and all you employ in the Execution hereof a sufficient Warrant. Given at Perth this 25th Sept<sup>r</sup> 1715.

JOHN HAY.

FOR COLL: WILLIAM OLIPHANT.

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Patrick Oliphant, you by order of ye Honourable John Earle of Mar, present Generall to his Majesty’s forces in Scotland, & by Gask your Master are ordered to uplift of each tennant in ye Parioch of Matherty pertaining to you y<sup>e</sup> sum of six pounds two shillings & eight pence as a generall sess for y<sup>e</sup> year 1715 to be uplifted against y<sup>e</sup> 13 of October, 1715 Year.

Accordingly we soon afterwards find this receipt.

PERTH, 15 *October*, 1715. Receiv'd from the Laird of Gask for Williamston for his lands in the parishin of Matherty the sum of nynty five pundis eight shillings as his proportion of supply due and payable the tenth current by order of the Earl of Mar.

Inchafray few included.

J. MURRAY.

A fortnight later we read—

PERTH, *the 28 of October*. 1715.—Received from the Laird of Gask for his Lands in the parioch of Findogask the soun of two hundred and ten pundis as his proportion of supply due and payable the tenth current by order of the Earl of Mar.

J. MURRAY.

Young Laurence Oliphant puts down in his accounts for October, "Spent on vivers, £228 8s. 6d:" (this of course is reckoned in Scotch money). The youth, like most of the other future leaders of 1745, was born not very long after the unhappy exiled Stuart so dear to him, and he served his apprenticeship in 1715.

I give a letter from the forefather of Lord Lynedoch, whose lands marched with Gask.

Letter from R. Graham of Balgowan to Mr. Barclay in 1715.

Knowing ye E of Mar is much harrast with bussiness I take ye libertie to give you ye truble of this to acquaint ye E. of Mar I hade ane order from ye Cummatie signd by his Lop: to send in 500 stone of hay, with ane order to send in David Maxtons Corns & straw, a Tennant of mine, as also I did see ane order for Gorthes hay Thes two are in Argails Interest & how I cum to be clast with them I know not I am represented by my three sones who have attended the K: standart as *early* as aney of y<sup>t</sup> Cummatie and if I could endure a winter Campaine I had been there also and how I cum to be treated as disaffected to ye K:s interest I know not my Loialtie I thank God is untainted which I houp ye E will consider and order ye Cummatie to deall impartially with all the K:s friends I will not have sum years 500 ston hay & Im willing if all the K:s

friends be stinted conform to what dargs of hay they have to give my proportione for there are who have 3, 4, or 5 times (as) much as I have and I have my three sones to support with 10 or 12 horsse in the Armie I have payed ye grait Tax & now to be singld out as a disafected person will not goe down with me when many *others* have much mor hay then I have All this I intreat you may aquaint ye E of Mar with y<sup>t</sup> I be not ye only person *mysusd* an(d) who have shewn such fordwardness In attending y<sup>e</sup> Armie and in y<sup>e</sup> meantime till otheris pay as well as I I shall send in a stak of hay which is all I can spare of about 2 & 40 ston which I make in complement to y<sup>e</sup> Armie I doe not impart this to y<sup>e</sup> E of mar but to sum of my wellwishers in the Commattie which I know y<sup>e</sup> E:(s) justise will rectefie I offer my most humble deutie to y<sup>e</sup> E of mar and I beg your pardon for this truble pray let me know what returne ye E: gives me I am

R:G

Your most humble servt

I have hear inclosd Two Collects for ye King which was taken out of the *Allayance of Divines* offishes which I read in my famely how you will plase them you may consider.

Mar was levying contributions at Perth. Meanwhile, the Whig leader Argyle lay at Stirling; his troops were few, and the crisis was most dangerous, as we see by the letter sent to him by George the Prince of Wales.

St. James', 7th Oct<sup>r</sup>, 1715.

It appears by the departure of the D. of Ormond from Paris, that the malecontents continue in their wicked designs of rasing up troubles in this Kingdom here, which is the cause that hinders me from sending you Campbell yet, untill that I see if he will not be necessary for his post, where I think that it's best every body shou'd be first. As soon as all Appearances of Rebellion is ended here, I shall despatch you him, if you shall have yet need of him then. With respect to the Orders you demand, it wou'd be very difficult to give you them positive, not knowing the situation of y<sup>r</sup> affairs, as you may judge y<sup>r</sup> self. The King remitts himself to y<sup>r</sup> judgment & to y<sup>r</sup> conduct. All that I can say to you is not to hazard an action without a probable appearance of carying it, & rather

to shun an engagement, to yield to them the Country, than to expose the affairs of the King to such ill consequences as wou'd follow from a defeat. In case that my Lord Mar march into England befor that you can receive y<sup>r</sup> reinforcements, I think you would do very well to follow at least with y<sup>r</sup> Cavalry, & to Harass him untill that we march to meet him. This last reasoning is my own properly, but which you will judge y<sup>r</sup> self if practicable or not. Farewell, my dear Duke, be persuaded of my esteem & my sincere friendship.

Sic sub<sup>r</sup> GEORGE P.

On the 8th of October, Mar had sent 1,600 of his men from Perth, across the Forth. These in the end marched into England. I give Mar's letter to Lady Nairne, whose husband held a command in this expedition.

from pretty good numbers  
 one who came over last night.  
 I shall be glad to see our friends here have what  
 you say is to carry, will be of great use both to them  
 & me. I wish you say: a good, quick & safe journey  
 am not all respect & esteem  
 Madam  
 your most humble servant  
 M. M.

Letter from Lord. Mar to Lady. Cairne in 1715.

Perth, Sunday night, 23 Oct. 1715.

MADAM,

I forgot to mention one thing to you to day to be comunicated to the King's friends on the other side, & that is, my sending to morow a gentelman to France w<sup>t</sup> accounts of the King's affairs here, & to press his comeing in case he should not be alreddy come off.

Y<sup>r</sup> Ladyshippe will remember to send me a copie of the paper to night.

I have accounts just now that the King's Armie on the other side at Dunce & therabout are, beside Brig<sup>dr</sup> M'intosh foot, eighteen hundred horse & a good number of other foot, so it woud seem that those from the north of England are come there. My accounts are from pritty good hands in Fife, who has it from one who came over last night.

I shall be glade how soon our friends there have what y<sup>r</sup> Ladyship is to cary, w<sup>ch</sup> will be of great use both to them & me. I wish y<sup>r</sup> Ladyship a good, quick, & safe journie and am w<sup>t</sup> all respect & esteem.

Madam, Y<sup>r</sup> Ladyship's most obedient  
and most humble servant,

MAR.

Mar's fair correspondent was the heiress through whom the Nairne heritage came to a younger branch of the Athole family. The General, in one of his letters, wishes that all the men under his command had the spirit of Lady Nairne. The young Oliphants and their comrades were being fired by the preaching of the Episcopalian clergy; I give the most curious sentences from a long discourse, most likely delivered at Perth about this time.

To all true hearted Scotsmen, whether Soudiers or others,

"Gentlemen and Soudiers, I find by the E of Mar's manifesto, that the present quarrel turns upon two points; the on is the restoring of our native Sovereign, (which I judge shoud be very taking with all Scotsmen), the other is the cancelling of the late Union, which is truely reprochfull to our nation.

The royall person, whom the noble Earle asserts to be our King, is he whose Ancestors have reigned over us for an hundred & more generations. & for two thousand years and upwards. . . . He is a most innocent king, having never don us the least imaginable injury, wherefor to pursue him for his life argues no less astonishing cruelty than the murthuring of a newborn infant. . . . He is the darling and admiration of all that know him; a person of great composur, solid judgement, penetrating wit, sightly personage, Majestic presence, & charming sweetness; and I suspect that these qualities being early perceived by a late great Monarch of as discerning an eye as any other in Europ, may have been one reason of state, why he never effectually lent a helping hand to recover his thron. . . . Is it not known to you, under what a detestable infamy and dismale ruin our nation is sunk by the late unhappy Union? . . . I shall now consider you as Protestants, and apply myself to the deluded populace who ar bugbeard out of their duty by two terifying scarcrows & ugly vizors; the on is the King's religion; the other, his education at the French Court. As to the first, it is an old maxim, 'si vis fallere plebem, finge Deum,' that is, the best way to buble people is to pretend religion. . . . Did any of you make exception against the Duke of Hannover for being a Lutheran? We all know, that we of the reformed religion are as disgustful to those of that profession as papists themselves ar; witness the reception of the poor English reformers at Lubeck when they fled from Queen Marie's persecution. Witness also your own now reigning Prince, who has built Churches to the Jesuits (reputed the worst of papists) in his capatall of Germany; yet there the reformed have not the least allowance for the publick exercise of their Religion. . . . Ar their errors small? what think yow of consubstantiation, picturs & images in Churches? What would our Presbiterians say to be oblidged to swear backword as to many heads of their confession of faith by the Lutherans, who all of them ar Arminians? How grossly partial are we in this matter! to except against the religion of our native Prince, and yet to set up a stranger lyable to the very sam objections. . . . Is ther but the remotest probability that the King will venture his Crowns by trusting to any popish potentate for help, considering how regardless all of them have been of him?"

I fear, that if we weigh the abilities of King James and Lord Mar, we must think that “Caput meum doleo” would have been a text meet for the times.

Laurence Oliphant’s Commission, as “Lieutenant of the Pearth Shyre Regiment of Horse,” is dated the 29th of October, 1715, “of His Majesty’s Reign the Fourteenth year.” It was signed by the Colonel, Lord Rollo, in the Camp at Perth. After loitering in that town for nearly two months, Mar led his host through Strathearn against Argyle; and on the 13th of November was fought the battle of Sheriffmuir, renowned in many a ballad. Both sides claimed the victory. The scene of action is just visible from Gask, although nearly twenty miles off. A scrawl, written three days later, is among the Oliphant papers; it is not in the handwriting of young Laurence.

16th Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1715.

Since y<sup>e</sup> writing of this we had the particulars following this Morning by letters from the Governor of Perth & M<sup>r</sup> Mark Wood, D. of Gild there. That there was a hundred & ten privat soldiers cary’d in to Perth yesterday prissoners, with ten officers. The Enemy have lost besides on the field of Battle above eight hundred, & of ours there is not above 60 private Men killed, but several of our officers are taken; we have got forty good horses & 1500 stand of Arms from the Enemy.

Laurence Oliphant, holding a commission in Lord Rollo’s regiment, must have been posted on the left wing. The honours of the day, on the Jacobite side, belonged first to the Macdonalds, and next to the Lowland horse from Perthshire and Angus, who fought hard for three hours before the English dragoons could drive them across the Allan. Among the Gask papers is a copy of Mar’s letter, written from Perth four days after the battle.

“I know I shall be condemned by all our friends for comeing back here, but there was no help for it. I refused it as long as I could, but was forced at last to do it, for there was no staying where I was or advancing further without provisions. I know what a brave opportunity is lost by this, but I hope

that shall be made up in a little time. I am doing all I can to make us reddy again, & our friends may easily believe that I will loose no time when we are so. I long impatiently to know what our friends in England are a doing & how things go there. If the King & D. Ormond be not yet come, it is very unluckie, and it is wonderfull that I do not hear from them. I imagin the D. of Argyll would not have fought if he had expected the Dutch troops soon, & his doing of it as he was (tho his numbers were greater than I know) makes me give the more credit to the accounts we have of the Regent of France coming into our King's intrest. I wish to God it may be so & that they loose no more time.

"I had yre of the 10th the night of the battle & I long impatiently to hear from you again.

"We hear the Enimie fired gunns at Stirling & Edinburgh for the victory. May they have many such. I assure you E. M.'s printed account of it is a very modest one. We have got about 1200 of their armes & about 200 prissoners. We hear they have lost a good many officers, & I am sure all their foot save two regiments that scarce had a shot made at them, are sowndly mauld. Our loss is very inconsiderable as to the numbers of killd & wounded. Their dragoons have suffred a good dale too, a good number of their horses are left on the field, & we have severall of them. Most of our cannon are come off, notwithstanding of our Train horses running away, and unless it be one or two who's cariages were broke, we have lost non of them, & I know not of our haveing lost them either; but t'is no great matter if we have.

"I am sure non of their prissoners w<sup>t</sup> us can complean of their useage, but I hear it is otherwayes w' most of our people they have, w<sup>ch</sup> will oblige us to alter our way w<sup>t</sup> theirs.—L<sup>d</sup> Panmure was wounded after he was prissoner, & L<sup>d</sup> Hay told him there could be no parole taken from a reble. Poor Strathmore was killd when he was prissoner & beging quarter, w<sup>ch</sup> is something horrid. L<sup>d</sup> Forfar, when he was dieing, sent a ring & locket to E. Marishal w<sup>t</sup> one of our people who we sent to see him, & he desired him to tel L<sup>d</sup> Marishal that he was sorie he had engadg'd himself in this quarrle against his countrymen, & hopt they wou'd forgive him. We hear L<sup>d</sup> Hay is ill wounded, and some of our folks

who were prissoners & got of tell that they saw and spoke w<sup>t</sup> D. Argyll, and that he was disguised in a black wig and big blew coat.

“I have severall other particulars w<sup>ch</sup> I could tell you, but I am hurried just now, and the person I intrusted to send you accounts of the action, that same night it hapned, Hundred in it, so I’m affraid you and the rest of our friends are angrie w<sup>t</sup> me for my long silence, tho I was not in the fault. I hope y<sup>r</sup> friends who are prissoners fare well, and also those else where. My compliments to our sick friend H—y,

“& I am y<sup>rs</sup>, &c, &c.”

PERTH, Novemb. 17th, 1715.

We have severall of the enimies Colours and drums.

I add another letter on the same subject written two days later by an officer in King George’s army, probably a veteran of Marlborough’s wars.<sup>1</sup>

STIRLING, 19 Novr, 1715.

This is the most grivious Letter ever I had the occassion to writte, which I should wish it might be the Last, for my eyes & many 1000 others, that has been in such bloody wars formerly, never see such a sight as has come to Stirling this Day. Our Army was in Dumblane all last night & this Day. About 12 o’clock on the 13<sup>th</sup> there was a most Bloody ingagment which continu’d an hour & a half a mile & a half above Dumblane. This enemy did such action that the Like was never heard of, which was this.—Mar’s Army came in a whole Body on the front of our Army & battled the most part of all our Foot, whole Regiments as they were marching to advance to Battol. Evan’s Dragoons took their Retreat intirly & came back upon our own foot & intirly ruin’d all, put them in such confussion that they cou’d never recover, which they were oblig’d to run off three several times, heardly cou’d have the time to give one fire to the enemy, but a very few drooping shots. They were surounded so by being in a . . . & the Enemy on the Top of a hill came downe on them fire upon fire. The

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<sup>1</sup> His education seems to have been much neglected.

Whyte Horse<sup>1</sup> they did go on most vailantly & go through all the Enemy's several times, & my L<sup>d</sup> Duke on their head, which did all the Dammage the enemy sustain'd, but was at last oblig'd to come off & to the Bridge End, & all the Wounded Men came into Towne, some wanting Arms & some Legs, & Bloody heads, that it was the most Dismale sight ever I saw. In short, I cannot express what Crying was in this place, very many Officers wounded, soldiers wanting their Arms, wigs, & cloaths, & Officers the same, General Wightman killed & a great part of his Regiment, & what was left of them was oblig'd to throw downe their Arms. G. Evans is killed, L<sup>d</sup> Forfar, & the most part of his Regiment, a great number of Gray Horse, in short, I cannot mention all, but by a most certain Acc<sup>t</sup> we have lost 5 Reg<sup>ts</sup>. There is aboute 1000 of other men kill'd & the E. Marishal, we have got no prissoners in as yet, but one Gentleman of 30000£ a year.<sup>2</sup> What is above is too much Truth. My L<sup>d</sup> Hadinton & S<sup>r</sup> I. Enstruther, my L<sup>d</sup> Lauderdale is a missing, both Horse & servants came home, but no other of them, which I fear Sir Io. Enst. kill'd. The Dam'd treachrous Rascals had no compassion on the very Women was there, but kill'd them downe like dogs. Being in hast & much Confussion I can hardly writ any more till my next.—I am &c.

Laurence Oliphant seems to have acted as one of the garrison Adjutants during King James' short stay at Scoon. The unhappy Stuart came thither on the 8th of January, 1716; and four days later, we read thus in Oliphant's private note-book on garrison orders:—

SCOON, 12th Jan<sup>ry</sup>, 1716.

Parole. Drummond. Countersign. Stobhall. That intimation be made to all the inhabitants of Perth that when any Stranger comes into their houses to lodge; That they give in his name immediatly in writing to the Governour: Any that does not observe this carefully will be lookt upon and treated

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<sup>1</sup> The Scotch Greys.

<sup>2</sup> The "other men" must mean the Jacobites. The rumour about Wightman, Evans, and the Earl Marishal was a mistake.

as Enemys to the King and Government.

That the Majors of Briggad give y<sup>e</sup> orders every day punctually to the Adjutants, and any of the Adjutants that does not attend to receive and give y<sup>e</sup> orders distinctly in writing as they receive them; Their names to be given in by the Majors of Briggad to the Adjutant General to be by him layed before the King.

Generals, Marishal, Kingston, Tullibardine, & Ogilvie.

King's guard, Perth.

Picquet.

Work, Ogilvie.

On the 16th of January a council was held at Perth and the Jacobites resolved to fortify the town, since Argyle, who was now stronger than they were, might at any time march against them from Stirling. On the next day, Oliphant thus writes;

17 Jan<sup>ry</sup>, 1716.

Parole, Erskine. Countersign, Alloa.

That the clans concert so amongst themselves as the mounting of the guards may be done regularly that every one have their turn.

It is not thought proper that the same Corp have the King's guard & town guard at once.

That no fewer than 20 Gentlemen besides officers mount the King's guard of horse and allways on horseback, and that at relieving the Guards draw out one ag<sup>st</sup> another, and y<sup>e</sup> Captain that is relieved leave all the orders with the other Captain, and that the Centinells be very punctual to let no Strangers pass. Generalls, Drummond, Kylsyth, Linlithgow. King's guard, Fife. Picquet, Perth. Work, Strowan. On the 22nd of January, orders are given— That all the commanding officers call in all their people immediatly, That y<sup>e</sup> King may have his army as strong as possible to beat the Rebels who threaten to march immediatly ag<sup>st</sup> us, And all the army to hold themselves in readiness to march ag<sup>st</sup> them on an hour's advertisement.

That the artilery Company do no other duty but break the ice as the Governour orders them.

On the next day General Gordon is directed to have 200 men ready to march with the horses for meal and coals. The King's guard is to be regulated so that every one may have his turn; "to evite disputes on that head, which will be a shame to come to the King's ears."

On the 27th of January we read that "His Majesty has been pleased by Commission to appoint Collonel Colin Campbel Brigadier General of his forces, who is to have the direction of the Briggad consisting of Glengary's, Lochael's, and Sir John Mclean's regiments."

Next day, news came that Argyle was about to force his way through the snow and march upon Perth. On the 30th, a Council was held at Scone, and the Jacobites resolved to withdraw to the North. Oliphant makes his last entry on that day.

SCOON. 30 Jan<sup>ry</sup>, 1716.

Parole, Perth, Countersign, Scoon.

All the army to hold themselves in readiness to march upon a call.

Those that quarter on this side the water to parade at Bridgend when called.

His Majesty has been pleased to give Commission to Captain Arthur Elphinston<sup>1</sup> to be Lieut<sup>t</sup> Colonel to that regiment which is forming out of those officers and souldiers that come from the Usurper's army to serve their rightfull King.

Generals of the day.

Gordon.

Tullibardine.

Tinmuth.

King's guard, the Standard.

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Balmerino, beheaded in 1746.

Picquet, Angus.

Next day, the Jacobites crossed the ice, (the Tay was frozen) on their march to Dundee, and Oliphant laid aside his pen. On that very day almost, thirty years later, he was to be driven from his military accounts at Perth by another advance of Government troops from Stirling. In 1716, Argyle entered Perth twelve hours after the enemy had left it. His march had not been long delayed by the burning of Auchterarder and Dunning; a needless piece of mischief, as it proved, on the part of the Jacobites. James Oliphant, from his lofty post at Gask, must have seen the flames rising from these luckless villages, on the other side of the Earn. A fortnight later, we find the following letter, written by James Richardson, the Town Clerk of Perth, to one of Gask's younger sons.

Perth 13th Feby 1716.

SIR,

I could not meet with the bearer of yours oyerwayes I hade writ you a return. I'm heartily sorry for your fathers indisposition and wish I may soon hear that he's better. I know not when I shall be at freedom to wait on him by reason that the Duke of Atholl is at huntingtour on the bussieness of his Lieutenancy and I'm obliedged to more than ordinary attendance there. But if he pleases to order in the pay's to his creditors I shall be carefull to observe his direction concerning them. I have no certains to writ him of news the seven Lords have got sentance and tryells and impeachments and great executiones goe on w<sup>t</sup> the greatest zeall. We hear that the Duke of Argyll past to the Earl marishells house at stebrest tuesday Last where he dined with the Countess and as he went north hade the castle of Dunnator delyvared to him in which there were eighteen or 19 persones and as many fine horss, we know not whither or not the persones there were of distinction he went that night to Aberdeen where non of the pretenders friends were, But the Clans and Rob Roys party had taken the hills on their way home by the way of Badenoch a strong detachment sent efter them and advice sent to Sutherland to fall down on their front as they past Badenoch. Mr John Campbell of mamoirs men who went

thorow yester night tells that a sufficient number of the Kings army is to be Left with Sutherland and fitt garisones placed on the north side and the Duke is to return w<sup>t</sup> the rest about thursday or friday next. this man also tells that the pretender and w<sup>t</sup> him the E: Mar Drummond and oyers took shiping friday or Saturday was a sevent night and that the begining of the last week much shooting was heard at a great distance from off sea and by it some think it was the firing of the frigats who cruise on that coast in pursuit of those who set out. There are several persones who hade accession to the rebellion committed here amongst which are four of this place who went out as the militia for the toun who tell that they and five or six regiments were brok at Aberdeen tuesday last and bid doe for themselves. They tell likewayes that except the Clans who went of in some number all the rest are scattered in twos and threes and several gentlemens freinds have gott melancholy accounts And those Laidies who were very active in bringing out those they hade interest with are now on the mortification. I'm much concerned for the folly of those who brought others to a hazard that I see not how they can escape. Much more might be writ But I think I have wearied you and I am

Sir

Yo<sup>r</sup> most humble ser<sup>t</sup>

JA RICHARDSON.

Laurence Oliphant seems to have been much about King James at Perth, and was well remembered by his Master fifty years later. Among the Gask papers is a copy of the King's letter upon his retreat from Scotland.

“I believe there's none of you can doubt of the constant and ardent desire I have long had of doing all that was in my power for making this nation a free and happie people. Ever since, and even befor, the last Dunkirk Expedition, my thoughts were fully bent that way and my heart was here, tho I could not come in person among you, a Series of unluckie accidents and misfortunes constantly interveand to retard my passage; and the hopes of a more universal rising oblidged me much contrary to my Inclinations to deferr it in the prospect of obtaining at last our end with more security and

less hazard to my faithfull Subjects; but I had no sooner an account of your being in Arms for me but I laid aside all other motives and considerations, and came immediately to joyn you, to share in person with you the dangers and toyle of so glorious an undertaking, full of hopes that we might both soon reap the fruits of our labours, and that our friends both at home and abroad would concur with us, without which hopes I should never have consented to your taking up Arms, much less have encouradged you to it.

“The dismall prospect I found here at my arrivall did not discourage me, the same motives that brought me here made me neglect nothing, when come for your delivery to stick to the last extreamity by those who were so unanimously ingadged in my cause. Since that time affairs have grown daylie worse and worse, many friends at home were slow of declairing, the defeat at Preston, and securing many noblemen deprived us of all succours from the South, and all the time we wanted so much necessaries from abroad for maintaining ourselves here, the delay of them and the vast Inequality betwixt us and the Enimie made our retreat from Perth unavoidable, as all men must see who know our circumstances, and that to have stood it then, would have only served to sacrifice you all, without any possibility of success, but however necessary that retreat was, it put our affairs in a most desperate condition; by abandoning all the South we shall be block’d up in a corner of the country without money or bread and without any more hopes of succours from abroad by our losing almost all sea ports, joyn’d with the Enimie’s conditions, who haveing but a small coast to guard, could easilie hinder any succours from comming to us; I could not behold the extreamity we were reduced to without the utmost grief and concern, less on my account than yours. Your safety and welfare was, I may say with truth, my only view, and towards the providing for that all my thoughts were bent, and I resolved not to lett your courage and zeall carry you so farr as to serve for your own future ruin at last, without doeing any good to me or your selss; and whereas I considered there were no hopes at present of retring our affairs, the whole business was to secure your lives in such a manner as to be put againe in a condition of appearing in a more favourable occation; and as

I looked on my remaining among you not only as useless, but even as distraction to you (convinced as I am that you would never abandon me) and that therefor my Stay would only serve to involve you in greater difficultys, I took the purpose to repass the Seas, that by this I might leave such as cannot make their escape (toward which nothing on my side has been neglected) in full liberty to take the properest measures for avoiding at least utter ruin, for which end I have given General Gordon power in the mean time to Command the Army till dispersed, to Act and in all things to contribute as much as in him lyes to your common safety. Yet nothing less than positive command could prevail on the Duke of Mar to accompany me on this occasion; but tho his disire was to remain and share with you in all your misfortunes, his probity and experience making his presence absolutely necessary with me, (its for my own particular a cruel necessity it's true) oblidges me to leave you, but with the view not only of your own well faring, but of obtaining such succours as may effectually relieve you; full of hopes that the justice of a cause which has been so gloriously supported by you will not for ever be abandoned by the Divine Providence, which hath hitherto never abandoned me, and that soon a more happy Juncter may happen for our mutuall delivery, toward which all my thoughts and application shall be turn'd & shall be allways equally ready to sacrifice both my paines and even my life as long as it lasts. I shall ever pursue with the utmost vigour my just designes, and to the last moment retain that sense of gratitude, affection, and fatherly tenderness towards you, which you so justly deserve from me, for I can say with great truth that your misfortunes is more heavie upon me than my own, and that I disire happiness only to make you share with me in it."

This rough Draft of a Royal proclamation, which seems never to have been given to the public, is a great contrast to King James' Declaration, "given at Our Court at Commercy, the 25th of October, 1715, in the Fifteenth year of Our Reign." A copy of this last state paper, reprinted at Perth by Mr Robert Freebairn in the same year, is among the Gask documents, as is also a long manuscript letter sent by Burnet of Carlops, a short time before he was hanged for his share in the rebellion, to his publisher. The two young Oliphants were

more lucky than Burnet. On the 5th of September, 1716, the Laird of Gask entailed his lands on Janet Murray, his spouse, in life rent, then on his third lawful son and his heirs male, in fee, then in like manner on his other children, secluding from the succession of the said lands Laurence Oliphant his eldest son, and Thomas Oliphant his second son, until they were purged of the suspicion of being concerned in the late Rebellion, and were in a legal capacity to possess the said lands, in which case the other heirs above mentioned should be bound to denude themselves of the rights thus given them, in favour of these two in their order.

Laurence Oliphant seems to have been long in hiding, if he be the person referred to in the following letter to Lady Gask his mother. It has no signature, and is dated August 16, 1716.

“Last night I had a letter from your friend delivered me by his Landlord, who tells me he is in very good health. He writes me that by reason of some misunderstanding twixt you and some of your neighbours, he can’t conveniently go to your house, so seems inclinable to try this quarter. It was always my opinion that this was the safest place in this Kingdom for people in his circumstances, tho it does not want its own Inconveniencies either. Amongst the rest, the close confinement he would be obliged to undergo, I’m afraid, would not agree with him, and might much impair his health. Upon the main, as I wrote to your Ladyship before, I wish from my soul he were further off; and if arguments can prevail with him, people here think they should be used.”

Meanwhile, Colonel William Oliphant had fled to France, most likely in company with Lord Drummond. He received the following letter from his Aunt, the Honourable Isabel Crichton.<sup>1</sup> It is addressed;

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<sup>1</sup> According to Douglas’ Scotch Peerage, treating of the Fren draught title, she was Oliphant’s first cousin. It would seem from this Book that there was no Lord Fren draught after 1698; but she here declares that there was such a Lord in 1716, and another one is mentioned in Gask’s accounts for 1745.

A Monsieur. Monsieur Doliphant  
chez Monsieur de Cournow rue de  
Colombiers a Orleans. A orleans.

Paris Sept . 28,1716

My Deare Nephew

I was truly over ioyed when I hard you wase saue arriued to paris: after ye many emenent daingers you had bin in: and could I a known when you would abin heare I would not agon to Rouen till I had sean you: which I hartely long for: I likewise thought you retained so much kindnes for me that has a sencare tender hart for you: that you would afoorded me won line upon your oun acount and ye frends you left be hind: which you may beleve I expected your return and I mus needs tell you my deare Nephew I deferve it considering ye affection I have for you: I was really ashamed that you came not to se my frends at ye conuent who all ways had grate respect for you and your familie: and shoud grat sevilite to Madam de Cornoue when she was in paris: thay also writt me woord to Rouen of your being heare and sed thay knew that you would see them: whare you should be very wellcum: Makamtosh and many moor which ware intier straingers came to visit them whare thay ware uery hansumly enteertaind: but now laying all quarille aside I desier my deare Nephew youl lett me know how you are: and how you left our poor frends in that poor unfortunate cuntry of ours which I now feare I shall neuer se moar I had a letter lately from my Sister who is in grate pain for you: not knowing of your being heare nor of your sauety: but I shall shortly write to her and lett her know you are well: I am tould that your cusen ye Vicount of Frendraught: by reson he is not well in his afaiers: that he dus not take his title which surpriseth and much mortefies me: that he should not consider his Aintiant noble familie: and that he is cheafe of his name: so a uery grate folly in him to neglect his birth right; his father was but in hard surcumstanc for his qualitie yett he kep up his Title: that fine Maridg which Lord Lewis made did y<sup>e</sup> familie uery grate predgedis howeuer theyre qualitie is still y<sup>e</sup> same and y<sup>e</sup> time may yett cum that afaiers may be in astate that thay may persue for thayr right and intrest: but I hope this indiscretion that I heare is not true but if [it] be and that my deare

husband his vnkle ware aliue he would be redy to tare him in peasis: I know not if my letters went safe to him but I neuer had any return of ye tow I writt to him I intreate you make my complements most hartely ahundred times over to Monsieur decornou and Madam espetially to him for she dus not deserue y<sup>e</sup> tender concern I have for her being ither unkind or laesy in writeing like you: but for Monsieur: I loue esteame and honours him with all my hart no Man can be better breed and in reallithey he is truly Master of all y<sup>e</sup> good qualifecations that aman of qualetie and honour ought to haue: and crouns them all by y<sup>e</sup> grate kindness to his Lady notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> litle likelihood at prefent of any fortin with her: and now aboue all to you in y<sup>e</sup> surcumstanc you are in: all which I admier him for. I intreate you correct this fault of your silance and if you retaine any frendship for me: you will giue y<sup>e</sup> satisfaction to heare frequently from you and in y<sup>e</sup> meane time to giue akuick return to this if you will oblidge

My Dear Nephew  
Your most sencare affectionat  
Aunt and humble seruant  
I. CRICHTON.

pray kis y<sup>e</sup> Mother and all y<sup>e</sup> litle deare angels for [me] who I long al my hart to see.

Here is a letter from a Jacobite, still in prison.

NEWGATE 15th decbr 1716.

DEAR GASK

[I] ordered my creditors to goe and secure themselues, but I gott some complaints upon some of my freinds, that they are doing very litle for my interest, if any of them goe a step, to doe any ungenerous act, they will be exposed, more than I will say at this time.

I am fully persuaded that you .. will be very friendly and I hope ye will not forgett to enquire in my affaire when there is any neid for the same.

I hope when the parliment will sit that we may have the opportunitie to look to our affairs, ourselves, and gett to your country. This world will discover mens friendship and honesty, and if any act otherways, then what is gentelmany, it

will be nothing to ther advantage att last.

The unexpected news of my Lo: Townsend being put of, was as suprising to himself as to others, its thought Sunderland and Stannope has wrought it . Ther is a great deal of alterations, and more to be, Roxbrugh being secretar, and Montrose privy seal, and Polward is register is what y<sup>e</sup> have gott already ane account of: but there is more to be turned out yett. We doe not expect to be out of this till the parliment sitt, every man heir of Scotsman that was not condemned is sett at Liberty. The English says that the Scots gott all the favours that was granted, exclaiming against ther great friends, and says that the Scots stands to one another.

Ther is some of your acquaintance heir this night, Incognito, and d: Graham, Balgowans son, who is very weil. The Mr of Nairn was to be out the nixt day efter my Lo: Tounsand was out, had it not been the change of ministry. I believe that ther will not goe many out till we goe all. Pray give my dutiful respects to your kind Lady and family and my dear Laury Oliphant whom I have a particular respect and kindness for. Wishing us a hapy meiting, I remain d<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most oblided humble servant

H. MENZEIS.

Pray give my dutiful respects to my mother, and tell her I am very weil, and that it never entered in my head any worldly Losses. Give my service to Balgowan, and Belliclone: tell Balgowan that I shall wreat nixt to him. Wishing you a hapy Christmas, and a Good new year,—it has neid to prove to some better than the Last.

The Oliphants came out of 1715 in better plight than many others. Lord Tullibardine was proscribed by Government till the day of his death; the Earl Marischal was not allowed to come home for forty-four years. Other families were half ruined. Laurence Oliphant in 1719 chose his bride from one of these families, a house likely to stand high with any man who might have a mind to be up and doing in the next Jacobite outbreak. She was a daughter of the Second Lord Nairne, and was therefore a Murray; this was the third intermarriage, within sixty years, between the Gask Oliphants and the descendants of the house of Tullibardine.—She had seven

sisters; one became the wife of Lord Strathallan, another of Lord Dunmore, another of Robertson of Drummachin, another of Robertson of Lude, another of Graem of Orchill.—Two only of Lord Nairne's eight daughters died unmarried; one of the two lived to see the Nineteenth Century.—Laurence Oliphant long afterwards drew up this account of his lady's ancestry.—

“Madam Oliphante is Daughter of William Lord Nairne, a Son of John Marquis of Athole, who married Amelia Stanly Daughter of James Earle of Derby. This Lady's Mother was Daughter of the Duke of Trimouille. She was so great a Heroine, that in the time of the Civil Wars in England she kept out the Castle of Lathom for three months against Oliver Cromwell's forces, till the Siege was raised by Prince Rupert.”<sup>1</sup>

Had young Oliphant chanced to have followed the Scottish invaders of England in 1715, he might have found men still living in Lancashire who could remember the defence of Lathom House by the fair Huguenot, the ancestress so highly prized by the Oliphants. Her portrait has been drawn by Sir Walter Scott in “Peveril of the Peak,” where he has seen fit to convert her to Romanism. Through Charlotte de la Tremouille the future Oliphants were able to trace their blood back to William the Taciturn, the greatest of all Protestant heroes.

In 1741, Oliphant set down the following statement of the losses of his wife's family.

Note of several Misfortunes which have contributed to the placing the Family of Nairne in its present condition.

£

1st. In the year 1706 the New part of the old 1000  
House of Nairne was burnt down just after it  
was finished, boxt, &c.—In which were 13 Beds,  
with all their pertinents, and all the Pictures  
and Furniture of the Rooms, which were all  
destroyed by the fire, excepting one Looking  
Glass, which Loss may be at least valued at

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<sup>1</sup> A mistake; Cromwell was not at Lathom.

2nd. The being obliged to build and furnish a New House, which has coast above 5000

3rd. In the 1708, the Lord Nairne was made Prisoner, first in Ed<sup>gh</sup>, then in Stirling Castle, and was afterwards carryed to London & kept in Messinger's hands, which coast him about 1000

Wednesday 11 a clock

Last night at ten a clock I  
receiv'd the long night for warrant  
to be a prisoner with my Dearest  
which I wd this moment make aft  
of but this being Christmas I won't  
begin such a new state of life on  
such an unlucky day chiefly for  
fear of the influence it may have  
on you rather than my self so  
to morrow if it please God I shall  
have the happiness to be with  
my Dearest Wife & my Son who I  
hope are both well, if either  
of you can think on any loves  
I can do you let me know it &  
this day shall be employ'd in it  
& taking leave of my friends who  
perhaps may begale me so to  
morrow as not to let me be so  
early with you as I wou'd incline  
adieu my Dearest life

*Letter written by Lady Kairne to her husband,  
a prisoner in the Tower, in 1715.*

4th. In the year 1715, My Lord Nairne & his Eldest Son were deliver'd up Prisoners at Preston, and from thence carryed to the Tower of London, where for one Room he pay'd three pound sterling p <sup>r</sup> week, besides one pound for wages to Warders. He was committed in Decr, 1715, & had not his Liberty till Aug., 1717., being one year & 8 moneths, & he was obliged six moneths after to appear again before the House of Peers to get up his Bail & make Recognisance; so that he did not return to his own House till July, 1718.—All which coast him above four thousand pounds, besides what he could recouer out of his Estate	4000
5th. He gave to Lawiers & B. . .s <sup>1</sup> during that time above	1500
6th. By My Lady Nairne for Acts of Parl <sup>t</sup> & to Lawiers since the 1734 to enable her Son to inherit and empour them both to dispose of Land to pay their Creditors, as may be seen by the Trustee's Accts	1000
7th. There will be Lost of Rents by Negligence of the Lords Factors & for their Sallarys about	700
	14200
N.B.—Robert L <sup>d</sup> Nairne's Debts in ye 1683, when Lady Nairne entered to the Estate, as vouch'd by ye Tutor's Accts, were	4167 13 4
And the Portions of Eleven younger Children of W <sup>m</sup> Lord Nairne amount to	6111 22

Among the Gask papers is the speech prepared by Lord Nairne to be spoken on the scaffold on Feb.29,1716; but a reprieve for twenty-four hours came that morning.<sup>2</sup> I extract some of the sentences of this long document.

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<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the mistresses of George I.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Nairne is said to have been saved by Stanhope the Minister, because they had been at Eton together.—See Lord Mahon's History of England, I., 290.—I can hardly believe that lads were sent from Athole to Eton in the days of Charles II.

“My education has not fitted me for speaking in public, and therefore I choose to leave in writing this true account of my self.—I was educated and always continued a Protestant of the Church of England.—I was honour’d with favours by my late gracious Sovereign King James the seventh; even in his greatest distress my affections never departed from him.—I lived a quiet life.—I was happy in the best of wives; and we with twelve children and five grandchildren lived in great ease and satisfaction.—I found myself (notwithstanding my peaceable behaviour for above twenty years) hunted by the malice of bloody men in order to be made a close Prisoner.—Lord Mar appeared, and tho there was no previous concert with me, I join’d him, and gave implicit obedience to those he appointed to command me, though I was very quickly sensible of the want of proper Officers for such an undertaking as we were put upon.

“The first notice I had at Preston of any intention to surrender was, that a Capitulation was agreed to, by which we were to give up our Arms to a most merciful Prince who they did not doubt would pardon us. But after that we were made an unexampled spectacle to the whole City and been encouraged to plead guilty (to y<sup>e</sup> fact only) we found not that mercy.

“I forgive all mankind; and if the delusive hopes of life, and the importunity of my dear Friends have made me say anything before the Lords or in my Petition in the least deregating from my principles, I beg pardon of God and of all good men.

“I hope God will support me as he did my grandfather the Earl of Derby, who fell a sacrifice for the same cause. That neither Ambition nor Avarice could move me will appear by what was offer’d me in a former Reign, and my circumstances at Home were easy and pleasant. God had blessed me with a most tender wife, who is much dearer to me by her virtues than by the Estate she brought me. I commend to God my dear children who have been so dutifull to me. And all my noble and kind Friends who have with so much warmth appeared for me at this juncture, I pray God for them and return them my hearty thanks. “NAIRNE.”

He then quotes the Collect for the Sunday before Easter.

Lord Nairne was by no means cured of his Jacobitism by his imprisonment and losses. In 1719, another descent was made upon the Highlands by the exiles, aided by Spain; and Lord Tullibardine, who now signs himself Duke of Rannoch, the leader of the new attempt, sent to his uncle Lord Nairne several commissions (they are now at Gask), to be dealt out among the Perthshire gentry, such as William Murray the younger of Auchtertyre, John Steuart of Kinauchin, James Steuart in Clewns, Charles Steuart the younger of Ballechin, Alexander Menzies of Woodend, and Duncan Robertson of Drummachin. These commissions were sent, after the failure of the attempt of 1719, while the leader was lurking in the Hebrides. To Lord Nairne was despatched a full account of that undertaking, in the handwriting of Lord Mar; this paper, which contains much matter hitherto unknown, I have placed in the Appendix, and not here, since the Oliphants had nothing to do with that rising. I have added some other papers of this date, kept in the Nairne family until the death of the last Lord in 1837; after which his mother, the Poetess, had them brought to Gask, her old home.

Laurence Oliphant, the young Bridegroom, was as forward in the cause as his father-in-law, and has left a copy of the King of Spain's Declaration on the 24th of February, 1719. Philip is resolved to help King James, because he "is well informed that many in those nations have a particular inclination for that Prince, and an ardent desire to acknowledge him for their Sovereign." The undertaking failed before the Perthshire gentry could rise; but about the time of Oliphant's wedding, his brother-in-law the Master of Nairne received a letter from Lord Mar, of which I give an extract.

"Your brave resolution of appearing a true asserter of Justice, when a fitt opportunity offers for boldly resenting the Injury's done yourself, will gain no small respect for him that represents the undaunted virtues of such Heroes as you are come off; which makes you sett out with double advantage; the merit of predecessors, added to your own, cannot fail being a reall ornament."

The Laird of Gask took no part in the public strife either in

1715 or in 1719; he had now a family quarrel of his own on his hands. The following papers unfold the disputes between him and his young Chief, owing to the sale of the lands of Pittendreich in Banffshire, part of the Crichton heritage.

State of the case betwixt my Lord Oliphant and the Laird of Gask,  
1719.

My Lord Oliphant going into the army in the year . . . disposed his estate in favours off Gask, who thereafter payed and advanced the soumes after mentioned to my Lords creditors and himself.

To Craighall.....	4666 13 4
To George Petrie in Strathbogle .....	1666 13 4
To Patt Duff of Craigston.....	1200 00 0
To George Lesly of Northleslie .....	4266 13 4
To William Gordon Camphead .....	300 00 0
To Alexander Farq'son Writer to the Signet.....	200 00 0
To Patt Gordon of Tamphoord.....	300 00 0
To Justice Meldrum about .....	270 00 0
To Money advanced my Lo: himself .....	2666 13 4
	15536 13 4

Summa is ffyvteen thousand fyve hundred and thirty sex pound thirteen shilling and four pennies. Errors excepted.

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Gask having kindly interposed to oblige my Lord Oliphant at that tyme, was to take noe advantage of that bargan, but to hold compt to his Lop: for the reall value he should gett for the Lands, after the deduction of any charges or expenses he might be at y<sup>r</sup> anent.

My Lord now wants a clearance twixt the value of the Lands sold to Kinnairdy and the abovementioned soumes payed to and for my Lord, therefor my Lo: desyrs

1. That Gask will condescend upon the pryce payed by Kinnairdy for the lands.

2. That if any more soumes have been payed for or to my Lo: than those before mentioned, Gask may instruct the same, Scripto, and my Lord will attend y<sup>r</sup>to.

3. That the discharges of all those debts, with my Lords own bond for the four thousand Mks, may be delivered up to him, or if Gask have taken assigna'nes to the saids Debts, that discharge my Lo: y<sup>r</sup> of upon a proper narrative that he gott

the value out of the pryce of the Lands Dispoued, for it cannot be thought reasonable that those Debts and Money advanced being so really payed, should remain without extinction against my Lord.

4. That the value of the estate as sold to Kinnairdy be Ballanced with the soumes which shall appear truly to have been payed by Gask, for or to my Lord, that the Remander may appear, which by information, and as the case stands, seems to be Valueable.

Memoranda about the Plea intended by the Lord  
Oliphant against Gask, as to the claims he  
had upon James Oliphant of Gask.

Memorial for James Oliphant of Gask.  
May 30th: 1720.

Patrick Lord Oliphant haveing intended a process before the Lords of Session against James Oliphant of Gask upon his verbal promise that whatever profite the said James Oliphant should make upon his selling the lands of Pittendreich (purchased from the said Lord Oliphant) he would apply the same for the use and behofe of the said Lord Oliphant.

The said James answers that it is Hactenus Judicatum that he was in the year 171 (*sic in MS.*) convened before the Comissars of Edin<sup>r</sup> at the instance of George Leasley of Northleasly, and that after he had sold the said Lands as Creditor in a considerable sum to Patrick Lord Oliphant and desireing to recover the same off Gask as the said Lords Debitor, where it being referred to the said James Oliphant his oath of verity whether he owed any sum of money to Patrick Lord Oliphant by Bond, verbal promise, or any other manner of way whatsoever, he deponed in the negative.

Separatim: Altho Gask did only pay Heritable Sumes affecting the lands of Pittendreich, and other sumes to and for the behoof of Patrick Lord Oliphant, Extending to twenty five thous: of principal sumes; and did receive the sum of twenty nine thousand Merks as the price of the lands of Pittendreich from Thomas Donaldson of Kinardie by which the said James Oliphant might be supposed four thousand merks gainer at my Lord Oliphants hands and so oblidge by his verbal promise to make restitution; yet it is far

otherwayes for

1mo. Gask did pay out a considerable sum of annual-rents resting by the Heritable and other Bonds and bills affecting the lands of Pittendreich which he cannot preceesly condescend upon haveing kept no account of them And the Bonds and bills being delivered up to Kinardie by ane Inventory for his further security in the purchase of Pittendreich.

2do. There is a bond for five hundred merks with upwards of forty years interest, upon which the Lairds of Caxtoun (?) have used inhibition and other legal diligence, still affecting the saids land which will amount to more than a thousand pounds scots.

3to. Gask at ending his transaction of sale with Kinardie was oblinded to repay him the sum of six hundred and thirteen pounds in regard of deficiency of the rentall, given up, by gone few dewtys, waste lands &c, which brings the price of the lands to twenty eight thousand Merks only.

4to. — Mitchell of Achanacy who bought the Meal of the lands of Pitendreich while in Gask's hands fell bankrup by which Gask was loser in the sum of six hundred merks.

5to. Gask has several times before and since the purchase of these lands given to my Lord Oliphant sumes of money which he judges may amount to   scots money he having given him since the year 17   . fourty pounds sterling.

6to. Gask has been at a considerable charge in adviseing and drawing y<sup>e</sup> rights and infestments of the lands of Pittendreich both in his own favours and when he disponed them to Kinardie which he judges might have been about the sum of   scots money.

7mo. It did coast Gask and his son above the sum of five hundred merks in necessary charges of travelling from his own house to Pittendreich upon Diveron water several times for manageing that estate includeing a fee which was also given to a factor Whereas the yearly rent (as it was payd & after my Lord Oliphant had uplifted a part even of these rents he has assigned to Gask) was hardly sufficient to pay the arents of the sums payd to Lop: and creditors for the lands.

Ultimo: Gask did give warrandice to Kinardie when he sold him the lands of Pitendrech upon which Kinardie did inhibit him in the year 1716 Whereas Gask has no recourse against my Lord Oliphant in case either of eviction of the Lands or of latent debts still affecting them, His person beeing safe by his Honours, and haveing noe estate So that from the loss Gask and his family may happen to sustain from this last article he may be no gainer as merchant of the lands of Pitendreich tho' he had been benifited by the additional sum he gote at selling them which is much more than exhausted in the preceeding articles.

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Patrick Lord Oliphant died in London on the 14th of January, 1720, and is buried in St. James's Church. An impostor (by no means the last who has troubled the peace of the House) started up at once, and called himself Lord Oliphant. The Laird of Gask was on the watch, and wrote thus to the Duke of Athole:—

GASK, May 25th, 1721. My Lord,

I give your Grace this trouble, being informed that one Androw Oliphant, ane officer in the Army, has assumed the titles of Lord Oliphant, and intends thereupon to vote in the ensueing election of a Peer. Desireing that your Grace will protest against him or his Proxy, as haveing no right to the Peerage of the Lord Oliphant, in regard I have a resignation from the last Patrick Lord Oliphant of the title, honour, and dignity of the Lord Oliphant, which I believe will be found by the Laws & Practice of Scotland sufficient to exclude any Person else from assuming the said titles or acting by virtue of them.

One of the causes that induced my L<sup>d</sup> to make the resignation was, that I am the undoubted heir of line in the right of Lilius Oliphant my Grandmother, eldest daughter of Pat. L<sup>d</sup> Oliphant, y<sup>e</sup> resigner's Grandfather.

If the said Legal resignation shall not be sustained, I desire your Grace would doe me the favor to take a separate protest in behalf of William Oliphant, commonly called Coll. Oliphant, second son of umquhile Patrick Lord Oliphant, and uncle to Patrick last Lord Oliphant, that in respect he is

nearest in blood to the said last Lord, & has, as I'm informed, already assumed the title of L<sup>d</sup> Oliphant, he being now residing at Orleans in France. And also in behalf of Francis Oliphant, a minor son to the deceased Captain Francis Oliphant, ane other Uncle to the last Pat. L<sup>d</sup> Oliphant.

By complying with my Desire in this your Grace will very much oblige. &c.

My son delivered your Grace's letter, & has sent the book you was desiring.

Memorial for James Oliphant of Gask.

May 31, 1721.

Patrick late Lord Oliphant having died without lawful Issue of his body, It is informed that there is one at London who assumes that Title, and has sent down a signed List or proxy to vote at the ensuing Election of a Peer.

It is impossible that any such person can have a Right or Title to the Dignity of Lord Oliphant. For Patrick Lord Oliphant, Grandfather to the last Lord, had four sones, viz: Charles, William, Laurence, and Francis, as appears by a disposition of his Lands containing a Destination anent their Succession date in anno 1666 Registrat in the Sheriff Court Books of Banff in 1701.

Charles the eldest son had no more children but the late Lord, who died without Issue. William the second son is still alive in France and has taken his title of Lord Oliphant upon him, but he is popish. Laurence died without children. Francis is also dead, but has left children: And the Eldest Daughter of the said Patrick Lord Oliphant Grandfather to the late Lord, was Grandmother to the said James Oliphant of Gask, to whom also the late Lord Oliphant granted a Procuratory for Resigning the Title and Dignity of Lord Oliphant to him and his heirs. Who then this person is who pretends Right to that Title and Dignity cannot be conceived, unless it be Andrew Oliphant a Bastard sone of the said Patrick Lord Oliphant Grandfather to the late Lord.

This being the case any Peer present at the Election may protest against the List or proxy in name of the Lord Oliphant, as having no Right or Title to that Dignity; and the Instrument of protest may bear what is above as the Reason

of their so protesting.

The Laird of Gask had a fine family growing up around his table; his eldest son Laurence was keeping house at Williamstoun, where the new Lord Oliphant was a guest, and also Margaret Oliphant, the most long-lived of them all. The following paper gives us some idea of Gask's disbursements.

Nott of money lent pay'd & advanced By Gask to his Children & for Improvements & oyrwise, since his Son's mariage in the year of God 1719.

	£
It: to M <sup>r</sup> Laurence Oliphant of Gask, y <sup>r</sup> , his son, the rent of Culgask, fifty pounds sterling	600
It. fifty bolls Corn & Straw lent to him at six punds p <sup>r</sup> boll 300	300
It. five Hay Stacks, estimat at	300
It . for a Cutting of the remains of the Wood of Culgask, eight hundred merks	533 6 8
It. to him a Bill due, by Lord James Murray	60
It. to him thirteen pound Ster. due by M <sup>r</sup> Murray of Auchtertyre	156
It. to him, Due by bond payable Mertimiss, 1724	1333 6 8
It. by him per bill against the s <sup>d</sup> term	400
It. by him per bill against the s <sup>d</sup> term	447
It. allowed him on account of M <sup>rs</sup> Margaret Oliphant from Mert. nineteen to Mert. twenty one	133 6 8
It. allowed on the acc <sup>t</sup> of the Lord Oliphant	196 13 4
It. allowed him for casting the Ditch of Culgask	48
It. allowed the half of the Expençe of Balgowan's & Bachilton's Plea	30
It. to M <sup>r</sup> Thomas Oliphant, due to him by promise	1333 6 8
It. to him for makeing up the Defects of the Barrony of Culgask	400
It. to prentice fees	800
It. to Patrick's master at entry, four guinies	50 8 0
It. to Master for a Compliment	50
It. to expeding two sets of Indentures	33 6 8
It. to M <sup>rs</sup> Jannet's Education at Ed <sup>n<sup>r</sup></sup>	360

It. to James	373 6 8
Bill Alexr & Duncan Drummonds for goats	133 6 8
It to L. F.	233 6 8
It. to twelve hundred roods of Dike, at half a Crown p <sup>r</sup> rood	1800
It. to sclateing the North house of Gask & winning yn the workman having provided lath & nails	400
It. to building Barns & Stables & everything furnished	200
It. to the tenements in Clathy More, Eastfold, Cager ha, & Westmoor being built from the foundation	400
	11054 11 8

Here follows a letter from a Professor of the Rob Roy school, living far up in the Highlands. Gask, being almost on the border between the Gael and the Saxon, was a tempting prey to Northern Caterans.

To the Laird of Gask.

Killin Octo<sup>r</sup> 30th 1721.

SIR,

These five yeares by gon since ffanabe<sup>1</sup> Company was broke I have kept watch on your lands as on ochtartyres and the Campbells lands that are in Stratherne, and have gotten nothing for my paines as yet Although I am ordored by my Lo: Breadalbains Curratores to sie to your Lands and Meffens as I was ordored by the old Earle of Breadalbane wherefore his Lo: did sattisfie me but now I have nothing for my paines although I was ordered to the same trouble as formerly Therefore sir I desire y<sup>e</sup> may ordor satisfaction to me for Bygone which will oblidge me for further diligence in tyme to come. Receave from [me] thrie horses that was stollen out of your land which I hope will cause your Lo: be more diligent to procure me pay' for these five yeares bygon My sones did follow the horses and rasche y<sup>m</sup> If your Lo: be desireous y<sup>e</sup> shall have their name y' stoll them hereafter. This is all att present from

Honord Sir,

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<sup>1</sup> There was a Campbell of Finnab.

Your honors most humble servant to power  
DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

But the Highlanders near Gask had more peaceable employment open to them if they chose. We read this account of a cattle fair at Crieff in 1723 by a shrewd observer:—"There were at least thirty thousand cattle sold there, most of them to English drovers, who paid down above thirty thousand guineas in ready money to the Highlanders; a sum they had never before seen. The Highland gentlemen were mighty civil, dressed in their slashed waistcoats, a trousing (which is, breeches and stockings of one piece of striped stuff), with a plaid for a cloak, and a blue bonnet. They have a poniard knife and fork in one sheath, hanging at one side of their belt, their pistol at the other, and their snuff-mill before: with a great broadsword by their side. Their attendance was very numerous, all in belted plaids, girt like women's petticoats down to the knee; their thighs and half of the leg all bare. They had also each their broadsword and poniard, and spake all Irish, an unintelligible language to the English. However, these poor creatures hired themselves out for a shilling a day, to drive the cattle to England, and to return home at their own charge."<sup>1</sup>

The state of the Highlands at this time is described in the following letter, sent to Gask:—

Huntingtour, April 11, 1723.

SIR,

The great losses and hardships this Country has suffered for severall years Past, occasioned by Theeves and Robbers, who have not been hitherto effectually restrained, to prevent which as far as in my Power in time Comming, I resolve (if it please God) to be present at the first head Court, which holds on Tewsday the Sixteen Instant at Perth, where I expect you will be that day before twelve a clock.

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," 338.

I have received a Letter lately, signed by severall facters and merchants in London concerned in the Linnen Cloath, who have inclosed a Representation for the Right ordering and whitening of this Manufacture, which shall be communicate to you at the head Court, this being also so much for the interest of this shire, I shall not doubt of your Concurrence in Encouraging that valuable branch of Trade.—I am

your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

ATHOLL.

I give my service to your Lady and shall be glad to hear that she & you are well; if you please you may come here on tuesday before I goe into Perth, that we may concert what is fitt to be done in these affaires.

Lord Oliphant was still a guest at Williamstoun, in the house of his sister's great-grandson. While there he received the following letter, which describes the upbringing of the future Tenth Lord Oliphant. What a change had been wrought by the lapse of two hundred and fifty years! In the Fifteenth Century, the First Lord Oliphant had been the greatest man in Perthshire after the Earl of Athole, and had been the much-trusted adviser of three Kings in succession. Later still, the Fourth Lord, Queen Mary's champion, had well known how to uphold the honours of his house; it was his worthless grandson who made ship-wreck of all.

Letter "To the Right Honourable my Lord  
Oliphant at Gask to the care of Mr.  
Thomas Oliphant Merchant in Perth"  
from Margaret Garioch in  
Edinburgh.

MY LORD

Your Cousin a son of Gasks did me the favour to visit me upon your Lordships request I am extreamly glad to hear of y<sup>r</sup> health and that you are every way at your ease. Mr. Oliphant told me that y<sup>r</sup> Lordship desir'd me to make inquiry about that poor child y<sup>r</sup> nephew Frances who stays with one deacon Lauthor a shoe-maker y<sup>t</sup> lives at the foot of the Canongate in the horse-wynd. I went my self as y<sup>r</sup> Lordship desir'd and called for him who I found in a very mean condition, about

two years ago one Robert Oliphant a Hatter in London y<sup>t</sup> lives at Charin-cross you may remember him, when he was here heard of the boy and call'd for him, and seeing him so destitute without cloths clothed him from tope to toe, but now they are all worn out to rags, only ye Deacon has given him a courfe coat but he hath neither breeches shoes nor stockens but what is all in peices and not so much as a cravat about his neck. Were it not for y<sup>t</sup> charitable Deacon who has taken what care has been or els he had lyne in the street and sterv'd I askt him if he had ever been at school he said y<sup>t</sup> he cou'd read and write som this is all the account I can give of him.

I am grown extreme tender and almost blind since the death of my dear sister who died the 12 of may last was two years which is all at present from

My Lord  
Y<sup>r</sup> Lordships most humble ser<sup>t</sup>  
MAR: GARIOCH

Canongate Aug 6th 1725

Frances goes by the name of my Lord Oliphant and so call'd by every body, but in the meantime he will go in a erend for any body for a babie.

The hapless lad was now placed on a much better footing. His uncle, the Ninth Lord Oliphant, died at Williamstoun on almost the last day of 1728; the old Colonel was sadly plagued in the evening of his life owing to the delays made by the French Government in paying his pension; his brethren in creed, the Drummonds, had put forth all their interest in his behalf. He lived to growl over the peaceable accession of George II., although himself the son of a man who must have been well able to remember the Gowrie Conspiracy. There was a gap of about 140 years between the birth of the father and the death of the son.<sup>1</sup> Lord Oliphant, born about 1650, must have handed down a mass of the traditions of the Seventeenth Century; his mother may have witnessed the burning of Frendraught, her brother's house, in 1630, and the

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<sup>1</sup> The father had a daughter old enough to marry Sir Laurence Oliphant in 1634.

vengeance of the Gordons that followed that fearful mishap. The host at Williamstoun was a man who had ears ever open to “auld warld tales,” about the Court of Louis and the camp of Dundee. The old soldier of France must have often beheld at his knees Laurence Oliphant the younger, a child of four years old, who was to grow up a Jacobite after the Colonel’s own heart, and to stand up for the rights of Henry IX.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the death of the Ninth Lord, whose ghostly comforter was Mr. Alexander Drummond, Priest, the new Lord wrote to Gask. The spelling of the letter is a great improvement upon the usual run of Oliphant correspondence, and does credit to the good Countess Marischal. Herself a Drummond born, she must have taken a lively interest in the friendless child, the future Head of the Oliphants.

“To the Honourable the Laird of Gask To the Care of the  
postmaster of Perth.”

DEAR CUSIN

I doubt not but that you may take it as a surprise that I have used the freedome to write you unacquainted,—But the worthy character you and your family have bore for some hundreds of years, And also considering the old Relation between the Family of Oliphant and Yours will I hope attone for this time.

I do acknowledge it as a great part of my unhappyness that I have never seen you or any of your family, of which I should be most ambitious.

I had a designe to have come over to Gask and had the satisfaction to have seen you, your good Lady family and friends, I being intended very shortly to go for London to try what kind providence will do for me. But my present circumstances with the many hardships I have been left under and obliged to suffer by the Early loss of my parents, and otherwise since I was a child, makes me very unprepared for either a Long or short Journey.

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Oliphant, as Colonel William, is reprobated for his exploits after 1688 by the authorities. See the Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

And that which adds to my affliction is the Loss of the Dear Countess of Mairshall who took care of me and my Education for about three years before her decease.

But after all before I proceed to any Journey I desire your assistance and good advice in whatever terms you may please to signify it to me in writing by the first conveniency, and in the meantime I remain

Dear Sir  
Your most affectionat Cusin  
and hearty well wisher  
OLIPHANT.

Edinburgh 3d October  
1729.

If you please to write Direct for me at Mrs Kirkwoods the first stair above the foot of Peebles wynd

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Most of my readers will feel some interest in the fate of the last of the Lords Oliphant. He lived about a score of years from this time; and I find the following note in the hand of his contemporary, Gask's grandson, who was fond of drawing up statements about the family:—"Gask, though he had a Resignation of the honours, would not enjoin his Cousins who were nearer in blood, but even gave the last, Francis, a write under his hand, owning him y<sup>e</sup> nearest heir of y<sup>e</sup> deceased L<sup>d</sup>, that he might thereby be entitled to vote, which procured him a pension for Life." I think that Sir Robert Walpole or the Duke of Argyle may be credited with this.

At the end of 1729, Lady Gask died; her comely face is still to be seen on the walls of her home. She left many children: one daughter became Lady Colquhalzie; another, Lady Condie; a third, born in 1709, was given to Robert Graeme of Garvoch, a sturdy Jacobite. Gask and his Lady were not far from realizing the bliss painted by Burns sixty years later:—

"Five bonnie lasses round their table,  
And seven braw fellows, stout an' able,  
To serve their King and Country weel,  
By word, or pen, or pointed steel."

But it was for civil war, unhappily, that the steel was to be

sharpened by the young Oliphants.

One of these had been bred to medicine. Patrick had been apprenticed to a surgeon in Kirkcaldy in 1722, and had studied in 1728 at Leyden, whence he had sent home some of Boerhave's opinions and prescriptions. He must have gone to that town just too late to meet Harry Fielding there. Patrick was now in London, and received the following letter from his good elder brother, Laurence:—

To Mr. Patrick Oliphant, to the  
care of Mr. Oliphant, Hatter,  
near Charring Cross, London.

Williamstoun, Sept<sup>r</sup> 6, 1729.

D<sup>R</sup> BROY<sup>R</sup>,

I had yours of y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> past on the 2<sup>nd</sup> current, after I had return'd from y<sup>e</sup> worst Mercat I ever had at Falkirk; I did not see L<sup>d</sup> Monzie since writeing you last, except a few hours at Pitcairn's marriage with our pupill Mrs. Bettie Green, when it was not so proper to speak of bussiness, and his L<sup>p</sup> has been at Edin<sup>r</sup> ever since; however, I hope he has not forgott to write to his Broy<sup>r</sup> the Doctor in y<sup>r</sup> favor. I expect to see Blair Drummond on y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> current, & shall solícite him to write to his Broy<sup>r</sup> to befriend you. I will see L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan much sooner on the same acc<sup>t</sup>, & have in the mean time write myself to M<sup>r</sup> Androw Drummond by the inclosed line, which will introduce you to him. You'l see it contains a Letter of Credite for fifty pound Ster., for which you can draw upon me from time to time, as you have occasion; only try to have my bills remitted to M<sup>r</sup> Blair at Edin<sup>r</sup>, because I have found him all along verry easie in y<sup>e</sup> pay<sup>t</sup>. D<sup>r</sup> Campell and the two M<sup>r</sup> Drummonds, after y<sup>r</sup> acquainted, will I judge be verry capable of adviseing you what course of bussiness to take; and after they have settled that, will direct the fitt persons to be applyed for settleing you in it, and who must be the persons to recomend you from Scotland, if necessary. My Father gote y<sup>r</sup> Letter with Boerhave's advice for my Mother; as did Mr. Mercer of Aldie y<sup>r</sup> other, which was much spoilt with the rains; however, I was able to make out ane exact copy, w<sup>h</sup> I did in case his Phisitians had not gote throw it. Your letter from London to my Father he remitted me, but

the third part of it was not legible, which I suppose is the reason he has not yet given a return; and both ye letters you wrote last have been certainly spoilt before they reacht Perth, since my Father's could not have suffered so much in being carryed to Gask. Your Patient Lady happned to be at her journey's End before yours came to hand, I thank God without the least inconveniency; and for the medicines, they have been discontinued these three months past, she having heartyly tyred of them, tho I was resolved to have had them renewed upon our settleing again here, if matters had not appeard in a different shape. All that I have more to add at this time is, to carry yourself civilly & affably to every body, especially those from whom you may expect services; & when in company with Physitians not to be tenacious of y<sup>r</sup> own oppinion & contradict theirs, tho yours sh<sup>d</sup> be y<sup>e</sup> better; live as privatly and sparingly as you can, till something cast up; & be most carefull to avoid all kinds of bad company, & in short, every company in which you cannot be furtherd in y<sup>r</sup> main desire.

I am, &c.

PS. My Wife desires you, (when y<sup>r</sup> once acquainted) to give her services to Mrs. Drummond, & hopes she has not yet forgott her old acquaintance.

Enclosed in this letter was another one from Laurence Oliphant, directed to "M<sup>r</sup> Androw Drummond, Banker & Goldsmith in London." He, a younger brother of Lord Strathallan's, was the founder of the well-known Bank, a sheet anchor to the Oliphants in their stormy voyage through the greater part of this Century.

SIR,

Our old acquaintance, which I'm sure will not be soon forgott on my part, occasions you the trouble of this, and informs that my brother Patrick, who has been for about twelve moneths past at Lyden, studieing Physick & Chirurgery, is lately come over to London that he may attempt some way of liveing in consequence of his studies. I'm hopefull he has not lost his time hitherto, which will be best known when he's made acquainted with men of that profession; and I'm pritty much perswaded that he'l

diligently apply when bussiness of y<sup>t</sup> kind falls in his way. I recomend him to your care & good wishes, & hope that you will, as much as falls in y<sup>r</sup> way, help him to the makeing out some way of liveing either in London or some other place of England, and in the mean time you'l be so good as to advance him fifty pounds sterline upon his bills drawen on me, which sum he will desire from you in such parcells as his occasions require. By your complying with the above desires you will lay singular obligations upon,

Sir,

Your most humble serv<sup>t</sup>, &c.

Gask, Septr 8th  
1729.

I can now do no less than give a letter of Patrick's, directed to—

LAURANCE OLIPHANT, younger of Gask,  
at Williamstoun  
To the care of the post master of Perth.

North Brittain.

DEAR BROY<sup>R</sup>,

The long and tedious delays I met with at my first coming to London, with the frustration of all my endeavours since I came hither, untill yesterday, of getting into business, is the only reason of my long intended Epistle being as late pen'd as this is, that I might at length have something worthy your while to read and mine to write you.

This, I hope, will excuse for my long silence, notwithstanding of the Bills I have since that time drawn, whereof, ere now, you have certainly had some of them come up to you; and before I go further in this, it is very necessary to ask pardon for my last letter, which I understand you have received, since I can not pretend any reasonable excuse for it, but that the Mind of Man long in suspense is uneasy in itself and too reddy to fret against others without the least cause. I had yours of Credit to M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Drummond by the next post after writeing it, and immediately wished I had not wrote at that time or that it might be miscarried, but few of that strain meet with so bad fate as those to more purpose;

and were I now to do you justice, I shou'd without Flattery say, y<sup>t</sup> I dont believe there is a more Fatherly elder Broy<sup>r</sup>, perhaps in all the world besides, than I have always experienced you, both in your generous actions and most friendly advices unto me at all times. Wherefor, beliving your goodness will continue to excuse the preposterous rashness of youth, I pass from this subject to that which is the principall Intention of this Letter.

Eight or ten days ago I wrote to my Father a full account of my proceedings concerning getting into some way of business; from reading which Letter you'll see that the Law business of all kinds would terminate in very tedious and expensive delays. That upon this account I had quite laid aside thoughts of settling in this or my own Native Country, until I should make as much as would maintain me genteely until such time as I gott into good Business. That this was to be done no other way but either by sea or settling in some foreign place, I mean, amongst our Factorys or Plantations in y<sup>e</sup> East or West India; that finding it out of the power of my friends to provide for me this year, I had found means of provideing myself in a Voiage to Jamaica, up the Straits, to the Levant, Virginia, or perhaps to Guinea, but that though I was very well assured of going to some of these places, I was not as yett determined as to which.

These were in few words the contents of my Letter to my Father.

Just as I was going about these affairs since y<sup>t</sup> time, and had almost agreed with one More, Captain of the Portugall, bound for Guinea, I was called by M<sup>r</sup> John Drummond, who told me that beyond expectation it was luckyly in his power to provide better for me, the East India Company haveing fitted out two Convoy ships, whereof he designed one for a particular friend and relation of his own, but he resolving to lay aside going more to sea, told me had obtained of the Company of Directors the nomination of a Surgeon for the same ship for the second time, and I was the person he would bestow this second favour upon. He was very much displeas'd that I should intend a Guinea voiage at any rate, the place being so unwholesome that there is not one of ten y<sup>t</sup> returns from it. He asked me what Patrimony could be given me,

which question I sham'd by knowing in myself that it was already bestow'd upon my education. Upon this he desired me to write without delay to my Father, and call for it all at once, whatever it were, assuring me that I would make very profitable returns, and if I could improve what was granted me, so as to be in a capacity of settling in one of the Factorys, he promised I should supply the first vacancy, which would be making me for ever.

We are to cruize along their seaport towns from Bengal to China, &c., to give convoy to their ships of greater burden, at the same time tradeing from place to place; and perhaps we shall not return to England for severall years; nay, I am pritty much assured y<sup>t</sup> I shall be settled in some factory before y<sup>t</sup> time. I go Chief Surgeon, but am not assured if I will be allow'd a Mate under me. The more money can be possibly spared, the better chance I have of gain, and this will be equally serviceable to me as if my Father & yourself had joined in lending me to support me, until I could have gott into Law business, only attended with a much greater & more speedy certainty of Gain. Wherefore, I hope you'll do all you can to assist me in persuading my Father & Bro<sup>y</sup>r Thomas now to assist me as much as they can; for, to tell the truth, I have not confidence any longer to ask of yourself, or in the Scots Fraze, to spur a willing horse too much. I believe neither you nor they will doubt of very thankfull returns in case of my success, which M<sup>r</sup> John Drummond assures me, in case the Vessel is not lost, cannot fail; and it is not once in an Age y<sup>t</sup> an East Indian ship is cast away. I am oblidge to take up the whole Credit in M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Drummond's hand to provide myself in Sea necessarys. By the shortest delay I may come to lose the whole, the ship being now very soon to sail; and should I be oblidge to wait another year, it would be very expensive in this extravagant place. Of this turn so much to my good I knew but yesterday, otherway I would have wrote sooner. Your Lady must excuse my not writing more; wishing you and her with all my o<sup>y</sup>r Relations all manner of Health & Happyness, I am

Your very aff. Broy<sup>r</sup> and most humble & obed.  
Servant.

PATRICK OLIPHANT.

London, 11 October, 1729.

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The young Surgeon had his wish; he sailed to the East, where he died unmarried twenty years later. His golden dreams came to little, as we shall see further on.

The Laird of Gask made over to his second son Thomas, who had fought in 1715 and was a Writer, the barony of Cowgask; this came back to the main branch after the death of Thomas without issue. The father had been enlarging his borders towards the West, the only point of the compass open to him; for he was hemmed in on the North by Balgowan, on the East by Lord Kinnoull, and on the South by Lord Rollo. Gask's wife had become the heiress of Woodend, not far off; and he owned much property towards Inchaffray, and many acres lost by his son a few years later. The Laird had settled his lands upon heirs male, postponing his daughters to their distant cousin Lord Oliphant. The old man died on the 10th of April, 1732; he was the last of his house who knew how to keep the gear together; almost all his descendants made havock of the Gask revenues, what with civil war, overbuilding, and lawsuits. His likeness is the earliest that remains at Gask, showing him in the flowing wig and cuirass of the days of Marlborough.

## CHAPTER II.

### LAURENCE OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF GASK.

1732—1767.

THIS son of Laird James lived to be the foremost man of all the Gask line, a right worthy bearer of the Crescents and Elephants, a hero who might well have sat to Scott for the portrait of the Baron of Bradwardine. Born late in 1691, Laurence Oliphant had been “out,” as we have seen, in 1715, and not for the last time. He had wedded Amelia Nairne, seven years younger than himself, on the 26th of September, 1719, at the time when Spain was trying once more to raise the Highlands for King James. The portraits of the pair, taken not long after the wedding, may be seen at Gask; the Lady must have been a charming bride, and proved the best of all helpmates both in weal and woe. The issue of the marriage were two daughters and a son, the latter being born at Williamstoun, on the 25th of May, 1724. There they all lived, with their guest Lord Oliphant, who in 1722 made over his titles and dignities to James Oliphant, as his nephew had done before him. The old soldier of 1689 must have comforted himself in his latter years by the thought that Jacobitism was still a thriving plant in Perthshire; of all its Lairds, only eight could be won over by the Duke of Athole to sign an address to King George against the Popish Pretender; this was in 1719.<sup>1</sup> Laurence Oliphant writes anxiously to a friend to know about the Acts affecting Nonjurors. He worshipped at a meetinghouse not far off, most likely at Muthill or Crieff, since he speaks of meeting Abercairny there. Lord George Murray and Lord Strathallan were his greatest friends in the neighbourhood; and his own brother, Thomas Oliphant, lived hard by at the Ross. Laurence drew up an Inventory of the Williamstoun furniture in 1723; we find among the articles set down “arras hangings for the rooms; chaff beds and feather beds, some coming from Gask; a walking chair for the bairns; pewter trenchers; a punch bowl; four drinking jugs of earth; twelve new silver spoons; six new silver forks; six older silver forks; a big silver broth

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<sup>1</sup> The address is now at Gask; it was probably thought hardly worth while to send it to London.

spoon; a spinning-wheel and six big bobbins; christening clothes; a cradle from Perth; a little boat for salting salmon; a little 'handy' for washing the bairns." In 1729 comes a list in the Lady's hand of "24 froks, 16 smoks, eght shirts of Laurie's." We next see the child, when about eight years old, just going to school at Dunfermline. His future Dominie writes thus to the father:—

SIR,

I am very sensible of what I owe you for enclining to trust me with the care of your only son, & of so tender an Age; & if he comes here, I assure you he shall be very carefully lookt after. My conditions are six guineas a quarter, when they sleep with a Bedfellow; of which four go for their Entertainment, and two for Teaching. If you desire your son should sleep alone, I think it would be best to send the Chair-bed with him, in case it should not be made so right here. I have no room where it can stand just now, but one where there are two Beds already. After our next Vacation, which will be in August, I intend Lord Elcho's Room for the Master of Nairn, provided he does not return, as I have reason to expect he will; & in that case your Son's Chair-bed might stand there, & then he will have nobody at all in the room with him, except the Master. I can only add, with my humble duty to Mrs. Oliphant, y<sup>t</sup> I am,

Sir,

Your most obliged & most humble Servant,

F. PATERSON.

As your Son's Bed does not take up the place of another, you will pay no more than the rest.

Dunfermline, March 17, 1732.

On the 14th of July, we hear that Master Oliphant is "hearty, & very willing to learn, and in good humour." Lord Elcho, his future comrade in 1745, was three years older than himself. Some time afterwards, the new boy is described by Mr. Paterson "as not given to any sort of ill tricks, but I cannot say he learns fast." The Master of Nairn is spoken of as "a modest and discreet youth, with a great deal of the Gentleman about him;" in short, a good pattern for his

cousin, Master Laurence. We may fancy the latter coming home for his holidays to the old house of Williamstoun, where his father lived for years after the death of Laird James: the house is still in being.

The following correspondence passed in 1736 between Gask and his Chief:—

SIR,

I was sorry that when I went to see you at your own house I had the misfortune to miss you; I also wrote to you about a small affair, to which you have not made me any answer. My uncle William, Lord Oliphant, who dyed at your father's house, left, as I am inform'd, some things of value, & which his servant gave to your custody. As my Lord made no Will, surely these things belong properly to me, his nearest relation, & yet I would not make much dispute about them with any Gentleman, more especialy with you. But I want at least to preserve a token of my predecessors. Therefor I hope, as there was a silver watch & seal to it, a silver-handed sword, & a silver seal of three corners, you will please order these things for me. particularly the Seal, & your answer is expected by

Sir,  
Your Cousin & Servant,  
OLIPHANT.

Edn<sup>r</sup>. 15 Dec, 1736.

Your answer is expected to y<sup>e</sup> Care of the postm<sup>r</sup> here.

The Laird of Gask sent back the following answer:—

MY LORD,

I was very unlucky in being from home when about four years ago your Ld<sup>p</sup> did me the honor of calling at my House. And I never received any of the two Letters you now mention you wrote me, otherways I would not have failed in giving them suteable returns.

When William Lord Oliphant dyed at my House here, I was aware that I might get some trouble about the few moveables he had, & therefore caused the Sheriff take ane Inventory of them in order to be confirm'd, not so much to reimburse me

of a small part of the charges laid out upon his Funerals, as to keep me safe from any vexation about them. If I were to be accountable for them, notwithstanding what I have mention'd, it would be to his own grandchildren at Orleans, who are undoubtedly his Heirs. However, to satisfie y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> & give a specimen of the moveables, I have sent with this the Sword & Seal, being

My Lord,  
Your Lo<sup>p</sup><sup>s</sup>  
affect. Cousin & most humble servant  
LAU. OLIPHANT.

Williamstoun, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23, 1736.

If your Lo<sup>p</sup> thinks proper to keep the Seal & Sword, please send me a receipt of them.

About this time Gask's dining-room must often have rung with the mirth of Meston, the Jacobite bard. He had been tutor to the Earl Marischal, had acted as Governor of Dunnottar Castle in 1715, and had afterwards kept an academy in the North. This being broken up, he removed to Perth; and somewhere about the year 1736 he became tutor to Gask's children, a post which he held for a few years. He was lucky in having a patron who could relish his Latin verses; his Muse was a rollicking lass, rather too fond of the gutter. Meston is said to have been the best of boon companions. He seems to have formed himself upon Butler. His Jacobitism breaks out, whether he bewails the death of Charles XII., or sings the praises of the horse that threw the "Hogan Mogan King." Gask must have often heard his friend storm at Gilligapous (George II.), and the Minister, "Jockey Bob," who between them had gotten the British mare into their clutches, and had tricked its rightful owner.

"I wish the Man his Mare again,  
My tale is done; say you, Amen.

. . . . .

Let Royal James adorn his native isle,  
Then will all things jocundly smile."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have before me the sixth edition of Meston's poems and life, published in 1767.

In 1741, Mr. Meston's pupil is thus described by his first cousin and fast friend, Laurence Oliphant of Condie, who writes to the Laird of Gask:—"Your son is, I believe, the most regular young man in Edinburgh; and at the same time very thrifty and not scrub. He has been at all the public diversions, but none of them can force him to stay out after 8 o'clock." Mr. Paterson and Mr. Meston seem to have left English spelling to take care of itself, a line much in favour with our modern schoolmasters. In 1739, Gask had made a disposition of all his moveables to young Laurence, "his only lawful son." The lad was boarded at Mr. Hunter's private College, Cowgate, Edinburgh; one of his mates here was Sir James Johnstone, who lived to quarrel with Charles Townshend at Leyden, and to be rhymed by Burns in election ballads.<sup>1</sup>

The Laird of Gask wrote many letters to his brother Patrick at Bombay, and sent him £100 at one time. This seems to have been but a small part of what was sent out in the sixteen years after the youth had sailed for the East. Scarcely had Gask stepped into his father's shoes (he drew up a list of eighty friends to whom he wrote on the occasion of the death), when he was involved in an Exchequer Plea. He writes much on the subject to his friend William Drummond of the Grange, bidding him make interest with the Duke of Argyle and Lord Islay, and claiming kin with these great men.<sup>2</sup> Queries were also sent to the famous Duncan Forbes on the subject of the lands and barony of Oliphant in Banffshire, which had been made over to Gask's father. About Christmas, 1740, the Laird took a step of which he bitterly repented afterwards. He forced a certain Mr. Mcleish upon the parish of Gask as its Minister. He recked little of any scruples his tenants might feel. "Common sense," he writes, "must tell them that it is madness to oppose their master and

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<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Carlyle's Autobiography, 180.

<sup>2</sup> So in Molière's *Misanthrope*, Act I., scene i., Philinte says,—

"Donnez au procès une part de vos soins.

· · · · ·  
Mais qui voulez-vous donc qui pour vous sollicite?

Aucun juge par vous ne sera visité?"

disoblige him, when that minister, whom the Earle of Kinowl and Gask are for settling, will be placed here, whether they will or not." He threatens most openly to turn them all out if they be refractory. The Minister himself writes, hoping that the people may not be confirmed in their prejudices. He was brought in; speedy was the retribution that followed.

On the 26th of October, 1741, Gask's brother-in-law, Robertson of Lude, writes to him; "This country is overrun with thieves. I have a couple at Logyreat, a man and a woman, for horse-stealing; the Duke of Atholl says he will be at the expense of hanging, if the public funds should be defective; but the evidence in this case must be brought from Invernesshire. Ye are happy that ly in agreeable country." This is one of our last glimpses at the working of the Heritable Jurisdictions.

These Athole men were soon to aspire to something higher than thieving. On the 9th of April, 1743, Gask had a letter from Mr. Forbes, an Episcopalian clergyman, who long afterwards became a constant correspondent on the matter nearest the hearts of the Oliphants. His sprightly style in later letters reminds us of the French or Irish priest of the old school. Veteran plotter that he is, he never signs his name to a single letter he writes. His allusions to the King over the water are easily seen.

SIR,

As I am well appriz'd of your zeal for a certain Gentleman & his neglected cause, so with great pleasure it is, that I embrace the present opportunity to give you some Accounts, that cannot miss to fetch you no small Comfort, & to afford you matter of thankfulness, tho' intermixt with some degrees of Concern.

The late Illness, or rather Contagion, that has been raging with so much violence on the other side of the Water, hath swept away great Numbers; but great Reason have we all to adore & thank the kind providence of Heaven for so remarkably preserving Æneas & his two Sons, who were all dangerously ill, but now (thanks to God) are compleatly recovered. May our Joy & Thankfulness rise in proportion to the Danger.

But fit it is, that our Cup of sweets should be dash'd with some drops of Bitters, to prevent an Excess of rejoicing, & to heighten our Relish for Objects of greater value & real Steadiness. The worthy Nidsdale, Sr Thomas Shirradane, (Preceptor to the two lovely Branches) & a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, whose name I know not, are dead. The Death of Shirradane, in particular, must affect Æneas much, for he was a great & universal Scholar, without any mixture of the Pedant, which adorn'd him with the finish'd Character of the fine accomplish'd Gentleman. This Character of him I had more than once from one, who was intimately acquainted with him.<sup>1</sup> My best wishes attend the Family of Gask.

Adieu.

About this time, young Oliphant joined the Royal Company of Archers at Edinburgh. The body, in honour of which Pitcairn and Ramsay have written some of their lays, was recruited by high-born Jacobites. They had officers, colours, and music; their uniform, "which they innocently believed to be after the ancient Roman model, was of tartan trimmed with green silk fringe, with a blue bonnet trimmed with green and white ribbons, and the badge of St. Andrew in the front; their bows and swords, hung with green and white ribbons." A fine sight it must have been to see their eight brigades marching through the streets of Edinburgh on the way to Musselburgh, there to shoot for the Silver Arrow. Some of their officers, such as Lord Kilmarnock and Sir Archibald Primrose, afterwards died on the scaffold. On one occasion we learn that the Archers dined, returned to Edinburgh, and saw acted "the tragedy called Macbeath."<sup>2</sup> The young recruit's dress must have won the hearty admiration of Lady Gask and his sisters, whatever the Laird may have thought of its cost. The Perthshire way of living about this time is described in a letter at Gask, written thirty

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<sup>1</sup> Had Sheridan been in the pay of the British government, he could not have given his pupil Charles Edward a worse education than the Prince received from him. Sheridan did not die this year, but lived to help to ruin the Jacobite cause in 1746.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," 495.

years later by Henry Drummond the banker. "While my father Strathallan lived, there was no wine come to table after dinner or supper at Machany; good strong ale and punch was the thing."

In the beginning of 1745 we catch a glimpse of the young heir of Gask, who was then almost of age. Robertson of Drummachin, the future successor of old Strowan the Poet, was in Edinburgh on law business, and thus writes to the lad's father on February 19:—"Mr Lawry & I din'd together yesterday and this day; he passes his time as he ought, i. e, seeing good Company in publick and private. I offer my humble service to Lady Gask and the young Ladies." The wife of the writer was sister to Lady Gask.

In June, Mr. Freebairn, the well-known Jacobite bookseller, writes to the Laird, asking him to subscribe for a new edition of Fordun's *Scoticronicon*; the Duke of Perth and many of the neighbouring gentry had already done this. Both the Duke and Gask, however, were to spend the winter, not in studying history, but in helping to make it. The Perthshire Lairds were most unfriendly to the House of Hanover; in the country between Perth and Loch Lomond twenty-eight of them are set down as Jacobites, to only seven Whigs. This appears from a list drawn up at this time by a sturdy rebel; he describes Graham of Balgowan and Moray of Abercairny as "very wealthy and firm;" Oliphant of Gask as "pretty wealthy and firm."<sup>1</sup>

Turning over the leaves of "Mr Lawry's" journal, we listen to the first rumblings of the storm, then brewing in Lochaber, and soon to burst from Athole upon the Lowlands.

"I heard in y<sup>e</sup> end of Aprile one thousand seven hundred and forty five that the Prince of Wales was to land in Scotland sometime in June singly, rather than not come at all, but was in hopes of Foreing Asistance."

July, Wednesday the 24th. "The Duke of Perth made his escape from Inderow,<sup>2</sup> who came to dine with him, and after

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<sup>1</sup> Jacobite Correspondence (Abbotsford Club), pp. 7 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell of Inveraw. He held a command in one of the Highland companies, just raised by Government. These are

dinner he took the duke to another room & told him he was his prisoner.”

Thursday, July the 25.

“The Prince landed in . . . with . for his reteneu.”

Sunday, August the 4th.

“Mr Camble young Glenlayen cam and halted with 16 men before Gask, and this serymony the three Highland companys performed at most of the Gentlemen’s houses in Strath Ern.”

Friday 9th, “heard the newes of the Prince’s landing; the same day the Duke of Perth came to Machany about making an Attempt to tak Stirling Castle, which was so much reinforced that he could not attempt anything.”

Thurs. 15th. “Four Troops of Gardner’s dragoons to the number of two hundred marcht to Perth by the Foord of Dalreach, and next morning 5 Companies of Murray’s Regiment marcht from Perth (where they were newly encampt) to Creife, and then to Stirling, and on Saturday three Companys more of the same Regiment marcht for Stirling by Creife with fifty carts with Bread. Tuesday, 20th, the four Troops of Dragoons march from Perth by Creife to Stirling. The same night two Thousand foot at most came from Stirling back to Creife, and encamt betwixt Creife and Ferntower.”

Wednesday, “heard that the Prince was well, the Clans joining him. Two companys of the Royals that went by Blair to the Hilands, commanded by a second son of Scotestaret’s, taken prisoners by y<sup>e</sup> Camerons, and that the prince was on his march & would soon see us in Stratarn.”

Thursday 22, “the Troops that came on Tuesday marcht North under the Command of General Cope, Earl of Lowden, &c, &c, from Creife.”

“The two Companies of the Royals were taken prisoners by Cameron of Locheal and McDonald of Capoch’s men betwixt fort August & fort William on Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 15th of August; there was a Sarjeant and two three men kil’d & som wounded,

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referred to in this Journal.

but non of the Hilanders tutch'd."

"As soon as the Prince & his Companie were landed, he took off his bonet, kneel'd down and gave thanks to God for his safe arivall, and he told those that were with him, that as it had pleased God to land him safely in Scotland, he would never leave it while there was life in his body, but if he should die, he had a brother to suckceed him that deserved the love & obedience of his subjects."

Tuesday the 27th. "An Express arived from the Prince to tell all was well, desiring all his Freinds to hold themselves ready on an hour's warning."

Wednesday 28th. "The Prince's Manifestos began to be disperced."

Sunday, September 1st.

"I went up with Lord Nairne to Blair in Athol, where the Prince was with the Hiland army consisting about that time of about two thousand five hundred men. I had the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness' hand, kneeling on one knee, & soopt with him afterwards."

Monday 2nd. "Came down from Blair and delivered a letter from the Prince for Lord George Murray, which was sent to Lady George, as he was not at home."

Tuesday 3d, "the Prince was at Blair and at Dunkeld."

Here unhappily Oliphant's Journal ends.

Lord George Murray, the mainstay of the whole undertaking from this time forth to Culloden, had been hitherto peacefully employed, as we see by the following letter to his neighbour, the Laird of Gask:—

August 30, 1745.

Tullibardine.

SIR,

I never was so run of meal since I kept house, for I have had a good many work people all summer. I send this to desire you would let me have twenty Bolls at the rate you just now sell it. I would wish it were only payable at Michaelmiss, when I sell my Cows, but if you insist upon it sooner, you will please let me know, as I expect your answer this night. I shall

send Horses for the meal to-morrow. All here send their Compliments to your Lady, yourself, & Family.

I am, Sir,  
your most obedient Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
GEORGE MURRAY.

The next letter to Gask is much more warlike. It is from his brother-in-law, the Third Lord Nairne.

September 3<sup>d</sup>

Stanley.

DEAR SIR,

You will see by the enclosed Letters, that Thursday next is the day appointed to meet at Perth, the Reason of sending them is, that I think your Son told me there were some about you that wanted a warrant before they would rise; if there be any in that way, which I hope there is not, you may direct one of the enclosed to them; I wish your Son would go to Abercarney & get a positive answer from him, what he will do. The Prince will dine at Nairne, either tomorrow or Thursday; I hope my Sister & Nieces will be there either this night or to-morrow morning; I wish you & your Son could contrive to be there also.

I ever am,

Dear Sir,  
Your affectionate Brother & most  
Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

NAIRNE.

Please let me know if your Son delivered the Letter I sent from Blair, & what hopes of success.

Wandering Charles, who meant to be the Third, entered Perth, with one guinea in his pocket, the day after he had slept at Lord Nairne's; he was joined by many noblemen and gentlemen. Gask was not backward on the occasion. He had the honour of giving a breakfast at his house to the young Adventurer; the chair upon which the Prince sat was never allowed to be profaned by meaner occupants for scores of years afterwards; and the host and guest exchanged spurs.

The Duke of Perth and the Lowland gentry around found

their tenants most unwilling to go to the wars. But, to quote a tradition picked up on the spot by Dr. Chambers before 1827, “perhaps no one experienced so much difficulty in his levies as the good Laird of Gask, though he was at the same time, perhaps, the person of all others the most anxious to provide men for the service of his beloved Prince. This enthusiastic Jacobite was, it seems, so extremely incensed at the resistance he received from some of his tenants, that he actually laid an arrestment or inhibition upon their cornfields, in order to see if their interest would not oblige them to comply with his request. The case was still at issue when Charles, in marching from Perth, observed the corn hanging dead ripe, and eagerly inquired the reason. He was informed that Gask had not only prohibited his tenants from cutting their grain, but would not permit their cattle to be fed upon it, so that these creatures were absolutely starving. Shocked at what he heard, he leaped from the saddle, exclaiming, ‘This will never do,’ and began to gather a quantity of the corn. Giving this to his horse, he said to those that were by, that he had thus broken Gask’s inhibition, and the farmers might now, upon his authority, proceed to put the produce of their fields to its proper use.”<sup>1</sup> Feudalism was wont to wear her most loveable mien at Gask; but we certainly have here, and in the matter of the intruded Minister, two exceptions to the rule. The date of the event is fixed by Duncan Cameron, who came with the Prince from France. He says of his Master:—September 11. “Leaving Perth that day, he took a second breakfast at Gask, dined at Tullibardine, and that night went towards Dumblane.”<sup>2</sup>

All Perthshire must have been throbbing with excitement, and its state is well set forth in one of the best of all the Jacobite ballads belonging to this time. I give a few of the stanzas:—

Wha will ride wi’ gallant Murray?  
 Wha will ride wi’ Geordie’s sel?  
 He’s the flow’r of a’ Glenisla,  
 And the darlin o’ Dunkel’.

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers’s “History of the Rebellion in 1745,” vol. i., 71.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers’s “Jacobite Memoirs,” p. 27.

See the white rose in his bonnet!  
 See his banner o'er the Tay!  
 His gude sword he now has drawn it,  
 And has flung the sheath away.

. . . . .

Every faithful Murray follows;  
 First of heroes! best of men!  
 Every true and trusty Stewart  
 Blithely leaves his native glen.

. . . . .

Menzies he's our friend and brother;  
 Gask and Strowan are na slack.  
 Noble Perth has ta'en the field, and  
 A' the Drummonds at his back.<sup>1</sup>

But all men were not equally forward in the cause, as Gask found to his cost when he came to command at Perth a month later. He had already, on the 1st of September, made his wife factor over his estate, in the presence of Robert Graeme, of Garvoch, and of Martin Lindsay, writer. The Laird and his son marched southwards; and after the taking of Edinburgh, young Laurence, a stripling of one-and-twenty, who acted as Aide-de-camp to the Prince, thus describes the battle of Preston Pans; one of the few fights in which his family ever was on the winning side:—

Friday, 20th. "Marcht from Dudedstown to meet Cope who we heard was on his march towards us. About twelve we came in view of his army, which was drawn up in order of battle between . . . Grange on the right and Seaton on the left, the sea in the rear, and a morass with ditches throw it on the south, above which lays y<sup>e</sup> town of Tranent. The grand army marcht east throw Tranent and drow up in order of battle in the twilight. The Athol men were sent to secure the enemy's right, that they might not get to Edenburgh. About three of the clock next morning the men were ordered to joine the Army and form the second line. The Army begun to march, as soon as they could see one another, to the east, and pass'd the morass on the enemy's flank, upon which the enemy changed

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<sup>1</sup> Mackay's "Jacobite Songs," 151.

y<sup>e</sup> disposition and form'd a line from south to north; our men did the same; the enemy's Hors were posted on the two wings, and a reserve in the center behind the first line. The Highlanders advanced, fir'd at a pretty great distance, & then went in sword in hand and put the enemy to root in three minutes time. There was of our men kil'd four officers and about thirty men, and 70 wounded; of the Enemy about forty officers killd, fourty wooned and taken, five hundred killd and wooned, and about a thousand taken prisoners."

Sunday 22nd, "We marcht back to Muslebrugh, the Prince lay at Pinkie."

Monday 23rd, "in the evening we cam to the Abby of Holyrood hous."

Young Laurence unhappily lays aside his pen here, and gives no particulars of his ride to Derby as one of the Prince's Aides-de-camp. He says nothing in his Journal of his own feats of arms at Preston Pans, but forty-one years later he thus rectified the omission:—

"I give you for Dr. Webster an account of my trifling exploit on the Memorable 21st of Septr, O.S, Gladsmuir day, which has no other merit than that of D<sup>r</sup> Webster's desiring it .

"To begin the day, before it was light the Atholl men that were quartered twixt G<sup>l</sup> Cope & Edinburgh arrived in the Prince's Camp, which had the appearance of a long ridge of pease sheaves, the Prince lying in the middle of them on y<sup>e</sup> ground with a white great coat spread over him above his plaid. He and his little Army started up from a sound sleep. It may be asked, how I should know they slept. Answer, I was sent soon after y<sup>e</sup> P. encamp'd to order the Atholmen to remain on their Post & to march early & join y<sup>e</sup> P. On my return, perhaps about twelve, all was so quiet & still, that had it not been for our small party of horse, I would have had difficulty to find y<sup>e</sup> Army, (tho y<sup>e</sup> night was tolerably clear) along the lines of which I walked; all lay dead asleep wrapped in their plaids, & I was shown by y<sup>e</sup> Sentinells where ye P. was. The Army started up and were in motion in an instant, with the greatest silence passd y<sup>e</sup> bog, going through which the prince missed one of the steping stones, & one of his legs went in near to the knee. Cope changed his front, the Action

begun & soon ended favourably, before the Prince could run up to the Enemy's Guns. In going I was ordered to Edinburgh as fast as I could to get out Surgeons, cause shut y<sup>e</sup> Ports against Straglers, &c, &c.<sup>1</sup> The execution was a little hasardous; in Tranent I was hard on the Dragouns that went off in a body, before I was awar. I took a different Lane & avoided them, & as I came on my servant & I disarmed all the fugitives I met with, not to give them an opportunity of firing after me. Numbers of young Lads were on y<sup>e</sup> road, to whom I gave the arms and 2 or 3 Dragoon horses, ordering them to the Prince, and allow'd ye Troopers to shift for themselves. A servant going off with a led powny would not halt; I fired my side Pistol after him in the air, which brought him to. Entering y<sup>e</sup> Netherbow, a most agreeable prospect open'd; the windows on both sides up to the Luckenbooths full of Caps & the street of Hatts & Bonets, & when I now & then call'd out Victory, the air seem'd to rend with y<sup>e</sup> hearty huzza. I alighted at Lucky Wilson's below y<sup>e</sup> Lawen Market & sent for the Magistrates, who came immediatly. I delivered them my orders, particularly to guard y<sup>e</sup> Nether Bow port & keep out Straglers, which they promis'd to do directly. While I was busy breakfasting & answering many Questions, M<sup>r</sup> Halyburton came in & told there were some Dragowns & Soldiers coming up y<sup>e</sup> street. Vex'd that my orders were not executed, I jump'd up, went out, I believe, without my bonnet, follow'd by Sir James Stewart, M<sup>r</sup> Ebenezer Oliphant, & I dont know how many more, & met the Party a little below the mouth of the Close, consisting, I think, of seven or eight foot & two Dragowns. I order'd them in the Prince's name to surrender; they stopt & the Dragowns were dismounting, when one of the Foot presenting his Pies, I snapt my side Pistol at him, in my hurry forgetting I had emptied it at ye Servant, coming into Town; perhaps it was lucky. The soldier fired, as did severall. I got a shot through y<sup>e</sup> lap of my vest, a slight stroke on y<sup>e</sup> left arm with a sword, & the buckel of my shoulder belt on my breast cut & bent by another. I then made my retreat & heard balls strike on y<sup>e</sup> wall above me, as I entered y<sup>e</sup> Close. I was told the Dragowns & foot hasted up

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<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that the Government troops were nearer to Edinburgh than the Jacobites were.

toward y<sup>e</sup> Castle, & one soldier was following me in the Close, when my Uncle M<sup>r</sup> Ebenezer Oliphant did me the good service to grasp him in his arms, & said, ‘What want you, friend?’ upon which he snaked of.

“The Prince slept at Pinkie, & next day when he enter’d his apartm<sup>t</sup> at Hollyrood house, there was laid on his Table a Laurel Crown; few people coming in with his R.H., I used the freedom to present him with the Crown; he bowed his head & let me put it on, so that the only Fugitive had the honour to crown y<sup>e</sup> future King.”

The youth’s Commission, now at Gask, bears date October 2, when he was appointed by Charles, Prince of Wales, to be Captain of His Majesty’s Forces in the Perthshire Squadron, commanded by Lord Strathallan. The Commission was given “at Our Palace of Holyrood House.” This Perthshire Squadron, numbering in September only thirty-six horsemen, had been posted near Tranent on the day of the fight, in order to take prisoners in case of victory. They must have witnessed the onset of the Camerons, the clan on the left of the line. Lord Strathallan’s troop took some of the Dragoons; there were instances of sixteen of the latter surrendering to a single Jacobite. One of the Perthshire men, Mr. Thriepland, was killed while following the flying foes; he figures in Waverley under another name. When the Prince and his chief officers rode back to Edinburgh, he was met before entering the town by a multitude, who huzzaed him quite into the Palace. Fresh recruits came in for the Perthshire Squadron; among these was its future Major, Haldane of Lanrick, with his son. A great many colours and standards had been taken in the fight.<sup>1</sup> Some of these fell a prey to Gask, and he sent them to his own house by one of his vassals; all this was marked by Mr. M’Leish, who was doing his best to ruin his old friend. The Minister kept a watchful eye upon Lady Gask and her household; we cannot imagine a stronger contrast than that between the thankless wretch who held the cure of souls, and the high-souled Lady, one of the finest offshoots of the Tullibardine tree. The first step in the quarrel was, that Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Leish ceased to pray in Kirk for

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<sup>1</sup> I take these details from the Dunnikier manuscript.

the Gask family, from the time that the Prince came to Perth.

Edinburgh furnished some recruits for the Perthshire Squadron; the Castle was defying the Jacobites; though, to quote the words of an Oliphant poetess, “the Crown was half on Charlie’s head.” General Guest, the Governor, now and then fired upon the town; the following remonstrance was addressed to him; it is not in the handwriting of either of the Oliphants, and is most likely the work of some Episcopalian clergyman.

Auspice Deo Opt. Max. P. F. & S. S. To his E— G. G.

Edn<sup>r</sup>. 30 Oct<sup>r</sup>, 1745.

SIR

T’is now almost 30 years, since I first had the honour of being knowen to you. From that time till now, I have esteem’d you as a Man of honour, of good sense, & great humanity, and would be sorry to see you lose now, in the decline of Life, a valuable character acquired by the good behaviour of many years. It is for this reason I take the Liberty to write you an Abstract of what past in Conversation some nights ago in a Company of Gentlemen, all of them (but one) your acquaintances, and most of them your friends.

One of them (who was late in coming) brought account, that he had seen a Discharge, made from the Castle, of some Cannon, small arms & Granades, on a Coach just come from the Countrey, by which a poor Servant, a Woman, & a horse were killed, & some others wounded; particularly a Gentlewoman in the Coach (who had the care of some innocent children of 4 & 5 years old) was shot thro the thigh.

This acct, as it struck the Company with Surprize, Sympathy, horror, indignation, all that Variety of passions and affections which could be stirred by such an Event, so you will not wonder, if the Discourse turn’d upon the Manadgmt’s of the Castle these five weeks past.

One of the Gentlemen had kept a Register of the several outrages & unnecessary acts of Violence & hostility committed, & of their respective dates, such as, The firing down many great & small shot upon the City of Edinburgh, whereby churches, houses, & shops were damaged; several

of the innocent inhabitants, Women, book-keepers, & tradesmen (his Majesty's harmless subjects) were slain, others wounded, & all put into fear. The sending out parties from the Garrison, to raise a fire in the City, which might have done God only knows what damage, had not the calmness of the night prevented it. These parties, not content with burning some houses, took care to pillage others upon the Castle hill, (particularly Mr Ramsay's) which the inhabitants had left, to save their lives. Some Souldiers in your Garrison have, either by order or connivance of their Officers, put off their Regimentals, disguised themselves in other habits, & come out in the night time, to rob or steal in remote parts of the City, & return to the Castle with the booty; whilst the Highlanders had only the reproach, & your people the profits, of plundering. The throwing Bombshells towards Leith & the Weigh houses, even when no enemy appear'd, & very lately, (even since I begun to write) a random shot from the Castle endangered the Life of Sir Robert Morton, a Gentleman of figure in the County & of undoubted attachment to the Government.

We were all at a loss how to account for these extravagant proceedings. We were willing to acquitt you, Gen<sup>l</sup> Preston, & Major Robertson (our good old acquaintances) of all blame, but could not find how to do it. His Majesty has so lately told his parlia<sup>t</sup>, that the Laws have always been the rule of his Government, that it cannot be imagined you have orders to commit these outrages. To slay the righteous & the wicked promiscuously, to Glenco poor women & children, to murder his Majesty's good subjects, only for the diversion of his troops,—these are so repugnant to humanity, that it would be an affront to the Gov<sup>t</sup> to justify your Conduct by producing their orders for your warrant. Such bloody orders, were it known you have them, would go far to make the whole Island Jacobites.

But supposing you could show such orders from a Secretary of State, & even by a Sign'd Manual, yet consider whether you would be safe, should you be brought upon your trial for it before a proper Judicature, when a free Parliament comes to make inquisition for blood; which is an event not impossible, & perhaps not so distant as you imagine. Some

Gentlemen in the Company (who are Learned in the Laws) were of opinion that by the Nature of our happy Constitution, even an order from the Crown, if against Law, will not warrand the execution, & that the Gentlemen of the army might be tryed & hang'd for executing such illegal arbitrary orders.

It was therefor agreed to sett this poor pretence of orders out of the question, as being ane affront to your Master & no apology for you. But then the great difficulty was, whatt other Salvo to find.

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The Prince, being bent on marching into England, sent back to Perth Lord Strathallan and Gask, who were to undertake the civil and military government of the North. They arrived on the 4th of October. Of the two Governors, Lord Strathallan seems to have directed the movements of the Jacobite levies (about 4,000 strong), which did not come up in time to the march Southwards; while his brother-in-law Gask raised contributions and paid out money for the public service. The Treasurer kept a sharp eye upon the taxes, levied for the use of the Hanoverian Government. His account book embraces the time between the 3rd of October, 1745, and the 15th of April, 1746, the day before Culloden. I first state his receipts:—

	<i>C</i>	<i>£ sterling s. d.</i>
Oc. 3	From M <sup>r</sup> Murray of Brughtoun	100
Nov <sup>R</sup>	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel	100
	From Sir Hary Stirling	100
	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Perthshyre Cess	200
	From Sir John Wedderburn, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Excise	127
	From My Lady Lindsay	50
	From Condie	50
	From Sir John Wedderburn, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Excise	57
	From My Lady Moncreiff	60
	From M <sup>r</sup> P. Greeme of Murray's Hall	25
	From Yamon of Moorie	44

From Rob <sup>t</sup> Dowglass, Coll <sup>r</sup> of the Land Tax in Fife	110
From Sir James Kinloch	12 10
From Lady Methven	100
From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Cess	100
From My Lady Stormont	100
From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Cess	100
From Sir W <sup>m</sup> Nairne	25
From M <sup>r</sup> Hay of Pitfour	25
Dec' From Indergowrie	50
From M <sup>r</sup> Douglas of Fyffe Cess	100
From the Vicecount of Stormont <sup>1</sup>	50
From M <sup>r</sup> Yeamons of Moorie	26
From M <sup>r</sup> Rattray of Craighall	50
From Drummond of Gerdrum	30
From M <sup>r</sup> Greeme at Murray's Hall	25
From the Laird of Orchill	63
From Carmichel of Beaglie	32 10 7
From Lady Methven	100
From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Cess	150
From Blair Hall, (by Gineys)	31 10
From the Vicecount of Stormount	50
From Kippenross	50
From Craigarnull	50
From Major Nairne of Kinross Excise	10 15 6
From Sir Jo. Wedderburn of Excise	22
From Lindsay of Arnbathy	25
From M <sup>r</sup> Steuart, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Cess for Kinross	181 1 8
From M <sup>r</sup> Douglas of Fiffe Cess	220
From Sir Jo. Wedderburn of Excise	108
From Hay of Leys	25

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<sup>1</sup> Elder brother of the great Lord Mansfield.

	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel of Perth Cess	40
	From Hay of Leys	25
	From Sir Alex <sup>r</sup> Lindsay Evlick	50
	From M <sup>r</sup> Rob <sup>t</sup> Greeme at Cambo	30
	From M <sup>r</sup> David Moncreif at Moncreif	100
	From Sir Jo. Wedderburn of Excise	36 4
	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel of Land Tax	164
	From Postmaster of Perth, Duty of Letters	811
1746.		<i>£ s. d.</i>
Jan.	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel of Land Tax	200
	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel of Perthshyre Land Tax	165
	From M <sup>r</sup> Crauford of Monorgan	40
	From M <sup>r</sup> Moncrief for Sir Jo. Wedderburn	28
	From Lord Kinaird	33 6 8
	From M <sup>r</sup> Dowglass, Fyfe Land Tax	173
	From Alex <sup>r</sup> Gall, Coll <sup>r</sup> of Fyfe Excise	384
	From M <sup>r</sup> Carmichel of Perth Land Tax	100
	From Creditors of Lord Kinaird	66 13 4
	From M <sup>r</sup> Moncrief for Sir Jo. Wedderburn	12
	From Sir Jo. Wedderburn of Excise	20
	From the Vicecount of Stormount	100
	From Carmichel of Beaglie	73 15 0
	From Carmichel of Land Tax	287
	From M <sup>r</sup> David Moncrief	40
	From Sir Jo. Wedderburn of Excise	15
Feb. 4.	From Do by M <sup>r</sup> Moncrief, Gadger	31
	From Beaglie of Perth	21
		<hr/> 5,192 7 10

Among the Gask papers is a list of the Officers taken at Preston Pans who were kept at Perth, under Gask's eye. These were three from Hamilton's Dragoons, two from Gardener's Dragoons, six from Lee's Regiment, fourteen from Guise's Regiment, twelve from Murray's Regiment, two from Lord John Murray's Regiment, and eight from the Earl of

Loudon's Regiment. Besides these, there was Lieutenant-Colonel Whitefoord, the most interesting of all in our eyes, since his adventures suggested to Scott the plan of Waverley. A few months after their capture, the Duke of Cumberland threatened with the loss of their commissions any of these officers who should regard their parole and refuse to serve against the Jacobites.<sup>1</sup> Home, mawkish as ever, has suppressed this infamy; the blackest stain, as far as I can recollect, that ever sullied the honour of the British army. This is a part of the debt we owe to that pattern of Christian Chivalry, the Duke.

It had been at first arranged that there should be a guard of 120 men at Perth; but this was neglected. We see that Gask, the Depute Governor, did not feel himself very safe in his quarters. He thus writes to the Duke of Athole in the Highlands, on October 12:—"My son brought from Edin<sup>r</sup> the three inclosed Letters directed for your Grace. ... If your Grace send the Arms, &c, to this place, it will be absolutely need fule to send a strong party to guard them." No heed seems to have been given to this warning, and mischief was near following, a fortnight later. That same day, as we read, "at four of the cloack, my Lord Strathallan and Gask convined all the officers prisoners here, and my Lord Duke's letter was reade in presence of us all; every body was very senceable of the kind usage meant towards us." Gask unluckily forgot to write to the Duke about raising the Breadalbane men. The younger Oliphant was sent by his Grace, on the 24th of October, to receive £200 from Lady Methven.<sup>2</sup> The youth

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the officers regarded their honour more than his orders. See Brown's *History of the Highlands*, iii., 202; and the Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs*, 167. Gask and his friends might have cried with Regulus, "Scilicet acrior miles redibit? Flagitio additis damnum!" The Duke's meanness would bar the use of the first two words of the quotation, omitted by me.

<sup>2</sup> *Jacobite Correspondence (Abbotsford Club)*, pp. 85, 87, 88, 131. The Duke of Athole in question was the Marquis of Tullibardine of 1715. The Government attainted him and gave the title of Duke of Athole to his younger brother, whom the Jacobites would not acknowledge.

then rode off, to act as one of the Aide-de-camps of the Prince in that wonderful feat, the march to Derby. Oliphant was a sufferer to the end of his life from the hardships he underwent in the next two months. In the mean while, his father's duty lay in Scotland; Lady Gask and her two daughters were near at hand. Here is a specimen of Jacobite enthusiasm, which seems to be in the handwriting of Margaret Oliphant, one of the young ladies. "The women are a' gane wude!" remarks a later poet. Margaret thus begins;

"So much a Briton, that he scorns to roam  
To foreign climes, to fetch his hero home,  
Conscious that in these scenes is clearly shown  
Britain can boast true heroes of her own."

I am a woman, not design'd for war; yet could this hand (weak as it is thought) nerv'd by my heart's companion resolution, display the Royal banner in the field, and shame the strength of manhood in this cause.

Let Charles encounter with a host of Kings,  
And he shal stand the shock without a terror.

Our glorus Prince was 16 days at sea, & lay on deck all the time, not being convenancy in the cabin for to hold his roal highness & his freinds, because he chose to be in a friget which was accompanied by ye Elizabeth man of war. The Elector had past an act for his men of war not to take up their time with these smale ships, but alwise to atack the ships of forse, which sav'd the friget, for the Lion man of war coming up with them atackt the Elisabeth & shaterd her so much that she was forsd to return to Brest. After this another man of war cheas'd y<sup>e</sup> sloop, and had all her guns plasd & just going to fire upon the sloop, which would have infalably sunk her & all our hopes, (when lo the hand of heven) a mist came on in an instant, so thick that they lost sight of one & other, & in this mist our young hero landed with his 9 attendents, which where, Duck of Athel, S<sup>r</sup> John M'donald, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Shirodon, M<sup>r</sup> Calie, M<sup>r</sup> Sulavan, M<sup>r</sup> ---, M<sup>r</sup> Striklan, & 2 servants. Thus atended did our Prince land in Lochaber, on St. James' day, July 25, 1745. When ever he cam ashor, he kneel'd down & gave thanks to Almighty God, protesting he should never leve the isle while 2 men stood by him, & if he should fall, he said his brother was a pritty gentleman whom

they all would like. When ever Lochyel hard of the Prince, he came to him, & then went off to convin his men, in which time Clanranal & his men came; 9 of which men 2 companies of the Elector's army atackt & fired 9 shot a pice, which did not so much tuch one of them, but the 9 Hilanders kill'd & wounded several of them & made the whole prisoners. Cope & his army went to atack the Prince, but when they were within eight miles of them, they turned short & fled to Inverness; the Prince pursued for six miles on foot in a down pour of rain & would have gone on, but his men were weary & the heel came off his boot. All this time he lay in his clothes & boots, & never threw them off till he came to Blair, & from that to Perth, where he stayd 8 days, & then went on his rod to Edn<sup>r</sup>; in passing Stirling, Blackni fired 4 pice of canon at the Prince, one of which fell short, another went over his head, a third broke a tree just by them, & the 4th fell in among the army & made a great gulph in the earth; upon which the Prince made hang out the red flag & then they gave over; never was worse lodging than they got all the way to Edn<sup>r</sup>, the gentlemen siting in their cloths the three nights they were by the way. The Prince sent so many of his army against the black horse at Lithgo, but they thought fit to galop of by 4 in the morning when they heard the P was near. When he came to Edinburgh, there was wourd sent back and fore; this coming to nothing, it was contrived so that a coch came down the street and cried to open the port to the Provest's coch, upon which they opend the gate, & in rushd 900 of the highlanders and took posesin of the town.

Cope wanted to get possion of Edin<sup>r</sup> before the Prince was the length, embark'd from Aberdeen for that purpos, but the wind proved contrar, so that he did not land till the day after the Prince was in Edin<sup>r</sup>. Whenever they were all landed, they marchd within 6 miles of Edin<sup>r</sup> & posted themselves near Colonel Gardner's house, where they had deep ditches on one hand & bougs on another, & canon in their front, and everything that was possible to secure them. The Prince's army lay all night on the ground within a very little of the enemy, who cannoned them all night, but did no harm. Saterdag, Sep<sup>r</sup> 21, 1745, early in the morning, Cope gave the first fire, upon which the highlanders return'd it & then rushd in upon them, & in less than five minits they gave way, & a

quarter of an hour they were quit defeted, & all but a few kild and taken. Cope's army was about dobl the number of the Prince's; this battle was fought at Gladsmoor. Mr. Oliphant y<sup>r</sup> of Gask was sent by the Prince to Edin<sup>r</sup> to keep the dragoons from runing to the Castle; on his way he dismunted ten of them and took a pear of colours. When he came to y<sup>e</sup> town, he went to a tavern to consult with ye magistrets what would be the best way to keep the drauguns out. Some body came runing in to him & said their were ten of them runing up the street, six drauguns & 4 on foot; upon which he went out without one to assist him, went up to one & dismunted him, then to another; but unhaply his pistol snapd; upon this, when they saw none to back him, they took curage & all fired at him. One of the balls went thro the lap of his westcot, another with his brodsword broak y<sup>e</sup> buckel of his belt, then he thouht it time to retire, when none came to asist him; in his going down a clos they all fired upon him; but none of all these did him the lest harm. The Prince came back again to Edn<sup>r</sup>; when he was their their was many ploats on his sacred person. Their was a gentleman sent from Court to asaset him, & his own father sent from England to inform the Prince, and described him so exactly that he was not half an hour in Edin<sup>r</sup> when he was catchd. All that was found on him was an unlimated bill on ye bank. Another plot was, the garson of the Castle & men of the Fox man of war who was lying at Lith, to meet at y<sup>e</sup> Abey and destroy y<sup>e</sup> P. & all that was with him, which was only a gaurd of a 100 men, all the rest of the army being more than a mile off at Dudiston. The Castle gave the signal by throing a kind of squib, which was what they had agreed on; but the Fox did not observe it, & it came to nothing. Another time the P's guard catchd a woman goind in over the dick where all the amunition lay, with a bundel of straw & a tinder box under her cloaths; had this been afected, it would have blown up the Aby & all about it.

Y<sup>e</sup> P. thought proper to send my L. Strathallan & Gask to govern Perth. On the Elector's birthday, ye 30th of Nov<sup>r</sup>, L. S. hapned to go to y<sup>e</sup> country; about y<sup>e</sup> usual time y<sup>e</sup> Perth folks set the bells a ringing, set on bonfirs, & did all that was in their pour; all which Gask took no notis of, as he had not force for them. Loockly, their came to town 15 of Lord Pitsligo's men that day & 2 Frenchmen; at night 12 of the

gaurd went to patrol, when the mob fell on them & wounded & disarmd them. Then they wrot a letter to Gask to deliver up y<sup>e</sup> arms & amunition, to saife the efusion of Christen blood. This was signd by 4 of the ringleaders. Gask upon this with 19 men went directly to the Counsel House, where y<sup>e</sup> arms was, and was there till 8 next morning. About 12 y<sup>e</sup> fire bell began to ring, which was y<sup>e</sup> signal to gether. As they were coming down y<sup>e</sup> street, Gask & his men fired on them, & kill'd & wounded a great many; but when they came near, they stood behind forstairs, & shot out at windies upon them above 300 shot, and kil'd one of y<sup>e</sup> French gentlemen. One of y<sup>e</sup> rabel's arm was shot of, just as he was going with a wisp of hather to blow up the hous. They had a boat lying ready to take Gask to y<sup>e</sup> Fox man of war. At daybreak they went off, but they were resolvd to have it more efectual next, & had a great number convind; y<sup>e</sup> Nairne men came in that night, & they got them drunk, and was to have gone on, had not 300 M<sup>c</sup>Intoches come in, which put a stop to all their mailles. The prisoner officers, which were taken at Gladsmoor & was at Perth on parole, was much blam'd for spireting up the mob, which had y<sup>e</sup> aperence of ending very tragickly.

I transcribe Gask's accounts of his disbursements at Perth.

1745- £ s. d.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 11. Express to Aloa, Dunkeld, &c after Maist . of Strathallan arrived 8 8<sup>^</sup>

12. Express to ye D. of Athole . 2

13. Ditto for Mr. Carmichell, Col  
lector ... 8

14. Charges with the Officers Pri  
soners at Perth when first call'd 1 16 10 With the Perth  
Magistrates . 4

15. Ane express to and from Dunkeld 2

26. Express to Aloa ab' D. Athole 4

28. To twelve Men of Nairne . 12  
To M<sup>r</sup> Cochran brought them . 2

29. Ane express to Coll. Rob'son . 1 8  
Drink listing Townsmen ye 28<sup>th</sup> 1 7<sup>^</sup>

To 14 Nairne Men y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> 14

To Mr. Cochran & Low, yr

officers<sup>1</sup> .. 2

30. To pay<sup>t</sup> of the Bill with Dodwick

& y<sup>e</sup> other six Gentlemen that helpt to keep out ye Guard ag<sup>t</sup> the Mob. (This was the day of the Perth Riot)

The 8 Jacobites, thirsty souls, consumed 18s. 10d. of rum, negus, porter, beer, and madeira on this occasion, and 1<sup>s</sup> of bread. The Common Soldier's drink that night cost .. .

To eight Nairne Men & M<sup>r</sup> Cochran ...

Expresses to Glenalmond, Loggie, & Ferntoun

To 3 more N men & M<sup>r</sup> Cochran

To a Toun Officer

To M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>donald & M<sup>r</sup> Cameron, sick Officers, wounded at Gladsmore, p<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Princes Order & y<sup>e</sup> Rep<sup>t</sup> .....

To a Curryer sent to Logyrate

To Lau. M<sup>c</sup>clairan, sent to M<sup>r</sup> Murray, Secretary at Edin<sup>r</sup>

N B. he return'd Novr 6<sup>th</sup>

With y<sup>e</sup> Old Magistrates about settling the peace of the Toun

To three tounsmen y<sup>t</sup> stood it y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>

To Capt. Reynolds charges bringing up 78 Men from L<sup>d</sup> N's Estate ... Pay to 31 of these Men, including a Serjand at double pay . Nov<sup>r</sup> 1. Pay to 76 Nairne Men y<sup>e</sup> day at 6<sup>d</sup> 2. Pay to 31 Nairne Men and Serjands ... Pay of 64 Loggie Men, Nov<sup>r</sup> is<sup>1</sup> . Pay of 43 ditto, Novr 2<sup>nd</sup> Pay<sup>d</sup> ditto Men by ball, due

Novr 3

Pay to Gregor Murray to himself  
& 17 men 3 days to y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Novr incl. ....

To ditto pay for the 3<sup>rd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Novr

To a party of 16 men came y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This may be Bishop Low's grandfather.

for brak' ....  
 For six dozen flints  
 To Finlay Steuart, Sheriff Mair .  
 Two Cutt throats for the Maga-  
 zine

Ane express for intelligence . To three toun officers . 3rd.  
 To Collonel Robertson of Drumachine p' rep' fifteen pound A  
 day's pay to five more of Loggie's Men .. Novr 3. We find a  
 Note of the 6 men brused & wounded by the mobb (on the  
 night of the great Perth

*£ s. d.*

riot) Among them was the Town officer and the May"  
 officer.

They had between them from Gask 1 19 To ane Express  
 sent with Letters

about Capt. Reynolds, seised by a Sett of Seceders at  
 Kinross & carry'd aboard the Happy Janet 6 To John Fraser  
 of Byrefield, goe

ing to L<sup>d</sup> Lovat . . .41 Ane Express from Gask Yr . . 26 To  
 ane express to Dalnacardith . 2 6 To Tho<sup>s</sup> Drummond at  
 Ochter- arder brought intelligence ab' y<sup>e</sup> Seceders 1

Charges w' French Officers of Last

Ship 8 6

To Guide to Kinross w' party to

apprehend them y' seised Cap. Reynolds ... 2 To a poor  
 Woman Rob<sup>d</sup> by

M<sup>c</sup>donalds .. 2 To Coll. Eneas M<sup>c</sup>donald, pay for himself,  
 Officers & no Private

men for this day & Wednesday, (Glengary's Son) . . . 7 19 A  
 bottle wine at paying him. 26 To s<sup>d</sup> Coll. Eneas for thursday &

*£ s. d.* friday & for three private Men more 82 To Alexr  
 M<sup>c</sup>gilvray of Dunmaglass fr' pay to the Batallion of M<sup>c</sup>intoshes  
 f<sup>m</sup> Sund. Novr 3rd incl. till acc' . . . .53

7. To Mair Officers Ordering in 50

baggage Horses, (they were

delay'd) 16

To Mair Officers sent with Letters

for Contributions . 6 6 Item more for ditto Letters . . 1 To  
Harie Mill .. 3 8. Ane Express from Bonymoon . 1 8 To Capt.  
Goold p<sup>r</sup> rep' for the use

of Cap. Reynolds, Pris. in y<sup>e</sup> Glocester . . . .55 The express,  
he haveing gone aboard the Man of War & after to Edin<sup>r</sup>  
Castle .. 76

9. Pay to Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall for Sat &  
Sund. . . . .82

To three Mair officers . 1

To John Fraser of Bochuibin, Yo<sup>r</sup>,  
Secretary to Lord Lovat, a hun  
der p<sup>d</sup> 100

To Capt. An. M<sup>c</sup>pherson, four  
days pay from Sunday inclusive 10

11. To ane express from Edin<sup>r</sup>, telling of y<sup>e</sup> Prince's being at  
Kelso

y<sup>e</sup> 5th 5

To a Prisoner relased f<sup>m</sup> Stirling I  
To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donald, pay to himself  
& men for Mond. & Tuesday . 8 2

12. To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay for his

Officers & 86 priv. Men seven days to Monday ye 18th in-  
clusive<sup>1</sup> 24 17 To Ensign M<sup>c</sup>donald (Clanronald's  
Cousin) had left the Bavarian  
Army 5

13. To Robert Gordon, son to Bal

come, had been at Sheriffmore,

to goe home . . . . 15 To Coll. Mcleod of Rasay in part  
of his expenses, bringing up his

Men 4

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donald, Pay, Wed &

Thurs 82 To Da. Fleeming, sent with Letters  
to Coll Farquerson & Sir J a.

Kinloch ... 2

14. A Second express to BomurelP . 1

<sup>1</sup> His son entertained Johnson and Boswell in the  
Hebrides. 'Now Balmoral.

Â£ S. d.

To Mr Mart. Lindsay till acc' of  
pay as Clerk to the Governour . 5

To Cap. And. Mcpherson, pay to  
himself & two Men 4 days to  
Sund. Incl. . . 14

A Letter from Gask Yo<sup>r</sup> from Kelso y<sup>e</sup> 8th 6

15. To W<sup>m</sup> Lindsay, Wright, for six

score Targets p<sup>r</sup> Acc' Discharged 30 14 6

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>Leod of Rasay, more expenses for bringing up his  
Men 30

To Ens. H. M<sup>c</sup>donald in M<sup>c</sup>Leod's  
Regiment, four days pay to

Mond 6

To Coll. Mcdonall, pay for frid. & sat. 8 2

To Gordon of Blelack's express ab' Indercall Yo<sup>r</sup> & raising  
men 3

To a Mair officer .. 6

To Ja. Lamond in Glenluie in  
Dalmor's Land in Breamar, pay  
from Oct<sup>r</sup> 26th to Nov<sup>r</sup> 17th,  
incl. of both . . . . 126

A pair shoes to ditto . . . . 26

16. To ane express from Edin<sup>r</sup>, advise

ing y' 3,000 Horse & foot were  
come there .. 5

Expresses to Glengyle, Dundee, & Couper ... 3

£ s. d.

To Coll. Mcdonal, pay Sund. &

Mond. . . . .82

Express to y<sup>e</sup> Maister of Lovat . 3  
 Pay' of the bill at Council of War. 1 12 3  
 Pay' of ye bill on E. of Cromarty's  
 comeing to Perth . . . 1 16 1

17. To a Second express from Edin<sup>r</sup> . 5 Ane exp. to Condie  
 to settle intell. 1

18. To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay for 7 days pay  
 of his Regiment to Mond. y<sup>e</sup> 26th 25 2 3 With Capt.  
 O'donell & Sir Pat.

Murray 6

19. To Capt. M<sup>c</sup>pherson, his pay & 4  
 Men, 8 days to Mond. 26th incl. 1 16  
 To Tho. Brown & Comp of shoe-

makers for 307 pair shoes at 3s. 6d. for the Army . 53 14 6  
 To Alex<sup>r</sup> M<sup>e</sup>enzie of Ardloch for the pay of ye E of Cromarty's  
 Reg. for 7 days from Saturday y<sup>e</sup> 23rd at ^5 8s. 6d. . . 37 19 6  
 To Coll. Mcdonall, pay Tuesd & Wednes. . . . .82

A bottle wine w' Sir Ja. Kinloch . 3  
 To pay' of Capt. Culligan's Buryal

Acc<sup>s</sup>, kill'd at Perth on y<sup>e</sup> 30th 6 16 3  
 To Livt. Coll. M<sup>c</sup>intosh to compleat pay' of that Regiment, 17  
 days f<sup>m</sup>

£ s. d. Nov<sup>r</sup> 3rd to 19th inclus. (a pay' of £12 1 os. by Sir Ja.  
 Kinloch stated to my charge) included .81 1 9

20. A Bowl of Punch with the 1st Cap  
 tain, arrived, of Frasers . 46

21. To Coll. Fergerson of Balmurell, pay from friday y<sup>e</sup>  
 15th to friday y<sup>e</sup> 22nd incl. of both at 9s. id. p<sup>r</sup> day 43 12 8

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal, pay for thursd. &  
 friday, haveing gote 3 more Men 8 5

To the Earle of Kelly for disband-  
 ing his Comp. & sending y<sup>m</sup> to  
 L<sup>d</sup> Lewis . 5

To Ensign M<sup>c</sup>donald (had been in  
Bavarian service) pay f<sup>m</sup> 15th to  
30th . . . .126

To Alex<sup>r</sup> Broun for thirty pair shoes  
at 3<sup>^</sup> sh. to Capt. Mcbain's Com-  
pany 5 5

Bill for Punch &c, when Glenco's,  
Cameron, & Appin's Men came  
to toun ... 8 10

22. To Laur. M<sup>c</sup>lairan, sent express to

Edin<sup>r</sup> about Intelligence of y<sup>e</sup>  
Prince ... 10

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall Glen, pay Sat &

Sund. . . . .85

*£ s. d.*

Express fe Glengyle ab' a 2nd Victory by the Prince &  
takeing of Carlisle .. Bill of Punch upon the News . 7 6 23. To  
Livet. Mcdonald (f<sup>m</sup> Bavarian Service) pay for Sat. & Sund.  
He's to be after w' Rasay . . 4To Capt. Mcenzie of Ardloch, pay  
for E. of Cromarty's Reg. seven days to Sat. y<sup>e</sup> 30th . . .4196To  
Cap. Jo. Drummond of D. of Perth's Reg. p<sup>r</sup> rep', (who  
brought up his Men not call'd) . 7To Fin. Steuart, sent expr. to  
L<sup>d</sup>

Lewis Gord. .. To Livetennant Coll. M<sup>c</sup>intosh of pay till Acc'  
p<sup>r</sup> rep<sup>i</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 20th ' . 15Pay to ditto for Saturd. & Sunday 16 1 125.  
To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal pay for Monday & tuesd., he haveing gote a  
new recruit . . . .86 To Steuart Mair, sent exp. to Blair

Athol 3

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days  
pay to Mond. Dec<sup>r</sup> 2, incl.: ane oy<sup>r</sup>  
Livetennant & two private Men 26 3 3To John Sturrock in  
Forfar for 300  
pair shoes at 2<sup>s</sup> p<sup>r</sup> pair . . 30

*£ s. d.*

Expreses to the Cars & Moncreif 2 To Cap. Fraser for 7  
days pay of

his comp. f<sup>m</sup> Wed. 20th incl. to  
Wed. 27th at £1 9s. 6d. per  
day . . . . 10 6 6

To Coll. Cameron for 5 days pay  
f<sup>m</sup> Frid. 22nd incl. to wednesd.  
27th at ^14 5s. 3d. p<sup>r</sup> day<sup>1</sup> .71 63

To Capt. Steuart for two Companys of Appin Reg., 5 days  
to Wed. ye 27th at £\$ 5<sup>s</sup>. 6d. p<sup>r</sup> day . 1676 26. To express f<sup>m</sup>  
Lady Murray, ab' E. of Home's comeing with 700 Men 2

To Glenco ten days pay at £2 p<sup>r</sup>  
day f<sup>m</sup> frid. y<sup>e</sup> 22nd incl. to Mon-  
day the 2nd of Decr . . .20 To 4 Expresses sent ab' Contribu-  
tions ... 10

To Lau. M<sup>c</sup>lairan, returned w<sup>h</sup> In-  
tellig. 26

To the Horseman came express f<sup>m</sup>

L<sup>d</sup> Jo. Drummond f<sup>m</sup> Montross<sup>2</sup> 15 6 Ane express to Doun  
ab' L<sup>d</sup> John. 2 To Capt. Steuart, pay of Appin's 2 Comp, 5 days  
to Mond. Dec<sup>r</sup> 2nd 16 17 6

<sup>1</sup> This is not Lochiel, who was now in England.  
<sup>J</sup> He had sailed from France with a few soldiers.

£ \* d.

27. To Lau. M<sup>c</sup>lairan, sent express w<sup>h</sup>

a Letter for Secretary Murray . 15

To ditto return'd f<sup>m</sup> Carlisle, Dec<sup>r</sup>  
7th . . . . .10

To Coll. Cameron, two days pay for  
Wednesd. & thursday . . 28 10 6

To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser, for 7 days pay of the  
Comp. of Frasers f<sup>m</sup> Wedn. last  
incl. to Wed, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4th . .1066

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall, 2 days, Wed. &  
thurs 876

To Capt. .M<sup>c</sup>pherson, pay to him-  
self & 2 men 7 day to Wedn. 3rd

Dec<sup>r</sup>, deduct pay of 2 men over-  
charged in last pay' 1 6

Wh Officers Prisoners, &c, ab' ye  
getting Liberty home 15 days on  
parole ... 73

28. Exp<sup>r</sup> fm Edin<sup>r</sup> wh parlars ab' Carlyle 6  
Uskeyba, &c, with Laird of M<sup>c</sup>lach-

lan sent with 16 Hussars fm ye  
Prince ... 3 2

To Liv. Coll. Cameron, 3 days pay  
to Sund. Dec' 1st inclusive . 42 15 9

29. To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal, 3 days pay to

Dec<sup>r</sup> 2 being Monday, at ^4 3s. gd. 12 11 3 To Ane Express  
sent to Maist. of

Lovat ... 4

*£ s. d.*

To the Bill for Dinner & Supper on  
Lord John Drummond's comeing  
to Perth of this date . . .282

30. To the Vicecount Strathallan p<sup>r</sup> rep<sup>1</sup> 15

To Cap. M<sup>c</sup>enzie of Ardloch for 7  
days pay of E. of Cromarty's Reg.  
fm Sat. ye 30th incl. to Sat. ye 7th  
of Dec<sup>r</sup>, at £5 18s. 6d. p'day .41 96

To the expr. return'd fm L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Gord. ... 6

Dec<sup>r</sup> 1st. To M<sup>c</sup>enly, sent ab' the Prisoners fm the Hazard  
Sloop, taken at Montross 5

Ane express to Dundee to Bal- murell ... 1

2. To Cap. Steuart for 5 days pay of the Appin men fm Dec<sup>r</sup> 2d  
incl. to Sat. ye 7th . . .17

To Glenco for said five days . 10

To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days to

Dec' 9th 26 3 3

Mending a firelock of his Corps . 1 3

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal, Glengary, three days pay for Mond.  
tuesd. &

wednes . . . . .12113

To. Liv. Coll. Cameron, 3 days pay, Mond. tuesd. &  
Wednes., Decr 4<sup>th</sup> 42 15 9 £ s. d.

To Barisdale, for pay till acc<sup>1</sup> 15 Charges w<sup>h</sup> Barisdale &  
Contribut. 15 7<sup>^</sup> 3. To M<sup>c</sup>donel of Barisdale in full of

£27 8s. ad., as 5 days pay fm

Sund. Decr 1<sup>st</sup>. incl. to frid. ye

5<sup>th</sup> at £5 gs. gd. p<sup>r</sup> day . .1289 To the express return'd from

Dundee ... 2

To Coll. Rob<sup>t</sup>son of Drumachine . 15

To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser of Fairfield, for 97

pair shoes at 2s. 6 for the Army 12 2 6

4. To M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>gillivy, sent express to

y<sup>e</sup> Prince . -77

To ane express from Chr. Seaton  
at Leven .. 2

Ane Exp. sent to Uist ab' Cash  
& Arms 10

To Coll. Cameron, as pay to him-  
self at 6<sup>s</sup> per day for 14 days fm<sup>m</sup>  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> to Dec<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> .44

To Capt M<sup>e</sup>pherson for 7 days pay  
to himself & 2 Men fm<sup>m</sup> tuesday  
y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec' incl. to tuesday y<sup>e</sup>  
10<sup>th</sup> 146

5. To M<sup>r</sup> Lindsay, pay'ab' expresses

p<sup>r</sup> Acc' 106

<sup>1</sup> This was the Rob Roy of Ross-shire, a man in character  
more akin to Lovat than to Lochiel.

£ \* d.

To Livt . Coll. Cameron 4 days pay  
for thursd. for sat. & Sund. y<sup>e</sup>

8th 57 1

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall, Glengary, 4  
 days to Mond. y<sup>e</sup> 9th, haveing  
 gote oy<sup>r</sup> 4 Men . . .171 Exp. to Gibson of Moreton . 2 6. To M<sup>r</sup>  
 Virtue for Intellig. f<sup>m</sup> Aloa 5  
 To M<sup>c</sup>donald of Barisdale, three

days pay at £5 *gs. gd.* for frid. sat. & Sund. 8th . . .1693 To  
 Lachlan M<sup>c</sup>lean for himself & charge of bringing up 25 private  
 Men to Perth. 6 10

7. To Cap. M<sup>c</sup>enzie of Ardloch, 7

days pay to Sat. Decr 14, at

£5 18s. 6d. . . . 41 9 6 Charges of my Mear, sent w<sup>h</sup>

M<sup>c</sup>gill 2

To Cap. Steuart, pay 5 days to y<sup>e</sup>

Appin Men to thursd. Dec<sup>r</sup> 12th 17 To Glenco, 6 days pay to  
 frid. y<sup>e</sup>

13th 12

Exp to Gibson of Moretoun ab'

Contrib. ... 3

To M<sup>c</sup>lachlan of y' Ilk, 7 days pay

to himself & Hussars to Sat.

this 7th Dec<sup>r</sup> . . . .64

£ s. d. To Ensign M<sup>c</sup>donald f<sup>m</sup> Bavaria fifteen days pay to  
 Sund ye 15th 126

Bill on Fraser of Inderallochy's

comeing ... 56 9. Ane express f<sup>m</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Seaton at Leven 2

Guide to a party sent to Kinross . 1

To L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan p<sup>r</sup> rep' . . 31 10

To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days pay  
 to Decr 16th; 3d more p<sup>r</sup> day to  
 a piper includ. . . . . 26 5

To Coll. Cameron pay 3 days for  
 Mond. tuesday & Wednesday y<sup>e</sup>

nth 42 15 9

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal. Glengary, 4 days  
to thursd. y<sup>e</sup> 12 th incl, a volunteer  
at 15 & 3 private Men more in-  
cluded . . . .1711

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donald Barisdale 4 days  
pay to frid. a Volunteer at 15 p<sup>r</sup>  
day & 8 more private men in-  
cluded . . . . 22 19

10. To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser of Fairfield, pay' of  
oy<sup>r</sup> Companys of Frasers as they  
came up, to Dec<sup>r</sup> 4th . . 14 17

To Ditto as pay of all the Frasers  
7 days f<sup>m</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 4th to Wed. Dec<sup>r</sup>  
12th 61 15 6

£ s. d.

For 170 pair Shoes to E. of Cro-  
marty's Men at 25<sup>^</sup> p<sup>r</sup> pair . .215

Ane Express f<sup>m</sup> Blairhall wth In-  
telligence ... 5

To Hyrer went w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Drum ab' ye  
Dutch 16

For 50 Hacks for Pistolls to M<sup>c</sup>leods 8

To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser, to pay the Frasers  
3 days for Wed. thursd. & frid.  
y<sup>e</sup> 13th 26 9 6

To Alex<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>twn</sup>, sent LA Jo. Drum. 4 To ditto when he  
returnd f<sup>m</sup> Mont

ross 3

12. To Cap. M<sup>c</sup>pherson, 7 days pay f<sup>m</sup>  
tuesd. 10th to tues. 17th & 2  
Men . . . .146

To Capt. Fraser of Byrefield, 8 days  
pay to Sat. Dec<sup>r</sup> 14th, of Steu.  
Roy's Reg. 1 To a express to Douglass, Coll. for

Fyffe . . . . 4

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall, Glengary, 4 days  
pay for f<sup>m</sup> Sat. Sund. & Mond.  
y<sup>e</sup> 16th . . 1711

To Ditto goeing tobringup Recruits 3 To Coll. Cameron, 4  
days Pay of

his Regim.thur. fr. Sat. & Sunday 57 1 Charges collecting  
Kinross Excise. 3 6 £ s. d.

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>lachlan, 8 days pay to  
him & Hussars f<sup>m</sup> Sat. 8. incl. to  
15th 811

To Major Nairne, his Charges

leveing y<sup>e</sup> Cess of Kinrosshyre . 17 13. To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donald of  
Barisdale, 9

days pay to Mond. 16th inclus. . 2219

To Alex<sup>r</sup> M<sup>e</sup>quary to carry him  
home 2

To Lau. Mclairan, return'd expr. f<sup>m</sup>  
Anstruther, Letters to M<sup>r</sup> Dou-  
glass 5

14. To Capt. Clerk, Sir Heck M<sup>e</sup>lean's

B<sup>r</sup> in law, 8 days pay to Dec<sup>r</sup> 22nd 1  
To Jo. Simpson for Gasks furnisht  
for Bread &c to y<sup>e</sup> Prince & D. of Atholl 3176

To Ardloch, 7 days pay of Cro-  
marty's Reg. to Saturday 21st of Dec<sup>r</sup> 4196

Ane express f<sup>m</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Carstairs . . 5  
With Brig. Stapelton & Coll. of

Kinr. Cess .. 71 His expenses tryingtobringtheMen 1 15. To  
M<sup>c</sup>gregor a Wound. Soldier of

Aldie's 2

Ane express f<sup>m</sup> Mr Carstairs ab' ye

Prince . . 5

£ s. d.

To Mcauly, sent to Coll. MMonal  
at Cary 3

To Ditto, when he returned . . 6  
3 Bott. Wine of Publick Charges . 4 6

16. To Ardloch, 2 days pay of Cromarty's Reg. to Monday, Decr  
23rd 11 17

To M<sup>e</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days Pay to  
Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23rd . . . 26 5

To M<sup>e</sup>leod of Bernera, 7 days to  
himself & his Men to Dec 23rd. 2 2

To Capt. Mcpherson 7 days pay to  
himself & 2 Men to tuesd. Dec<sup>r</sup>  
24th 146

To 2 Livetennants of Capoch's, sent  
bring up Men with Arms . . 3

To Glenco, 8 days f<sup>m</sup> Wedn. 18th  
incl to thursday y<sup>e</sup> 26th . .16

To Fairfield, 6 days pay to ye  
Fraser's f<sup>m</sup> Sat. 14th incl to frid.  
y<sup>e</sup> 20th 52 19

To W<sup>m</sup> Lightoun, in p' pay' of 262  
p<sup>r</sup> shoes . . . .30

To M<sup>r</sup> Melachlan, pay' of himself &  
Hussars 7 days to Mond. Dec<sup>r</sup> 23d 77

To Coll. Cameron, 7 days pay of  
his Reg. to Monday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 23rd .9853 s.

To ditto, of pay to himself for 14  
days to Dec<sup>r</sup> 19th p<sup>r</sup> rep' . .5

To Coll. M<sup>e</sup>donal, Glengary, 6 days  
pay to him & Reg. to Mond.  
Decr 23rd . . . . . 26 12 6

17. Allowd to M<sup>r</sup> Douglass, Coll. of  
Cess of Fiffe for the Exp. he sent

to the Prince . . . -33

To Mr Doug, pay' of 51 pair Shoes 7 10

To Coll M<sup>c</sup>donald of Barisdale 4

days pay to Saturd. Dec' 21st . 22 19

18. To Mr Fraser pay' of 2 Comp. of

Frasers came in 10th & 13th to

ye 20th 23

19. To Ja. Bennet for Scabards of

SwordstoCameron, p<sup>r</sup> Acc'Disch. 18 2 To Ja. Bennet at  
Shoegate Port

for ditto & mend & clean Swords

to ditto 2 11 9

To Smith for mend, guns & Pist.

to ditto 2 To John Whytt at Forfar for 232

pair shoes at 2s. . . .23 4 With Officers brought up ^2,000

st. Spanish Money f<sup>m</sup> West . 10

20. For 80 Gasks for Bread f<sup>m</sup> D. Taylor

at 7d. p<sup>r</sup> Gask, p<sup>r</sup> Miller's

Rep' 268 jC s. d.

To Barisdale four days pay of

M<sup>c</sup>donalds for Sat. Sund. Mond.

& Tuesday . . 22 19

21. To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall, Glengary, 6

days pay to Sund. 29th Dec<sup>r</sup> 26 6 6 To Cap. Fraser of  
Byrefield, 16

days pay to Monday, Decr 30th 2 To Alex<sup>r</sup> Rob'so", sent w<sup>h</sup>  
Letters

to Cars ... 4 To ditto when he return'd ye 26th 4 To ye Bill  
w<sup>h</sup> Coll. Cameron, &c. 9 6

To Coll. Cameron, 7 days pay from

Mon. 23rd incl. to Monday 30th 98 1

To Livet. Cameron of Glenvey, 7

days pay to ye 30th Decr, p<sup>r</sup> Coll.

Cam's rep' . . . . 14  
 To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days pay  
 to 30th. . . . . 26 5  
 To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Bernera, 7 days pay  
 to Mond. y<sup>e</sup> 30th . . .22 To E. of Cromarty's Regiment 7  
 days pay to Mond. Dec . 30th 41 9 6 To 21 Hussars & yr  
 Officer, seven  
 days pay to Mond. Dec. 30th 8 15 To Coll. Cameron, his  
 own pay  
 as Coll. 14 days to Jany. 2nd, 1746 5  
 22. To M<sup>r</sup> Bruce, 8 days pay<sup>fm</sup> 22nd  
 to 30th. . . 1  
*£ s. d.*  
 23. To two Capt. of Clanranald & y<sup>r</sup>  
 Men 7 days pay <sup>fm</sup> Frid. y<sup>e</sup> 20th  
 incl. to F<sup>r</sup> 27th . . . 30 2  
 To Capt. Clerk, 8 days pay to  
 Dec<sup>r</sup> 30th .. 1  
 To ditto, 16 days pay to his Man  
 to s<sup>d</sup> 30th .. 8  
 To MTM Hickson's Bill for Dinner  
 & Supper on y<sup>e</sup> Prince's Birth  
 Day y<sup>e</sup> 20th . . . .9611 To the Acc' of the Ball on s<sup>d</sup>  
 Birth night . . . 7 16 6<sup>^</sup> To the bill on Maist. of Lovat's  
 comeing up . . .156  
 To M<sup>r</sup> Smith, pay' of his Acc' for  
 Drugs to Rasay's Men . . 115  
 24. To Wm. Lighton at Dundee to  
 compl. pay' of 262 pair shoes at  
 ab' 3s. 2d. . . . .1118  
 To Barisdale 4 days pay to Sund.  
 29th 22 19

To Mart. Lindsay for pay to  
Workmen fortyfying y<sup>e</sup> Mount  
at Perth p<sup>r</sup> rep' . 2

To Ja. Bain for s<sup>d</sup> work y<sup>e</sup> 14th 3

To said James for s<sup>d</sup> work . 10

25. To M<sup>r</sup> M'gill, sentab' Intelligence 7 To Capt. Steuart,  
pay of 2 Comp.

of Steuarts, ten days from Sund.  
Decr 22nd to Wedn. Jan. 1st, 1746 34  
To said CapL Steuart for a Volun-  
teer, a Livetennant, a Piper, and  
16 priv. Men, 12 days f<sup>m</sup> thursd.  
19 to Wed. Jan<sup>y</sup> 1st, 1746 . 7 1

26. To Ens. M<sup>c</sup>donald, pay 15 days  
from Dec. 15th to 29th inclus. 1 2 6

27. To two Capt. of CI. Ronald Reg.  
f<sup>m</sup> frid. 27th incl. to frid. Jan. 3rd,  
there being a Man more these 7

days . . . . . 30 5 6 To L<sup>d</sup> M<sup>c</sup>leod, 7 days pay of Earle  
Cromarty's Reg. f<sup>m</sup> Mond. Dec.

30th, to Mond. Jan. 6th, 1746 .41 96 To Wm. Reid in  
Forfar for 200 p<sup>r</sup>

shoes at 2s. st . p<sup>r</sup> pair . . 20 To Capt . M<sup>c</sup>pherson of  
Bernera, 7

days pay to tuesday, Decr 31st<sup>1</sup> 146 To ditto, Charges  
endeavouring to

raise 100 Men in y<sup>e</sup> Hylands . 1 To ane express f<sup>m</sup> Gener.  
Staple

toun to G. Guest ab' exchange  
and pay of Prisoners, hyreing

a Yoal included . . . 14 For 400 Ston Hay to Lady Mon  
creiff at 2\d. p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>lachlan of y<sup>1</sup>

Ilk his rep' . . .434 <sup>1</sup> A mistake for McLeod.

*£ s. d.*

To ditto Mrlachlan to pay ane Express he sent off ab' y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Spanish Money . . . 10 6

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall, Glengary, six days pay to Saturday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 4th, 1746 26 6 6

To Glenco, 7 days pay to tuesd.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 7th 14 3 6

28. To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, 7 days pay to Mond. Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th . . . 26 8 6

To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Bernera, 7 days pay to himself & 2 Men to Mond.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th 22

30. To 18 Hussars & y<sup>r</sup> Officer, 7 days pay to Monday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th,

1746 7 M

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>doall, Barisdale, 4 days Pay to thurs. Jan<sup>y</sup> 2d; A Capt. & 6 more Men . . . . 24 1

To pay of Coll. Cameron's Regiment 7 days to Mond. Jan<sup>y</sup> 6, at ^13 8s. p<sup>r</sup> day . . . . 93 16

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>gregor of Glengyle, 7 days pay to Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th, 1746 . 26 8 6

To ditto as Difference of 2 Chald. Meal at Â£.j\ Scots p<sup>r</sup> boll, & sold y<sup>e</sup> Men at 8d. p<sup>r</sup> peck . 218 8

To Capt. Steuart for 5 days pay of

*£ s. d.*

2 Comp. of Appin's Men, to

Mond. Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th . . . 17

To ditto pay of a Livet. Serj. &

Vol & 16 Men . . . . 218 9

For 22 pair Shoes at 2s. 2d. for  
 his Men 284  
 To Cap. M<sup>c</sup>enzie, 3 weeks of 3  
 Recruits to Jan. 6 ., 1 11 6  
 To Mart. Lindsay, pay' of Ex  
 presses, &c 178  
 To Capt. Clerk, 8 days pay f<sup>m</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>  
 30th to Jan<sup>y</sup> 7th & 8 days to  
 Coll. Steuart's Man . . .14

I end the stormy year 1745 with the following letter, sent to the Laird of Gask by Colonel Ludovic Cameron of Torcastle, who had marched from Perth to reinforce his nephew Lochiel. The latter hero, "the noblest Roman of them all," had just spared the village of Kirkintilloch, a wonderful act of clemency, as may be gathered from his brother's dying speech, in my Appendix.

SIR,

As I understand y<sup>t</sup> sum of the Regiment have deserted on the way betwixt Perth and this place, as M<sup>c</sup>lachlane no dout has informed you of, wherefore, as it is impossible for me to go your lenth, sends the bearere for the pay in terms of Laird of M<sup>c</sup>lachlan's list, as he had it from the officers in my absence, and whatsomever receipt he givs you for y<sup>e</sup> pay shall be aknowledged by your most humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

CAMERON.

Dumblain, December 28, 1745.

P.S.—I beg you will pleas order what is wanting of shoes, which is about ane hundred pair, for the men canot do dowty without them.

I also add a receipt from a man who has special claims on our gratitude, since he it was who, forty years later, handed down all the traditions of the Century to young Walter Scott.

Perth, 30th Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1745.

Received by me, Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, from Laurence Oliphant of Gask the soume of nyneteen pound

eighteen shillings and nyne pence as five days' pay to Two Company's of Appine's men.

ALEX- STEWART.

This is a sample of the many receipts preserved at Gask from Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, Glencoe, Barisdale, Glengyle, Rasay, McLachlan, Fraser, and others. All this time shoes were being made for the Army at Kirkaldy, Falkland, Dundee, and other places, Gask paying the cobblers. The trusty McLairan was sent to Edinburgh, then full of Government troops, for news which was afterwards sent to the Prince. Bolls of meal came in from Sir David Threipland, Sir William Nairne of Dunsinnan, Mr. Belshes of Invermay, and Mr. Craigie of Glendoick. For the two last months of this year, all Scotland, from Inverness to Stirling, may be said to have been under the rule of the Drummonds, Lord Strathallan and the brother of the Duke of Perth.

Here is a specimen of the false news of victories, so common in civil wars. Miss Margaret Oliphant sets down events as they happened:—

“On the 13 of November, the memorable day of Preston & Shiramoor, 1715, the Prince got a complet victory, surpassing that of Gladsmoor, over General Husk. The Prince's army was surrounded with a thick fog that the enemy did not see how they were firing, tho all around was cler & the sun shining bright.

“After this our army returnd to Carlile, where they took both city & citydel. The Prince gave every one his due; they got a great tresur, and a grat many horse. A custom house yacht, which was load with arms for the President's companies at Inverness, was lost at the mouth of the Tay. The same day the Fox man of war, Cap<sup>n</sup> Beaver, was cast away near Dunbar, & all on board perishd. The Happy Janet was also drove aground; & the Hazard sloop was drove ashor, who had burnt two ships at Montrose, suspicios the inhabitants of that town were disaffected. All this the more surprizing, as the weather was then pritty moderate. Lord John Drummond landed at Montrose; they took the Hasard sloop & another man of war, & as many ships as secure the pasage till all the army cross that are going South.

“Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 17, 1746, y<sup>e</sup> battle of Falkirk was fought; the wind changd 3 several times that day & blew first in the face of y<sup>e</sup> enemy with a rain. Y<sup>e</sup> very instant of y<sup>e</sup> ingadgment y<sup>e</sup> flag flew off y<sup>e</sup> Castel of Stirling & lighted a good way down y<sup>e</sup> town.”

Here Miss Oliphant lays down her pen; three weeks later she had Government troops quartered upon her at Gask. I go back to her father’s accounts for the year 1746:—

*£ s. d.*

Jan. 1. Ane express to Dundee f<sup>m</sup> L<sup>d</sup> John

Drum. ... 26

One f<sup>m</sup> ditto to L<sup>d</sup> Cromarty at

Weemys ... 5 To a Soldier attend. Cannon f<sup>m</sup>

Dundee ... 1

2. To Coll. Mcdonald, Barisdale, 4

days pay to Monday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 6th . 24 1 To Capt. M<sup>c</sup>donald of  
Cl. Ronalds

Reg. 7 days pay to friday, Jan.ioth 30 5 6 To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donall,  
Glengary, six

days Pay to Frid. Jan<sup>y</sup> 10th . 26 6 6 To Ja. Bennet for  
Sheaths to six

doz. & 5 swords to Barisdale’s

Reg. at I4d. . . .49 10 To Boatmen on Tay to Drink . 2

3. To charges for seven men, who

deliv<sup>d</sup> the Cannon safe and sound

(signed, Sarsfield) . . 10 6 *£ s. d.* 4. To 4 Mairs bringing  
Horses for

Cann. &c. .. 4

To Fraser of Byrefield 16 days pay f<sup>m</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 30 incl. toJan<sup>y</sup> 14  
incl. 2

To Lau<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>lairan, had been sent

w<sup>h</sup> a Letter to E. Murray, Dec<sup>r</sup> 3 6

Uskyba w<sup>h</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Cromarty f<sup>m</sup> Fyffe . 1 6

10 Men w<sup>h</sup> 36 Load Coals f<sup>m</sup> Bal

birny ... 16 Charges ab' L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Gordon's

Prisoners ... 4 Writing y<sup>r</sup> Bond of Presentation . 5 6. To  
M<sup>c</sup>Leod of Rasay, 7 days Pay

to Monday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 13th . . 26 8 6 To M<sup>c</sup>Leod of Bernera, 7  
days pay to ditto 22

To Ardloch, 7 days pay of Cro-  
marty's Reg. to 13th, four new  
Recruits incl. . . . . 42 3 6  
Handsell to 4 Mair Officers . 2  
To Glengyle, 7 days pay to Jan<sup>y</sup>

13th 26. 8 6 To ditto as difference of Meal at £7<sup>^</sup> sold to  
soldiers at 8<sup>d</sup> per peck of one chalder, a week to Jan<sup>y</sup> 13th . . .  
.194

To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal, Barisdale, 4  
days pay to frid, Jan<sup>y</sup> 10th . 24 1

*Jc S. d.*

To 18 Hussars & y<sup>r</sup> Captain for  
seven days to Mond. Jan<sup>y</sup> 13th 7 14 7. To Ansign M<sup>c</sup>donald,  
15 days to

Jan. 13 126 To Tho. Mathew for Hazer, Ropes, &c, for  
Driving y<sup>e</sup> Canon p<sup>r</sup> Disch. . . . 19 4 10 \

Exp<sup>r</sup> to bespeak y', sent Dec<sup>r</sup> 24th 2 6  
Account of the Regiment of the Frasers.  
To Mr. Fraser of Fyres, Live-  
tenant Coll 4 To six Captains for one day at

2s. 6d. . . . . 15

Collonel Fraser of Inderallochy . 6

Nine Livetennants at 2s. . . 18

Nine Ensigns at 1s. 6d. . . 136

Twenty-five sergeants at gd. . 189

Two Pipers at 9d. . 16

335 priv.-Men at 6d . . . 876

12 4 3 Their pay for 21 days . . 256 9 3 acknowledged by  
Charles Fraser, Adjutant-Generall to the Army. To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser

for 160 Pair Shoes

bought at Kirkald, Couper, and

Falkl 19 13 8

£ s. d. To ditto he pay'd to Ross of Pitscany 4 4

8. To Lau. M<sup>c</sup>lairan, sent to Secret. Murray 3

To ditto, when he return'd . . 4

To the Men enlisted by Capt.

M<sup>c</sup>leod of Bernera, they were

taken prisoners at Inverury.

One ensign .. 1 6

Two volunteers .. 2

A piper ... 1 6

Two serjants .. 1 6

Forty private men at 6d per day 1

This at 7 days to Mond. 13th . 956

Hyre of two Horses to ye Prince's

Valeys 10

Here is a letter from the valet.

5. Janvier, 1746.

Je certifie comme le voiturin qui nous a conduit de Perte á Domblin avec deux cheveaux de selle n'a pas esté payé de ses voiteurs pour le dit voyage, bien si nous l'avons defrayé de toutes Depences, de meme qu'au Charetier, surquoy nous leurs avons donné Encore pour boire.

Ferbos, valet de chambre de son A. R. Le Prince Charles Stouard.

---

About this time, the troops under the Drummonds at Perth were to join the Army under the Prince, which had marched back from Derby and forded the Esk.<sup>1</sup> Being together 9,000 strong or thereabouts, they were to lay siege to Stirling Castle

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<sup>1</sup> The scene at the fording of the Esk was handed down by young Oliphant to his daughter, who has described it in the most spirited of all her Jacobite ballads.

and to fight their second Battle. All lads of mettle were burning to be on the ground in time, but the Jacobites seem to have been as lavish with their money as with their blood in the cause, to judge by the following letter of Lady Strathallan, whose husband had lately been acting as Viceroy.

To The Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
The Lady Gask,  
att Gask.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 12th, 1746.

DEAR SISTER,

You was so good as say you woad perhaps lend me 2 or 3 guas for Jame, for which I was very much oblided to you, & since he got from my L<sup>d</sup>, I was in hopes I woad not have needed to have borrowed from you; but as Willy is insisting to goe to the Prince, & my L<sup>d</sup> I am afraid either has it not or wont give Willy, with the fancy y<sup>t</sup> his pay may serve him, & as he, I know, is in want, I must beg the favour of a lend of 2 or 3 guas, & I shall pay it as soon as posible.<sup>1</sup> I was in hopes of giving as much last night; a Servant came in here, but I got not near so much. Willy does not know what I am writing about, or I believe he w<sup>d</sup> not deliver the letter, tho he be in such want. I wish you w<sup>d</sup> come in to morrow, for Willy says he must goe Tuesday. In hopes to see you soon, shall add no more, but I am, d<sup>r</sup> Sister,

your most affect. Servant  
M. STRATHALLAN

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The battle was near, and the cannon were being forwarded from Perth, as we see by Gask's accounts.

To 107 Men who went the length  
of the Craig . . . . 1 15 8 To a Smith for mending one of  
the Carriages. . . . 8 8£

To a Bate for the men and oxen  
with the last of the Cannon at

---

<sup>1</sup> This Willy Drummond became the father of that Lord Strathallan who lived to see 1851.

Muthill 67

To maintenance at Ardoch for one night for 20 oxen and 6 horses 8 8

To 43 Servants at Dumblane . 14 4

To the Men of the M<sup>c</sup>Intoshes who got information of & apprehended Anthony Niven as being concern'd in the Mob . . 26

To a Guide who went to Lucy Law to apprehend the Perth Post . 1 6

To the Inverness post for carrying a letter from Kinlochmoidart . 5

M

To ane express to stop the M<sup>c</sup>Intoshes at Arroll . i 6

To a man of Coll. Robertson's for

information of arms . 3 For ane express to Balmurell to

Dundee to hasten his march . 3 To fifteen men for baking bread

for the Army . . . 25 16

9. To Cap<sup>t</sup> Clerk, 8 days pay to himself & two of Coll. Steuart's

serv<sup>t</sup> to Jan<sup>y</sup> 15th . . . 14 Charges M<sup>r</sup> Crockett bring 3 Cannon 5 To Capt. M<sup>c</sup>donal of CI. Ronald 7

days pay to frid. Jan<sup>y</sup> 17th 30 5 6 To Coll. M<sup>c</sup>donal, Barisdale, six

days pay to frid, Jan<sup>y</sup> 17 th . 36 1 6 To 5 more Men & a Volunteer of

Barisd. ten days to Jan<sup>y</sup> 17 th . 115 To mending arms to ditto . . 186 To M<sup>r</sup> Douglas for 28 pair shoes . 4 (25 pair to Maj. Nairne & 3 to Bernera)

10. To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser, pay of Frasers as they arrived . . . 24 15

To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay in p' Charges

of bringing his Men <sup>fm</sup> home . 12 To Gunsmith for mend, guns  
to CI.

Ronald's men .. s

£ s. d.

To Ja. Bennet for Scabards . . 8 To a express to L<sup>d</sup> Lewis  
Drum-  
mond <sup>fm</sup> Maj. Nairne to bring  
up all his Men .. 5 For 4 bottles Wine w<sup>h</sup> M<sup>c</sup>intoshes,

&c. .... 10

To Keeper of Magazine of Hay

& Oats 26

To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser pay' of ane Acc' of  
incidents 27

To M<sup>r</sup> Fraser 7 days pay to Frasers  
to Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 17th .. 86 3 9

To the Maister of Lovat, 4 Weeks  
pay 8 8

To W<sup>m</sup> Reid for 85 pair shoes de-  
livered to M<sup>r</sup> Fraser .. 8 10

To M<sup>c</sup>intoshes, 4 days pay of 272  
Men, Officers, &c, to tuesday,  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 14th 35 4

To Coll. Fargherson & his Men, 4 days pay to ditto, Jan<sup>y</sup>  
14th 21 8

To Major Fraser of Fairfield in  
part of his pay till acc' .. 10

With Officers <sup>fm</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Drum

mond ... 76 1 1. To Ardloch 7 days pay of E. of Cromarty's  
Regiment to Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th ..... 42 3 6 £ S. d.

To Mcleod of Rasay, 7 days pay of  
himself & Men to Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th .268 6

12. To Fraser of Byrefield, 16 days  
pay to Jan<sup>y</sup> 30th . 2

To Mr Fraser for 87 pair shoes to  
 Mcintoshes f<sup>m</sup> Dundee . . 13 18  
 To Bernera, Mcleod, 7 days pay to  
 himself & men to Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th . 12 16 With Cap. Crighton &  
 Anderson  
 kept at Perth with their Men . 5  
 13. To Ansign Mcdonald, 7 days pay  
 to Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th .. 106 To Glengyle 7 days pay to Jan<sup>y</sup>  
 20th 26 8 6  
 To ditto, difference of y<sup>e</sup> Price of  
 Meal (a Chald) one Week to  
 Jan<sup>y</sup> 20th . . . . 194 With oy<sup>r</sup> Officers of L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Drum 8  
 14. To Bill for Dinner to L<sup>d</sup> Lewis  
 Drummond & his Officers . 3 8  
 Bill for Supper with them . . 127  
 15. To Tho. Murray, Master of  
 Hospital, 8 days pay of L<sup>d</sup> Jo.  
 Drum. Men to thursd. 23rd . 1  
 Bakeing i\\ bolls Meal to D. of  
 Athole's Men in Oct<sup>r</sup> last . 2 3  
 To Mr Fraser, Adjut. for 5 Gun  
 Locks . . . . . 18  
*£ s. d.*  
 To Dun. Henderson for 16 Hogs-  
 heads at 2s. for packing the  
 above bread, &c. . . . 1 13 6  
 To Coll. Crightoun, Vicec of  
 Frendracht, his Reg. kept in  
 Garison at Perth, 7 days pay to  
 Tuesday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 21st . . . 20 17 8  
 Two days pay to ditto, Sund. &  
 Mond; Jan<sup>y</sup> 12 & 13 . . 5 19 4  
 To Cap. Anderson & his Men, 7

days pay, (kept in Garson) to  
Tuesd. Jan 21 . . . .9 3

To 4 Gunners 3 days, y were to  
march with the last 3 Cannon . 12

To y<sup>e</sup> Engeeneer left here, 3 days 3

To Tho. Mathews, his Acc<sup>t</sup> of  
Ropes, &c, for driveing y<sup>e</sup> 3 last  
Cannon &c . . . 10 15 2

16. To Grant, a Sick Man of Abbachy's,  
six days pay to Wedn. ye 22nd . 3

To Tho. Murray, 3 days pay of  
7 sick men .. 10 6

To a Man of L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Gordon  
goeing up .. 1

To John Donaldson, Surgeon, in  
Perth, for David Wilfin, who had  
5 wounds in his head . . 26

To him for extracting a bullet out  
of one of Capt. M<sup>c</sup>donald's Men,  
it haveing gone thro his arm and  
syde; for Medicines, pains, and  
Cure . . . . 16

To William Lindsay for 242 targets;

To 24 Hyd's leather from the tanadge 16 16

To Goat Skins, wood, nails, &c . 13 10

To two Officers targets, p<sup>r</sup> Order . 1

To 2 Sheriff Mairs for summoning  
45 Gentlemen to be at Perth, the  
1st of January .. 10

To writing 12 Intimations to be  
made at 12 Parish Kirks anent  
the Castle Rents . 6

To Mair Officer for warning the  
Tennents in Dron, Arngask,

Abernethie, & Strathmiglo to  
bring in meal, coals, straw, &c,  
to the military there, and warn-  
ing them for carriages . . 10

To 2 Wrights to attend the Cannon to Dunblane . . . . 15

To ane Express goeing to Dundee  
about the Ropes for the third  
cargo of Cannon . 36

Drink to 50 Men that brought y<sup>e</sup>  
12 Cannon of y<sup>e</sup> French Ship  
from y<sup>e</sup> Shore to y<sup>e</sup> Guard . 6

*£ s. d.*

To six Men who seised Col. Lind-  
say, who had been persuading  
them to desert .. 3

17. To Tho. Brown for 124 pair Shoes to Army 17 10 To a  
Soldier's Wife goeing on . 1 To Don. M<sup>c</sup>donald. 7 days pay of  
10 Men left sick of C. Ronald to  
Frid, Jan<sup>y</sup> 24 . . . . 23 A Soldier's Wife & Child of L<sup>d</sup> Jo. Drum. ..  
2

To Engeneer for Paper, twine, &c, for makeing up  
Cartrages. . 16 Ane express to Dundee for ropes,  
Jan. 6 .. 2

To Liv. Coll. Mcintosh twenty pair  
shoes p<sup>r</sup> his rep' & pay'd to W<sup>m</sup> Reid 2

To Pat. Garner of fraught of his  
Boats w<sup>h</sup> Cannon f<sup>m</sup> Dundee, on  
Decr 30th .. 2

To Boatmen f<sup>m</sup> Dundee w<sup>h</sup> 3 small

Cannon & Arms. Jan<sup>y</sup> 3 . To Boatmen brought Cann. Balls,  
y<sup>e</sup> Sth 5

To James Bain for Charges of for-  
tyfieing y<sup>e</sup> Mounth till Acc' p<sup>r</sup>  
rep' Jan<sup>y</sup> 7th . . . . 10 To s<sup>d</sup> James till Acc' p<sup>r</sup> rep' y<sup>e</sup> 15th . 5

*£ S. d.*

To M<sup>r</sup> Christie Quaker, for carry

ing up six Cannon to Doun<sup>1</sup> . 9 13 .11 ^  
 Overseers of Cannon, sent Jan<sup>y</sup> 3rd 106

18. To Proudfoot a week to him &

man attending ye Magazin of Hay & Oats to ye 18th . . 112  
 To 5 Men pay (being sick) to

Mond. 20th .. 56 To Geo. Betty, Gunner, for 10 days 15  
 Charges with ane Officer of L<sup>d</sup> John's 5

19. To ane Express sent to y<sup>e</sup> D. of

Atholl with acc' of ye Victory at  
 Falkirk, ye 17th . . . 7  
 To 4 Bottles of wine at News of

y<sup>e</sup> Battle 10

The two last items invite a digression. Young Oliphant had marched back with the Prince from Derby, and was among the troops who laid siege to Stirling. He was in the battle of Falkirk, where he had the joy of seeing the Macdonalds, led by his cousin Lord George Murray, hurl the English left wing headlong down the hill, which both sides had raced to win. In the evening Oliphant wrote to his mother as follows, much underrating the victory his side had gained.

“The Army march't from a field East of Banackburn, about twelve, this day, for Falkirk, where the enemy lay encamp't; after we had cross'd the water Carron, and march't up the Hill southwest from Falkirk, we perceived the Enemy marching from their Camp to attack us, we march't up the Hill, and drew up in order of Battle, South and North; the Dragoons, to the number of three or four hunder, were opposite to our right, where Lord George commanded, and was with him M<sup>r</sup> of Strathallan and Cape Harie. We are all perfectly well. We advanced, and the Dragouns advance likeways. The enemy kept up their fire till we were very near them, and we both fired, and immediatly they run for it; there was not above

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<sup>1</sup> These Cannon, which were landed by the French and forwarded by Gask, were, as the Chevalier Johnstone says, the ruin of the cause; since the Jacobites were thus tempted to lay siege to Stirling, instead of pursuing the Government troops, beaten at Falkirk.

twenty or thirty killed and wounded, and not one of ours killed. They say there was not above a thousand foot of the enemy engaged; they were likeways put to the Rout, and about a hunder and fifty killed; they say about thirty of ours, nobody of note killed; but this account of the Battle must be imperfect, as we have not had time to know circumstances. I'l refer that to my next. We took five or six Cannon, a great many waggons and baggage. The enemy retired to their camp, we did not pursue them, the men were so much straggled. There was great fires in their camp as it begun to turn dark; and upon sending to Falkirk to inquire, we gote intelligence the enemy were marching very fast out of toun toward Linlithgow, and had burnt all their Tents, upon which the army march<sup>t</sup> into toun, where we are just now very well. I know not whether we are to pursue them. All friends are well. The Prince was in the second line. I'm sleepy just now, so shall add no more.

“Falkirk, Frid. Ja<sup>ry</sup> 17th, 1746.”<sup>1</sup>

Home, who was here taken prisoner by the Jacobites, says in his History that the Master of Strathallan and young Oliphant disguised themselves as peasants, stole into Falkirk, and came back with the news that the enemy was retreating in a panic. This account is not confirmed by the document just quoted. Two days later, Lord Strathallan sent to the Duke of Athole a copy of Oliphant's letter, as soon as it had come, saying “it is the only sure nottice I have yet had of the action. I would have sent the originall letter, being wrote in a hurry, is not very legiball to those that don't know the hand.” On the same day Lord Strathallan writes from Perth, where he was; “As there have been pay'd here betwixt two and three thousand men for about ten weeks past, besides a pair shoes to each of them, charges of ropes to cannon sent west, and the makeing intrenchments about the mouth of Perth, with other vast charges, it is not to be supposed there is any money here.” A week later he gives a bad account of his command at Perth, saying that he must have men to go in parties through Perthshire and Fife, levying the land-tax and excise. A hundred men, he thought, was too small a garrison for a town

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<sup>1</sup> Jacobite Correspondence (Abbotsford Club), p. 142.

containing 16 cannons, a great magazine, 80 prisoners, “and a most disaffected set of villains, both in Town and Country.” The Duke of Athole in reply begs to be remembered “to his cousin the good Viscountess of Strathallan, not forgetting our worthy friends the Laird of Gask and his Lady, who is also much to be honoured for her motherly virtues. I hope the two Ladies’ sons, Castor and Pollux, were well when their Fathers heard last from the Army.”<sup>1</sup> Among the Gask papers is the official account of Falkirk fight, printed by the Jacobites at Bannockburn on the evening of the 17th. They had brought a press from Glasgow, and the type is remarkably good.

Colonel Robertson of Drummachin, who was busy stopping deserters in Athole, had written only five days before the late battle, “Every man that knows the Highlanders might lay his accounts with their marching home after a scuffle.” A victory was commonly as fatal as a defeat to a Celtic host, as we see by Gask’s entry three days after the fight.

*s. d.*

Jan<sup>y</sup> 20 To Wilson at Scoon, to stop Deserters 2

To a sick man of Monaltry’s, 7  
days 36

To Cook, a Sold<sup>r</sup> of Sir J a5 Kinloch 16

To Bill, M<sup>rs</sup> Hickson’s, for the  
Rejoiceing for Falkirk Victory 3 1

To Cameron, a sick Huzar,	
(a Dog) . . . . .	5
Bill at Supper for the Victory .	15 7

To M<sup>c</sup>leod of Rasay, as Coll. 7

days pay at 6s. p<sup>r</sup> day to Mond.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 27th . . . .22

To his Man for said time at 7d. 4 1

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<sup>1</sup> Jacobite Correspondence (Abbotsford Club), pp. 147, 148, 160, 164.

To a sick Man of Monaltry's, 7  
 days 36 To Coll. Crighton, 7 days pay to  
 Jan. 28 2182

21. To a Man of Capt. Ferryer's,  
 sent up .. 1 To Capt. Anderson 7 Days pay  
 of himself & Men to Jan<sup>y</sup> 25;  
 4 more men . . . 10 6 3 To Lau. Mclairan, sent to Banuck  
 burn ... 26 To ditto, when he return'd ye  
 25<sup>th</sup> 4

To 12 sick in Hospital, to Jan<sup>y</sup>  
 28<sup>th</sup> for seven day p<sup>r</sup> Murray's  
 rep<sup>l</sup> 22

To the Bill on Confirm, of y<sup>e</sup>  
 Victory 1 8 10

Drink to Soldiers y' fired y<sup>e</sup>  
 Cannon ... 5

22. To three Frasers (recovered)  
 sent up 3 To ane Express sent to Stirling  
 17<sup>th</sup> 5

*I*

To a Mair sent through ye Cars  
 to order in wheat on D.  
 Perth's Letter To M<sup>r</sup> Barclay, sent to Secretary  
 Murray of Cash, p<sup>r</sup> Lumsden's  
 rep<sup>l</sup> 51

To s<sup>d</sup> Barclay for his own  
 Charges ....

To a Soldier sent up to y<sup>e</sup>  
 Army

23. To a sick man for 5 days in  
 Hosp. ....

To L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan, by M<sup>r</sup> Oli-phant's rep' for \ Chalder of Coals . .

Ane express to L<sup>d</sup> Nairne ab' L<sup>d</sup> Monzie & money to be sent y<sup>e</sup> D. of Athole

24. To Geo. Betty, Engeneer, 7

days pay to Friday, Jan<sup>y</sup> 31st  
To ditto for makeing Cartrages

(paper &c) .

A fellow of Sir. Ja. Kinloch's

sent home ....

To Don. Mcdonald, 6 days pay

to Wed 29th of a Volunt; a  
serjant, & 4 priv. Men

To Greg. Murray & his Glen-  
almond Men 4 days pay f<sup>m</sup>

tuesd. 21 to Sat 25 Jan<sup>y</sup> . 3

Scotsman, high and low, will find a forefather's name here set  
down:—

To ditto for Leveying his Men  
in Nov<sup>1</sup> 10

To Murray, Hosp. keeper, pay of  
3 sick men to Jan<sup>y</sup> 28th .

To Walt. Wilson at Br. of Earn  
for 14 days pay of 2 sick Men  
& one attend, them (of Baris-  
dale's) to Feb<sup>r</sup> 2d. . . . 11

To a sick Man of Monaltrey's

25. To 25 Boatmen for Ferrying

over Tay Troops, Cannon, &c f<sup>m</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> to this date & for a  
Ferry Boat repairing (damaged) ... 6 To M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>gillivie, sent to  
inquire if. y<sup>e</sup> Officers Prisoners on Parole had run off y<sup>e</sup> 23rd,  
& to him sent to y<sup>e</sup> Prince ye

26th<sup>1</sup> 146

Two bottles Wine w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Officers  
To Coll. Mcbean for goods his  
Men had left in y<sup>r</sup> quarters in

Novr & embazled .

26. To Steuart sent to Montross w<sup>h</sup>  
a Letter from the Prince

<sup>1</sup> The most shameful item in all Gask's accounts.

*£ S. d.*

27. Paper, Ink, & Quills . 1 10

Ane express to y<sup>e</sup> D. of Athole

at Blair 2

To Rasay, 7 days pay to himself

& Man to Monday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 3d . 261

To Tho. Murray, Keeper of y<sup>e</sup>  
Hospital, 7 days pay of 12 sick  
men to Feb' 3d incl. . .22

To Greg. Murray, Pay to himself  
& Glenalmond Men for 25, 26,  
& 27th 336

To M<sup>c</sup>intire, sent to Montross to  
countermand Capt. Drum-  
mond's March up . 5

28. To Coll. Crightoun, 7 days pay

to tuesday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 4th . 20 17 8 To Capt. Anderson, 7 days  
pay

to ditto 10 7 3

To Capt. Anderson for 30 pair

shoes at 2s. 8d. . . .46 A bottle Wine w<sup>h</sup> Cap. Douglass,  
sent for Cannon Ball & Amu

nition ... 2

29. To the Duke of Atholl p<sup>r</sup> rep<sup>t</sup> . 150 To ane Exp. sent  
Secr. Murray

w<sup>h</sup> Intell 5

To Greg. Murray, 8 days pay to  
Feb. 5 9

*£ s. d.*

30. To two of L<sup>d</sup> John's Men sent to  
Montross .. 2

To two deserters f<sup>m</sup> Inverlochy . 2

31. To a Mair, sent ab' Wheat to  
Glend 16

The Jacobites were now about to withdraw to the North, since the Duke of Cumberland was hard upon their heels. Gask had to leave his desk, just as he had done thirty years before. His four last days seem to have been taken up by the Perth tradesmen, who had worked so hard for the Prince's service.

*£ s. d.*

February 1. To Lau M<sup>c</sup>lairan, sent to Ban  
nockburn with Abircairny's letter. 2 6

Drink to men bringing y<sup>e</sup> o<sup>r</sup> two

Cannon from the West shore . 3

To W<sup>m</sup> Proudfoot, keeper of ye Mag.

of Hay & Oats, 2 Weeks pay & his

Acc' 18 9

To Fraser of Byrefield 16 days pay to 16 2

To Rasay 7 days pay to ane o<sup>r</sup> of his

serv<sup>r</sup> to Monday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> . 41 To Geo. Bettie, Cannonier, 7  
days

pay to frid, febr. 7<sup>th</sup> . . . 106 A pair Shoes to a Man f<sup>m</sup> ye  
Hosp. . 3 With Coll. Warren & Douglass &

orders ab' Horses c.

	£	s.	d.
2nd. To Alex <sup>r</sup> Barclay of pay till Acc <sup>t</sup> .	2	14	10
3rd. To Joh <sup>n</sup> Balfour for services done to the Army p <sup>r</sup> rep <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	2		
To M <sup>r</sup> Goold, Acc <sup>t</sup> of Charges, Land- ing y <sup>e</sup> Cannon in Dec <sup>r</sup> & Jan <sup>y</sup> .		13	6
To M <sup>r</sup> leod of Rasay 7 days Pay to himself & Man to feb <sup>y</sup> 10th . . . . .	2	10	
To ditto in p <sup>t</sup> of his Acc <sup>t</sup> of Charges bringing out his Men . . . . .	2	10	
To James Gray for part of Iron & Workmanship of 2 carryages of Cann.	22	2	6
To Coll. Crightoun 7 days pay to feb. 11	20	17	8
To Capt. Anderson 7 days pay to ditto	10	7	3
To M <sup>r</sup> Hall for Timber work of two Carryages of Cannon . . . . .	10		
To W <sup>m</sup> Lindsay for paying Leather of 200 Targes . . . . .	16	16	
Charges w <sup>h</sup> Merchants selling the Meal in y <sup>e</sup> Magazine . . . . .		15	
4. To Ja. Bain, Q <sup>r</sup> Master, &c till Acc <sup>t</sup> .	3	3	
To Keeper of y <sup>e</sup> Hospitall, for y <sup>e</sup> Sick	2	2	
To L <sup>d</sup> Strathallan p <sup>r</sup> Rep <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	61	3	4

Here Gask ends his Book of accounts, but uses a slip of paper for the next two months. He now rejoined his Regiment, which had been in England, and at Falkirk.

I give the List of the Perthshire Squadron, as drawn up by Gask on the 7th of February, 1746. Many a

## N

1. The Vicecount of Strathallan, Collonell.
2. Gask, Livetennant Collonell.
3. Haldane of Lanerick, Major.<sup>1</sup>
4. Gask Y<sup>r</sup>, Captain.

5. Lanerick Y<sup>r</sup>, Captain.  
Gask Y<sup>r</sup> his Troop.
  6. Greeme of Garvock, Livetennant .
  7. Robertson of Muckly, Cornet.
  8. M<sup>r</sup> Cochrane of Ferguslie.
  9. M<sup>r</sup> Steuart of Annat.
  10. M<sup>r</sup> Mastertoun of Park Mile.
  11. M<sup>r</sup> Carmichell, son to Balmedie.
  12. M<sup>r</sup> Monteith, son to Burrowin.
  13. M<sup>r</sup> Steuart of Ballachallan.
  14. M<sup>r</sup> Fiddler, late Clerk of Exchqr.
  15. Rob. Halkerston, Surgeon, of Rathillet.
  16. Jamy Lindsay, Son to Dowhill.
  17. Tho. Halliburton, Wright in Dundee.
  18. Alexr Davidson, Shoemaker in Ed<sup>r</sup>.
  19. Don. Mitchell, from Doune.
  20. Rob. Bisset, Clerk to Edony at Leith.
  21. James Watson, Writer in Ed<sup>r</sup>.
  22. Jamy Mcenzie, Distiller in Ed<sup>r</sup>.
  23. Harie Oat Sclater in Doun.
  24. W<sup>m</sup> Henderson, Baiker in Perth.
- <sup>1</sup> He was a cadet of the House of Gleneagles, and was ten years older than Gask. See "Lives of the Haldanes," p. 6.
- 2\$. James Smyth, Writter in Ed<sup>r</sup>.
  26. Pat. Keir, Wright in Ed<sup>r</sup>.
  27. John Square, Weaver in Doun.
  28. Geo. Blair, in Ailith.
  29. Rob. Watt, Sclater in Doun.
  30. W<sup>m</sup> Jack, Merch' in Elgin.
  31. Luckwood, Serjant.

No Pay. 32. Anthony Murray, Y<sup>r</sup>, of Dollarie.

33. M<sup>r</sup> Carmichell of Beaglie.

34. M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Sim, Clergeyman.

35. J<sup>ohn</sup> Murray) SenstoLdStrath

36. Jamy Keith V

37. James Red \

38. John Kempy | Servt<sup>s</sup> to Gask.

39. Lau. M<sup>c</sup>lairan. /

40. John Murray)

, . \ Servt<sup>s</sup> to Gask, Y<sup>r</sup>.

41. W<sup>m</sup> Murray V

42. Don. M<sup>c</sup>Dougall, Serv' to Garvock.

43. Jo. Steill, Serv' to Muckly.

44. W<sup>m</sup> . . ., Serv' to Ferguslie.

45. Ja. Steuart, Serv' to Annat.

46. John Buchannan, Serv' to Balachallan.

47. Math. Cheap, Saidler, with Beaglie.

48. John Greeme, Adjutant.

49. John M<sup>c</sup>nachton, Q<sup>r</sup> Master.

Lanerick Y<sup>r</sup>, His Troop.

1. M<sup>r</sup> Bruce of Clackmannan.

2. Geo. Haldane, Nephew to Laureick.

3. M<sup>r</sup> Lau. Mercer, of Lethendy.

4. M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton of Bardnie.

5. Jo. Drummond, son to Balhaldie.

6. John Richie, Fewer in Bannockburn.

9. Charles Allan, Serv' to Clackmannan.

10. . . . Serv' to Lethendy.

11. . . . Serv' to Bardnie.

12. Ja. M<sup>c</sup>gregor, Serv' to Jo. Balhaldie.

13. Rodrick Chalmer, Painter.
14. Rod. M<sup>c</sup>donald.
15. Gilb. Fyffe, Taylor in Edin<sup>r</sup>.
16. W<sup>m</sup> Currie, Wright in Edin<sup>r</sup>.
17. Greg. Grant.
18. James Tory, Dyer in Elgin.
19. Collin M<sup>c</sup>ulloch, Merch' in Edin<sup>r</sup>.
20. Wal. Grant, Barber in Edin<sup>r</sup>.
21. Rob. Caddel, Gunsmith in Doun.
22. John Marshall, from Alloa.
23. John Ferguson, Taylor in Edin<sup>r</sup>.
24. Andrew Johnstoun, Serjant.
25. John Murray, Surgeon.

7. Daniel Steuart }  
 8. Simon Simmy } Servt<sup>s</sup> to Lanrick.

49

25

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74

Mr Alex<sup>r</sup> Gall.

Rob. Martin, his Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Mr Peter Greeme (Gorthy's Cousin).

Jo. M<sup>c</sup>lairan, his Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Rob. Webster, Drummer.

. . . Moncrieff, Gadger.

John Burt.

Rob. Nuckle, Mason, in Edin<sup>r</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

The Perthshire Horse joined that part of the army which took the road by Aberdeen to Inverness. Gask goes on with his accounts.

1746. Â£ *S. d.*

Feb<sup>y</sup> 6. To a Man & two horses left

7. Bill at Laurencekirk with L<sup>d</sup>  
Lewis Drummond, Brigadier  
Stapelton, &c. . . . 2 11 7  
(the entertainment included

behind at Laurencekirk . . . . .	1
Ane exprefs sent fr <sup>m</sup> L <sup>d</sup> Geo. Murray to L <sup>d</sup> Pitsligo . . . . .	1
2 p <sup>d</sup> Lead . . . . .	6

shrub, and whisky with honey). 8. For forrage to 32 Horses  
of  
Perthshyre Squadron for two  
days at 6d. p<sup>r</sup> Day, by Rec' of  
John M<sup>c</sup>Naughten, Quarter  
Master 1 12

<sup>1</sup> I suppose these last eight joined the Squadron after its  
return from England.

Ditto for y<sup>e</sup> 8th & 9th at O  
Aberdeen

10. Sent M<sup>c</sup>Naughton, feb 3rd.

13. A Lether Cover to y<sup>e</sup> Stand.

14. Mending the Collours  
To 2 Men of Coll. Steuart's, that brought poud<sup>r</sup> & ball to  
Seggit

18. To a Drummer for ye Squadron

19. Guide to Campbell of Cadder February 26. To Roderick  
Rose, son to

the Minister at Loth, for  
the service of Prince  
Charles in Hillness. Rec'  
signed at Forres

28. To expenses depensed by Thos  
Hallyburton on his Patrols  
To 6 Guides from Cullon the way  
for Strathbogie, and to Inner-  
kithni, and to Traclumile, and  
then to General Gordon's, then

to Cullon, night time .,To Inteligence in my way .  
 To Corn for 5 Horses difrent  
 times .

March To staying at Kith and geting  
 3 to 13 Inteligence from Strathbogie  
 and sending each day my re-  
 port to Cullon

15

3

5

Feb. 18. To 2 Expresses from Banff for  
 Corn and Straw to the Maga-  
 zine ... 16

To a Boll oats at Fuchabers for  
 the horses of the Squadron . 9 4

To an Expressto Banff for Intel-  
 igence of the Enemy, at Gar-  
 vock's desire .. 16

To a Guide to Ports Hoy, under

night I March 17. To Beaglie, pay' of ane Acc' for

Guides, &c . . . . 7174 22. To Jo. Simpson for intelligence

ab' Laird of Grant . . 1 31. To L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan p<sup>r</sup> Rec' . 5 April  
 12.<sup>1</sup> Sent by my Son to the Prince a hunder & twenty gin . .126

15. Lent to Annat for Perthshyre

Squad . . . . .11

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<sup>1</sup> On this day news came to Charles that Cumberland was  
 marching against him from Aberdeen.

Next day, twelve thousand men met on a bleak Northern moor; there, in not much over half an hour, to settle the fate of the Three Kingdoms for ever. The Dunnikier manuscript gives a few details, little known, of the battle; for instance, the main cause of the slaughter of the Highlanders was this, that they would not burden themselves with their targets on the night march to surprize the English camp, and were therefore not fully arrayed for the fight on the morrow. The Prince was haunted by the notion that Lord George Murray meant to betray him; so little do men know their best friends. The plan in the Manuscript shows the Perthshire Squadron, seventy in all, posted on the extreme right of the second line, just in the rear of the Atholl Brigade; Lord Ogilvy was next the Perthshire horse on their left, having the Camerons in his front.<sup>1</sup> Gask and his troopers must have beheld the wild onset of the Gael, the murderous fire of the English both in front and flank, the sad sight of Lochiel borne off the field by his two henchmen, and the fiery haste of Lord George to bring up the second line. The Squadron lost its Colonel, Lord Strathallan, the man highest in rank who died on that baleful day; it must have fallen to his brother-in-law, as Lieutenant-Colonel, to bring the Perthshire horse out of action. Many an anxious glance must Gask have given, on seeing the English cavalry creeping round his right flank; indeed, they were in his rear before the fight was over. The Jacobites were fearfully outnumbered, thanks to the folly of their leaders in giving battle before all their men had come up. The Squadron, though both men and horses were most likely worn out by the bootless night march, kept its ranks well in the retreat, and was most useful, in common with the rest of the Lowland horse, in checking Cumberland's pursuit. Amid the bustle of the day, we catch a glimpse of young Laurence Oliphant riding back to the fight, snatching from a comrade's hand the colours so lately mended, and facing the triumphant foe. He had first probably, as Aide-de-Camp, seen the Prince safe out of the fray, and had heard his Master's sorrowful remark, as set down on a scrap of paper by Oliphant's sister:—

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<sup>1</sup> He outlived all the other Jacobite leaders, dying in 1803. His name will often occur in this work.

P. to L. O., the 16th of Aprill, 1746. No help for it. God is all powerfull, who can give us the victory another day.<sup>1</sup>

We next find Gask at Moy, about eight miles to the South of Inverness; and there he left some of his goods. He and his son most likely halted at Ruthven, together with scores of Murrays, Drummonds, Gordons, and Ogilvies, and nearly 3,000 men of the beaten army. Lord George, the best leader of Highlanders, next to Montrose and Dundee, that ever took the field, was still ready to go on with the war; but soon orders came from the Prince that every man must shift for himself. Now arose that bitter wail of sorrow, which long rang in the ears of those who heard it; the host was scattered, some to die by the rope at Carlisle, some to starve in the garrets of Paris, some to find their homesteads burnt and their children in want. Gask and his son fled eastwards into Aberdeenshire, and there, not far from the Dee, they dragged on a wretched life for more than six months, with the gallows, the knife, and the quartering-block ever before their eyes. Unlike most of the other Jacobites, they did not steal back to their own home; Mr. Mcleish would have been a fearful bugbear. I subjoin the following memorial of Gask's lurking-places; it is in his own hand:

“My little Clog-bag at Lady M<sup>c</sup>intoshe's at Moy; my silver-hilted Broad Sword at Borlom M<sup>c</sup>intoshe's at Reats; my other Broad Sword at Alexander Winter's at Bredowny in Clova, which is krooked.

“Deliver'd to M<sup>r</sup> Gordon at Birkhall:—

“A sute of Hyland Cloaths & Phylibeg.

“A coarse nightgown, a Buff colured Weastcoat.

“A brown weastcoat with gold buttons.

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<sup>1</sup> The scrap of paper is thus continued: Some time after, to Kingsburgh: “I have laid it down as a rule not to look back but forward; it is God's Providence what we have mett with, to make us sencible of our faults, who will, when he sees us fitt for it, be on our side.”

Of the D. of Cumb.: “he must be a cruel young man that, to destroy them he looks on as his Father's subjecks.”

“A pair red everlasting britches.

“Two pair Pistolls, a shabble with hart-horn hilt, mounted with silver, a Hatt with the gold tracing that was upon it, a pair Silver buckles; all left with her in a Cloch-bag. And a Mear (light brown) with a bell in her face, which the Lady said she sent to Mr Forbes of Balfor, & that he would not return it to her when sent for, & a Silver watch sett on dimonds sent to Aberdeen to mend.”

Gask, while hiding for his life in the moors near Birkhall, took the name of Mr. Whytt, and his son that of Mr. Brown. Writing under these names, they sent letters to the ladies left behind in Perthshire; and this disguise they kept up for twenty years. A faithful servant from Gask, named David Buchan, followed young Oliphant through all his wanderings. Once, when they were hiding, he heard a marksman in ambush say, “There’s Oliphant!” another answered, “Which?” But before aim was taken, Buchan had slipped a gold piece into the hand of the informer, and the musket was lowered. Buchan used to tell stories of their adventures, such as this,—“We came late one night to an inn. My master always ordered a bottle of wine for the good of the house, but never had more than two glasses of it, and I took none. I went to see if his bed was free of damp, as he was ill. Our landlord was crusty, and said they had no warming-pan. I found another inn, and tried to borrow a warming-pan. I got one at the Manse, and filled it with cinders. If ever my master had a comfortable bed, it was that night.”<sup>1</sup> The new Lord Strathallan had married one of the Gordons of Abergeldie; which may have drawn his kinsman to the banks of Dee. How amazed would the fugitives have been, could they have foreseen that about a hundred years later the Royal descendant of George II. would build a home for herself in the very next parish on the West to the one in which Birkhall

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Baroness Nairne (Oliphant’s daughter), Second Edition, p. 88. Buchan was a Presbyterian, though he had a brother preparing for Episcopal orders. His family had a byword, “Oliphant is King to us.” They cared little for Stuart or Guelf. A Buchan fell on the side of the Oliphants in 1580, fighting against their neighbours the Ruthvens.

stood, and would prize the land of the Gael as much as her forefathers loved Hanover!

Young Laurence was suffering all these months from the disease which never left him for nearly fifty years. Some idea may be formed of his ailments from the statement of his case, which Gask drew up two years later, for the information of a French physician; the old Laird's Latin, as we see, was getting somewhat rusty.

"In mensibus Aug. et Septem. ejusdem anni, (cum maximè premebatur astmate) ambulavit tria aut quatuor millia passuum per montes Scotiae, plurimis diebus, sed non illis quibus affligebatur astmate; morbo affligebatur, semel in mense Junii, 1746, bis in mense Julii, et similiter in Augusto, et pro tribus diebus cujusque hebdomadis mensis Septembris et prioris dimidii Octobris."

The pair seem to have got no nearer to Gask than Glenisla in the Ogilvies' country, where Sir James Kinloch was taken prisoner. A minister in those parts, the counterpart of M<sup>r</sup> Mcleish, used to go out pistol in hand, catch the Jacobite fugitives, and hand them over to the gallows. Johnstone, who tells this, seems to have left Angus before his old comrades, the Oliphants, came thither.<sup>1</sup> The name of one of their fellow-skulkers is preserved, Crichton of Ruthven, from a parish near the Isla.

Forty-three Jacobites in all, some of whom were not of much mark, had been attainted of high treason for having taken up arms on or before the 18th of April, 1746. Among the forty-three names, set out in the Act of Parliament, are those of Lawrence Oliphant the elder, of Gask; Lawrence Oliphant the younger, of Gask; and William Fidler, Clerk in the Exchequer of Scotland, one of the Squadron. Here is a letter from young Oliphant, while still in hiding near Birkhall; it was copied, as it would seem, by his sister Margaret at Gask.

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the Chevalier Johnstone, 245. In an article in the Quarterly Review, LXXI., 211, Scott says of his own knowledge, that the fate of Abelard, inflicted upon this clerical bloodhound, is a fiction of Johnstone's.

July 18, 1746.

We still keep our healths very well; both your letters came safe to hand. I have very little worth writing to you. We have still thoughts of going from this country, so you will not be uneasy, though you should be longer of hearing from us than ordinary; but where ever we go, you shall hear from us as soon as we can. Young M<sup>c</sup>cloud was carried prisoner from Boine in Mar to Strathbogy latly, we have not yet heard for what. Sir Archbold Primrose was taken prisoner last week within four or five miles of Aboin. We heard Glenguile had taken some meal from Crife some time ago; I would wish to know if it were true. M<sup>r</sup> Murray is very well, but at some miles distance. I heard of M<sup>r</sup> Far. being well, John Stuart, H. N. & D<sup>n</sup>. Rob. I would like to know if you keep all the Gardners still, & if Jake, or Peter Crame, be about the house; M<sup>r</sup> White & I joine in wish. My service to Mre Dunc: who, I hear, is with you. We would like to know how honest Anton keeps his health. Com. to Meggy, Neps, Aunty, &c, not forgitting Ochel Jenny.

Sun. July 20.

A party that we were afraid of is gone bake to Mar yesterday, so I hope we will get leave to stay here some days in pace; if you have a little pros, it would be very needful to us. John might have it loose in his poket to throw it away.—Adieu, D<sup>r</sup>.

As to the persons mentioned in the above letter, Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunnipace was hanged at Carlisle five months later. Sir John Wedderburn, who figures so often in Gask's accounts, was hanged at London in November. A list of the victims executed up to the end of this month, drawn up at Gask, shows that by that time twenty-six English, twenty-six Scotch, and two Irish had died by the law. "D<sup>n</sup> Rob." must be Colonel Robertson of Drummachin, whose wife was one of Lady Gask's seven sisters. "M<sup>r</sup> Murray" may stand for Lord Nairne. "John Stuart" is probably one of the very best of all the Jacobite officers, Colonel John Roy Stuart, who as a poet was equally successful, so it is said, in Latin, in Gaelic, and in English. I give one of his compositions, preserved at Gask:—

## JOHN ROY STEUART'S PSALMS.

My Enemies search for my Den,  
 Like Wolves, keen to destroy.  
 Rebuke, O Lord, these wicked men,  
 & save Thy poor John Roy.

In goal their Prisoners got relife  
 Of all things that were mine.  
 I fedd their hungrey, & their dry  
 I oft fill'd sow with wine.

O grant this boon, Lord, if I dare  
 Ask on my bended knee.  
 Make me as many as they are,  
 Or them as few as me.

No favour shown on either side,  
 Fate standing passive by,  
 The arm of flesh the Cause decide  
 Betwixt their Cheiff and I!

It is much to be regretted that none of the Oliphants have left behind them a good account of their adventures at Culloden and afterwards in hiding. Those of the Chevalier Johnstone, in the same parts, should be consulted. We would gladly have exchanged for such an account Gask's long journals of his travels in France. The next paper that I print is in the hand of the man who penned the remonstrance to General Guest.

Auspice Deo Opt. Max. P. F. & S. S<sup>to</sup>.

11th September.

That John has been despatched no sooner, is not owing to any want of concern or diligence in us, but to other reasons, too tedious to be told you at this distance.

Many Consultations I have had with the two friends you name. Difficulties occur in every method proposed; and the danger arises in proportion to the Value of the Cargo, which is next to infinite. But as the case is urgent, some risques must be run. May the God of all wisdom & power direct to that method, which is best and safest.

We have at last prevailed with a Shipmaster to undertake

the service, but without any mention of the Chief person he is to carry. He is a real friend to the Cause, but not a declared one, & is therefore unsuspected by the people in power, which we thought an advantage. The ship was brought into the Dock yesterday to be clean'd, & to have her bottom inspected, that all be right. As a Loading of Coalls is the best for making places of concealment in case of search, he is to load Coalls. He promises to secure a trusty Crew, & to be ready in 14 or 16 days hence, either in Leith road, or Burntisland harbour, as shall be found proper. By that time it will be fitt you be within Call, when the wind shall offer; for the Ship's Company is to know nothing till you be on board and under sail, & even then, is to know no more than is necessary. It is o'er hard to say, which side of Forth you should come to. There are none of the troops quartered on the coast of Fife, nigher than Falkland or Cowpar, & you have some friends there, tho the generality of that narrow Countrey are very Whiggish, & spitefull. On the other hand, Edinburgh is Large, has many hideing places, & tho there are many Sculkers in it, seems not at present to be threatened with a general search. This last seems best contrived for Lurking in; the other affords easyest access to the ship, when the wind offers fair for Holland. So it must be left to you to chuse, & to give us timeous notice which you preferr.

If you resolve to come to the South side of Forth, it is humbly suggested, you might call at Inchbraikie, (about two miles East from Crief) where Captain Peter Graeme (a very honest Man) will send a safe conductor to Kippenross, or some right house near the water. From thence notice may be sent to Sir Hugh Paterson, who has a private boat below Stirling, where you may cross, & Lady Barrowfield has many Concealments in & about her house of Sauchie, where you may be safe till all is ready here. If you chuse the Fife side, it will be fitt we have notice some days before you come, that a trusty friend may meet you in the Moor of Dysart, near Lord Sinclair's Coall work, or where else you shall appoint, to guide you into some place of safety on the Coast.

I must not omitt to tell you, that these two days past it has been whispered about among our friends here, that one Lewis Grant a writer (who I'm told has a good character) has

engaged a ship at Craill to carry of the Prince, & is gone North to fetch him up. If this should take air, it may render any project in this Firth very dangerous.

It is likewise fitt you know, that Comodore Smith, with all or most of his Squadron, have left their station in the Highlands, & are come in, some to this Firth, & others to Orkney, in their way to the Thames; that you may judge whether you could now gett off from the Western Coast with less danger than here.

We sometimes amuse ourselves with a fancy, that a proper disguise, when you are coming down from the Highlands, might be red Crosses on your bonnets, & black Cockades, &c., so as to pass for some of Lord Loudon's officers or souldiers; but of this you can judge best.

Our Shipmaster says, the fewer he carryes (beyond his ordinary crew) is the safer, so that two or at most three, will have a better chance than any greater number. And I need scarce put you in mind, that in case you are provided of another way to gett off, & have no use for the Ship now preparing for you here, you will order a proper acknowledgment to be made to the Master for his expences & trouble, & for the Loss he sustains by refusing another very profitable Voyage, that he might wait an opportunity to serve you. A Dieu.

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I give another letter, to illustrate this troublous time. The handwriting is unknown to me.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you'll do me the justice to believe that I shall never forget true merits, and the good old cause, and that ever since I parted from you my thoughts are constantly employed to find the prudentest method for your escape to safety; in order to that, I never found a Friend without taking their advice, how I might escape myself, so that you was alwise out of sight unless to your Lady and my friend, who, as was conserted, should know all your intentions; and indeed they leave no ston unturned to bring them to the best account. It is proper that you know the different proposals, and what has been

done in each, that you may determine which to go by; in the mean time I am extremely glad that you have recovered the Key of your Padlock, and I make no doubt but you'll preserve it, as it is the Stang of the Lock. Now you have an opportunity of opening it, the truth of many things may be made known and directions given as to the safety of foreigners, which eases me of no small Load of concerne.

It is the opinion of a Gentleman (who has come lately from the South; he is a real friend and knows Men, the country, and foreign correspondence,) that the attempt to get to Sea and danger at it is very great, and that fore some time he would not advise any friend of his to venture it; he thinks it would be much safer to get into Eng. where there are many that have the common interest so much at Heart that they would go great lengths to conceal a Friend; they are not suspected and the Country there is very quiet. If ever there is an intention of you or any friend coming to this side of Forth, I have satled a safe and easy method of passing below S. with the Gentleman, in whose house you was advised a dose of Roman Trycal; but then you must apprize him of it two days before you designe to cross, that he might have the Boatman secured, & he might be sent to guide you to the place; there is in his Neighbourhood a concealment, where you and another, if you got quietly in to it, might be fore some time. I do not think it would be so safe for you to go to your friend's house in the town before you pass the water, as there is probably a partie there. Amongst a damnable sett of People I have a Cusin who is honest, and if you advise him that you was coming, I dare say he would make his house safe for your reception. The greatest danger in all this Country is from the Servants; he has no reason to complain of his, but they are by no means to be trusted, unless the Gentlewoman, who may be depended on. Arrenhall is a safe place, but take care if possible not to pass at the Bridge of Allan, where there is a Cursed fellow. This place is not to be trusted, especially with your Company, there is the danger of a general Search, and informations from Servants and particular searches for others might bring them on you, and if they beset a house, there is no way to escape. I designe, if it please God, to leave it as soon as possible. As for the Sea expedition, we have considered it on all sides; there is none would undertake it

from the West coast, nor from Clyde, where indeed the Sea is foul. The Comadore Smyth with 4 Men of War has some days ago come from that Coast into this firth. I think you & other friends should know of the following Paragraph:— “The French Briganteen we took some time ago with Officers we have now plan’d and put on the same livery with the French, & likewise got the signal; & it is sailing or hovering on the Coasts in hopes to catch the Pretender or some of his principle adherents. We have likewise got an Officer dressed after the manner of the one hang’d at Fort Augustus, to see if he can find any of these People and deceive them in that Name.” If he came in hands, he should get his deserts. From this firth the Gov<sup>t</sup> has the strickest and sharpest Eye on every Shipe that goes out that can be, particularly on those that are suspected, who they oblige not only to give bond for £500, but often swears them that they shall carry off no Rebell or Suspected Person nor any packets from them; then the number and names of the Crew are all wrote on the back of their clearence; altho a Skulker might be named as one of the Crew, yet the softness of the Hand and want of skill in the bussines would easily discover him as it has done severals already, for they are often searched & the Crew examined at their setting out; they are often boarded by the Men of War on this Coast, and when they arrive near Holland the English Ships that are cruising off Ostend visite them strickly, upon the same account; wherefore it is thought much safer to go to Hamburge. We have endeavoured all we could to find a Hamburg or Dutch Ship that would undertake such a thing, but we find they are as scrupulous & feared as any, insomuch that they will hardly receive a letter from this Country. They are worse than our own People whom we know and could trost. The great difficulty was, to find a Man fitt for the undertaking and less suspected by the Gov<sup>t</sup>; it was this that made us detain the Bearer so long. It now lyes at your Companie’s door to determine whether or not they’ll accept. The undertaker is a Man not suspected, and his Ship of leat has passed easily when others are examined; he is honest; as he likes Money, he perhaps goes greater lengths than his Neighbors; there was non of the Cargo mentioned to him except the French officer who had been in the British service, and wanted for every thing but Money, and that if he landed

the Cargo safe in France or Holland, he should be no loser by the fraught, and should be indemnified if he suffered for it afterwards. As he has not been at Sea for some years, it would be suspicious if he went at present; therefore he has choosed a proper Mastr and picked Crew to sail his Ship, who know nothing of the Scheme till once the Cargo is aboard; and even then they, nor the People where you pass, must know the nature of it more than what is said above. This Ship sails well; if he had a good gail of wynd, he would fear nothing after setting out; at present he has her in the Dock to make all tight, so that it will be 14 or 16 days before she is ready to sail; her Cargo is to be Coal with Benaulet Coves to retire to in case of need. He is only promised to be no looser by the fraught, & that he should have a present for his friendship. In such a case there is danger in offering too little as well as too much, which would occasion suspicion where none should be. He is to clear from Leith, and could take you up on the coast of Fyffe. If you incline to this, there are two at the Weemys that may be trusted with you and the Cap<sup>t</sup>; but I foresee great inconveniency in geting there. You must not come near Crieff, and from the breas of Bewhither down so far in Fyffe is a great way; if it should take air before you got off, you are then Landlocked. I am also afraid for your want of dress in the low Country. A Presbyterian Mess John is the best guide and companion on the Road now a days, but they should not have the mark of the beast to be suspected. Return the bearer as soon as possible, that the way may be paved & People prepared. He should have time to return again, as he may be usefull to go before you. My friend was surprized when he heard it whispered that you & Monsieur was thinking to get off from the Coast of Fyffe; we afterwards found it was a Scheme proposed by one Ludovick Grant, who has done service in that way to others. He is reckoned honest, and as he has a Pass he may be usefull. But I am affraid by being blabed it may take Air. I am glad to hear by a Young Lady from Inverness that your friend Kepp. is quite well recovered; he lay & was cured of his wounds within two Miles of Inverness; this you may depend on. The reports the Gov<sup>t</sup> gave out of M<sup>r</sup>. Murray's making great discoveries are false as Hell. I pray God preserve you and Company from the hands of your Enemies.

The Oliphants had both been attainted by Parliament, and their estate was lost. Patrick Oliphant writes home from the East, "Laurence's not registering in form of entail of his paternal inheritance is a piece of negligence none would have expected from a person of his knowledge both in the civil and English laws and constitution." Gask had received some proposal, which did not square with his notions of honour, so as to save his estate. He thus writes on the 2nd of October to his wife, who was likely to lose her jointure; he addresses her by a feigned name:—

MRS. SOPHIA,

After thinking a little about the writing of the Papers, I have come to a fixed resolution of not signing them; if I should be robbed of my all, I'll never give a lie under my Hand. It however does not a little vex me that you & the girls should share in the misfortunes of the Times.

I am

Your most sincere

Well wisher

You'l know the Hand & Seal.

Mr. Brown is vastly better, since we came to our new quarters & I hope we shall be able to keep them for some time.

To M<sup>rs</sup> Sophia Murray.

We now leave Mr. Whytt and Mr. Brown in hiding, and turn to the ladies left behind at Gask. The house was ransacked early in February, 1746, and young Oliphant's wearing apparel was thought fair game for the Government soldiers. The following paper, in the Laird's handwriting, is a note of a more serious loss.

"Collonell York did in the beginning of the year 1746 carry away f<sup>m</sup> Gask a small Japan'd brown Box, with the Coat of Arms on the Lidd, being gules three Crescents argent. In which were contain'd; The Originall Charter of the Land of Gask from K. D. Bruce, dated 1364. The patent of the Lord Oliphant; some papers dated about the year 1500, and my Commission from the Prince to be Livetennant Collonel to

the Perthshyre squadron of Horse.”

Lady Gask and her two daughters were more mildly dealt with than her sister Lady Strathallan, who was mewed up in Edinburgh Castle. Their neighbour, Lady Ruthven, proved herself a kind friend in need; and Lord Monzie, a Scotch Judge, who lived not far off, remembered that he was the grandson of old Sir Laurence Oliphant. It was lucky for the Gask family, that the Colours, taken from the Government troops on Gladsmuir day and sent home were not found. This was owing to Emily Dewar, a faithful servant, who thrust them into the pump when the alarm was given that the soldiers were coming.<sup>1</sup> These trophies were known to be in the house; and Mr. Mclish, the watchful enemy of the family, in vain strove to discover them. One of Gask's brothers, living at Perth, was thrown into prison and kept there for a year, owing to his forwardness in the Jacobite cause. The following letters show that the Government troops were as yet held well in hand; Culloden was still unwon.

Perth, February 17, 1746.

MADAM,

General Huske being informed that an officer who went to your house to search for arms, papers, &c, had taken away some money, Linnens, and severall other things which belonged to you and daughter as ladys, the General desires you send Acc<sup>t</sup> of the particulars that this officer has taken from you, I mean what entyrely belong'd to you as ladys, by this Express. I am

Madam,

Your most Obed. & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

ARCH. MACLACHLAN.

Lady Gask sends her answer on the same day.

S<sup>r</sup>,

Nothing but obedience to General Husk's orders could

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Alexander Laing of Newburgh sent me this fact, handed down by tradition. Emily Dewar's son, Mr. Stewart, died Minister of Newburgh.

prevail upon me to have mention'd these trifles that the officer who came here had taken, & I really doe not know exactly what they were, except two peices of coton cloth; in one of the peices I believe there was ten yeards, much less in the other peice; he demanded ten guinies from me to give the soldiers that were here, which I ingenouslie told him I had not; one of my Daughters gave him a three pound 12 pice she had in her pocket, which was all the money he got; now, Sir, you will alow me to give you the trouble to thank all these good officers that were here, in all our Names, for their great civilitys to us, & General Husk in particular for the Gaurd he was so good as place here. We have injoid a perfect tranquility ever since, & believe me we shall never be ungratefull for the favor which we hope by your intercession his Excelency will be so good as to continue.

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Perth, Feby. 20, 1745.

MADAM,

I am commanded by His Royal Highness to inform myself from you, whether the officer who was sent with a Detachment to Gask, when the Army march'd by, did take the money he is charged with or not; whether he ever returned it, & if he did, at what time it was. Every *Gentleman* in the Army is concerned that any violence is offer'd to the Fair Sex, and it is absolutely contrary to His Royal Highness's intentions.

I am, Madam,  
Your most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

JOSEPH YORKE,  
Aide de Camp to H.R.H. the Duke.

The Express who is order'd by H. R. H. to carry this to you will wait to bring back your answer.

Lady Gask repeats in her answer what she stated before. The unlucky officer, who had allowed her house to be ransacked, was brought before a Court Martial and lost his commission, with the Duke's approbation.<sup>1</sup> The English troops soon marched on to Aberdeen, and were replaced at

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<sup>1</sup> Tales of a Grandfather, chapter 84.

Perth by Hessians.

Perth, March 8th, 1746.

MADAM,

As I have been applied to for a safe Guard for your house and family, if you chuse to have somebody sent for that purpose, it shall be done as soon as possible, tho I venture to pass my word it is not needfull, as the most absolute orders are given & will be punctually obeyed, not in any shape to molest any person who is not found in arms or acting against the Interest of His Majesty.

With the ladies especially I assure you we shall make no warr, and tho' there is nobody who would do more to quash this rebellion than my self, yet I would wish it done if possible without either bloodshed or rapine, to prevent w<sup>h</sup> my utmost efforts shall always be used where it is not against the Interest of His Majesty, under whose Government, notwithstanding all that has happen'd, I dare take upon me to say all who will live quietly may injoy both peace and protection. In w<sup>h</sup>, as far as my small powr can contribute, you shall always find a ready assistant.

I am, Madam,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN STEWART.

Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> for his Majesty to the Hessians.

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Lady Gask however writes again:

SIR,

I was favor'd with yours, where you are so good to say, if I insisted on a gaurd, you would give it, for the Hessians passing, I was resolv'd to take my hasard and not give you any further trouble; but the servant I have sent you this by can tell you how we have been insulted this day by the common soldiers, which is inavoidable, as they goe too and fro, & therefore begs of you to send us a safe gaurd; one that is almost quit usless to you will doe with us.

Lady Gask has left a Memorandum, that "the Dragoons cut down all the Trees of Carnwathy, some they made a booth of, some they burnt, & some they sold to the countrie people,

particularly to John Whytt, bought from them in the year 1746.”

She had a spiteful enemy in Mr. M'clish. He refused to pray for the family in Kirk, rode to Perth to bring upon them the vengeance of the Government officers, and dissuaded the tenants from paying their rents. He was an exception to the rule; for the Presbyterian clergy, as a body, showed much kindness to their beaten enemies in 1746. Gask himself writes of the Minister: “That ingrate man's actings have tryed my patience more than all that has happend me.”

Among the most highly prized autographs at Gask is that of John Earl of Crauford, one of the greatest heroes of the day, who had long before been riddled by the bullets of the Turks, and who had won new honours at Fontenoy. He was now commanding the Government troops at Perth, and writes thus:—

“All Soldiers and others under my Command are hereby strictly forbidden under pain of the severest punishment to molest or do the least harm to the Lady Gask, her Family, House, Furniture, or any thing belonging unto her by marauding or plundering either by stealth or open violence any things belonging to said House under what pretext soever, and that none may pretend Ignorance I have given this order for protecting the said Lady, her house, and effects, under my hand and seal at Perth this Eleventh day of March 174<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>.”

“CRAUFURD.”

There is also a Protection in German from the Commander of the Hessians, soldiers who behaved much better in Scotland than they did in America thirty years later. In April, Lady Gask in vain begged for a pass to go into the North. She was annoyed by the soldiers quartered upon her a few months afterwards, for we thus read:—

MAD<sup>M</sup>

I am very sorry that Gen<sup>l</sup> Hamilton's Serg<sup>t</sup> has given your Ladyship so much trouble; he has now orders to take no manner of thing belonging to you, nor to lay in any bed of y<sup>rs</sup>, but as he can not possibly get any place to put his head in

Convenant to his business, I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will be so good as to give him any outhouse or empty Room for the short time he has to stay; if any thing in his way should give you offence, pray apply to Mr. Nash, who will take care y<sup>t</sup> you receive no offence, for this you will greatly oblige,

Mad<sup>m</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> Ladyship's most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

GEO. NASH.

Perth, Aug. 21, 1746.

Lord Albemarle and General Huske also promised that there should be no further annoyance. These papers, now set forth, show Cumberland's soldiers in a new light. What Mr. Mcleish had been doing, will be gathered from the following paper in Lady Gask's hand. He is an odd contrast to all the succeeding Ministers of the place, who have always been on the best terms with its Lairds.

Sepr 12, 1745. M<sup>r</sup> Mclish sent his servant to the east park next the high road to cut broom for his staks & would not holl it, tho M<sup>r</sup> Chalmers bid him. I met the last load of it going to him, which whenever I did, I made them throw it down, where it still lys. M<sup>r</sup> Mclish said he had other work for his servants than to cut broom for my use; he came next morning & demanded it, but was refus'd. What made me the angrier at him is, his odd way of talking at this time, saying the Gentleman was into a scrap, that he would take his horse himself & goe opposs the rebels.

He never pray'd for this family in the Kirk since the Prince came to Perth.

In the begining of Mar. 1746, M<sup>r</sup> Mclish said to Jon Lawson, that he nor none of the Tennants were in safty to pay their rents or to lay in their bear or meal; that if they did, they might come to pay it again; & this he told John Lawson he heard Calgirston so say; he likewise inform'd Calgirston that I kept an opon rebel about the House, viz., Peter Read, & that M<sup>r</sup> Gardiner, Maneger of the Magazine, threw his means sav'd our corn from being taken so fast in to Perth as they ought to be.

That M<sup>r</sup> Chalmers oblig'd the Tenants of Nether Gask &c,

every one to bring him a load of coals, & thretned them if they did not, & that he would let them know they must obey him; that he & Lau. Ranken oblig'd the barony of Cowgask to lead home their Petts.

Mr Chalmer's fowls are always amongst the new sowed wheat; I sent orders to them to crib them, but it was not done.

Mr Chalmers still continues to sell ale & spirits, notwithstanding of Gask's positive orders in writing to the contrarie.

June, 1746. Upon hearing that Mr McIish had cast Turfs in the Marle Park, I sent Mr Chalmers to him barly to ask wheather it was so or not. His answer to Chalmers was, yes, he had cast Turfs there & he would stand to it . I sent & advis'd with Mr Richardson if I should stop his leading them, it was his opinion to doe nothing in it.

In February last I bid Lau. Duncan & Colin Oliph. finish the Dyke of the little South Park. Mr McIish had built a new corn yeard, the Dyke of which cross'd the road where the stones was to be led out of the quarry; when the masons told him they must make a slap in his corn yeard Dyke, that they might lead out the stones (which were, & still is, lying ready) he refus'd & would not let them touch it, & gave no excus for it, but that they were impertinent to him. I sent & desired he would come & spake to me, which he likewise refused to doe. Mr McIish came to me & told me the masons had spoke very uncivily to Mr M. but that she would perswade him to let a slap be made in the Dyke, which he still persisted to refuse, by which means it is still unbuilt.

Monday. Octob. 6, 1746. Some of Mr McIishe's horses & cows were in the west Park; our gaurd Thom. Hindson hous'd them as he did all others till them that aught them pay'd so much the pice for them. McIish indeed sent four shill<sup>s</sup> for his, but with this mesage along with it, if he had sought ten guinies for them he should have gott it; some hours after the Beasts were out, he asked Thomas, by whos orders he was gaurd here; Thom, said, by B. Mordont's.<sup>1</sup> McIish said, he was sure it was against the law to protect a Rebel Lady or any

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<sup>1</sup> Brigadier Mordaunt, who had fought at Culloden.

thing she had, & was sure the D. of Cumberland would not have done it, but he would goe next day to Perth & represent him. He went some days after, but by what hapend he had got litle satisfaction; for on Wensday, Octob. 22nd, he sent for Thom, the gaurd to goe & speake to him, which he did. M<sup>r</sup> Mc<sup>e</sup>lish told him how odd a thing it was to medle with his beasts, & that Lady Gask had no right to doe it, tho they had been eating in the corns, & demanded his four shill<sup>s</sup> back that he had sent him; & that if he did not give it back, he would goe to the comanding officer in Perth, & from that to Edin. to L<sup>d</sup> Albemarle & complain.

May, 1747.

Laurence Ranken told me M<sup>r</sup> Mc<sup>e</sup>lish was to cast his peats in the Moss of Gask. I sent Lau. Ranken just then to him to know if it was so; he sent for answer, it was, & that he had a right to that Moss none could take from him.

Some days after Lord Monzie came here, his Lordship went to the Manss to speak to M<sup>r</sup> Mc<sup>e</sup>lish about the peats; he gave him much the same answer, but my Lord bid him beware of doing it till he should be surer of his right.<sup>1</sup>

He said to Lord Mon. I had bid the soldier house his cattle that were in the Parks, which I never did.

Told my Lord I had sent the Ground officer a message to him about the peats; this he took as a great afront; he told my Lord likewise that I was abusing the Parks, f<sup>r</sup> that I had sown a park that was but one year ley, that it did not bear the seed, & that he himself saw it had but a stack growing here & thair. This as litle fack as the rest; their never was such a Parck sowen either by me or any I had sett them to.

Then he said I listen'd to all the clatters in the country and belived them, a sign he knows me very ill.

The reason he gave my Lord for telling how ill the Parks were guided, was, that as they were now his Majesties, he did not like to see them abused. My Lord comended his Loyalty, but said their would be proper persons apointed to look into

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Monzie, a Scotch Judge, and a cousin of Gask's, lived not far off.

these things.

June 14. Mr Mclish has cast two days Peats in the Moss of Gask, nine people each day, as also his Turfs there; & has cast peats in the red moss, where none use to be allowed to cast.

Gilbert Walker told me that Mr Mclish was twice att his house, trying to make him confess that he brought Coulers from one of the Battles, & that he certainly knew where they were, all which Gilbert denyd.

Peter Reid in the Miln went to him likewise about the said coulers, & told him he would gett a reward if he would discover where they were.

May, 1753. Patrick Murray, who never counted with the Lady, told on his death bed Mr Mclish forbid him, which was now a great greif to him when he was so near his end.

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Thus fared Lady Gask and her daughters in the year 1746; old cottagers on the estate boast to this day, how their grandfathers, at the risk of the gallows, carried letters between her and the Laird, which were hidden in shirt or shoe. She had an interview with him in October, probably in Glenisla, a few days before he fled from Scotland. The following letter reached her about two months later; the writer had sheltered Gask in his need at Birkhall.

MADAM,

The Bearer, John Glass, tould me you asked him for a Mare I should have of Gask's. When I had the honour off seeing him first, he had a big brown Mare. He desired me either to sett her att liberty in the hills, or send her to any place I thought she could be safe in. Andrew Forbes, Younger, of Balfour, came here two days after I gott that Mare. He took her along with him, and put her into Parks in the Mearns. One Baillie Arbuthnott att Edin<sup>r</sup> proved the Mare to be his. Your Nephew the Master off Strawthallan knew all the story, and seed the threatning Letters I gott about her. My nephew Abergeldie, when he has the Honour of seeing your Ladyship, will Inform you likewise. Andrew Fforbes sent me an account from the time off Culloden to August for keeping the Mare in Parks, which account I have not paid nor do I design to pay,

Because I think it reasonable the Gentleman who has the Nag ought pay that himself. If you please to inform yourself concerning the Mare, you will find all to be Truth I have wrote you. All I have belonging your husband is a Silver Snuff Box, which he oblided me to take as a Memorandum off him. Whenever you please to call for it, I have it ready. No doubt there might have been some small things lost, as I was oblided to Remove them Oft times from place to place. If it pleases God to send Gask to his Native Country, he will do me the justice and honour to acknowledge me one of his friends. His Watch, which I Caused mend, he sent an Express for it two days before he left Glenisla. I seed a Letter from a Gentleman written from Gottenburg, who writes me M<sup>r</sup> White and M<sup>r</sup> Brown is in very good health. I trust in Almighty God you'l have the pleasure off seeing them in Triumph soon, and I am with regard and esteem

Your Ladyship's most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,  
ELIZA GORDON.

Mrs. Gordon's news was true. After having undergone many hardships in the hills for more than half a year, Gask and his son, (Mr. Whytt and Mr. Brown), fled from Scotland, which they were leaving for seventeen years. Their ship bore a truly Perthshire freight of Graemes, Murrays, Drummonds, and Oliphants, men beggars in all but honour, who had staked and lost everything in the late struggle. Gask thus begins the Journal of his wanderings.<sup>1</sup>

1746, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10. We landed in Maisterland, ane Island in Sweden, at three after noon, haveing shipt from Scotland the 5th at five in the evening. . . . We dined in the Castle with Coll. Tungolfelt the Governour, ane old Captain of Charles the 12th, where saw Miss Lyon Anker, of Scots extract. . . . The Toun has a pritty Church, adorn'd with Crucifixes, painted Images of Saints, & other Paintings. The Isle is about five miles from the mainland. . . . On the 13th we came to Bohous. . . . On the 14th, to Gottenburg, being the second Toun in

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<sup>1</sup> I have, in mercy to the public, extracted the best bits only from my great-great-grandfather's Journals. I have been careful to insert the objects of art, seen by him, that perished afterwards in the French Revolution.

Sweden. The Garison is said to consist of fifteen hunder men. The Swedes are in Church from eight to ten in the morning, & goe to the afternoon's service at one. This is over by three in the afternoon, and ther's no more of Sunday either in Toun or Countrey, and the people fall to working, danceing, or any other divertion. . . . All the Gentlemen wear swords or hangers, as doe some Merchants, Physicians, & Surgeons. The Boors are mostly strong tall men, their Cloaths of a dark hodden gray, made much like to the Quaker's coats; they are continually smokeing of Tobacco when at work, & that in the hottest days. . . . The Ladys have their heads & hair much after the British way. When you'r introduced to them, they never salute you by giveing a Kiss, & this is also the practice in Germany. The Countrey Women thresh the grain, work on the Highways (which are extreamly good all over Sweden) and sometimes hold the Plow. . . . The Merchant's wives in Toun, & even those of higher rank, cover the Table, oversee the dressing of Dinner, &c. . . . There's a good deal of Tobacoo planted in Sweden, and there are numberless little Hop gardens; hops grow naturally in the woods.<sup>1</sup> . . . Caperkellies are frequently sold in mercat, and there is a bird called Yerpas, about the size of a partridge, which are kill'd in Oct<sup>r</sup>, sunk under ground with their fethers, which are dug up in Feb<sup>v</sup> & eaten at Stockholm & Gottenburg. . . . The Inhabitants have a particular care of Magpies, as they never suffer to kill any of them. They will not touch a man that has made away with himself, nor any creature that dyes; they ly exposed to the air till the Hangman is sent for to bury them.

There were about forty ships frozen up in the River of Gottenburg, winter 1746. My son & I walk<sup>t</sup> on the Ice and number'd them.

At a Marryage of a Bour, in June 1747, at Landwetter (9 miles from Gottenburg where we drunk goat milk & whey for six weeks), the Bride & her Maids went to the Bridegroom's house, from whence he in his boots with the Parson walk<sup>t</sup> first towards the Church, at some distance followed the

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<sup>1</sup> Gask wanders over Europe like the forerunner of Arthur Young, and abounds in lengthy remarks on trees, crops, tillage, &c, wherever he goes.

Bride's maidens, two & two, about thirty in number, the Bride walk<sup>t</sup> last in the Center of four Fiddlers, playing all along to the Church. The Bride was clad in a black silk gown, borrowed from the Parson's wife. The couple to be joyned were placed together in ane arm chair before the altar, and when the Cerimony begun, four men supported a Canopy of embroyderd silk over the Bride's head, till it was at ane end. They gave their offering & return'd to their chair, (the Min<sup>r</sup> takeing a seat on the left of the altar to vew what was given, as it was to come to his own pocket, tho he had Benefices to abt £40 ster. value). Then all the people concern'd in the wedding made the tour round the altar, which made a quire scene. The Min<sup>r</sup> catechized, and took them all to task in a very pathetick strain, that so few of them had communicate since he had gotte the charge of them. They return'd to the Bridegroom's house, who was obliged to dance in his boots all the evening after.<sup>1</sup>

There's no Hollys, Broom, or Whing in this Countrey. They've hardly any live Hedges that deserve the name of Fences, either here or in Germany, where we passed.

They stand & say Grace before and after meat, but none speaks out, not even a Clergyman when present.

The Swedish money is mostly of copper. . . The Byres and Stables are laid with fir Planks, instead of stone, and they give no litter to their Horses.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 14, 1746. The Earle of Nairne, my Brother in law, his son Mr. Harie; Willy Drummond, Strathallan's Brother; Rob<sup>t</sup> Graeme of Garvoch, my B<sup>r</sup> in law; myself & son, with Mr. Maitland, Clergyman, (who had all crossed the German Ocean together,) lodged in Mr. Baggie's Country House, about a quarter of a mile from Gothenburg, and continued there the 15th, 16th, and 17th.

18th. All of us removed to Madam Kitts's House (except the Clergyman), where we stayed to Dec<sup>r</sup> 18th.

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<sup>1</sup> Gask's host averred, that of old in Sweden the fiddler enjoyed the infamous right which in some other countries was claimed by the feudal Lord of the wedded pair.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 23. We all sett out in Coach from Gottenburg to Stralsound, but my Son fainting away in the Coach & spitting up some blood, we all return'd to Gothenburg that night, & on the 25th my son was let blood, & afterwards went to Prayers.

26. About eight in the morning I went to walk along the Canal, & was taken up by the Guard, & pay'd two Dollars, it being in the time of Divine Service.

1747. January 2. We gave a Ball and Supper at Mad. Kitt's, to 14 Ladys, &c. Mr. Fitz Gerald ane Irish Gentleman haveing had the greatest share in that Project.

5th. The Earle of Nairne, his Son, Nephew, & Garvock, with their Guide sett out for Stralsund, & my Son & I remain'd. Doctor Blackwall, the King of Sweden's first Physician, was sent for, & attended my Son from this day to Feb<sup>y</sup> 6, when he gote twenty Ducats for his Advice and Pains. Dr. Boethius (a Swede) also attended him all the time he was in Sweden.

Feb<sup>y</sup> 18, 19, 20. We play'd at the Courling, on a branch of the River; I had found very good stones with much difficulty, & gote them handed for the purpose.

On the 4th of March, Gask wrote thus to the French Ambassador at Stockholm:—

A son Excellence Le Marquis de Lanmary,  
Ambassadeur de sa Majestie très Chretienne.

SIR,

Being well assured that you wish well to my King, his sons, & the Scots nation, I take the freedom to let your Excellence know, that I was obliged to leave my dear native Countrey in Nov<sup>r</sup> last. The Earle of Nairne & I, with o<sup>r</sup> four Gentlemen, did receive from M<sup>r</sup>. Bagge the several sums which your Excellence was so good to order for us, & gave our re<sup>cts</sup>. [Here follows a description of young Laurence's illness.] My son had contracted this illness by the fatigue of the Expedition to Derby in Eng. when he was one of our Prince's Aid de Camps; as I was attainted by Parliament, & had my Estate of about a thousand pounds ster. p<sup>r</sup> annum seised, and my House plunder'd, & I obliged to leave my Countrey in disguise, Your

Excellence will judge I could bring but little money along, haveing lurked in the hills of Scotland, from the fatall Battle of Colloden, the 16th Ap. 1746, to y<sup>e</sup> end of October. I hope your Excellence will think fitt to allow me what sum you shall judge proper to carry me & my Son to Paris with a Guide. As I find the distance much the same to Rome, I wish to goe there first to see my King, having had the honour to be with him at Perth in the year 1715; but I leave it to your Excellence to determine me in the rout I shall take; you'l be so good to give me a Pass for myself, my son, & a Guide. I shall ever be, &c.

Gottenburg, March 4th, 1747.

As I could not address your Excellence in the French tongue, I thought it better to write in my own than have my Letter translated. The sum I gote from M<sup>r</sup> Bagge was seventy Ducats, & my Son gote sixty. If you honour me with a return, please direct to me thus, To M<sup>r</sup> John Whytt, Mercht, in Gottenburg, to the care of M<sup>r</sup> Bagge.

But things were not to go smooth, for we find Gask thus writing to Lord Nairne, then at Paris:—

MY DEAREST LORD,

I had wrote to the Marquis of Lanmary, asking for money. A part of his answer, of the 26th, which to be sure would have justly cutt me out of my Demand, was that he had been inform'd, I was negotiating with the Eng. Minister at Copenhagen to make my pace with K. George. Who has given this villanous aspersion here, I have not learn'd; but if you have any regard for me, I demand from the Laws of Friendship that your Lo<sup>p</sup> will wait on one or other of the Ministers of State and assure him that I never intended to make terms with the Usurper; which you may depend is Truth upon my Honour. What I want to be done is that the Minister you speak to should write to the Marquis de Lanmary, telling him the falsehood of his advices, (from I suppose some Eng. Vilain here). If he were ordered by that Letter to afford me a sum sufficient to bring us to Paris, it would show him he had been in the wrong to belive what was said about me. My Honour is deeply concern'd, . & its hard to know but there may be a Plott of defameing many others.

I am, My Lord, &c.

Gottenburg, March 31, 1747.

We were very fond of the accounts Garvock gave us of the Duke, & beg you'l offer our most humble and hearty services to his Royal Highness. If my Son were fully strong, I have some thoughts of goeing to Rome to see my Maister, & for my Son's improvement, & desire you'l send me your opinion about it, & if we'l be safe in the different Territory's throw which we have to pass.

Pray offer my most kind Compliments to Sir John Graeme.

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On the same day, Gask wrote thus to the Marquis de Lanmary.

SIR,

I had last night the great Honour of your Excellence's Letter, & was most sensibly touched at your mentioning that I had been using endeavours to be reconciled to the Court of England by the means of their Minister at Copenhagen, a Man whose name I never heard till you wrote him. My enemies might have been satiated when they Forfeited my Life and Estate, without wounding my Honour, which I esteem dearer to me than both the former. I'm vastly vexed that your Eminence should seem to belive the aspersions surmized by the worst of my enemies. After I had inform'd you that I had been in arms for my King two & thirty years since, and that I had lost my all now in his cause, I'm too old now to change sides.

I am, &c.

Gottenburg, March 31, 1747.

The Marquis informs Gask who has been his accuser. "C'est le médecin Blacvel, détenu dans les prisons de cette ville." Gask thereupon wrote a sharp letter to the knave; "my honour has been blasted by your lyes." Blackwell at last made full confession; the Marquis was satisfied, and wrote to Gask to know the latter's opinion of Fitzgerald; which was given in terms of praise. At last Gask got his heart's desire; "my Son and I," he wrote, "wish earnestly to see the Prince after the hardships he has undergone, much severer than any of us all have suffered." The Marquis sent a passport for "Mons. de

Glandive et Mons. son fils, officiers de Marine, accompagnes des nommes Jean et Louis, leur domestiques.” Gask had also a Swedish passport, which remains in his charter-chest.

He thus goes on with his Journal:

1747, May 5th.—My Son & I (& we took Mr Carnegy, Sir James of Pittarow’s brother, along) went to Landwetter, for my Son’s drinking the goat milk.

June 20.—Went back to Gottenburg.

June 30th—Lay at Warberry; saw the Governour, Coll. Thompson; his grandfather was a Scotsman, & he with Charles the 12th in all his Wars.

July 3.—Saw Lund, where there is a large Gothick Church, all of hewen Ston. Here was shown the shirt of the Virgin Mary, of a vast size & very coarse cloath, kept since the times of Popery.

July 9.—We landed at Volgast, in Swedish Pomerania.

July 16.—We were at Berlin . . . We saw the King comeing from his Palace of Charlottenburg with his second Brother (his successor) & the Duke of Brunswick Wolfembottle, when he alighted at a General’s house.

July 24th.—At Potzdam, a pritty little toun .. There were a good many workmen doeing of Marble Statues. Half a mile off, the King has built a new little Palace, inscribed, Sans Soucie, extreamly pritty & regular.

August 4.—At Coburg; there’s a Castle near it mounting 74 cannon.

August 5 & 6.—At Bamberg, the residence of the Bishop, a large City in which are forty Churches, seven Monastries, and three Nunries. Ther’s in the Cathedral about 18 altars. Here is, which we saw, a crucifix of solid gold, five foot high, studded with a vast number of precious stones; a portable altar of solid gold, studded with jewels, about a foot square; a gold Crucifix having a prickle of the Crown of Thorns; two of the Jars, in which the water was turn’d to wine, of Oriental stone; a Manuscript copy of the Evangelists on Vellum (fine character) write in the tenth Century; and two Copys in the twelfth Century, the upper covers curiously studded with a

great number of valueable Jewels; the two Crouns with which the Roman Emperours and Empresses were crowned before Henry II.

The Bishop's Garden has in it eighty Orange trees, one of twenty foot high & three foot in circumference, all growing naturally in the ground, & 240 orange and leamon trees in Potts. There is the Jesuit's College, the Suffragan Bishop's house, & the Hospital.

Aug. 7, 8, & 9. At Nuremberg, a Hans Town in Franconia. . . . The Arsenal has 52 battering Cannon, and 180 Field pieces, all of brass, besides Patireroes. There are arms for about 9000 men, & other utensils for fighting. In the Toun House are four large State Rooms where the Emperour lodges, when in Toun. . . . The Lutheran Clergy wear white Ruffs of camerick round their necks. He that officiates has a white surplice above the black. These Churchmen, that are at the 3 Altars, while singing have vestments of cloath of gold.

August 11. At Anspach; it has a wall and ditch round it, which is the case of most of the Touns in Germany, even the smallest.

August 14. At Carlsruhe; my Son, seated in an arm-chair, was drawn up a Tower by a pully. The old Prince, being infirm, had made this contrivance to get to the top of his house to see the countrey round.

August 15. To Fort Keihel, garison'd by Draughts from the different Princes of Germany.<sup>1</sup>

August 16. At Strasburg; under the French. . . . The Cathedral is a most noble fabrick In a Tobacconist's house, (very civil to us) were seventy presses for his tobacco.

Aug. 22. At Luneville, where Stanislaus King of Poland resides.

Aug. 23rd. Went to the Chapel, where we saw the King pass & repass to his seat; after saw him at Dinner. We did not vew the Palace, as we had two of our number not able to take the fatigue of goeing thro' it.

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<sup>1</sup> The Oliphants had travelled so far in a Berline, holding four persons inside and a servant behind.

Aug. 24. At Bar, said to be built after the plan of Jerusalem; in the Castle K. James the 8th resided in the year . . . Saw his apartment (homely enough).

Aug. 26 & 27. At Rhemes, inclosed by a strong Wall & Fosse. In the walls outside are seen six Pillars of the Arch built by Julius Caesar. The Cathedral is a noble building. The high Altar takes up a third of the Church. In the Treasury a great deal of plate; the Evangills in Greek & Syriack, the covers studded with Jewels, on which the King lays his hand when he takes the Coronation oath. Saw the College of Jesuits; the Church of St. Remigius, where his body is kept embalmed in a silver coffin gilt, having silver statues within of the 12 Peers of France; their statues of white marble are round the tomb without. . . Here is kept the Vial of Holy Oyle used at Coronations. The Library of the Benedictines, where was a manuscript of Phedrus' Fables, write in the ninth Century.

Aug. 29. At Paris, where my Son & I continued sixteen nights; during which time we were in the Louver, . . . the Scots College, & that of the Eng. Benedictins, where K. James the 7th and his daughter lie under a Canopy of black velvet."

Prince Charles was now at St. Ouen, where the Oliphants visited him two days after their arrival in Paris. Another exile was there, old Gordon of Glenbucket, aged 74, who like them had lurked in Aberdeenshire, had landed in Norway a few weeks after their voyage thither, and had been kept by illness for some time in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> Charles was in the midst of his correspondence with the Earl Marischal, whom he in vain asked to undertake the management of his affairs. A few months later, a paper was drawn up by the French government, styled, "Etat des gratifications proposées pour les Ecossois." Le Lord Nairne heads the list and gets 2400 livres. Then come three Highland chiefs; then Glenbucket; then Jean Townlé, Maxwell de Kirconnel the writer, and Oliphant de Gask, senior, who each have 1200 livres. Gask, junior, has 1000 livres. Thirty others are set down for still less. Young Oliphant must have been in high favour, since he

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<sup>1</sup> See his curious letter in Brown's History of the Highlands, vol. IV., 17.

gets as much as one man who had held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and another who had served as “Maréchal des Logis General en Ecosse.”<sup>1</sup> A regiment was raised, of which Lochiel was Colonel and Cluny Lieutenant Colonel. Gask has left a list of the officers; nearly one-third of them were Camerons. John Edgar, nephew to the Secretary at Rome, was a Captain. The list ends with—

“Alexander Campble, Chyrurgeon for the Body.

“Mr. John Maitland, Chyrurgeon for the Soule.”

We are always too apt to fix our eyes on the leaders, and to take little heed of the hardships undergone by the common herd. The men whom I am about to mention had little chance of figuring on the pension list of King Louis, or as officers in Lochiel’s regiment. Gask did his best for his old troopers in their banishment, and wrote as follows a few months after this date.

Copy Note sent ab<sup>t</sup> Thomas Moncrieff, sent to W<sup>m</sup> Murray to be deliver’d M<sup>r</sup> Kelly.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 20th, 1748.

Thomas Moncreiff, who had been ane officer of Excise at Perth, was the only one, I think, of the kind that gave his assistance to the Lord Strathallan, and was usefull, when his Lo<sup>p</sup> was at Perth, winter 1745. It’s very like he collected the excise of that Toun & gave it to Glenbucket, for there was none due for six weeks after L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan came there. M<sup>r</sup> Moncreif did joyne the Perthshyre Squadron upon the Retreat, & continued with it till after Coloden. My Son says he took the Standard from one of the Squadron whom he mett, as he was going back to the field of Battle, & thinks it was from M<sup>r</sup> Moncreiff but cannot be positive. I have not the least doubt of his beeing in much need of a proper subsistence. Written & signed at Nerac, Sept<sup>r</sup> 20th, 1748.

But for this letter, we should hardly have known that the Oliphants fought at Culloden. Their unseasonable modesty is most provoking to a biographer, and it was still deeper ingrained in their better known descendant, the Poetess. A

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<sup>1</sup> Brown’s History of the Highlands, IV., 22,

year later, Gask thus wrote to Lord Lismore:—

MY LORD,

The bearer of this, M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Gall, was in Scotland ane Aid de Camp to the Vicecount of Strathallan, and rode as a Voluntire in the Perthshyre Squadron of Horse. He came to France in Nov<sup>r</sup> last, & has not yet gote any gratuity from that Croun; he is desineing to leave this Kingdom soon to try to doe for himself, maintaining his wife & four children, without giveing any trouble to the Ministry of France for his subsistance, and therefore hopes that the gratification desined him will be augmented, as he desires it only for once to pay his Debts since comeing to France, & to carry him out of it. We believe your Lo<sup>p</sup> can be usefull to him in this respect, and it will oblige us if you are so good to exert yourself in his behalf. We are with the utmost sincerity,

My Lord,

Your Lo<sup>p</sup>'s

Most obedient & most humble servants,

Villeneuve St. George

Aug. 27, 1749.

And now the Oliphants were to try what the greatest of all exiles had long before felt; how bitterly salt tastes the bread of a foreign host, how toilsome a path it is to tramp up and down the stairs of a foreign patron. But Dante avows that what most weighed on his shoulders was the company of the scoundrels who were in the same plight as himself. The Oliphants had no cause of complaint on this score; their brethren in banishment were such men as the Earl Marischal and Lord Nairne, Lord George Murray and Lochiel. The last-named hero made himself useful to our exiles. On one occasion, in 1747, he wrote to them to come to the Prince on some business of Garvoch's, adding on the back of the letter, like a true son of Scotland, "I have pay'd the bearer, so don't give him a farthing." Lochiel's death a year later touched Gask most sensibly, as the latter avows. The Prince took a kindly interest in the Oliphants. On the 29th of October, 1747, Mr. Whytt writes to his wife, Mrs. Murray; "I was with Brown's Captain on Monday last, and he gives his consent that he should go to Montpelier, that his health may be

confirmed, before he shall have use for him at sea. You are very good to allow that Brown and I write as often as most of our crew. Young Inchbrakie was very lucky in not being in Bergen op Zom, where so many of our countrymen were lost in the Dutch service.<sup>1</sup> . . . We shall not fail to take care that Brown be kept warm with a good bed and fires wherever he travels; as his mother earnestly desires that should be minded.”

Lady Gask cheered her exiles every now and then by sending them a score of guineas or so, which she had contrived to pick up from the tenants of the forfeited estate, in spite of the watchful eyes of the Government Factor, Campbell of Barcaldine. She wished to come over to France; but her husband wrote, “French and English privateers are much on the catch, and show no civility even to ladies; and French and German hussars very little regard even passes from their own generals.”

I return once more to Gask’s Journal. 1747. Sept<sup>r</sup> 7. Went to St. Oyne, waited on the Prince, & dined with his R. Highness; were there also on Oct<sup>r</sup> 9th & 26th, & on Nov<sup>r</sup> 11th.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 16th. Left Paris & came to Marly for my Son’s health. He used to ride dayly thro’ the fine Walks cut in the Forrest for Hunting. We were several times vewing the great Machine upon the Seine, for raising water for the water-works.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 9. Went to lodge at St. Germain en Lay, where went thro’ all the Castle, & were in the apartment of K. James the 7th, & his Son, & the Queen’s.

24. Took leave of the Prince at St. Oyne. 26. Left Paris after Dinner, and sett out on our journey for Avignon. We had on our right a rising Slope with 40 or 50 windmills in vew.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 5. At Lyon, in comeing to which we saw a Roman Aqueduct; four arches were pritty intire. We saw the Church of the Cordeliers of Bonaventure, & the Hotel Dieu, where are upwards of 1,000 sick & 130 Sisters attending them; the

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<sup>1</sup> Two battalions of the Scotch troops, according to Smollett, fought on until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The French then took the town from the Dutch.

Druggs were made up by a Doctrix & other woomen under her.

6. At Vienne, where is a large Room, turn'd to a Church, which was formerly the place of Judgement, where Pontius Pilate decided causes. It's ane antique Building; the carved Ston next under the roof on the outside, and the corner pillars are pritty intire.

11. At Avignon, after crossing two Branches of the Rhone in boats. In mounting the slope from the River, the Horse run back & the Chaise was overturned in the River, which spoil'd our Cloathes. My Son had desired to sitt in the Chaise when we crossed. This Town is subject to the Pope. To go round it is ane hour to a minute of hard walking. There is a Company of Archers here; their Bows are of Elm, which they get from Lyon; their Butts are a third longer than ordinair; they raise the arrow in shooting. There is a large Hall in the Palace, where the Swiss keep guard, and a statue of Pope Clement the XI, sitting on a round Pedestill. The Church of the Celestines is a pritty little Fabrick; here in a vault is the Tomb of Père de Luxemburg, who is said to have done many Miracles; one of the Monks was weeding his garden with the help of Specticles. The Jewish Synagoge is a large square room about 20 foot high. There are about a hunder Familys of Jews, all confin'd to one part of the Town.

December 30.—The severe frost begun & continued till January 6th, 1748; people cross'd y<sup>e</sup> branch of y<sup>e</sup> river above bridge on y<sup>e</sup> ice.

Our acquaintances at Avignon were, the Earl of Dunbar, & the Countess of Inverness his sister, Sir John Graeme of Newton, M<sup>r</sup> Lockhart y<sup>r</sup> of Carnwath, & M<sup>r</sup> Lisle of Hampshire.

Of these acquaintances, the first two must have been old Perthshire friends. The titular Earl of Dunbar, brother to Lord Stormont and to the great Earl of Mansfield, had been King James's Minister eight years before this time. The titular Countess of Inverness was wife of Colonel John Hay, Lord Kinnoull's brother, who made a figure in 1715 and afterwards became King James's Minister. Sir John Graeme was a Jacobite agent, who was sometimes hard driven

between his allegiance to King James and his devotion to Prince Charles; the Royal House was often divided against itself.<sup>1</sup>

The Oliphants had no lack of friends abroad. Wherever they went, they seem to have been greeted with open arms by Irish priests, English recusants, and French noblemen. Many a letter is preserved at Gask from these kind entertainers, who acknowledge the lesson they have received from the cheerful steadfastness shown by the Oliphants under the trials of poverty.<sup>2</sup> But the most hospitable fireside of all was that of the Scots College at Paris; thither every Scottish exile, whatever might be his creed, turned as to an assured haven of rest. Gask, somewhat of an antiquarian, seems to have been an especial favourite with the good Fathers.

The year 1748 begins with a letter from him to his wife on the 1st of January; he touches thus upon the late death of her aged mother, Lady Nairne, Lord Mar's pattern heroine in 1715: "You'r not to lament it, as she is happy, free of the solicitous cares of this worthless world, & I believe now knows the events that are to happen to our countrey & what regards it, which I pray God may be, and they will be, suitable to his Infinite Goodness. . . I need not tell your La<sup>p</sup> again that Brown expects a hunder pounds, to be remitted here to me by bills from Mr. Cutts at Edin<sup>r</sup> upon M<sup>r</sup> Waters Jun<sup>r</sup>, Banquier at Paris. . . (Mr. Whytt now gives the following news of the Prince.) Ned has taken so much amiss the conduct of his Broy<sup>r</sup>, that he never speaks of him, though he most affectionately loved him before, does not suffer his health to be drunk, receives no letters from him, & declares, as it's certainly true, that he has (I will never say desinedly) proved his greatest enemy."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Many of Sir J. Graeme's letters are printed in Brown's History of the Highlands. Junius is never tired of upbraiding Lord Mansfield with Lord Dunbar's high post among the Jacobites.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these letters are directed, "A Milord Gasque d'Oliphant."

<sup>3</sup> A few months earlier, the brother had taken orders and

Mr. Brown now takes up the pen, and gives some advice as to the ladies' coming through Germany. "Remember us to our good old acquaintance y<sup>e</sup> Mermaid, also to Honest Anton & Capt. Peter Inc., and to G—d & his family, as they were very kind to me. Ochel Jeny came to see me there. Meggy should bring a right copy of Allan Ramsy's Songs along with her. I hope Jeany has not forgott her playing upon y<sup>e</sup> Flute. . . If you have time, you should read some German books, you'l find nothing so disagreeable as y<sup>e</sup> want of y<sup>e</sup> language, I've scarcely gott a word of it yet. . I fancy cultivating a little Garden will be one of your Ladyship's amusements in this country. Adieu, D<sup>r</sup> Madam. J. B."

In another letter Brown writes, "We have had a bowl of punch to the wives and the lasses every Saturday night regularly. Since I do not drink, I make it and fill it for them; Mr. Whytt was once made to dance a minuet after it."

News came from Perthshire about this time, that Gask's daughter "Meggy" had been sought in marriage by a neighbour, Captain Peter Graeme of Inchbraikie, who was an officer of the Scotch Brigade in the Dutch service, "a seminary of Jacobitism," as it is called in one of the younger Oliphant's letters, written long afterwards. Gask, mindful of Montrose and the year 1644, pronounces his future son-in-law to be "a hawk of a right nest." He adds; "I don't wonder that Ladys are shey in making engagments with men of the sword, as Europe stands at present." The wedding took place in June, 1748. Gask writes at the time: "My funds of subsisting I doubt will soon turn low; but rather than be in the least a burden on my Prince, I'll choose to half starve." It was now that he drew up the Latin account of his son's state of health. Prescriptions for young Oliphant were also sent by another exile at Rouen, Sir Steuart Threipland, who had been bred to medicine, and who was now invited by his old Perthshire friends to join them in the South of France. They must have held him in high honour, since he it was who had tended the Prince, Lochiel, and Cluny, in one of their lurking-places. Charles's bonnet, given by him to Sir Steuart, is still kept at Gask.

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become Cardinal York. The Jacobites looked upon this as a worse blow than Culloden.

The Journal goes on:

April 5, 1748. We travelled from Avignon to Lisle; the Cathedral is very well. We had then three miles of good ground, then 1½ mile very bad (vastly stony and gravelly) to the little village of Vaucluse; several of the houses have the half of their walls of the natural craig. Then we went to the head of the river Sorgue. It falls in cascades for 720 foot, after which it runs more in a levell. It will be about the breadth of Earn at the West bridge, and is deep. Mr. Lisle says that the old Castle on the rock is where Petrarc resided, and that the house of Belle Laure, (a famous Beauty, on whom he wrote his poems) was opposite to it; that they communicated their Poems with speaking trumpets; that Petrarc courted her 25 years without success. He wrote in Italian, and I saw a translation in French, An. 1555.

April 25. On St. Mark's day was a Procession in w<sup>h</sup> the Clergy of the different orders, & in their several habits, walk'd thro' the streets; the Pope's Legate walking in the Rear, preceded by his Swiss guards, the Consuls and Magistrates of the Toun. There were sixteen Crosses carryed, by one at the head of each different division of the Religious Orders.

There was a bank raised by Cardinal Cybo in 1686, two miles south of the Toun, more than three miles in length, to keep out the Durance in Speats.

Round Avignon they tread out (thresh) the Corn with Horses, five or six cuple of them led after other in a circle. The Plows have but one stilt & are so light that the Plowman (who both tills & drives his horses) may carry it home on his shoulder; they do not till above three inches deep.

April 27. Left Avignon; set out with two Mules at 10 Livres p<sup>r</sup> day in Provence, and 8 in Languedoc; crossed the Durance in two branches, which if put together would be near as large as Tay.

28. At Aix, a pritty Toun & not small. Saw the 4 large rooms of the Parliament House.

29. At St. Maximin; the Quire of the Church is very pritty. M. Magdalen's head inclosed in Christal; the Busto richly sett with Jewels, & a small effigies of Charles 2nd. D. of Anjou &

Compte of Provence kneeling before her, done in gold enamelled, with precious stones set round his Crown; a part of her body in a case of Porphery, placed above the high Altar.

From Nancie we rode upon Asses with pack saddles, halters, and stirups of ropes, for half ane hour. We got to the Convent of St. Beaum, consisting only of five Clergy. Here is the penitential Cave of Mary Magdalene, where she continued for thirty three years.

April 30. Returned again to St. Maximin.

May 2. At Toulon. Saw the place for keeping the Galy Slaves, with the iron locks on one of their ancles.

3. We came to Hyères, giving the vew of large Gardens of Orange trees, growing naturally in the ground. They had been much damaged by the last winter's severity.

5. At Marseile. The Church of St Victor is a good Church, where was his Effigies, adorn'd with many precious stones, one of which from Margaret, Queen of Scots, was sett above his forehead. Here was shoven the Tomb of the Christian women that cut off their noses, &c. to free them from the amorous attacques of the Moors, that had overrun that place. We went aboard a galley; there were many slaves there, as also in their Boxes along the shore, where they were working at different handycrafts. We were in a silk weaver's, where we saw a fine wrought Brocad Coat for the King of France.

May 7. At Arles; saw many ston coffins of Pagans & Christians lying about the Church & in the fields. Saw the Amphitheater; the whole is very strong work.

May 8 & 9. At Nismes. (Gask here prints in capital letters many Roman inscriptions.)

10. At Montpelier. Saw the Barracks, where Spanish troops were quarter'd; and the old House, where the Kings of Majorca resided when this Province was their property.

17. Went back to Pont de Gard. The New bridge (tho' it's very pritty) spoils much the appearance & grandeur of the old work.

22. At Narbonne. Before the Altar of the Cathedral lyes Philip the Hardy, K. of France, cutt in white marble, and

statues in miniature all round the Pedestill. We were in Mr La Font's house, where lookt at a great many Roman Coyns.

26. At Toulouse, a large Toun, said to be next in bulk to Paris, all of Brick. In the church of the Cordeliers saw the largest Organ in France. Went down to the Vault, where were about a hunder Bodys of Men & Women standing erect round the walls, some of them said to have been there for five hunder years. Amongst them is the Body of a famous Beauty in her time, La Belle Paule, a Mistress of Raymond Count of Toulouse, and ane other of ane Abby who had been stabb'd. They bury these bodies two or three days, then take them up to the top of the steeple for ten days, to dry with Sun & wind, & then place them in this vault.

29th. We dined in the Irish Seminary with Mr. Dinneen & Mr. O'Hay, the two Principal Masters.

31. At Agen; cross'd the river in a boat, and were afterwards overturn'd, & went along the worst Road ever (I belive) travel'd with a Post Chease; we quit it when dangerous, & the Chease was thrice afterwards overturned, (once so that the top of it was undermost).

June 1. At Nerac.

24. They were shearing the Wheat. Corn mills grind on Sundays, & the people doe several works, but no work is done on Holy days.

July 14. The Eclipse of the Sun was begun at Nerac half ane hour after nine, & was not over at a quarter after twelve.

28. The Eclipse of the Moon was at the greatest about half ane hour after eleven.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 19. The Montaniers of the Pyrenees come oft down to the Mercats, wearing broad blue bonnets. More people lame of their Legs in this place than any where I have been; I belive one of thirty are so. The Commune Women mostly very ugly, & a vast many old People.

October 7. The Pace was sined at Aix-la-Chapelle. We eat at home at 3 Liv's p<sup>r</sup> day, both for dinner, supper, breakfast, wine, & candles.

9. Saw a baptism. The whole office in Latin, the Priest

speaking so fast that it was not easie to know in what language he spoke. The God fathers were poor boys about 14 years old; who made the responses in Latin.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 5. Saw M<sup>r</sup> Le Caze's son (the Father a Huguenot) christen'd in the same way; but the Parson pulled down one of the ends of a belt from his neck & laid the tassels of it on the boy's face for some time, & then went off laughing.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 29. We left Nerac and came to Condom. One of the bridges on the way was so broke doun that we behoved to get timber to make it passable.

31. At Auch the Capital of Gascony.

1749.—Jan. 1. Got to Gimont, three leagues, called mortal ones (as they have all proved from Condom).

Jan. 2. At Toulouse; we took lodgings in the Toun House. You see a pritty Hall, roof'd above like the Parliament House at Edin<sup>r</sup>, where the Capituls sitt when giveing Judgement. Our lodgeing is chez M<sup>r</sup> Bonneau, Capitaine de la Compagnie du Guet.

20. Saw the Cathedral; most of the windows are done with baik't Glass.

Feb. 2. Was in the Church of the Cordeliers; in the middle of the Quire there is a Statue of a Count of Toulouse, lying flat on a Pedestill.

13. The Capituls marched thro' the Streets on horseback, at Proclaiming the Peace, the Toun Guard firing dropping shots as they walk'd along.

14. Witness'd the singing Te Deum in the Cathedral; the Capituls, the Members of Parliament in their scarlet gowns, the Archbishop last of all in his Pontificals, with a train of Livrey Men in green.

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On the 22nd of February, Gask wrote thus to Sir John Graeme at Dijon:—

DR. SIR,

I had yours of Feb. 7th, and am fully convinced that your advice is just & ought to be followed. But my going to dun &

solicite for subsistance is quite cross to my complexion. If we have done nothing worth being consider'd or thought of, we should not be provided for; and if it's belived we were of any service to our Master's cause, I'll hope something may be done for us; but I'll be reduced very low before I use Importunitys. As to my Son's going into the French Army, I cannot bring myself to agree to it, & shall leave that point for my Wife to determine when she comes over, as I expect her this spring. I hear Pensions are desined by the Court of France for those of the Prince's followers who have not been provided for; I hope to be included in the number. My Son, your nephew, offers his hearty compliments, & I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Your affect Cousin

& most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>, &c.

We have had different accounts of what happend lately to our Prince, & if it is not a Secret, I could wish to know the true reason that made him continue at Paris till he was forced out of the French Territory.

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April 7. We had accounts from Paris that the Prince was married in Poland to the Daughter of Prince Radzevill.

19. Were in the Church of the Jacobines. We went up seven steps near the Altar to ane Arch, where is the Tomb of Thomas Aquinas. It is a silver shrine with a Pedestil of marble about five foot high.

22. Saw the Prizes distributed by the First President of Parliament to the persons that had made the best discourses on the several subjects, given them the year before.

23. Saw a large Foul called the Assifrago, begote by a Sea Eagle, and brought from Africa.

27. This morning a Guard of the Regular Troups was placed in Toulouse; said to be contrary to its Priviledges.

May 3. Saw the Electrical Machine.

5. Was in the Church of the Inquisition, a very poor one.

6. Saw a Procession which is Aniversary for the Deliverance of Toulouse from the Hugonetts. The Pilgrims

walked first of both sexes, with long staves in their hands, then the different orders of Religious in Toun. Then were carried the Reliques, twenty-six in number; being Bustos of their heads, or chests containing their Bodies, all of silver; four Porters carried each Relique on their shoulders; and all of them had pritty Canopies over them, which made a fine appearance. Then the Host carried by several Cannons, under a Canopy carried by the Capituls in their Robes. Then the Archbishop, preceded by six Gentlemen Ushers. Then march'd twenty of the Parliament in their Scarlet Robes, with their Trains born up by their pages. There were a great many lighted Torches & candles on each side. They came to the Toun House, march'd round the Court two & two, and went out again.

On the day he saw this Procession at Toulouse, Gask thus wrote to Mr. Edgar, his Master's Secretary at Rome. The Tenth and last Lord Oliphant had died at Islington a year before this time; another Oliphant was voting at elections for Scotch Peers, a man whom Gask looked upon as an usurper.<sup>1</sup>

SIR,

I was favoured with yours of September 8th, in which you inform me that you did me the honor of presenting mine to the King. I do most cordially, and without reserve, submit to whatever is his Majesty's pleasure concerning me, and am fully sensible of the great honor his Majesty does me in the unmerited expressions of his kindness. I would not, in my illegally attainted state, have troubled his Majesty on the subject, had I not thought it my duty to do my part in keeping the titles of an old family from being taken up by usurpers, to whom I have ever had an ..... utter aversion I desire you'll make an offer of my most dutiful and most obedient services, and of my son's, to his Majesty. .... As I am wholly ignorant of the manner in which I should have addressed my Great Master, I hope the King's goodness will excuse all my faults. I give you hearty thanks for the kindness you have already

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<sup>1</sup> All the heirs male of the Third Lord Oliphant were now extinct; Gask, being heir male of the Third Lord's younger brother, had thus become the rightful Eleventh Lord Oliphant.

done me, and ever am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

LAU. OLIPHANT.

My wife wrote me lately. She had got an extract of the Resignation, which shall be sent if his Majesty thinks fit to call for it.<sup>1</sup>

May 11. Went up the Canal of Languedoc to Castel Naudary. We had about 30 passengers went the whole length.

15. Return'd to Toulouse. It is a large city, & took me 34 minutes to walk its length from Port to Port; there are many Religious Houses with their Gardens that take up part of the extent of the Town, & I numbered more than thirty Steeples, some of them very pritty. I had the use of the first Volume of the Records of the Toun. It is written mostly in Latin & Saxon character upon vellum (some of it in French & the ordinair hand) & begins at the year 1281. It gives the names of the Capitouls that were elected every year, and their faces & habits painted on the Parchment. It relates the most memorable events, as Pestilence, Famine, Battles, &c.

19. We parted from Toulouse.

20. At Agen.

21. A little after passing St. Macaire, our Chease was overturn'd, with little harm to us or it.

22. At Bordeaux. Saw the Amphitheater, called Galien's Palace. . . The length on the outside is  $346\frac{1}{3}$  feet, and the length within the arches is  $76\frac{1}{2}$  feet; the Bricks are perfectly entire, tho' many of the stones are blasted, & the whole building is much ruin'd. Looked at the Place Royale, with Lewis the 15th his statue in the middle, which they say by twice casting & bringing from Paris cost fifty thousand pounds sterling.

30. At Poitiers; vewed the Amphitheater.

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<sup>1</sup> Brown's History of the Highlands, IV., 58. The Resignation was given to Gask's father by the Eighth Lord.

31. Were in the Irish Jesuit's College & supped with the Father, & two others we had seen at Rheims. They have 14 Boys pensioners, half Irish and half French.

June 2. At Blois, a Toun about the size of Aberdeen.

3. We enter'd the Park of Chambord, drove thro' it to where Marishal Saxe's Regiment (of Horse) were encamped. The House is of a most singular make, hardly to be described. It is judged the finest Gothick building in France.<sup>1</sup> At Clery is the statue of Lewis XI. of white marble in a kneeling posture facing the High Altar. The statue is well done, & he has a Mantle about him on which are cutt many fleur de Lis.

4 & 5. At Orleans. Saw the Toun House. Here in a Vault saw the statue of Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans, of Mettall, in a kneeling posture, with her hands stretch't out, the palms of her hands joyning each other; we also saw in the same place the statue of Charles the 7th of France in the same posture.

6th. To Estampes, which is larger than Falkirk, and lyes in a glen. Saw a hewen pillar further on, which seem'd to be Roman. Then to Essone, and thro' the Forrest of Snare.

7th. To Villeneuve St. George, where arrived at the Earle of Nairne's hyred House about eleven before noon:—It lyes on the Seine. There is a house in which the Dauphin of France, son of Lewis the 14th lived 22 years. Saw 35 large boats in the river, loaded with coals for Paris, which must ly perhaps for several months before they are allowed to goe down, & had come 300 miles down the Seine; when they sell the coals at Paris, they also sell the boats for lathing of Houses, &c.

July 6. Rode through the walks in the Forest of Snarre, which is said to be seven Leagues in length; there are many walks cut in it for Hunting.

10. Went to Brie; y<sup>e</sup> Scots College have land near it in their possession since R. Bruce.

26. Went down the Seine in a Coche d'eau to Paris with Lord Nairne; it took 2½ hours.

27. Took a Remise coach & dined with the Earl of Lismore

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<sup>1</sup> Gask was born in præ-architectural days.

and the Archbishop of Cambrai (the Duke of Orlean's son).

28. Returned to Villeneuve St George.

August 8. Were in the Forrest of Snarre, where two Red Deer were killed. The King & Prince Charles of Lorrain present. My son saw the first deer pass near him, & was at the killing the second, in the little river.

10. Lord Nairne, my Son, & I gote hyred Hunters from Paris, rode up to the Forrest of Snarre about twelve, saw the King, the Dauphin & Dauphiness, the eldest Mademoiselle (married to Don Philip of Spain) and other three Madams of France, come up in coaches. The King, Dauphin, & his Madames took horses, & the rest of the Ladys hunting coaches; there were many Persons of Distinction, both rideing and in coaches. We had a fine occasion of seeing all the Royal Family, as they stop't a good time before they knew where to follow the game. L<sup>d</sup> Nairne & I followed the Chace for some hours, but my Son kept in with it till a Hart was killed; and in the returning, after leaveing the Forrest, he gote a fall from his Horse, which gave such a concussion in his head, that he appear'd almost Dead. He happened to give a Cry in the fall, which made the King turn about & order care to be taken of him, & the Infanta & Madames gave spirits to be poured on his head & breast. We had gone doun to Monseron, where the King, &c, were to take coach, & heard Him tell some of the Dukes that were waiting him there, that a Stranger Gentleman had gote a fall, & order his Surgeon to goe & attend him. My Lord & I immediatly took horse and gallop'd up to the place where he was lying, & the King's Surgeon being there, he let him blood in the arm plentifully. One of the King's coaches was waiting to carry him from the place, but my Post Chease comeing up, I gote him into it & carryed him to Villeneuve St. George. He had not recover'd his senses all the time, so much as to know me, was carried up to his room & put to Bed. He recover'd his senses next morning & was blooded in the foot. The King sent his Surgeon three times to wait on him, (who found no fracture or bruse in his head) and the Madames sent a Page twice to ask about him. About eight days after, his head was quite free of pain and confusion.

The King hunted in the said Forrest, and a Hart that took the Seine was brought out by the horns & killed, about a bow draught from our windows.

15. We gote a part of the Deer & eat it; it tasted very well, but stronger than the Scots venison. They doe not eat them, but give them to the Dogs for their Supper.

21. The King was abroad (round Choisy) shooting of Hairs, Phesants, & Partridges. He shoots mostly from his Horse, & shoots very well.

September 9. L<sup>d</sup> Nairne, I, & my Son went down the Seine in a Water coach to Paris, and stay'd there to the 17th, in which time we visited the Marchioness Mezier, Sister to General Ogelthorp. Dined with Lord & Lady Ogilvy. Sup'd twice with Sir James Hamilton, Provost Cutts, & M<sup>r</sup> Smyth, and had them once dineing with us. Dined with Abbé Markham, & sup'd with Balhaldie. Went to Versailles, taking M<sup>r</sup> John Hay along; saw a number of the Quality of both sexes. My Lord got a letter from M<sup>me</sup> Mezier to Marishal Richelieu.

Sep<sup>tr</sup> 19. The E. of Nairne & my Son were introduced to the King by Marishal the Duke of Richelieu to thank his Majesty for his great goodness to my Son when he gote the Fall from his Horse in the Forrest of Snarre. Sir John Sullivan dined with us that day.

Sep. 23. Return'd by water to Villeneuve St. George.

30. On this day, being Saturday, my Wife and second Daughter Janet arrived at Villeneuve St George before noon. They had left their own house of Gask, July 13th; stay'd at Edinburgh to Aug. 1st, when they sett out for London; stopt at Lincoln four nights with M<sup>rs</sup> Murray, & gote to London the 15th August, from which they sett out the 23rd of Sept<sup>r</sup>, & were at Paris the 29th. They had nothing remarkeable in their Journey, but that crossing the Humber at night about seven, the Boatmen went off in their Yoal, leaveing the two Ladys alone to the care of two Boys, who did not bring them to land at Barton till ten. And in crossing from Dover to Calais, the Wind being high and contrary, they were forced to take a Yoal & landed five miles from Calais, which they were obliged to walk that night, thro' sands & several little burns, which they

waded thro'; they had been all wett with the sea water they got in the Yoal. They came here with Lord Strathallan.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 29. At Monseron, seeing a Farmer General's house & gardens.

Acquaintances here; Abbys M<sup>c</sup>donald, Fairely, O'Reilly.

1750.

January 3. We sett out from Villeneuve St. George to Paris, my Wife & Daughter in our Post chease, & the rest of us on horseback. We took a Loging chez M<sup>l</sup>e Rosine, Rue Vaugirard, where we pay'd for four rooms & a kitchen, a hunder & twenty Livres the first month & 110 p<sup>r</sup> month after. The Luxemburg Gardens are near us; we pay'd once six sous for sitting on three Chairs.

24. Dined in the Scots College, & afterward in March took Copys with my own hand of Eight original Charters in their custody; also of 17 Charters from the Chartulary of Glasgow in their possession; & of 15 other Charters which they had copyed & bound in a book with many others, but they could not fall upon the Originals.<sup>1</sup> The first of these Charters is granted by David the First, & there is one Charter at least that I copyed of every King of Scotland to James the Second; particularly the copy I took of that Charter by Robert the 2nd (from the Original) in the year 1364, that demonstrates Elizabeth More to have been his first Wife. I also took a copy from an Original Instrument, by which Edward the 3rd of England gives up for ever all right of Superiority he pretended to have over the Kingdom of Scotland.

The same day my Wife, Son, and Dat<sup>r</sup> were in the English Convent of Nuns near y<sup>e</sup> Scots College.

Feb. 4. My Wife, Son, & Daughter were at the Italian Comedy.

14. Were at the Hospital of Invalids; saw a vast Caldron for boyling two oxen at a time; were told there were 4,300 officers & soldiers there at that time.

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<sup>1</sup> These copies were consulted by the Editor of the *Registrum Glasguense*, three generations later. See his Preface. (Maitland Club.)

25. We were in the Eng. Convent of Nuns near the Bastile, and in the Enfants Trouvés, where it's said 1500 children have been laid down in one night.

March 18. Went to St. Dennis, saw the Tombs of the Kings & Queens, & Lewis the 14th under a canopy of black velvet, lying in state, & candles always burning round the canopy. We saw many different Crouns kept there.

20. Were in the Church of St. Eustace, & saw the Monument of the famous Mons<sup>r</sup> Colbert, a Scotsman.

28. We left Paris, after staying there near three months, & came to Versailles, where we had hyred a House of five rooms & a kitchen, but were obliged to buy furniture for it. We paid 240 Livres per Ann.

April 7. Went to the Managerie, saw a Dromodery, Tigers, Lyons, a dead Crockadile, and the same kind of Foul we saw at Toulouse. Saw military exercises performed before the King, Marishals Saxe & Lowendale, & most of the Marishalls of France.

17. Saw the Ambassador of Venice make his public entry; the State coaches & horses belonged to the King of France.

28. My Wife, Son, and Daughter were at the Queen's concert.

May 7. Saw all the Waterworks play. My Wife & Daughter werehurred in two Rulets, by four Swiss, from Pond to Pond; there were 21 Rulets.

10. My Wife went to Paris in her way to Scotland.

24. We saw the Musqueteers revew'd by the King. The Duke of La Trimouille, thirteen year old, march'd on foot in the last rank of the Second Brigade, with other three young Lords. . . I number'd the two Brigades, and they made about five hunder officers & soldiers."

Lady Gask, a good woman of business, had now gone home; Mr. Andrew Drummond was most helpful to her in London, and she found Campbell of Barcaldine very much her friend; the new Manse at Gask was now begun. Her husband was well entertained by his neighbours of the Scots College; they sent him the first news of the Gratifications

given by the French Court; and they helped him in hiring servants. About this time Gask drew up the following statement. After tracing his wife's descent from the Murrays, Stanleys, and La Tremouilles, as already quoted, he goes on:—

“Laurence Oliphante of Gask, Madam Oliphante's Husband, was in arms for King James the 8th in the year 1715, and his Father being alive, his Estate was then preserv'd from the Government. When Prince Charles Edward landed in Scotland in 1745, Gask and his only Son joyned him at Perth; the Father was made Livetenant Collonell of the Regiment of Perthshyre Horse, (consisting mostly of Gentlemen) and his Son was a Captain in the said Regiment and one of the Prince's Aide de Camps. When the Prince march'd into England, the Father was named Governor of the Toun of Perth, where he raised contributions, and pay'd for three months the Recruits that arrived from time to time from the Mountains, which at last increased to be about twenty-five hunder Hylanders, who were sent from Perth and joyned the Prince before the Battle of Falkirk.

After the fatal Battle of Colloden the 16th of April, 1746, the Father and Son were obliged to Lurck in the Hills to the 5th of Nov<sup>r</sup>, when they took ship and landed in Sweden. The fatigue & cold Mr Oliphante Jun<sup>r</sup> contracted in goeing to Derby with the Prince, & dureing his lurking in the mountains, gave him a severe Astma & universal waikness, which continueing while he was in Sweden for eight months, & dureing his travelling by Land thro Germany to Paris, he was advised to goe to the south of France, and the Father and Son arrived at Avignon in the middle of Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1747; from which place they sett out the Aprile after, & were at Aix, Hieres, Toulon, Marsails, Arles, Nismes, Montpellier, Narbone, Toulouse, & Nerac; from which they returned thro Gascony, by Auch, to Toulouse, where they stayed the winter 1748. They left it in May 1749, went to Bordeaux, from which they came by Poitiers, Blois, & Orleans to Villeneuve St. George in June. Madam Oliphante & her daughter came to France in Sept<sup>r</sup>, & they have been together for three months last past in Paris, & came to Versailles the beginning of Aprile, to reside for some months.

This detail of Gask and his Son's journeys is told with the desire of shewing the charges they behoved necessarily to lay out, which was occasioned by the Son's indisposition. They had betwixt them a Gratification from the King of France in the year 1747 of 3900 Livers, and a second two years after of only 2200 Livers. This was besides the money they got from the Marquis Lanmary to bring them from Sweden to Paris.

Mr. Oliphant of Gask, by his joyning his Prince, is rob'd of ane Estate of about a Thousand pound sterling of Land rent, and of the undoubted Right he has to be Lord Oliphant, a Peer of Scotland. From what was due of rents of his Estate, before his Attaindar, together with the two Gratifications from the Croun of France, he has been able hitherto to subsist, but as he has little or no prospect of getting any more money out of his Estate, now possessed by the goverment of England, he would hope that he might find the interest to procure a yearly Pension for him from the Court, on which he and his Family might live comfortably while they remain in Exile.

M<sup>r</sup> Oliphante Jun<sup>r</sup> was the stranger whom the King of France saw fall from his horse in the Forest of Snare August last, and his Majesty had the exceeding goodness & humanity to order his Surgeon to attend him, which by the blessing of God saved the young man's life."

Gask thus goes on with his Journal.

Aug. 31.—George Stirling (son to M<sup>r</sup> Stirling late Surgeon in Perth) dyed at Paris, and was buried in the Swedish buryal place there.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 8.—King Stanislaus of Poland came to Versailles to visit the Queen his Daughter and his grandchildren; he left it the 23rd.

Nov<sup>r</sup>. 17.—This night my Wife came to us at Versailles from Scotland; M<sup>r</sup> Graeme of Garvoch attended her from Boulogne.

19th.—Maurice, Count of Saxe, Duc of Courland & Semigalle, Marishall General of the Armies of France, Knight of the Orders of Poland & Saxe, (not of France, being Protestant) dyed at his Castle of Chambord in the fifty-fourth

year of his age.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 22.—Saw 40 persons brakeing Ice.

1751.

January 24.—I saw the King, Dauphin, & five Madams, drive in sledges upon the snow. There were seventeen sledges.

Feb. 5.—My Son, Garvock, & I went down the long Canal on the ice.

27.—The Earle of Nairne, his Lady, & Daughter, came to live at Versailles.

March 28.—Being Holy Thursday, we went to the Castle, where the King washed the feet of 13 young boys, & each of them had 13 dishes of meat, served up by the Princes of the blood. In the afternoon the Queen washed the feet of 13 Girles.

April 18.—Saw the Queen at the Church of St. Lewis on the last day of her stations for obtaining the Benefite at the Jubilie.

20.—Lord Albemarle notefied P. Frederick's death, & the King wore Purple 15 days for it.

April 20.—When in the Gallery of the Castle, we saw a man aged 102, straight & walking as stoutly as any of us; he had gote 17 wounds in the wars, haveing served under Marishall Turren; his name was Constant, and we were told he continued to eat as heartyly to dinner & supper as a Man of forty, and that he eat a great deal of greens & sallad.

24.— My Son had for the first time from M<sup>r</sup> Butler two Horses and a Groom of the King's to ride out on for his health.

May 9.—Went in two Coaches and a Chease, being ten of us, to Marley; we saw the King & Royal family at supper. He happen'd to sneze twice, when most of all the Company at table stood up. They then played at Lansconet. There were about 150 Ladys and Gentlemen of the first rank, richly dressed.

26.—We went in coach to the Field of Mars & saw the

Review of the Musketeers. There were a vast many on horseback, of which my Son was one, who rode one of the King's horses, and one of his grooms attending him.

29.—My Son had a Letter from my Brother from Edin<sup>r</sup>, in which he writes that he had advice from one at Aleppo giving account that my Bro<sup>y</sup>r D<sup>r</sup> Patrick Oliphant dyed at Bagdad (100 leagues North West of Bassora) Dec. 20, 1750. My said Brother Patrick went to the East Indies a Surgeon to one of the Company's ships, and sailed from London the end of the year 1729."

Patrick, while abroad, had unlearned the family politics. There is a letter from him, written from Bassora a month before Culloden, in which he bewails "this unnatural rebellion," as likely to cause the downfall of his house. His eldest brother was most jealous of its titles being held by impostors; one such had come forward since the death of the Tenth and last Lord Oliphant in 1748. Gask had laid his claims before his King at Rome; the following answer came back:—

Albano, June 8th, 1751.

S<sup>R</sup>,

I have received the letter you are pleased to write to me of the 3rd May, & have done myself the honor to lay it before The King. In return to which H.M. Commands me to tell you That as he does full justice to your & your Family's merit & sufferings, & has a particular value & esteem for yourself, it would be a pleasure to him to enter into what you propose, & do what would be agreeable to you, in relation to the Tittle you claim of Lord Oliphant. H.M. does not doubt from what you say on that head but that you may have a good right to that Tittle, But still as that may happen to be disputeable, if H.M. were to acknowledge you as Lord Oliphant, it could not be but in conformity to the Laws & Customs of our Country, *Salvo Jure cujuslibet*, & if contraverted, a Parliament only could determine in that matter. H.M. however, under this restriction, will not oppose, if you should have a great mind for it, your assuming the Tittle of Lord Oliphant. But H.M. thinks the present not a proper time for anybody to assume Tittles of Honor, and Therefore he is of opinion it would be

proper to delay doing it, unless you have strong motives to the contrary, & such as may tend to your real advantage. You will see by this how much H.M. is inclined to favor you, & in writing it to you he directs me to make you a kind compliment in his name.

As to the Priority of Resignation of the Honors you have in your custody, it is a strong evidence in your behalf, but I do not see it can be of any use to you at present, for I do not find that there has ever been any such a Resignation made in H.M.'s hands, or in those of the King his Father's since the Revolution, and without a president one would not know how to go about an affair of that kind. Besides that, all Resignations before the Revolution must by Law have been made in the Resigner's lifetime, for the Act of Parliament, (& a good one it is) for Resignations being made after the Resigner's death was, I think, in the Prince of Orange's time, and until that Act be confirmed by lawful authority, which no doubt it will be, H.M. cannot receive such a Resignation.

I beg, Sir, you would be well assured of the pleasure it will be always to me to be able to be useful to you, & to contribute to what may be to your satisfaction. The fullness & plainness of this letter will, I hope, show to you, & I shall profit of all occasions where I can show you that I am with a true & sincere respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble servant,

JAMES EDGAR.

Gask took the hint, and for many years said no more about his undoubted right to be the Eleventh Lord Oliphant. He goes on with his Journal:—

Aug. 8. Sir John Graeme came & told he was Rom. Cath.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 5. N.S. Lord Nairne, my Son, & I went to Paris to visite the Earle Marishall of Scotland, who came the Thursday preceding to Versailles, as Plenipotentiary from the King of Prussia. We dined in the Scots College, visited Sir John Graeme & Sir John Sullivan, & returned.

9. My Son & Daughter went to the Ball Masque in the Castle, and were there from twelve to five in the morning.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 19. On St. Andrew's day Lord Nairne, my Son, and I went to Court with our St. Andrew's Crosses, & were taken notice of by the Prince of Condé & other great folks; & several asked us about that Order.

26. My Son & I went to Lord Nairne's & pay'd our compliments to the Earle Marishall of Scotland, who had dined there.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 8. L<sup>d</sup> Nairne, my Son, & I went to the Castle, were at the King's Levey, & saw him dress.

19. My Son & M<sup>r</sup> Ha. Nairne went to the Gallery & saw the Fireworks from thence, on account of the birth of the Duke of Burgundy. There was a Temple of Felicity, with two wings & Colonades. The Fireworks were play'd off from the middle & left wing of the Temple; the right wing was not fired, it was said by a Trick the French Ingeniers play'd to the Italian performers. The charge of this Firework was said to be a Million & 500 thousand Livres. That morning L<sup>d</sup> Nairne and I pay'd a visite to Earle Marishal in his Lodgeings at Versailles.

1752.

March 10. This day L<sup>d</sup> Nairne flitted to a house in Montreuil, half ane hour's walking from our house in Versailles.

May 21. M<sup>r</sup> Innes, Principal to Scots College, died; M<sup>r</sup> Waters, Banker, died. We saw the Procession of the Faite de Dieu. My Wife & I went round all the Tapistry that was hung about the Courts of the Castle. At the Procession two Lambs were led by two boys, & other two boys were drest in Lamb's skins, representing John the Baptist.

July 29. We had a full vew of Madam Pompedure, comeing doun the Stair from her Apartment in the Castle, & goeing into her Coach. My Son saw his Majesty meet the Dauphiness, to whom the King called to run off ane other way, not to meet the Queen & Madams, least they should be infected with the small pox by Her, who was always attending the Dauphin.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 19. NS. Lord Nairne's Family & mine went to the Castle & saw the publick Entrey of Prince Kaunitz, Ambassadour of the Emp<sup>r</sup> of Germany. Six running footmen

& two Blacks went before. The eight horses in each of the two gilt Coaches had their Mains all dressed with white fethers. We saw in the evening King Stanislaus looking over the windows to see the goeing off of the Ambassadour.

N. B. Sept<sup>r</sup> 3rd, Old Stile, was made to be the 14th, New Stile, in Britain, & I date by New Stile after.

Octr 6. My Wife, Son, & Daughter sett out in the Stage Coach for Bologne; my Wife & Daughter being to goe for Britain, & my Son to make a Tour throw Flanders, and to Cleves.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 5.—Was in the Cartusians, where M<sup>r</sup> Riddoch show'd five Statues of Saints, Crosses, and reliques of silver, that belonged to the See of Glasgow, & the Writs of Foundation of the Scots College in Paris.

6.—Was in the Place Royal and saw it, & the Statue of Lewis the 13th. Its a large Square with Cloysters all round. Opposite to it is a Religious House, on the place where Henry the 2nd was killed by Montgomery.

11.—Went with Mr. Riddoch & Mr. Gordon, Principal of the Scots College, to St. Denis in coach; saw all the Rarities; there were about 25 Crouns of different Kings and Dauphins.

15.—I pay'd a visite to the Earle Marishall of Scotland, & dined with Sir John Graeme.”

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In the mean time, young Oliphant had gone with his mother and sister to Boulogne, where they were received by Lord and Lady Strathallan. On the 15th of October, Lady Gask and her daughter sailed for Dover. She was soon back among her Perthshire friends, whose names she hides under various disguises, when writing to her husband in France; thus their son-in-law Inchbrakie becomes “Black Pat,” like his forefather a hundred years earlier; the Laird of Condie is always styled “Simon;” Graeme of Garvoch is “Glaud.” Barcaldine, the Government Factor, said that he had got positive instructions not to let any lands to the friends of the forfeited families, or to persons who refused the oaths. Lady Gask, however, had a plan in her head for getting back the estate, which had been lost to its owner for many years; she

found every one complaining of the scarcity of money.

Meanwhile, Gask did not stir far from his Monastic friends. He had long before refused to employ his influence with the Earl Marischal in favour of a young Oliphant, who wanted a Spanish commission; and the old Laird now writes to Carmichael of Beaglie, another petitioner, for a recommendation.

SIR,

After I received yours of Apr. 27, my Son wrote to l'Abbé Gordon of the Scots College about your sons, and my Lord Nairne spoke to him on the same subject. His answer to my Son was, that no person's recommendation would go farther than mine, but that it was not in his power, as all the places in the College were at present full, and that there were two named about a year ago to succeed to the first Vacancies. As to my representing your situation to the King, I hope you will excuse me, since I have never inform'd him of my own. You may believe I would do all I can to serve you, but I have it not in my power. I shall only add my thoughts as to your Sons, which is, that you try to get them put to masters that would learn them some calling, by which they might be able to do for themselves. By putting them in any of these Colleges for their Education, they behoved to change their Religion, which I think would be a real injury done them, and when they came out would be as little in a way of subsisting them.

I am, &c.

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Young Laurence Oliphant was now making a tour through Holland and Zealand with Lord and Lady Strathallan; in his letters he calls the former "dear Brother Nut." They staid a fortnight at Emmerich with their cousin Lord George Murray. Oliphant puts into his Journal much about the equipment of the French Musketeers, the Court mourning, and the ceremonies he saw in the Churches; but he unluckily has handed down little about the intercourse he had with Lord George, except on one topic. That blunt veteran must have hailed with delight his two young comrades, and he doubtless fought their three battles with them over again. Much had befallen him since he bought the bolls of meal

from Gask in 1745.

But these Jacobite officers soon lighted upon a softer theme. Lord George had a daughter who had been married to a man forty years older than herself, that Master of Sinclair who has left such biting memoirs of the rising in 1715. She was now a widow, and Oliphant had marked her for his own. Had he sped well in his wooing, this would have made the fourth generation of his house in succession that had sought a bride from the Murrays; his great-grandfather Patrick had wedded one of them less than a hundred years before. Young Laurence thus writes to his expectant mother from Emmerich:—

“We arriv’d here in very good health the 2nd before dinner; continued to have fine weather and a most agreeable tower y<sup>e</sup> whole way; found this family all at home and in good health; and were received with a great deal of kind-heartedness & politeness. I can give you no further information yet, I’ll see what ten or twelve days may produce, & write you accordingly.

The young lady, for what I’ve seen of her hitherto, is very much to my mind; not a buety, but very well; seems extremely well natur’d & well bred, & as hansom a straping person as one could wish for. This may make you suspect a denial will prove troublesome to me, but you need not be uneasy, for I have taken my party & will stick to it; which is, that as on this step depends y<sup>e</sup> happiness or mizery of life, so we may expect it is an event we will be guided in, if we ask it, and after using moderate endeavours, if it’s refused, may be fully convinc’d y<sup>e</sup> denial is for our good, therefor not to be grudged for one moment, but on y<sup>e</sup> contrary to be look’d upon as a happyness; & this I expect you’ll see I have firmness enough to stand literaly to. After I wrote you last, we went from Rotterdam to y<sup>e</sup> Hague, where we stay’d a night; next day to Leyden, where we saw what was curious, and then came to Amsterdam all night, saw y<sup>e</sup> Stadt-house, harbour, synagogue, &c, next forenoon, & went up y<sup>e</sup> Rhine in a scout to Utright; after dinner from that to Arnhim we took a Coach, & next day another to this place. I was oblig’d to draw a bill upon you, as I write from Rotterdam, & in y<sup>e</sup> way M<sup>r</sup> Hay desired me. Many Compliments to all friends; adieu, D<sup>r</sup>

Madam.

JO. BROWN.

Saturday, y<sup>e</sup> 4th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1752.

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Three days later, the lover writes to Paris (his parents are still called Papa and Mamma), and says that even should matters go wrong, he has not the least fear of being lovesick. But a week later still he writes:—

DR. P.

Two or three days ago I spoke to My Lady St. Clair, told I had been long her constant Lover, &c.; she answer'd me very coldly & desired I would never speak to her more on that subject. I found she shunn'd ever after being with me alone; I therefor desired Lady Strath, to speak more fully to her, which she did, & was answer'd that she had no thoughts of marrying just now, she was entirely her owen Mistress & had whereon to live, &c.; that she had given me a flat denial all at once, as she never liked to keep her Lovers in suspense; this conversation pass'd betwixt them night before last; & yesterday as we were out walking, I took an opportunity to speak to L<sup>d</sup> George before L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan; I told him I had long had an affection for Lady St. Clair, that I did myself y<sup>e</sup> honour to mention it to her some days ago, & thought it my duty to acquaint his Lo<sup>p</sup> that I had done so. He said, Lady St. Clair was altogether at her owen disposal, that she had refused very good offers, that in my situation he should think I had better not marry unless I got a fortune, that he had a great regard for me, but that Lady St. Clair by taking sutch a step would in a manner banish herself her country, & y<sup>e</sup> being with her friends, which he believ'd, were Lady George & he to use all their rethorick, she would never be brought to consent to. This is y<sup>e</sup> most material of what pass'd; she had told her Father and Mother of my speaking to her, so that Lord George was prepair'd, but L<sup>d</sup> Strath. & I both thought it right to put y<sup>e</sup> Thorn in his foot

What has happend give me not y<sup>e</sup> smallest uneasyness; on y<sup>e</sup> contrary, I feel a satisfaction in having mad out what I allways inclined, i. e., the knowing her inclinations before I

should look about else where. We are very civel to one another; as to any thing more, I'm as easy & indifferent as if I had never had any attachment, & fully convinced that what happens is for y<sup>e</sup> best. . . . This is but a poor place on y<sup>e</sup> bank of y<sup>e</sup> Rhine; L<sup>d</sup> George has a house of his owen & a pritty large garden; we are lodged in y<sup>e</sup> house.

I ever am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

most affectionatly yours

LAU. OLIPHANT.

Emmerick, Novem<sup>r</sup> 15th, 1752.

Gask writes to his son from Paris on November 23:

D<sup>R</sup> SON,

. . . It was a desine that, if it had succeeded, I did not doubt would have made you happie, but as it has not failed on your part, I trust in my God that better things are still reserved for you; I'm vastly fond that the disappointment has made no impression. . . . After your staying some days at Bologne with the good Family to which you have been so much obliged, I expect you here. I spoke to M<sup>r</sup> Gordon ab<sup>t</sup> getting you a room in the College, but he fears his Superiours will not consent to it, & if that's the case, I doe not think it will sute your health to eat there & have to goe home after night. L<sup>d</sup> Nairne & his Family came to Toun last night; I have a vew of your eating and lodgeing in the House with him, but shall speak nothing of it till you arrive. If you cannot be gote right placed here, we shall return to our own House where we'll get Christen for our Cook, our last Maid haveing misbehaved, as Duval found in her custody (at L<sup>d</sup> Nairne's) one of your finest Shirts. . . .

A Monsieur Oliphant de Gask chez My Lord Strathallan chez M<sup>r</sup> Tricot à Boulogne sur mer.

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The next letter is from young Oliphant, who refers to a legacy, said to have been left by Patrick Oliphant; news far too good to be true.

December 4, Boulogne,  
1752.

D<sup>R</sup> P.

We arriv'd here yesterday afternoon, all in very good health. . . . As you say my Mother writes she has hopes of geting y<sup>e</sup> estate bought, it will make it a very easy matter, if what I heard last night be true, that Uncle Peter has left you eighteen thousand pound ster., but I'm much affraid it has increas'd on y<sup>e</sup> road. It was from Willy Ogilvie, Sr John's brother, an officer in L<sup>d</sup> Ogilvie's, who left Scotland about a month ago; he says every body was talking of it, some call'd it more, some less; that at Newcastle he saw y<sup>e</sup> surgen who was so kind to my Mother, he told him y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mony was lodged in some jesuite priest's hand, who wanted to know how it should be remitted so as y<sup>e</sup> Government might not tutch it; that there was a small part of it for Uncle James & y<sup>e</sup> rest for you. . . . We set out from Emerick y<sup>e</sup> 16th of November; L<sup>d</sup> George came with us to Cleaves two leagues, where we din'd & stay'd all night. L<sup>d</sup> G. treated us here & went home again, & we came to Nimegen all night; we intended to go down y<sup>e</sup> river from it to Rotterdam, but the acomodation was so bad aboard y<sup>e</sup> scout that we resolved to go by land, & got a Coach & six to carry us to Utricht. . . . We pass'd through Gouda or Tergoues; y<sup>e</sup> windowes of y<sup>e</sup> church are very prittely done with painted glass and quite entire. . . . We met with a great deal of civility at Rotterdam from John Forbes of Alford, & he gave us the Scots Factory's yaught, which carry'd us over to Mourdik.

At Brussels we went to y<sup>e</sup> Comedy to see Prince Charles, a sturdy well natur'd like man.<sup>1</sup> . . . At Lille we stayd St. Andrew's day, & were invited to dinner by so many of y<sup>e</sup> officers of L<sup>d</sup> Ogilvie's Regiment, L<sup>d</sup> Dundee, Peter Greeme, M<sup>r</sup> Fulerton, Chrichton of Riven our fellow skulker, John Menzies y<sup>e</sup> paymaster, M<sup>r</sup> Abernethy, & y<sup>e</sup> Minister, who all desired me to make you many compliments. . . My Lady Strathallan makes a most excellent traveler, & though four months gone with child was always y<sup>e</sup> first ready in y<sup>e</sup> morning. I hear Carnoussy has got 1,200 livres of retreat, so I think that project is at an end likway; y<sup>e</sup> regiment is so much divided into different partys that there would be little pleasure among them. I have kept my health perfectly well

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<sup>1</sup> The brother-in-law of Maria Theresa.

coming back, & my Aunt & every body I meet tells me I'm a good deal plumper than when I set out, & am very glad I have made out this jaunt; y<sup>e</sup> expence is all I grudge, which y<sup>e</sup> coming back by land has made greater than we expected. . . . I am very glad to hear Mama is safe arriv'd; she has had, I fear, a sad sick time of it at sea. When I come up, I shall be disposed of any way you think properest, but if it were not inconvenient, should like for y<sup>e</sup> sake of learning y<sup>e</sup> language to be boarded in a French house. All friends here offer you many Compliments, please offer my Dutys to L<sup>d</sup> N. &c, remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Gordon & Ridoch. I ever am most dutyfully, D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>,

your most affect Son & most obed.

LAU. OLIPHANT.

Lord Strathallan writes of him, "Laurie is better than ever I saw him since y<sup>e</sup> 45." The party at Boulogne in vain begged Gask to join them and pass the winter there. Laurence writes on the 30th of December, "Tomorrow twelve or fourteen Scots are to dine at one Gordon's, who keeps a coffy house, to drink a health to our Prince & all his friends."

All this time Lady Gask and her daughter Janet were in Scotland. The former writes to Gask about the purchase of his forfeited estate, from Edinburgh, Nov<sup>r</sup> 14, 1752.

DEAR SIR,

On the first of Nov<sup>r</sup>, Jeny & I went on board a Leith ship & ariv'd safe on the 12th; we kept out all the voyage much better than expectation. I have spoke to severall of M<sup>r</sup> Whytt's Freinds since I came, about the purchase of her goods; all of them here agrees that it is much better the Friends should join & make the purchase themselves than have any thing to doe with money from England, as they make so much work about their security; it is beliv'd the sale will come on this winter, & it shall be my Business to have all in readiness for it Ardshell's natural Brother was hang'd last week for the murder of Gleneur, which is making a great noise here, as he

denied the fact to the last, but he was a leading man in that countrie.<sup>1</sup>

I am mighty glad to hear you are in good health & your son, I pray God continue it. As for money matters, I shall doe all in my power to gett some remited to you, but I find stocks here very low att present, every body complaining for want of it, & no such thing as getting it to borow. I could not gett one Frend in London to lend me as much as to bring me by land; only the last night I was their, my Nephews,<sup>2</sup> as I wrote you, offer'd me a few guinies out of their small stock, which I would not accept of, not knowing when I could gett it to pay them back, & by what I can learn since my coming here, their is little to be expected at home, which I own puts me to a nonepluce, as Brown wrote me from Rotterdam he would be oblig'd to draw upon me for fifteen p<sup>d</sup>. Pray make my kinde compliments to all freinds, & I ever am, my dear Sir,

your most affect.

SO. MURRAY

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Lady Gask had good news to send abroad in her next letter, which was written at Inchbrakie, December 20th, 1752.

DEAR SIR,

I hope long before this comes to your hand that M<sup>r</sup> Drum, has remited you fifty p<sup>d</sup> ster., which I shall pay him as soon as possibly I can, tho I never saw monie so ill to be gott, & the work M<sup>r</sup> Whytt is about leads her into a good deal of expence, as without nothing is to be done. Thursday last, M<sup>r</sup> Campbell of Monzie, Orchill, & Condie were here, & they with M<sup>r</sup> Graeme have resolv'd to purchass M<sup>r</sup> Whytt's Estate, (if it does not run to an extravagant price) & are to borow monie out of the bank or where it can be easiest gott at the time; & to pay themselves back, they purposs to sell what lays on the Pow and the Barrony that joins Monzie, both which they

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<sup>1</sup> This foul judicial murder may be read in Arnott's "Criminal Trials," p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Robert and Henry Drummond, Bankers in London, and brothers of Lord Strathallan.

think will sell at a high price considering they are situated near rich Lairds who want to purchase them. They are in hopes that what is gott for them will near pay all the debts. This they think the only schem that can preserve the Family & seems by far the wisest. I want to have your opinion of it. The 22nd of Jan<sup>ry</sup> is fixed for the day that they all are to be in Edin. to have a contract drawn binding themselves to pay the sum & to concert every thing about it . . . . . There are people here, and even those in the Government, who thinks that their might be a pardon gott for M<sup>r</sup> Brown without great dificulty; all his Friends here wishes much for it, & I want only yours & his consent to sett about it while I am in this countrie. . . . . It gives me the highest satisfaction that he is pleas'd after the disapointment he mett with. Our good God orders all for the best. I have time to add no more at present, the servant being just going off to Creiff with the letters; all here are well; adieu.

S. MURRAY.

This letter reveals the plan adopted by kind neighbours for buying back the forfeited estate of Gask; the most important crisis in the history of that estate since 1625, perhaps since 1310 or thereabouts, when King Robert bestowed Gasknes on his trusty Sir William Olifaunt. I subjoin the contrivances suggested by some shrewd Edinburgh lawyer.

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The Principle matters that seem most conducive to the Ends and Views of the family.

The Estate being to be sold in a publick & open manner pursuant to the Act, that it should be esteem'd as low in value as possible. The less that is bid before the Barons, the more easily will the money be procured to be advanced.

To every person asking questions as to the value of the Estate, let it be represented as low as possible, & the Tenants, so far as they can be intrusted, should be properly instructed for this purpose.

Let the Title to the Estate be kept as much in the dark as possible; uncertainty will discourage the number of Bidders, and give a fairer opening to a Friend. But the Act 20 G. 2nd,

doth extend further than I did imagine to extinguish all previous settlements. . . .

So far as respects the conduct of the Family as to the Public, & to make way for the better transacting the Private Trust.

There seems to have been a hitch at first among Lady Gask's friends. She writes early in 1753, that if the project got noised abroad, the Government would "take care to take it out of all our Fingers. This is a rub in our affairs I little expected." There was a question about the entail to be made; and she writes to her husband, "If it be not to be heir'd by the two I love best in the world, & next to them the two Daughters, I will think my pains very ill bestow'd. I pray God direct you to the best . . . . Since writing the above, we hear that Lord Duplin is to bid for the Estate, which is a stroke we little expected; we hear of others, but with no certainty on the main. I fear we must lay our account with the worst & submit to the will of God, who ordereth every thing that befalls us for the best."

Lady Gask was also eager to get a pardon for her son, as all the friends of the family at home were "mighty keen about it." But he tells his father in February, 1753; "My Inclinations in this affair would be, that you should write to y<sup>e</sup> King, to have not only his consent, but aprobaton of such a step. If his Majesty thinks it worth while to write a letter to me, testifieing his approbaton of my making application for a Pardon, in that case I shall be very well pleas'd that my friends use their endeavours for one, but am absolutely against it on any other terms. I shall never apply without my King's desire for that which I should reckon, without his orders, would put me under obligations to his enemys." The story about the money left by Uncle Patrick is now described as "Ogilvie's Gasconadd." Gask wrote to his King about getting his son's attainder reversed, but I can find no answer to Gask's letter. The old Laird was not hopeful about the purchase of his lands, and quoted the pithy Scotch byeword, "Gutt not fish till you gett them."

The intending Purchasers drew up a contract among themselves, empowering Condie to bid for the Baronies of

Gask, Cowgask, and Williamstoun up to the sum of;£17,800. Lady Gask sent off blithe news from Edinburgh on the 17th of February, 1753, to Mr. Brown at Boulogne:—

DEAR Sir,

This is to desire you will take the first opportunity to lett Mr. Oliphant know, that yesterday came on the sale of his Estate before the Barons of Exchequer. It was sett up in two parcels, the first att £10481 „ 6 „ 1, the other att £3891 „ 11 „ 11. They both fell into the hands of Mr. Oliphant of Condie; his bode for the first was a hund. p<sup>d</sup> more, & for the second fifty p<sup>d</sup> more; no one appearing to bid more, they were by the Barons declar'd his. Besides the above sum there was seven hund. p<sup>d</sup> ster. for the planting, &c., upon that Estate. I forgot to mention it was 20 years purchase the lands were sett up at; the term of payment is Martimas next; between that time the five Gentlemen concern'd wants to sell off lands to pay what they are bound for; under redemption will not doe, as no body in that case will give 20 years purchase for land that otherwise would give thirty or near it. As their is so great a sum to pay. they think of selling Williamstoun, Cowgask, and the Ross, and what of the outskirts of Gask as shall be thought most proper. They are resolved to keep no debts, & says that eats up the profits, therefore will have all clear. . . . Belive me to be, Dear Sir,

most affectionatly yours,

So MURRAY.

Young Laurence sent this letter on to his father with an addition of his own, dated March 3rd.

I wish you joy of being once more Gask; them that have, they say, still wish for more; I owen I'm sorry to think of the purchesers selling Williamstoun & Cowgask against Martinmass & without redemption; it's a great petty so pritty a contiguous estate should be divided. I could now wish for a virtuous Gerle who had wherewith to redeem it However, let that happen as it will, I'm perfectly content, and fully convinced y<sup>e</sup> gracious hand that has hitherto indulged us with a suitable subsistance will continue & even add to it, if for our good. . . I ever am, Sir,

your most Dutyfull & affect Son,

LAU. OLIPHANT.

Lady Gask writes, that their neighbour Lord Dupplin had behaved “vastly well” in refusing to bid for the estate of Gask. He was one of George the Second’s ministers, and the temptation must have been strong to add Gask to Aberdalgie and Dupplin at a cheap rate. More than this, he charged himself with petitions from the Laird’s daughters for their portions. Gask himself wrote that he was against selling the Ross or Newmiln, as they were the most improveable part of the property; he had heard his father say that Sir Laurence Oliphant had paid at the rate of thirty years’ purchase for Williamstoun. Lady Gask, that thorough woman of business, writes once more from Inchbrakie, on the 26th of April, 1753, referring to a good match for her son.

“I know nothing I have to doe in London, if it is not to try if a good portion, & I must add, a good woman can be gott; but unless Brown were there himself, I doubt it would be difficult. . . . Since the Creditors is to be pay’d at Whitt., I canot think of stiring from this till that be over, upon many accounts too tedious to mention, but I hope will turn out to your advantage. If my back were turn’d, they will be keener for selling & have no restraint upon them. I am a considerable awe bond upon them. . . . If you knew the many batles I have to fight, you would pity me; you may depend I shall looss no time nor stay a day after my affairs will allow me to leave this countrie, which is so far from being agreeable that it seems to me a desert. My only comfort is dear Megie. . . . Of the Trustees, I must have three on my side about this of the not selling. . . . I realy think you should ask no more than the year’s delay. Anthony still insists that you should write to your patron<sup>1</sup> & gett some Friend that can tell him how hard a thing it is to be oblig’d to part with so contiguas an estate, when there is a rising young man that may yett possess it; that very few have lost so much; & many more arguments he thinks might be used; but I should think if it could be gott accomplishd, it were as good a way to gett an order upon Clun. for a certain sum that might help, for I would never

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<sup>1</sup> King James.

expect all. I know no reason for Mr. Graeme's being taken up, but that he was accepted, [excepted?] his friends wanted he should stay in Perth rather than be caried to Edin., where he still remains. Doctor Cameron is caried to London; great search has been made for Dunc. & others."

Lady Gask here advises her husband to procure an order from the King at Rome upon Macpherson of Cluny, for some of the French money which had been since 1746 in that Chieftain's care. It was this money that lured Dr. Cameron back to Scotland, where he was taken, soon to be sent to the gallows. His dying address is extant in Gask's handwriting.<sup>1</sup> The following slip of paper remains at Gask:—

Account of what became of the Prince's mony left in the Highlands of Scotland after the Batle of Colloden the 16th of Aprile, 1746.

	<i>£</i>
Given to Major Kennedy at Newcastle	6,000
To Brakaikie, goeing to Newcastle with it	500
Kept by Capt. Archibald Cameron	5,500
Intercepted by Cameron of Glenavos	3,000
Remitted to Lochiel	1,000
Retained by Clunie for his Estate <sup>2</sup>	10,000
And for his guards	1,000
	<u>£27,000</u>

The Dunc, mentioned in Lady Gask's letter must be Duncan Robertson of Drummachin, who, after the death of the Poet Chief, had become Laird of Strowan and head of the Clan Donnochy. He had been skulking in the Highlands since Culloden. A very strict search was being made all over the country at this time, for the English ministers thought that

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Clunie had stipulated with the Prince, before joining him, that he should be fully indemnified for all possible losses. The money in question, sent from France early in 1746, came to Scotland just too late for the service of the Prince.

the King of Prussia was abetting a new rising. Captain Robert Graeme of Garvoch (referred to in the last letter), Gask's brother-in-law, was taken out of his own house by a hundred men; he meant to claim his privilege as a French officer, but as yet he was kept in the Tolbooth at Perth. He was afterwards allowed to walk on the Inch with a guard; his imprisonment lasted two years.

Gask turned a deaf ear to his Lady's suggestions as to an order on Cluny. "I must decline the troubling my Superior about getting some money for relieving me in my straits; doing the thing is quite against the grain." He also objected to letting his house of Gask to a stranger. He got £100 off his crop for 1752; but Campbell of Barcaldine pursued Lady Gask in the next year for uplifting some of the rents. She had been deprived of her portion and left without a sixpence on the face of the earth to subsist on; so her husband writes. Few lost more than the Oliphants by the rising in 1745. If we reckon the seven years in which their estate was withheld from them, and the large sum for which it was bought back from Government, their losses would come to about, £60,000 of our money.

All this time, young Laurence was an inmate of the Strathallan household at Boulogne. He writes thus to his father on the 2nd of February, 1753:—

SIR,

As you desired, I insisted with L<sup>d</sup> Strath, to take a pension for me & my servant, but he would hear of it at no rate; he said he had been much more oblig'd to your family, & wonder'd you would ever have mention'd sutch a thing, so I was forced to drope it. I have written a discharge of y<sup>e</sup> mony he ow'd me, which I shall give him before I leave this, & as you find it convenient, I can send him some little present from Paris. . . . I fear I will need a new credit on Hay, as y<sup>e</sup> trunk is so long of coming. I do not spend anything that I can possibly save, except two or three livers I lose now & then at Cards, which I avoide as much as possible, & generally five livers every Saturday night for a club & supper to drink to ye wives & y<sup>e</sup> lasses.

In y<sup>e</sup> low town here are this family, L<sup>d</sup> Clancarty, him we have only fair good day & fair good een with, Charles Boyd that was with us in y<sup>e</sup> 45,<sup>1</sup> Peter Stewart, John Roy's nephew, & John's wife & daughter, R. C., honest Father Graeme, Miss Trotter who's father kept out y<sup>e</sup> Bass,<sup>2</sup> she has an assembly for cards every friedy evening, R. C., & M<sup>r</sup> Chester wife on a saving schame, & poor George Bryce, who would do very well if he could get a little pension from Court to suport his Credit. I wanted to fill up my paper, & I fancy now you'l think you have aneugh of y<sup>e</sup> goodness. . . . L<sup>d</sup> Nairne will know by this time how he likes Paris & if y<sup>e</sup> frugal schame answers.

In another letter, of February 27<sup>th</sup>, to his father, young Oliphant thus refers to his proposed pardon:—

“I have not spoke to anny body of y<sup>e</sup> aplication for a remission; it has made me uneasy ever since y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> time I mention'd it to you, & till after which I did not think seriously enough about it. I wish it never had been proposed at all; the thoughts of petitions that will be given in, in my name asking it as a great favour & perhaps saying I'm sorry for what I had done, &c, would be most disagreeable to me; & supose it were got, in two three months after fighting against them, if not that, doing all I could to serve my Prince in a privat way, it would require very strong orders from the King to authoreese such double dealings. I hope you thought of all this before you wrote J. K., & that you penn'd your letter so as that I'll get off with honour. I hope this will make me think better another time.

“I was oblieg'd to take off mournings; as Miss Drummond was papist, we had a burying in all yc formes. L<sup>d</sup> Strath., Willy, & I walk'd with long black cloakes we hir'd, behind; then y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Gentry, behind them all y<sup>e</sup> Ladys in a body; y<sup>e</sup> 4 corners of y<sup>e</sup> Mortecloath were carry'd by young ladys; if you think it right, I intend to tell y<sup>e</sup> Merchant that he shall be

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<sup>1</sup> This son of Lord Kilmarnock lived to welcome Johnson and Boswell to Slains Castle. “There was too much elaboration in his talk;” so, at least, the Doctor pronounced.

<sup>2</sup> The Bass was the last place in Scotland that yielded to King William.

pay'd y<sup>e</sup> end of june or begining of july, when y<sup>e</sup> Gratifications come out."

Gask thus goes on with his journal for the year 1753:—

Feb. 12. Was in the Foir St. Germain, & saw a She Rhinocerus, she ate hay; I saw the home of a Male, about a foot long; with this they kill the Elephants.

15. I went again with Lord and Lady Nairne and their daughter, & saw a Boy of 18 years old, without arms or legs, haveing his hands from the wrist joynd to his shoulders, and the ankles of his feet joyning the Trunk of his body; he was 21 inches high, & spoke several languages; they said he was married. Saw a company of Dogs cloathed in Regimentals that went up a ladder to scale a Fort. We had a concert of Catts that sung & kept time with each other, but this seemed to me a piece of Machinrey.

March 2. My Son return'd to Paris after being about Six Months from me in Holland, Cleves, & part of Germany, at Brussels and Boulogne sur Mer.

3. Pay'd a visite to the Earle Marishal of Scotland in the fore-noon.

April 16. Were in the Convent of the Celestines, and saw several fine Monuments in their Church; particularly that of Duke Ann Montmorancy, Constable of France, & that of Lewis, Duke de la Tremuille.

May 9. My Son & I, with Principal Gordon, & Mr Riddoch, Procurator of the Scots College, were at Sceaux, built by the great Colbert (a Scotsman).<sup>1</sup>

24. Were in the King's Bibliothek, where were 125,000 Volumes; and there were Manuscripts to the number of 40,000: look'd at a Latin Bible, written in the 842nd year after Christ, of a fine character upon Vellum. Saw an Alcaron in the Syriack characters.

27. We saw Mr. Romeur his Collection of Rarities; chickens were produced by the heat of a Hott bed.

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<sup>1</sup> Colbert's flatterers pretended to trace his genealogy from a Scot, who came to France in the Thirteenth Century.

June 17. Being Trinity Sunday, saw the Pope's Nuntio make his Entrey through Paris.

18. Saw the Huissiers of Paris (a kind of Constables or Mair Officers) make their Procession, about 300 of them, with long black gowns on horseback.

June 22. Saw from the windows of the Scots College a pritty little Firework play'd off in the College of Navar.

July 7. The Heat at Nerac on 10th June, 1748, was not near so great (in my opinion) as that at Paris on this day at five in the afternoon. Four of the Queen's coach horses were killed with the heat; one of the Guards dyed on the road, & ane other when she arrived.

14. We were again in the Convent of the Celestines, and saw a marble pillar, on the top of which is kept the Heart of Francis the 2nd, who was marryed to Mary Queen of Scotland.

August 1. Were at the College of Jesuites, and saw the Trajedy of Cataline acted by the students, in dress of Comedians, with Helmets on y<sup>r</sup> heads & high tufts of feathers of different collures. Betwixt every Act, they danced on the Theater; one cutt capers about twenty times without stopping. After this, prizes (in Books) were distributed. All the windows and the large square Court was filled with Spectators.

Aug. 22. My Wife and Daughter arrived at Paris the 22nd, & on the 24th we came back to our house at Versailles. They had left Paris in October, were some weeks in London, trying to find a Person that would lend money for buying my Estate from the Government. From London they went by sea to Leith, and landed after twelve days, the weather so stormy that the ship was thought to be lost. From Edin<sup>r</sup> they went to the Countrey, and my Wife gote Matters so managed that Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Mr. Graeme of Inshbrackie, (her Son in law,) Orchill, Condie, and Mr. Ebenezer Oliphant, my Brother, undertook to buy the Estate, viz., the Baronies of Gask, Cowgask, & Williamstoun. And on the 17th of Feby, 1753, the whole Estate, rentalled by the Government at Lib. 718 „ 12 „ 10 Sterling, was bought from the Barons of Exchequer by my Nephew Laurence Oliphant of Condie at

14372 „ 18 „, pounds Sterling, and the Planting at Lib. 757 „ 6 Ster. Of which Lib. 2222 „ 4 „ 5 Ster. was to be retained by the Purchacer for my Wife's Joynture. After she had adjusted her affairs, she shipt at Leith, (with her sister Lady Strowan, her two Sons, & two Daughters,) & after being at Sea 12 days, they landed at Dunkirk in August.

The history of Lady Strowan and her family, who were to be closely linked to the Oliphants for the next seventy years, will be best learnt from a letter of Strowan (formerly Drummachin), printed in "Brown's History of the Highlands," iv., 112. He had, so he writes, an ailment which kept him at home in 1745; but he did much for the cause in Athole. When all was lost, he skulked in the hills till the death of his kinsman, the Poet Laird of Strowan, in 1749. The new Chief's wife and children were threatened with military execution, if they stayed in a little hut, where they had sought shelter. His tenants struggled in vain against the Government, which was bent on his ruin. At length he reached Paris in this year 1753, with his wife and four children, having 39 Louis in his pocket. The family were doomed to live abroad for thirty-one years. He proudly refers to the services done to the Stuarts by the Robertson clan from 1644 downwards. He took up his quarters at Montreuil. Gask goes on with his journal.

"1753, Sept<sup>r</sup>. 18. My Son sett out from Versailles for the French Camp on the Samber, in which he stayed for a week. He had the Honour to dine with the Prince of Sobise, Commander in Cheif, and was entertained by L<sup>d</sup> Lewis Drummond, Collonel of the Royal Scots, Lord Ogilvie, and many of his Countreymen of these two Scots Regiments; he return'd on Oct<sup>r</sup> 4th."

Young Oliphant has left a few money accounts jotted down; the items are, the feeding his horse, the stuffing his saddle, shaving, the mending the stock of his pistol, &c. He records that there is no pavement beyond St. Quentin. The French army decamped and encamped again. He saw the village of Malplaquet, and another village with a Roman inscription. At Cambray, he supped on "canard sauvage." At the fair of Peronne he bought an ell of Cambrick. His horse

cost him 45 Sols per day for fifteen days. Gask goes on once more:—

“Oct<sup>r</sup> 25. My Son went to Normandy, in Company of M<sup>r</sup> Gordon, Principal of the Scots College; was at Cressy, (Madam Pompedur’s fine House,) stay’d two nights in the Abbey of La Trap; was at Rouen, Mantes, & other places in Normandy; & return’d after ten days absence.

“1754.

“January 25. M<sup>rs</sup> Margret Oliphant, my Father’s Sister, dyed at Gask & was Buryed the 27th in the Buryal place of the Family.<sup>1</sup>

“March 13. Snow fell. There was a violent Frost in the beginning of Feb<sup>y</sup>, & the Snow was said to have been three foot deep near Paris. For three nights there was Ice, on the water basin in my room, to the thicknes of a Shilling. Then there was a surly thaw, and then Ice almost every night to April 1.

“April 8. L<sup>d</sup> Nairne, M<sup>r</sup> Will. Drummond, my Son and I saw a Machine in wood of the Shape of a Man, that spoke distinctly, and repeated the months of the year. All this was done by Bellows that blew up air thro’ pipes to his Mouth.

“13. My Family, & M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Drummond, & L<sup>d</sup> Nairne, & Strowan’s Family went in three Coaches to Bellevue, a House lately built for Madam Pompadour; the situation is vastly pritty.”

Gask had now given up all hope of getting his son’s pardon from the English Government. Another plan was in hand, as will be seen by the following letter of his to Mr. Edgar, the Secretary at Rome.

D<sup>R</sup> SIR,

My Son has been wishing to be concerned in the Military that he might be the more fit to serve his Maister, but his bad state of health for seven years hinder’d his applying sooner. I

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<sup>1</sup> She was aged ninety-one. Her days ended in sorrow as they first began; for her father had been disinherited before her birth; and at the time of her death her kinsmen were in banishment and half ruined.

desire you'll be so good to deliver the inclosed to the King on that subject. My Son has spoke to my Lord Ogilvy, to whom both my Wife and I have the Honour to be related, and his Lo<sup>p</sup> has wrote to his Majesty for my Son's obtaining a Commission in his Lo<sup>ps</sup> Regiment. My Son wishes he could be made a Captain à la suite, & a Collonel a year after, which may be thought asking too much, yet as he was amongst the first Aid de camps to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales when in Scotland, and first Captain in the Perthshyre Squadron, he hopes that he might be advanced to the Ranks I have named, and am perswaded of your doeing all you can. I have no doubt of your letting me know when the Father General of the Carmelites gets any return of his letters about my brother Patrick's effects in the East Indies. I'll ever retain a gratefull remembrance of the good offices you have done me, & I am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

your most obliged & obedient humble servant, &c.

Versailles, April 20th, 1754.

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The kinsmanship between the Oliphants and the Ogilvies was rather remote; the intermarriage having place about the year 1430. Lord Ogilvy writes on the same day to King James:—

SIR,

I take the liberty to adress your Majesty in favor of M<sup>r</sup> Oliphant of Gask's Son, representative of the ancient and loyal family of that name. He desires very much to have a commission à la suite of my Regiment; he is a very good Lade and worthy of your Majesty's protection. If your Majesty would doe him the Honour to cause write the Minister of the War, asking a Captain's Commission just now, and a year after a Collonel's brevet, your Majesty would doe me a very great obligation. Your Majesty's goodness will easily forgive this trouble, as it's to serve one of your loyalest subjects. I have the Honour to be with great Respect, Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutyfull subject and most  
obedient humble servant,

OGILVY.

Versailles, April 20th, 1754.

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Mr. Edgar however wrote back that the King had promised to recommend two others as Colonels, so could do nothing for young Oliphant.

Gask goes on with his Journal:—

May 9th. At eleven at night, Lady Katrin Murray, Wife to the Earle of Nairne, dyed at Versailles, and was Buryed the 12th at Paris in the Buryal place for Forreing Protestants, near the Port St Martin, at 10 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, at Night. Strowan, M<sup>r</sup> Maitland, (a Clergyman) and I were in the same Coach with the Body, & I acted the chief Mourner, carrying her Head to the grave.

May 22. Janet Oliphant set out from Paris for London, with M<sup>rs</sup> Hamilton.

June. L<sup>d</sup> Marischall, Ambassadour of Prussia, asked to be recalled. Lady Strathmore died in a Convent near Paris.

Aug. 23. The Dauphiness was safely Delivered at six in the morning of a Son.<sup>1</sup> There was a Firework & Illumination in the evening.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 1. The Toun of Versailles was Illuminate this evening for the above Birth.

1755.

Feb<sup>y</sup> 6. My Son being in Paris went to the Foire of St. Germain, and saw ane Italian, named Bernardo Gigli, eight foot high. He also saw another man of only two foot & three inches french of height. The circumference of this little man's head, measured from the Croun & under the Chin, was equal to the length of his Body.

April 5. My Son & I went to the Castle; were at the King's Levey; saw him Dress & perform his Devotions.

8. Our Scots Colloney went to Biever & Dined with M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Gregor of Balhaldie, the Ladys being in one of the King's

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Louis XVI.

Coaches, got to them by M<sup>r</sup> Bingly, & the Gentlemen walked on foot.

26. I with my Family flitted from Versailles to live at Corbeil, at nine Leagues distance, & on the banks of the Seine. We were in a Coach drawn by four Horses, & mett the King & his retenue. We had resided at Versailles from the 28th of March, 1750.

May 4. We saw at Corbeil the Procession which is made yearly in honour of Saint Spire. M<sup>r</sup> Giffard, Abbot of the Abbacy, was the Principal Man at the Procession, & is of the Kindom of Ireland.

29. Marishal Lowendale dyed at Paris of a mortification in his foot. His Grandfather was a Bastard son of the King of Denmark.

June 9. On June 9th (being the 29th of May, Old Style) my only Son, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, younger, was Married to M<sup>rs</sup> Margaret Robertson, eldest Daughter of Strowan, at Versailles, by M<sup>r</sup> John Maitland, a Presbyter of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; William Drummond of Balhaldie & the said Duncan Robertson of Strowan being Witnesses.”

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The bride was fifteen years and a half old, and the bridegroom was exactly double her age. By all accounts, she was the loveliest maiden that was ever brought into the family; unluckily, hers is the only portrait wanting at Gask of its Lairds and Ladies, from those born about 1660 to this day. The old Laird says, in a letter to a friend, that there was no prospect of worldly interest on either side. Strowan, however, writes, “I do’nt know another family on earth, to whom I would have given my child, without asking some previous questions; as there are but few that have principles to supply the place of bargains.”<sup>1</sup> The bride was the first lady of Celtic

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<sup>1</sup> The bridegroom wrote to his brother-in-law, when urging him to marry, many years later; “Did any harm ensue, that I was not at a sixpence expence, when I brought your dear sister to Corbeil? and did not your father do the same? and neither he nor I, though often low, yet ever wanted. It is your duty to marry, as soon as you have got the consent of her you choose.”

blood ever taken to wife by any of the main line of the Oliphants, so far as can be known, since 1190; about which year Walter Olifard, the future Justiciary of Alexander II., wedded the daughter of the great Earl of Strathearn, getting with her the lands of Strageath in Perthshire.

June 30. My Daughter Janet arrived here from London, after haveing been there since the first of June last year, solliciting to obtain the Portions that were provided to her & her sister, Lady Inshbrackie, but in the end found none of her countrey men able or willing to get them Justice.<sup>1</sup>

Dec. 14. Strowan's Family and mine were in the Church of the Abbay of St. Spire at Vespers, and heard Te Deum sung for the Birth of the Count of Provance.<sup>2</sup>

1756.

Feb<sup>y</sup>. 18. Betwixt seven & eight in the morning, when my Wife & I were lying in bed at Corbeil, we felt two Shocks of ane Earthquake; the first was the greatest; it begun with a trembling, & then a sensible motion from North to South, & lasted some seconds; the motion seem'd like the moveing forward & returning of a Wave of the Sea; altho' it blew a high wind that morning and all the day, it was quite calm the time of the Concussions. My Son and his Wife, being also in bed, did feel the same two shoaks, and each of them asserted that the other was trembling. Joseph our servant saw his cloaths, hanging on the opposite wall, dancing with the motion. Lady Clementina Nairne felt the said shoak at my Lord Nairne's House in said Toun.

April 30.—Betwixt nine and ten at night a shock of ane Earthquake was felt. M<sup>r</sup> Robertson of Strowan & his family felt it when sitting at supper, which made the glasses dance on the Table before them. Lord Nairne's servants, a little up the River, felt it. At my house we felt nothing of it, tho' altogether in the Sall before Supper.

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<sup>1</sup> She stayed for months in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Drummond, of the bank.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Louis XVIII.

Young Mrs. Oliphant was now very near her time of trial, and the household had been carefully weighing the reasons for and against her child's being born on British ground. It was settled at length that she should go to London for the event. Old Strowan writes to a friend in the Scottish Brigade, quartered at Tournay, asking him to speed Lady Gask and the young goodwife on their way to Ostend, as they had not one servant with them. But their road was changed, as we find by the next entry in Gask's journal.

July 30.—On friday, my Wife & Son with his wife went from this (Corbeil) in the Coach d'Eau to Paris, & stay'd there (shewing my Dat<sup>r</sup>-in-law the most remarkable things to be seen) to friday, Aug. 6th, when the Ladys sett out in the Voiture for Boulogne, and my Son rideing along, they arrived at Boulogne on the 11th. They were overturned near Beauvais; M<sup>r</sup> Oliphant, by the great goodness of God, received no harm; but my Wife gote a thraw in her Neck which was uneasie to her for some days. M<sup>r</sup> Oliphant gote on horseback behind her husband, & in rideing fell from the horse, but saved the Child, her belly falling into a hollow. They both walked after to the next Stage in a prodigious hott day, which vastly fatigued them both, but did them no harm. They eat & lodg'd with Lady Strathallan to y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, when at nine in the morning the two Ladys sailed for London, but being becalmed six hours after, before Deal, they being vastly sea-sick, chose to take a boat & land, from whence they went in coach to Canterbury that night, & to London next evening very late. My Son went to see the Camp at Calis on the 12th, and went again to it on the 23rd, & returned to Corbeil the 29th before Dinner.<sup>1</sup>

Travelling in those days was as dangerous in England as in France. Lady Gask thus describes her coach journey: "On Blackheath every gentleman took his pistol and held it ready. The coachman gave us twice the alarm, that there were highwaymen; which they do by so many strokes with their whip on the coach." They reached London safely; the young Drummonds were hospitable as ever; and the ladies' chief

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<sup>1</sup> The ill-starred Lally was one of those who entertained young Oliphant at the camp.

amusement were books, procured at a shilling the month. "Let my mother read Pamela to divert you," is the advice of Mr. Brown. On the 27th of September Lady Gask writes: "Mrs. Brown was delivered of a fine sturdy boy at 6. She asked Mr Hunter very briskly, 'What child it was?' He answered 'Just what you would like.' 'O,' says she, 'I'm glad of that!' She would write a postscript with her own hand to her husband, but I am resolved she shall not." The younger lady writes on October 22nd, and lets us see that the Seven Years' war is now begun. "The first visit my son made into the world was to the camp in Hyde Park."

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Gask's journal goes on thus:—

November 15.—My Wife, her Daughter-in-law, and grandson (Laurence), arrived at Ostend, haveing had a fine passage from Dover of 24 hours only. They came to Dunkirk in such a Voiture as they could find, & from that to Paris, posting in a Coach & six. They came safe here in a Remise Coach on Nov<sup>r</sup> 25; Mr William Drummond, the Viscount of Strathallan's Brother, haveing gone Post from Bologne to Ostend to attend them here, & he stay'd with us to March 4th.<sup>1</sup>

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On the 25th of January, 1757, James Edgar writes from Rome to Gask: "The King commands me to assure you of the justice he does to your merit and good heart towards him, and to make you a kind compliment in his name." Other Jacobites had much to bear. One of these, named Fidler, an old trooper of the Perthshire Squadron, writes to young Oliphant: "Pray remit me something to relieve me, for I am in great distress, as I have been for these three months past out of condition to buy a single faggot of wood to keep me warm *déhors* or a bottle of wine *dédans*."

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<sup>1</sup> This guest afterwards wrote to young Oliphant, "You have been my first and greatest friend in the days of adversity as well as of prosperity."

A sad trial was now in store for the old Laird; the child which had caused so much trouble and cost was to be reft away.

October 8.—At half ane hour after six in the morning the Dear Boy my Grandson Laurence Oliphant dyed. From ab<sup>t</sup> 14 days after his weaning, which was on June 10th, he began to decline, & was seized with a violent Looseness for near three months, which brought him to a skeliton. He had also ane outstriking on his skin, and a severe cough. All these Distempers seem'd to have proceeded from Teething; four appear'd the week before he dyed, and other five were pushing, but he fail'd in strength to bring them out. I grudge much that he got not in time Medicines. He was buried in the Church of St. Jacque in Corbeil on the said 8th of Oct<sup>r</sup> at three after noon.

1758.

January 1.—William Macgregor Drummond of Balhaldie was married to Janet Oliphant, second Daughter to Laurence Oliphant of Gask, at Paris, in the Swedish Chapel, by M<sup>r</sup> F. C. Baer, Chaiplan to the Swedish Ambassador, before these Witnesses; Duncan Robertson of Strowan, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, Yo<sup>r</sup>, and Patrick Macgregor, Livetenant in the Royal Scots. The Chaplain gave two extracts of the Marryage from his Register.

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Balhaldie's father had been in 1715 acknowledged as Chief by the proscribed Clan of M'Gregor, and the bridegroom himself had been a renowned Jacobite agent, going to and fro between Scotland and Italy, even before 1745; many of his letters have been printed.<sup>1</sup> By his mother he was grandson to Sir Ewen Cameron, the greatest of all Celts of Scottish birth since the battle of Harlaw. M'Gregor had been driven by the infamous laws of the time to take the name of Drummond. He, like Strowan, Robert Graham, the Oliphants, and all and every person of the name and clan of MacGregour, had been

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<sup>1</sup> Many of these are in the Appendix to Brown's History of the Highlands.

excepted out of the Act of Pardon, passed by the British Parliament in 1747. He must have been almost double the age of his bride, and was a Roman Catholic. Balhaldie, whence he took his title, is not far from Dumblane.<sup>1</sup>

In this year Lady Gask writes to her distant cousin the Princess Talmont, asking for her interest with a view to an increase of pension; the Scotch lady had been advised to write, in spite of her bad French. The Oliphants seem also to have applied to the Duc de Villeroy. But the mouths to be filled were growing fewer, as we see by the next entry in Gask's Journal.

October 7.—My Daughter Janet, Lady Balhaldie, was deliver'd of a Son (the Day of my Wedding with L<sup>d</sup> Nairne's Daughter, y<sup>e</sup> 26th of Sept<sup>r</sup>, O. S.) He was christen'd by the Abbot of St. Spire, and named Alexander John William Oliphant. And on Friday, Decr 8, the said Janet Oliphant dyed at Corbeil half an hour after twelve, Mid day, of a lingering and painfull Distemper, which the French call Lay Repandu, (the goeing back of the Milk into the body,) she haveing never recover'd of her child-bearing. Her Body was carry'd in a fitt Machine, attended by the Earle of Nairne, her Father & Brother, & M<sup>r</sup> Duncan Robertson of Strowan in a Remise Coach, and interred the 11th in the Protestant Burying Place in Paris near the Port of St. Martin. The King's order of the 9th Dec<sup>r</sup> was obtained for burying her there without Molestation by the way, and there was also a Process Verbal from the Provost and Procurure du Roy at Corbeil to the same purpose, in case the King's Order had not been obtain'd.

Gask has few entries for 1758. It is rather strange that he should make no remark on the death of his old comrade Marshal Keith, killed at Hochstedt in that year, fighting for the great Frederick. Gask was better acquainted with the dead hero's brother, the Earl Marischal, the last of a long line upon which the Oliphants looked with peculiar fondness. They were not unmindful of their own honours, as the following paper shows:—

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<sup>1</sup> See the preface to the Memoirs of Lochiel (Abbotsford Club). These were written by a near kinsman of Balhaldie's.

Gask's title to the Peerage of Oliphant is—

1st. As Heir Male, all the later Cadets being extinct.

2nd. Might claim as Heir Femal, being great grandchild of Lilleas, Daughter to Patrick Lord Oliphant.

3rd. By a Resignation in favour of James Oliphant his Father and his Heirs.

4ly. By a Permission from the present King, in a letter dated Rome, June 8th, 1751, which he intends not to use till he sees his Country happy under their Lawfull Princes.

When this blessed event would be brought about, was most uncertain. In the year 1759, or later, Gask took comfort from the following prophecy, which he has carefully set down upon a slip of paper:—

“It happend to be my turn to command the Horse guard at Perth in the end of Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1715, that night when the Duke of Mar left it, to go to meet the King, tho he kept it to himsel. I was not a little uneasie dureing my being on guard; and about twelve went to the Cross, where I found a greater concourse of Gentlemen than ordinary. After talking of L<sup>d</sup> Mar's haveing gone off, the Discourse turn'd upon the Restoration of our King; M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Drummond, Clergyman at Drummond, was with us at the Cross, and I heard him tell that a Gentelman (I think of Wales) travelling in Italy had heard there was a Person there, had a great knowledge (somehow) of future events. As the Traveller was a well-wisher to the Royal Family, he went to him, and ask'd him if that Family would ever be restored to its just rights. He answered, It would. He next ask'd him, If it was the King of France that would do it. He said, No, that he would never have that Honour, but he said it would be Charles King of Spain. I thought it would be the then Charles, whom the Confederates had made King there, & after he was elected Emperour I still judged he was the Person was to bring it about. Now that this present Charles is Lawfull King of Spain, I hope & am almost persuaded that it will be by his means that the King will be established upon his Thrones of Scotland, England, and Ireland. I sincerely beg of God Almighty that he may enable every honest man to act his part.

“LAU. OLIPHANT.”

In this year, 1759, Gask thus wrote to his friend, Principal Gordon, who always sent the Gratifications from the French Government:—

Corbeil, Feb<sup>r</sup> 27th, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I had yours with the Money, which was exactly right, & I'm very much obliged for the trouble you have taken in getting it for me, & that so promptly. I find by late instances ther's a great deal of work in preserveing the effects of our Countreymen that Dye here; and as I am come to the age of Sixty seven compleat, I would wish to prevent trouble to them who shall survive me. I therefore Desire you will inform yourself of a skill'd Lawier or Advocate (as we term them) of the Parliament, and consult him, hou I shall dispose of my Moveables, tho' but of small value, so as they may be safe from falling to the Publick upon my Death. If such a thing is practicable, let him give his Directions fully about it in Writeing, & cause draw a copy of the Paper, to be signed by me, upon which any Person I name shall have right from me to the property of all my Moveables, without their being in hazard of being seized. If this can be effected, & the sooner the better, you will do me a most singular favor, & let me know the charges you shall be at in the affair, which shall be most thankfully repay'd. I am, Sir, your most obliged & obedient humble Serv' &c. Please send the note I gave you for the £120.

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The result was a long opinion from a lawyer, bearing on it the words, “Deliberé à, Paris le 27 avril, 1759, signé, De La Monnoye.” He was a member of the Parliament.

The Oliphants, in spite of the late Gratification, seem at this time to have been sorer pinched than ever. Lady Gask had once more recourse to her French cousins; but France was now hard driven, and Sir John Graeme thus advises the Lady:—

MADAM,

The Princess of Talmond having charg'd herself with your memorial, I think the best thing you can do is to leave to her the management of that affair according as she shall find the occasions proper for solliciting it, without pressing her at a time when the exigencys of the State embarrass the ministers to such a degree, that they are now about retrinching the expence of the crown almost in all its branches. That unfavourable situation makes me likewise of opinion, that the King our master would unwillingly employ his credit for an augmentation to any of his Subjects at a time when there is so little appearance of its having effect. As nothing would do me a greater pleasure than to see you at your ease, I am really sorry for the unfavorable circumstances of the times, but there is no help for it. When I find a proper occasion of refreshing Mad<sup>m</sup> de Talmond's memory, you may be sure I will not neglect it, but I must take care not to be too importunate, lest she lose her temper and throw up the affair at a time when it is certainly very disagreeable to be asking favours at Court of that kind.

The following memorial was given in by Lady Gask to the Princess of Talmont for presentation.

“Madame Amelie Nairne, Epouse de Mons<sup>r</sup> Oliphant de Gask, prend la liberté de représenter à Monsieur Le Duc de Choiseul, comme elle avait cy devant fait a Mons<sup>r</sup> le Cardinal de Bernis, qui promet de avoir égard a ses malheurs, que son mari ayant pri les armes en Ecosse l'an 1745 pour soutenir les justes droits de son Souverain naturel et legitime, il s'est trouvé après la malheureuse bataille de Coloden etant proscrit aussi bien que son fils et leurs terres et biens confisqués, dans la necessité de se sauver en France avec sa famille, et de avoir recours a la protection du Roy, qui a bien voulu deslors leur accorder de places sur les fonds des gratifications des Ecosais dont ils conserveront toujours une vive reconnoissance, et qu'ils n'auraient jamais pû se resoudre à des nouvelles importunités, si le accroissement de leur famille et le tarissement des somes domestiques ne les eussent contraints a la fin d'implorer la generosité de sa Majesté, en la suppliant très humblement de vouloir bien leur accorder une augmentation, vû qu'il y a presentement des

places vaquantes par le decés de quelques pensionnaires, pour pouvoir subsister hors les atteintes de la misère, et continuer les voeux ardens et sincères qu'ils offrent au Ciel tous les jours pour la prosperité de sa Majesté et de ses Royaumes."

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The next paper in Gask's hand bears date May 29th, 1759.

What I resolve to do, with the Help of God, if I ever return to Scotland.

That how soon I can, I give fifty pounds Sterl. to a proper Person, to be distributed amongst the most indigent people in the Parishes where I have any concern, to make up for what I would have given yearly if I had continued in Scotland.

That wheras my Father, when he bought up the Debts upon the Estate of Woodend, gote several Compositions from the Creditors, and did desire me that the sums he gote should be repaid to them or their Heirs, I resolve to search if I can find out the sums given down and the Persons who gave the Deductions, that I may repay them. But if this cannot be found, after so long a tract of time, I give other fifty pounds Ster. to be given & distribute to the Poor.

That as Ross of Allanbuy had been Debitor to my Father in a sum of Money, which he had pay'd, excepting one hunder Merks Scots, and I had too rigorously pursued him for it & gote two hunder for expenses, I shall inquire about him & his Heirs, & give it them back with two hunder Merks more as Interest. But if they cannot be found, four hunder Merks be Distributed to the Poor. Or the said sums may be given to increase the Funds of the Fundling Hospital, or that for curing the Sick.

That our Buryal place at Gask be put in a Decent state for Burying in, and the South Door be turn'd to a window, as was my Father's desire, who with my Mother are buried cross the inside of that Door, and that there be no other Entrey to the Isle but throw the Church.

That the Sum I was oweing to Lord Burlegh, who's claim was rejected by the Lords of Session, shall be payd to Mrs. Bruce of Kennet his Sister. And that there be also pay'd to her

ane other Bill given by my Wife for Thirty pounds Ster. to his Lo<sup>p</sup> with the deduction of Twelve pounds said money which was pay<sup>d</sup> to him by Lady Insbrackie.

That as I was resting to James Red, my Father's Servant and my own, of his wages, I shall send for his Brother, a Farmer, I think, in Kinross Shyre, and pay to him twenty five pounds Ster.

That the Duke of Athole pay to me Three Thousand Merks I pay'd his Father for the Wadset of Craigsheal & Birken hills, & Five hunder merks for the building of a House; as also the sum which will arise from the yearly rent of these Lands all the years he has possessed them.

That I get pay<sup>t</sup> from Barry the Drover in Kilsyth of the bill he owes me for Cattle sold him in 1744 or 1745. And that Duncan M<sup>c</sup>intosh (called Whyte Duncan) or his heirs be brought to pay me what they owe me for Cattle.

That haveing been obliged to pay to the Barons of Exchecquer Five hunder pounds Ster. for a Cautionry my Father was bound in for James Freebairn, Collector of the Excise in Perthshyre in the 1715; and haveing gote a right from W<sup>m</sup> Murray of Ochertyre Yo<sup>r</sup> for other Five hunder pounds he pay<sup>d</sup> on the same account, I use my best endeavors to get pay<sup>d</sup> of the same from the Crown, with all the rents due since these sums were payed.

That I likeways try to recover the sum of two thousand Merks pay'd in yearly to the Exchecqer, since the sale of my Estate, as my Wife's Joynture.

That Barcaldan & his Cautioners pay the Balance that may be in his hands as Factor to my Estate all the time of his Intromissions with the same after my Forfaiture. And if he has accompted to the Exchecquer, that they repay it and whatever sums more they have gote out of my Estate other than what was applyed for payment of my Creditors, as y<sup>e</sup> value of Planting, and about £500 ster. pay'd for the selling my Estate before these Barons.

That Martin Lindsay, Writer, account for a bill of Thirty pound I had from John Anderson, Merchant in Perth, payable Midsum. 1746, which he and Martin desired & gote

up from my Wife. Likeways that he acc<sup>t</sup> for (I think) twenty pounds ster. I gave him to prosecute a Plea I had ag<sup>t</sup> Sir W<sup>m</sup> Gordon of Park.

That W<sup>m</sup> Lindsay, Wright in Perth, account for the money he gote from me for repairing the House of Williamstoun, which he never finished. Garvoch gote the keeping of the Agreement.

That M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>e</sup>lish, Min<sup>r</sup> at Gask, have his Stipend reduced to what it was before the 1745, since the augm. he gote was by asserting a falsehood, that he had nothing allocat for Communion Eliments, tho' there is Twenty Merks assigned for that use in the Augmentation of Stip. to y<sup>e</sup> Min<sup>r</sup> of Gask given in Oliver Cromwel's Usurpation; and that he, M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>e</sup>lish, be not suffer'd to cast Peats or Turf within the Inclosure of the Moss of Gask, and that he pay damages for haveing done it since the 1745.

That the little Park west from the Kirk be fully inclosed, takeing in the burn, & that there be a stair made in the Dyke for the Min<sup>rs</sup> of Gask to get water for their familys out of the burn; rather that a little hollow be made without the Dyke to give water to y<sup>e</sup> Min<sup>r</sup>.

That my Daughter Inchbrakie her Portion of ten thousand Merks be pay'd to her as soon as may be, (tho' her Claim was cutt of by the Lords) as I promised it.

That my Dat<sup>r</sup> Balhaldie's of 9,000 M. be also pay'd (tho' I gave no promise or obligation for it,) if the circumstances of my affairs will permitt.

That in case my Brother Patrick's Effects shall be recoverd, I be pay'd in the first place of the Debt he owed me by money lent him, which by this time will amount to about a thousand pounds Sterl.

That upon goeing to Scotland I assume the Peerage of the L<sup>d</sup> Oliphant, wh<sup>h</sup> the King allowed me to do by a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Edgar his Secretary.

That I apply to the King or Prince, to get the pay of the youngest Captain of Horse in the Perthshyre Squadron, for which I have a Commission granted me in the 1715; and the pay of a Livetennant Collonel of the said Horse, by the

Commission I had from the Prince in 1745. And for my Son's being a Captain of Horse and one of the Prince's Aid de Camps, which he was honoured with that same Year. Or that I be made Indemnis of my Losses in the 1715 & 1745.

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A bombshell now dropped into the midst of the Scotch Colony in France. In this year, 1759, news came that Charles Nairne, son of Lord Nairne, and an officer in the Scotch Brigade in the service of the States, had given a promise of marriage to the daughter of a Dutch tradesman. The Oliphants, the Drummonds, and the Robertsons began to set every available engine at work, to stave off the coming mishap. Their French cousins were besought to exert all the interest that could be brought into play. Now was seen the truth of the old byword, "Blood is thicker than water." It must be borne in mind that the common ancestor of all the parties in question was born so far back as the year 1533; he was the patriot Prince of Orange. Old Gask does not appear much in this business; his eyes were now failing. But young Laurence Oliphant drew up many letters in behalf of his too susceptible kinsman. The Duke de Bouillon, one of the warmest friends to the Jacobite cause, writes thus to Le Comte d'Affry, the French Ambassador to the States-General:—

Paris, le 26 Oct. 1759.

M. Charles Nairne, Monsieur, fils du Comte de Nairne de la Maison des Ducs d'Athole en Ecosse, Lieutenant dans le Regiment de Marjoribanks actuellement en Garnison a Breda, a eu l'Imprudence de donner une promesse de mariage a La nommée Ida Boskaam, fille d'une Vendeuse d'eau de vie. Cette fille a eu Recours a la grande Chambre Marechalle de la Haye, qui a envoyé a l'officier deux assignations pour qu'il eut a accomplir le Mariage. Le Jeune homme, revenu de son aveuglement, sent toute l'horreur d'un pareil Engagement, et aimerait aujourd'huy mieux mourir que de se couvrir de l'Infamie d'une alliance aussi disproportionnée, et qui lui attirerait la Disgrace de son pere, qui est au Desespoir, et toute sa famille.

Nos mœurs, Monsieur, me donnent bien de l'éloignement a croire que le Tribunal ou cette affaire doit etre portée soit

dans les principes d'autoriser et d'ordonner des pareilles alliances, et Je ne saurais douter que si vous voulez bien employer votre Credit auprès de ceux qui le composent, ou, s'il est necessaire, auprès de Deputés des Etats Generaux, vous ne parveniez a faire echouer les tentatives de la nommée Boskaam. Je dois, Monsieur, y prendre le plus vif Interet; les Etats generaux euxmêmes, et le Prince Stadthouder, ont des Raisons de ne pas demeurer dans l'etat d'Indifference; M. de Nairne est mon parent assez proche, pour que J'aye avec lui une ayeule commune; il descend, comme moy, d'une La Tremoille, et a l'honneur d'appartenir a la Maison d'Orange; cette La Tremoille, ainsi qu'Elisabeth de Nassau ma cinquième ayeule, etait fille de Guillaume Prince d'Orange, et de Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier.

Les Sentimens elevez que vous donne votre naissance vous interessent, Monsieur, a proteger une famille illustre qui vous sera eternellement obligé du bon office que vous luy aurez rendu. Je serais personnellement tres flatté de ce que vous voudrez bien faire la Recommendation que Je prends la Liberté de vous faire en sa faveur; Je ne le suis pas moins de trouver l'occasion de vous assurer de tous les sentimens avec laquelle Je suis, Monsieur, votre tres &c.

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Lord Ogilvy and Principal Gordon wrote many letters on the subject; a still more powerful Mediator was Prince Louis of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, who had been chosen Regent by the States-General a year earlier, for the minority of William the Fifth, Prince of Orange. He writes thus to Le Comte D'Affry:—

MONSIEUR,

Je reçois un compte asses detaillé de ce qui s'est passé au haut conseil de guerre; on les Procureurs du Lieutenant Nairn et de la fille a laquelle il a donné promesse de Mariage ont eu une Comparition.

J'ai eu l'honneur de mander a Votre Excellence, que je croyais qu'il y aurait a rabattre de la Somme de f. 1200 exigée par les procureurs de cette fille. Elle hausse actuellement sa demande, et je crois qu'il sera difficile de terminer a raison de f. 1200, on tachera d'y comprendre les frais. Si la famille etait

obligée a les payer, je pense qu'ils n'excederont pas la Somme de f. 200.

C'est un objet d'accomodement; les loix de ce pays sont precises. Je ne puis faire au delà de ce qui est actuellement fait. C'est a la famille du S<sup>r</sup> Nairn a prendre son parti.

Je vous prouve, Monsieur, par Mon Empressement a vous communiquer ceci, combien je prens a cœur une affaire a laquelle vous vous interessez.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre, &c.

LOUIS DE BRUNSWICK.

A la haye, le 28 Jan<sup>r</sup>, 1760.

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Young Oliphant writes to his uncle Lord Nairne,—“It is with the greatest pain that I'm obliged to importune my very dear Uncle about this unlucky affair of y<sup>r</sup> son Charles; it is puting your Lordship to a very great hardship to advance that sum, a part only of which you can ever expect your Son will be able to repay, but what can be done? these great people that have interested themselves in it, P. Louis of Brunswick, the Duc of Bouillon, & y<sup>e</sup> Count d'Affray, will all think themselves affronted, and instead of doing a service to y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup> Family, which we hoped would be the case, it would turn out quite y<sup>e</sup> contrary and expose your Lordship and all concern'd to be talk'd of in a very disagreeable manner, besides puting a bar to any future aplication to y<sup>r</sup> French Relations, if any pressing exigency should require it. Therefore, if you will be so very indulgent as allow me to give an Advice, I would propose that your L<sup>p</sup> should directly inclose a Draught upon Scotland to Principal Gordon for the Sum of three Th. Liv. . . . If your L<sup>p</sup> agrees to this, I shall write directly to know how much mony Charles can possibly raise upon his portion or other ways. . . . L<sup>d</sup> Ogilvy's own sentiments are that there is no time to be lost. Your L<sup>p</sup>, though you lost y<sup>r</sup> fortune in y<sup>r</sup> Country's cause, has by a blissing from above upon your being in your Duty never wanted, & the making this effort to extricate your Son will, I dar venture to say, never make you poorer in the end, and the reflection on a good deed will give

you pleasure within. My Father, Mother, Meggy, & I joyn in kind Compliments & Dutys to y<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> & Lady Clementina.”

This letter was successful. Lord Nairne sent Oliphant on the 12th of February a bill for 3,000 livres. The intercessor returned thanks, saying that he thought one of his greatest honours was to be nephew to Lord Nairne. The young culprit Charles had besides to pay 100 guilders for lawyer’s fees. All this was a great sum to come out of the pittance upon which the Nairne family were living at Sancerre. As it was. the business dragged on for more than a year from this time.

Secretary Edgar writes to Gask for the last time from Rome, on January 29, 1760:—“I read your own words to His Majesty; as he does full justice to your and your son’s merit and sufferings, he took extreme kindly of you what you say, and he commands me to make you both many thanks and compliments in his name.”

Half a year later, His Majesty was pleased to send to Gask the patent of the Peerage. It will be seen that the true descent of the Oliphants was unknown at this time; all the years between 1455 and 1545 were wrapped in darkness; and these mistakes were not set right until 1839. Neither Gask nor his descendants have ever reaped any benefit from this patent, which I now copy.

James R.

James the eight, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: Whereas we are fully sensible of the constant duty and attachment of our trusty and well-beloved Laurence Oliphant of Gask and of his family towards us, of which they have given us many and distinguished proofs, and in consequence of which the said Laurence and his Son are both attainted by the present usurpation: And on this occasion it having been represented to us, that the title of Lord Oliphant was originally conferred on the representative of that family by King James the third of our ancient Kingdom of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> which continued in it till the time of our royal grandfather, King Charles the first, when the only daughter and child of

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<sup>1</sup> It was in truth James the Second.

the then Lord Oliphant married M<sup>r</sup> Douglas, a son of the Earl of Angus, who was thereupon created Lord Mordington, with the precedency due to the Lord Oliphant; and at the same time our royal grandfather created Patrick Oliphant, the heir male of that family, Lord Oliphant, and to the heirs male of his body, which are all now extinct, whose grandson, Patrick Lord Oliphant, made a procuratory of resignation of that title and honour in favor of the late James Oliphant of Gask, father of the said Laurence, which procuratory never having been completed, the said title and honor is now at our disposition: And we being very desirous to give the said Laurence Oliphant descended from a second son of the first Lord Oliphant, a special mark of our royal favour for his distinguished merit, and for his sufferings in our cause and service, have therefore thought it proper to confer and bestow on him, and the heirs male of his family aftermentioned, the title of honor of Lord Oliphant, with the precedency from the date of the patent given by our royal grandfather, King Charles the first, to Patrick then made Lord Oliphant. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we hereby ordain letters patent to pass under our great seal of our said ancient kingdom of Scotland, making and creating, as we hereby make and create the said Laurence Oliphant a Lord and Peer of Parliament, by the name and title of Lord Oliphant, To have and to hold to him and the heirs male of his body, whom failing to the heirs male of the body of the said late James Oliphant his father, with all the privileges, preheminiencies, places, immunities and other advantages, and with the precedency of the patent granted by our said royal Grandfather to Patrick then made Lord Oliphant, conform to the laws and customs of our said ancient kingdom, and in as full and ample manner as any other Lord does hold the same; Which letters are likewise to contain all such clauses as are necessary for making the same valid and effectual; And we hereby dispense with all informalities, if any be, herein contained, and ordain the said letters patent to pass our Great Seal of our said ancient Kingdom of Scotland per saltem without passing any other seal, for doing whereof this shall be a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Rome, the fourteenth day of July, 1760, and of our reign the fifty ninth year.—J. R.

Sir John Graeme, the new Secretary, whom King James had just created Lord Alford, sent the Patent to Gask with the following letter:—

DEAR SIR,

Having at last read to the King your letter to his address, which has been long lying by me on account of his Majesty's illness, and having likeways lay'd before him the state of the peerage of Oliphant, H.M. has been graciously pleas'd to confer that Title upon you by a new Patent with the precedency due by that of Patrick Lord Oliphant created by Charles the first, to be held and injoyed by you and the heirs male of your body, failing of whom by the heirs male of your fathr's body, as you will see by the Warrant here inclos'd, upon which I make you with great pleasure and satisfaction my sincere and hearty Compliment.

You see by this the value and consideration H. M. has for you in granting your request in the manner he thought would be most agreeable to you; but as he does not think it would be fit in your present situation and circumstances to take the Title upon you, he desires you may not make use of it untill a proper time when it may be of advantage to you, and then upon asking his permission or that of his lawfull successor you may be sure it will not be refus'd. I am perswaded you will not follow the example of certain folks, whose names you may easily guess, who have taken their Titles contrary to H. My's Intentions, at which he cannot but be displeas'd.

I was sorry to learn by a letter I receiv'd from you by last post that a milk diet did not agree with your son, and shall be impatient to hear of his being quite well again. I communicated to the King your and your family's allarms on his Illness and your Joy upon his recovery, and H.M. orders me to return you a kind Compliment in his name. Pray assure your Lady of my sincere friendship and best wishes as to the whole family, and believe me ever heartily and affectionately,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

ALFORD.

Rome, July 15th, 1760.

Your old Comerade Mr. Edgar makes you his Compliments.

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Lady Gask had brought with her from Scotland a young girl, who waited in the household. In 1761, Gask makes this entry in his Journal:—

April 25.—Meg. thought fitt to leave our House in Corbeil at three in the morning, takeing all her cloaths with her; she landed at Paris, and went into the Convent of Noveau Converti.

Lady Gask wrote to the culprit three days later:—

MEG,

The very odd maner you have treated a family that has taken care of you since ever you was born, surprises us all greatly; we did not think it posible that you could have been so ingrattfull; you have put a great afront upon us, when you abandon'd us to goe live with those you have no concern with. I told you, that if you did not leave off the abominable custom you had of making lies, that it was in our power to send you where you never saw a face. I told you at the same time that if you would be in your Duty to God & to us, that you should never want. For some time past you have not done any one thing I bid you doe; this you know; at the same time you must know that all I desir'd of you was for your own good, if you would allow yourself to think; but the leaving your prayer book lets me see your designs. O happy would it have been for you never to have left your own cuntry; let me tell you, Meg, tho you had never been beter than herding the cows there, hapier would it have been for you than what you have brought yourself to. There at least you would have been inocent; here by your behaviour you will be thought guilty by every one that has the least honour in them or that thinks right. We were fully resolv'd to have sent you home with Sandy Magregor & Beaty, to have stay'd with Lady Inchbrakie till we had gone home ourselves, where you would have been well taken care of. Think upon all I have said & return to your Duty, which is the only way you can be forgivin by

AM. OLIPHANT.

Corbeil, April 28th, 1761.

Some months later, Meg writes to her old employers, and likens Gask to Abraham wandering forth from his own land at the behest of Heaven. The Laird, not soothed by the compliment, endorses the letter, "From Meg, or rather from her Convent."

Soon afterwards came the news that Charles Nairne's entanglements in love and law were at an end, after having worried his kinsmen for two years. Mrs. Johnstone, one of the Rollo family and wife to Colonel Johnstone in the Dutch service, the lady who had first sent the evil tidings about Miss Boskaam, writes thus to Lady Gask:—

Its with the outmoust pleasure, my Dear Madam, that I can now inform you, M<sup>r</sup> Nairn's unlucky affair is now ended; his Trow Briff, and a discharge befor the Court Marchall are now in M<sup>r</sup> Johnstone's Possion. Poor man, it has Cost him above 100 pound St<sup>r</sup>, which M<sup>r</sup> Johnstone drow for from Scotland; the Woman for a Long time would accept of no less than Twelve Hunderd Gild., but at last got it for a thousand. M<sup>r</sup> Johnston wrote the Duke of Wolfenbatle it is ended, which was also necessary; it would take half a Queer paper, to give you all the particulars; but now it's done. M<sup>r</sup> Nairn was alowd to slip to Scotland last year, and M<sup>r</sup> Johnstone had intrest enough withe Colonel Mackay to get him another year's forloug. Poor Man, we can do no more for him. I assure you, my Dear Madam, M<sup>r</sup> Johnstone left no stone unturn'd to serve M<sup>r</sup> Nairn, and hops to oblidge you and my other friend, which allwise gives us pleasure.

I was in hops to have got to Scotland as soon as the exercise was over, but the Grand French Army being so near us, no forloss are given, but I hope we will get away against the first of Jully; my last letters from Scotland, all friends were well, Mama was to be this summer at Duncrub with my sister Rollo; My Lord my Brother still in America; his Son a Captain in Colonel Mongomray's Highland Rigement. My kindest Comp<sup>t</sup> to all friends with you. Best wishes to yourself and family; belive I am,

My Dear Madam,  
Your most affectnet and most Humbel Servant,  
JANE JOHNSTONE.

Nymegen, 14th June, 1761.

Your Nephew M<sup>r</sup> Robertson was apointed an officer in this Regiment some months ago, but has never joind the Reg<sup>t</sup>, which is thought very odd; I beg of you to get him to come over imadetly, I have my Reasons for it; adieu.

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The Strowan family had for some months been at Givet, not far from the country where their son was serving. The Oliphants now moved in the same direction and left Corbeil. They travelled with a passport from King Louis, bearing date the 27th of September, 1761. They took up their abode for the next two years at Charleville, which is divided from Mezières by the Meuse. The town was exempted from the general taxes of the Kingdom, and was doubtless a cheap place. Nor was this its only attraction. Ten miles off, over the boundary of France, stood the old Castle of Bouillon, where Prince Charles was whileing away the heavy time by hunting in the forest of Ardennes. About eighteen months earlier, his mistress, Miss Walkinshaw, had fled from him to Paris with her daughter, the future Duchess of Albany. This step had been taken under the sanction of King James; and the child was now being brought up in a Convent at Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince, as will be seen, was in a most moody frame of mind, bereaved of those he loved best. His new neighbours, the Oliphants and Robertsons, enjoyed opportunities of intercourse with him, which fell to the lot of few of the Scotch exiles. Gask's eyesight had begun to fail, and it was his son who now carried on the family correspondence. He thus

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<sup>1</sup> Klose, in his history of the Prince, quotes for these facts the Duc de St. Simon, whose works were published in 1791. Little has hitherto been known of the Prince's history for the ten years before he went to live in Italy. Secretary Edgar considered Charles' incognito, preserved for so many years, as one of the most extraordinary circumstances that ever occurred.

writes to Mr. Murray, a friend in Paris, on February 16th, 1762:—

D<sup>R</sup> SIR,

Before the Season for mutton is pass'd, my Mother sends you half an Ardenne one, which she hopes you will find good, not as a present, but as an Introduction for writing, in hopes you will let us poor Campagnards, far distant from Intelligence, know what is passing in your great town, & how bowls are like to roll.<sup>1</sup> You would hear how many of our Country folks pass'd here, the two Scots & four Irish Reg<sup>ts</sup>. We endeavourd to shew them what Civilitys we could, without distinction of nations, to rectifie many bad notions they had got conserning a certain person. . . . I have as yet seen but one *pies de gibié*,<sup>2</sup> & killd none. I asked of you in my last to know somthing of M<sup>r</sup> D'aguesseau's character. Tom & Henry, L<sup>d</sup> Nairne's 2 Sons, were with us 14 days. L<sup>d</sup> Strathallan & his Brother left y<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> before it came here, & went a nearer way to Boulogne. I hope y<sup>e</sup> worthy Principal keeps free of his Colds this winter. . . . You have heard that Strowan & his family are here. Blairfetty has got his retreat upon Mezières, & will come to Givet soon. So you see our Colony is augmenting.

Lady Gask goes on:—

As their is little appearence of my having success in my affairs in London, this is to beg of you, Dear Sir, that you will double your diligence in getting some thing done for us in Paris; there is plenty of vacancys, which to be sure will be taken up by one or other; to gett the start of them is the point; the D. of Boulion speaking to the Minister would certainly doe it, but I know the difficulty is to gett the D. to speak, which I confess is giving you a hard task, but as I know your goodness for us, shall only add that you may believe me we will never forget the favoure. I ever am,

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<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been a favourite phrase with Oliphant in matters political. His daughter uses it in a song, referring to the Commonwealth; “Monk ga'e the bowls a row, man.”

<sup>2</sup> *Pièces de gibier* – Head of game.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir, &c.

Oliphant's next letter, a week later, is evidently to Prince Charles's Secretary:—

“I think myself much obliged to you for being so punctual to y<sup>r</sup> word in acquainting me of the young Gentleman's Health, the knowing of whose wellfair is y<sup>e</sup> greatest satisfaction this family can possibly receive, & hope you will be so good as continue to give us that comfort monthly, with your master's permission. You would hear that a great many of our Country folks pass'd here coming from the Army; I took care to acquaint the principal amongst them, that I was perfectly well inform'd a certain person was heal & well, which gave them all y<sup>e</sup> greatest pleasure, as they had heard many rediculous storys relating to Him on their march, which I assured them were false, & that they might dipend the Brave Young Lion would rouse up & appear like himself, whenever the proper time & Circumstances required it.”

Here is a letter from an old Corbeil friend, the Abbot of St. Spire, who alludes to Charles Edward:—

A Corbeil, ce 27 fev. 1762.

J'ay reçu la votre, Monsieur, à mon retour de Campagne, avec un vray plaisir; je vous prie cependant, puisque votre santé y est interessée, de ne me point écrire que quand elle vous le permettra. . . . Permettex moy de vous dire, qu'un homme comme vous est incapable de manquer à quelque ce soit. . . Je suis sincèrement fâché de l'indisposition de my lady, mais je la connais femme forte pour offrir à Dieu plaisir et peine; ainsy ses douleurs luy seront plus supportables qu'à d'autres personnes de son sexe. Notre Général a été enlevé, comme un corps S<sup>t</sup>, il y a un mois, pour être auprès de sa brillante Contesse, pour une legère indisposition, qui luy est survenue; elle a tant de soin de son petit papa, que toute la faculté de Paris, et tous les remedes, decoctions, glisteres, medecines, &c, du malade imaginaire, ne sont pas suffisans pour le traiter. Parturiunt montes, nascetur rediculus mus.

On a frappé cruellement et indignement le grand, dont vous me parlez; je me flatte cependant, que comme il est intacte, fort, et robuste, que les plaies, dont il avait été

inhumainement accablé, gueriront sans qu'il en reste la moindre cicatrice; si notre glorieux martyr de la fortune et des mauvaises langues avait besoin d'un medecin spirituel, zelé, et desinteressé, je ne tarderais guère à luy offrir mes petits services; je quitterais même les tresors du Perou pour partager avec luy ses disgraces. Je crains vous ennuyer, et je fini en vous priant d'assurer vos deux familles de mes respects très humbles et d'une amitié à toutte épreuve, et de me croire avec les mêmes sentimens, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur,

L'ABBÉ DE ST. SPIRE.

M. le Marechal de Broglio est disgracié et exilé, dit on, à sa terre; son frere et son fils l'ont suivis. On dit aussy que M. le Duc d'Orleans commandera à sa place avec le Marechal d'Etrée sous luy; M. le Marechal de Soubise continuera son commandement, avec M. de Chevers sous ses ordres. On dit que les Hollandais arment à force, par terre et par mer, pour se mettre en état de deffense contre les puissances qui voudraient les forcer à y prendre partie. Je ne vous dis rien de M. Bouret; je ne le vois pas, mais il passe toujours pour Mons<sup>r</sup> Mille Affaires. Madame Syrié est à Paris auprès de notre très cher général et M. son Epoux, chopine avec l'un et l'autre; et je suis seul à rêver sur la tristesse de mon sort, et à ces paroles du profete Roy: Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena.

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Upon Prince Charles, who was living so near them, the Oliphants had designs of their own, in which they were aided by their old friend Dr. Forbes. He had been imprisoned by the Government in 1745; he was now living at Leith, and was in this year, 1762, chosen Bishop of Orkney.<sup>1</sup> He was a great collector of Jacobite relics, and may have been the giver of some that are still kept at Gask; he was unwearied in taking down from the lips of Jacobite confessors the account of their sufferings after Culloden, and of the wonderful escape of their Prince. Dr. Forbes, more than any one else, has branded

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of him see Dr. Chambers' Jacobite Memoirs.

Cumberland's name with everlasting infamy; the good man's chosen correspondent was Dr. Gordon, a Nonjuring Bishop in London.<sup>1</sup> These Prelates about this time joined the Oliphants in a new plot to further the restoration of the Stuarts; the first step was, to make Prince Charles openly declare himself a Protestant; the second, to get him a Protestant wife. The little knot of plotters carried on their conspiracy, hoping against hope, for about ten years. The first step of the plot seems to have been achieved on the 12th of August, 1762; the paper I now print bears that date, and is in Gask's handwriting. The old man could seldom have spent a happier hour; with hearty earnestness must he have pronounced the Song of Simeon, next Sunday evening. No one was at hand to whisper that Protestant light had beamed upon the Stuarts fifty years too late.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a little about Dr. Gordon in Lathbury's History of the NonJurors; he was an enemy of the celebrated Dr. King.

1762.  
Aug: 11<sup>th</sup>.

Assure my friends in Britain that I am in perfect good health and that they must not lose hopes for that I expect all things will go well, That I hope u will come some day like a Thunder bolt; and that I shall not neglect to recompence every worthy subject as soon as it shall be in my power which I hope will be soon. They may be assured I shall live and die in the Religion of the Church of England which I have embraced, and that no kind thing can be said but what I wish to all my dear friends, for whos good I wish more to be amongst them than for any advantage it would be to my self, as I have no great ambition except for their welfare

*Paper in Gask's handwriting  
dictated to him by Prince Charles Edward in 1762,  
probably at the Castle of Bouillon.*

“Assure my Friends in Britain, that I am in perfect good health; that I hope it will come like a thunderbolt; & that I shall not neglect to recompence every worthy subject as soon as it shall be in my power.

They may be assured I shall live & die in the Religion of the Church of England, which I have embraced; & that no kind

thing can be said but what I wish to all my dear Friends, for whose Good I wish more to be amongst them, than for any advantage it would be to myself, as I have no great Ambition except for their Welfare.”

Bishop Forbes copies this declaration into his book, and adds:—“N.B. The above transcribed from a true Copy, taken, upon Honour, from the Original Holograph of that faithful Friend, who wrote every word of it at y<sup>e</sup> Desire, & from the Mouth, of C. P. R. When written, he desired the said Friend to read it audibly to him, & then said, *It is very well*. After which he desired to have it in his own Hands, in order to peruse it with his own Eyes, & then he said; *It is perfectly right. Let it be sent as it is.*”<sup>1</sup>

The plotters interchanged letters through Lady Gask, who about this time went back to Scotland with her daughter-in-law, that the expected heir to the family might be born in that country. The ladies were spared the harassing sea voyage from London to Leith by the kindness of their old friend Dr. William Hunter. That great man, who was now at the head of his profession, (he was this year consulted on the pregnancy of Queen Charlotte), writes thus to Lady Gask, as she was passing through London.<sup>2</sup>

Sept<sup>r</sup> 6, 1762.

MADAM,

Enclosed is an order for a post chaise, which I take the liberty of leaving for you, because I think your situation requires it; and to remove any scruples you may have, I assure you in the first place that I have no sort of use for it; in the second place, I am so much obliged to some of your friends and relations, that gratitude makes me happy in the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles’s religion had always sat loosely upon him. So far back as 1742, his father had found reason to complain of this. See King James’s letter in Brown’s “History of the Highlands,” iii., 479.

<sup>2</sup> I transcribe the three following papers from a shorthand manuscript, written by Rachel Oliphant, great-granddaughter to Lady Gask, in 1821. She seems to have got them from a representative of Dr. Hunter.

occasion. I am only afraid that you may think it impertinence and disrespectful, but if you knew my way of thinking upon the occasion, you could not have the least objection; you would accept of my unemployed chaise, merely to oblige one who wishes you so well, and who feels so sensibly the hardships which Providence is pleased at present to lay you under. But if you are so good to excuse me and to believe the purity of my intentions, there are many people in the world that will not; and therefore the next favour I have to ask is, that no mortal may know anything of the subject of this letter. May Heaven preserve you and make you happy in every respect! I am with the greatest respect, Madam,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

Lady Gask made answer:—

DEAR SIR,

Our surprise, on seeing the contents of your letter, is to be felt on very few occasions, and can be expressed on none. Instances of the goodness of your heart and the purity of your intentions have subsisted ever since our earliest acquaintance, which makes us see this new mark of your very uncommon generosity in its true light. I think it would be mean, and therefore not suitable to people of our principles, if we should think it beneath us to receive an obligation from a gentleman of merit, who can have no view of reward but that pleasure which is always felt doing a good and generous action. As there is nothing in the world, particularly at present, wherein we can be of the least service to you, we shall always look upon it as an incumbent duty to pray the great Disposer of all things to continue to give success to all your undertakings, and give you as much health and prosperity as will carry you, as easily and comfortably as is consistent with the human state, to a good old age; and from that to where all friends wish to meet and continue in perfect happiness to all eternity. Forgive this little sermon, as it comes from one who desires to be prepared for every event, and who will never cease to be, with great regard,

Dear Sir, yours, &c.

September 6, 1762.

Dr. Hunter, who writes like a King to his officers, gave Lady Gask the following passport:—

“To his friends of the Profession, D<sup>r</sup> Hunter presents his best compliments and takes the liberty of asking the favour of any of them that may have occasion, that they will be pleased to transfer any friendship they have for him, to this Lady, M<sup>rs</sup> Oliphant, if she have occasion to trouble them; and he will ever retain a grateful sense of obligation.

“London, Jermyn Street, 9 Sept<sup>r</sup>, 1762.”

The ladies, thanks to their kind friend, soon reached Scotland, as the next letter bears witness. Mr. Whytt, who had remained behind, still on the banks of Meuse to dream of Earn, thus writes to his wife on the 28th of October.

DEAREST MADAM,

It's with vast pleasure, and ought to be with the outmost gratitude to our most mercyfull Creator, that you & your Daughter in Law are arrived in health & safety, to the end of your Journey, and with pleasure to yourselves. I'm fond that your Friends, where ever you have passed, have received you with so much kindness & affection. You will be inquireing into the state of your affairs; I recomend that you'd cause look about your small Plantations, and that you'l recomend to Simon<sup>1</sup> & Lawson, that they would be severe to all that shall cutt trees or brake down any branches for fireing. M<sup>r</sup> Kemp<sup>2</sup> has a good character, but I do not incline to meddle any more in these affairs; let Simon do what he finds shall be most proper. As I hope you'l soon return, I could wish that you would find out a discreet middle aged Clergyman to bring along with you, his Sallary to be not above ten p<sup>ds</sup> Sterl. yearly, and to eat in your house.<sup>3</sup> As to M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>leish, I'm sorry to learn he has been so much distressed in his Health. It will perhaps be agreeable to him, and let him know that I do

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<sup>1</sup> The Laird of Condie.

<sup>2</sup> The Minister who succeeded Mr. M<sup>c</sup>leish at Gask.

<sup>3</sup> This chaplain was probably designed for Prince Charles, the new convert.

heartily forgive him all the Injurys he has done me undeservidly. (Here Gask goes over the old ground of the augmentation of stipend). A Predicessor of his in Cromwell's time had obtain'd ane Augmentation, and particularly a hunder Merks for Communion Eliments, and sixteen pund Scots for & in lew of a Horse and two Cow's grass, which are expressly mention'd in the Decreet of Locality in my Custody. I shall mention no other particulars of the way he has treated me, but as I have sincerly forgiven, I pray our Commune Father to forgive him, which I hope he will be earnest to obtain. Offer our good wishes to all our friends & neighbours, & in particular to the Laird of Logie, with whom we were six or eight days at Berlin. This, praying for health & happyness to you, your Dat<sup>r</sup> in Law, and the Child, is till meeting from him who is ever yours while

D<sup>r</sup> Madam

JOHN WHYTT.

Char. Oct<sup>r</sup> 28, 1762.

Mr. Brown addresses his mother on the back of the sheet.

DEAR M.

It was a good fancy of Meg's to date her part of the letter from the good old Hall. Symon's advice is a good one like an Honest Hearty Cock as he is; I think lang to shake hands wi' him. M<sup>r</sup> Whytt desires you will make all the enquiry you can about the old papers that were lost, and particularly at Clerk miller. I'm very glad to hear of my old Governor's preferment; pray make my kind compliments to him I shall try the Spa water, & have already spoak to one to get it me. I still think the cold bath when the proper season comes would confirm my constitution more than anny thing. An acquaintance at a good distance from this, who is very well, desires to know what reparations y<sup>e</sup> D. of A<sup>l</sup> is making at N. and Stanley.<sup>1</sup> Poor M<sup>r</sup> Macklish, I wish he may live and turn a

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<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Athole bought the Nairne estates from Government, giving it out that he was acting in behalf of his forfeited kinsmen. No one bid against him; he then pulled down the house. One of the Nairne family remarks in a letter about this, "A man's foes are they of his own house."

new Man, & we have an opportunity of shewing him how heartily we forgive him; pray give my service to him; I'm sure, if you can give him any ease or comfort in his distress, you will. . . . I remember nothing more, so shall on the next page crack with y<sup>e</sup> Wife.

My D<sup>r</sup> M.—I hope now you are runing about through the fir park, down to the denn, up to the barns and byers, or perhaps playing at hide & seek in the Serpentine walk & thicket with L<sup>y</sup> Bunzian & Miss Jeany Graeme. Well, haud y<sup>e</sup> merry till I see you; it is good, according to Solomon & me, that is, with innocence. . . . Though you may believe it would be very agreeable to have you here, I desire you will not push M<sup>rs</sup> Whytt in any manner to set out before March. Saundy has got two letters, both pressing, telling that he should have a Lieut<sup>n<sup>c</sup>y</sup> in an old corps, & all the mony he could desire advanced, & a Captaincy very soon; both which offers he has refused, & is finely determin'd not to accept; you will easily judge, what opinion this gives me of y<sup>e</sup> young man.<sup>1</sup> I have not been at ye shooting but twice; I spoak overly to you of a dog, but desire you will not bring one, as I know what a trouble he would be to M<sup>rs</sup> Whytt & you, besides y<sup>e</sup> expence. You may bring a line or two for trout and one for salmon, with 5 or 6 salmon hooks busk'd. Remember me to all my friends; Black Pat, Simon, & Glawd will never be forgot; how is Meg Clow? remember me to her, & my D<sup>r</sup> Threipland in particular. Is old Peter Red, poor man, alive? how does young Peter thrive, and all ye remaining good old tenants: I wish them all well. I hope James Crawford will prove as honest a man as his father, which is saying a great deal. I need not desire you to be carefull of M<sup>rs</sup> Whytt. I know you will be making friends for me by being as polite & agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> neighbours as you can.

Adieu, my D<sup>r</sup> M:

JO. BROWN.

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<sup>1</sup> Commissions in the British Army seem to have been offered to Strowan's eldest son Alexander.

The old Laird soon had to put into his Journal the following item.

1762.

October 22.—On this day, my Daughter in law was brought to bed of a Daughter at Gask; christened by M<sup>r</sup> Erskine Min<sup>r</sup> at Muthil, Marjory Ann Mary.

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Here ends Gask's Journal of his wanderings, after having been kept for sixteen years. It fills two small books, and would be most interesting to any one who might wish to know the state of agriculture in foreign parts, four generations back. If in this particular Gask is like Arthur Young, the Laird describes the French Court and its ways like a homely Dangeau. It must be borne in mind that, but for the help of this Court, he and his would have been starving.

He wrote again from Charleville to his wife in Scotland; the letters seem to have been a month on the road:—

DEAREST MADAM,

We at last received, the 21st of Nov<sup>r</sup>, yours of Oct<sup>r</sup> 22nd, giving the account that your Daughter in law was happily deliver'd of a thumping Girle, of which I wish her and you much Joy. I desire all our Friends in this place shall be with us tomorrow to rejoice on the occasion.

You'll be the best Judges yourselves whether we see you about the beginning of the New Year. You'l mind the Birthday.<sup>1</sup> The progress of your affair at London may much regulate you in that Matter. I give many thanks to Miss Mary and the Captain's Lady who assisted your Daughter-in-law as Cummers. My eyes don't allow me to venture more writeing at this time. I am, &c.

JOHN WHYTT.

Nov 22nd, 1762.

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<sup>1</sup> The Prince's birthday.

Mr. Brown now goes on; he abounds in medical details about himself, which I omit:—

D. M.

It is now my turn to wish heartily that the little Damesel may be a joy, a blessing, & a comfort to all concern'd. . . . Although Mr Whytt says he leaves off because of his Eyes, they are no worse than ordinary. . . . I'm very sorry for the long bad cold you had; if the fox should begin to preach & bid you be carefull for the future, I'm affraid you would laugh; for fear of which I shall brake of, with only a word to the wise, & bid you most heartily farewell.

JO. BROWN.

He then goes on with a letter to his wife, referring to his little nephew at Inchbrakie.

DR. M.

Your Gazet, as you call it, was most agreeable. I must begin with commending you for a fine clever wife, and hope since you are adroit, you will practise often & fill the dining room at last. . . . And, Mouse, I should have liked much to have seen your young Conductor on his Powny; pray remember his Auld Uncle to him, who will come over soon enough to be his Equier; but in the mean time let him sit straight and turn in his toes, and if the horse is canny, trotting up & down without stirops will give him a firm seat. I think you have been lucky folks in such companions and kind neighbours; many, many thanks to them all. . . . I remember'd you yesterday to Mr & M<sup>me</sup> Chat & niece; they are still y<sup>e</sup> same good kind folks, and sent several times to know if there was any news from you; none is more warm hearted than the Nun. . . . I wish you joy of your new lover; I shall only say long may you be so, & I come in for a third hand. . . . I am sure you would find Machany pretty, & more so by its agreeable inhabitants. I'm sorry Glaud's wife is tender; there's a family of men & women there that will make me an old man. . . . Your foal continues well; I fear we dar not sell it till you give consent. Mr. Whytt and I continue to ride out. The parks & trees about Inchbrakie will be making a figour now, it was a bair place when I saw it last. Is drink-mony out of fashion? it was, I'm affraid, too good a resolution to be kept. . . . I find I will not

have time to fill up this, for I must go mind the family affairs; we are to have Company, and the dinner is to be broth & a Haggis, a shoulder of mutton & roast beef, colyflower, & Salery from y<sup>e</sup> Garden. Adieu, my D<sup>r</sup> M., I cannot end my scrawl so prittyly as you did yours, yet will venture to say my sentiments are y<sup>e</sup> same.

JO. BROWN.

Nov. 3rd.

In striking contrast to the off-hand style of this last letter is the despatch sent by young Oliphant not long before to head-quarters at Rome. He could not bear to see the sad state of the Prince, now sinking from bad to worse. He therefore wrote to Lord Alford:— Sept. 9th, 1762.

MY LORD,

As I know it will be agreeable, I write this to inform your L<sup>p</sup> that my mother and wife set out from this the 17th Aug<sup>t</sup>, went by water to Namure, arrived at Flushing y<sup>e</sup> 25th, to which place Captain Robertson, Strowan's brother, conducted them; luckily y<sup>e</sup> Yaucht did not sail till next day, y<sup>e</sup> 26th, aboard which they went with a fair wind at 5 in y<sup>e</sup> morning & landed at Dover by four o'clock y<sup>e</sup> same evening and arrived at London by the flying coach y<sup>e</sup> 27th. My wife made out the voyage extreamly well. I have heard nothing from Scotland of a great while; I believe, if possible, the Ladys will be tempted to go that length. Our little Colony here keep their healths prety well; Strowan is often a good deal out of order; my Father keeps out very tolerably; I have been better this Summer than ordinary, towards the end of it some fits of y<sup>e</sup> astma, but I expect to have no more of them.

I hear frequently of the health of a certain person in this neighbourhood; he is very well, but his situation is most dismal; a P. in the flower of his age, without Company, no turn to books, nothing to think on but his melancholy situation. O my D<sup>r</sup> Friend, might I conjure you to get something done to bring him out of it. These are matters I do not like to presume to meddle in, but it makes the heart bleed to think on the way he is in; if no body will attempt to get him satisfied, how melancholy is the prospect. Your Rank, my Lord, puts it in your power to do a great deal; for God's sake

think seriously upon it & attempt it; no doubt M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Murray would acquaint you with the answer was delivered me to a letter I carryd from him to y<sup>e</sup> P.

“Tell him that he may write M<sup>r</sup> Campell for answer, that I will come into no Scheimes with the Court of France or my Country people, till such time as my Daughter is restored and Satisfaction given me for the affront of carrying her off; That several people of distinction of French and of my Countrymen have come, but could not see me, because as I have often told my Resolution was taken, and that it was to no purpos for M<sup>r</sup> Campbell or others to write any more till such time as proper satisfaction was given.”

Is there no possibility of the Child's being sent back to make up maters? no one sure would think it too great a condesension when there is so much at stake; two days ago I went with another letter, the answer was; “That though there should be a thousand letters writ, and a thousand people should come, it was all to no purpos, as his Resolution was taken.”

Is the Heir to the Crown to be left in such a state, because he put on a Resolution perhaps too rashly, and pushes it too far? Surely your L<sup>p</sup> cannot be of that opinion. Are we not all men subject to passions and weaknesses, and does not Christianity order us to be indulgent to those of others, and by Condecensions gain the high-minded, whoes strong natural parts can be bent by nothing else? I'm very positive in the present case proper indulgence would have the effect desired & restore Harmony; what Joy would this give to all the Distress'd Subjects who see, & feel, and with submissive patience only put up a wish to Heaven.

You know His natural sweetness of temper, & several that have been with him during his Incognito, especialy M<sup>r</sup> Murray, have told me often he does not know any one thing about y<sup>e</sup> P. that he could wish different, except a tendency to ye Bottle; & M<sup>r</sup> Stewart that is with him just now (and very lucky it is that he has so faithfull & worthy a lad about him) told me only two days ago that he continues to have as fine a sweet temper as possible, and no one vice; as to the drinking he says that any one who knew him thoroughly would find

there was very little in that; for what it would take to quench another's thirst affects Him, which hinders it from hurting his health, & that the P has told him often that he knew very well that it was wrong, and that if his situation was alter'd, he would give it up, but at present a Glass now and then helped to pass the time which hung very heavy on him; for some weeks pass'd M<sup>r</sup> Stewart told me he has given up drinking any Vin de Liqueur after meals, and lives regularly & rarely exceeds.

I have, my D<sup>r</sup> Lord, given you my thoughts freely on this very important Subject, and though the form & expressions may not be proper, hope you will find the intention good, & be assured that I am with the greatest respect & friendship,

My L<sup>d</sup>, &c.

Lord Alford writes back from Rome on October 12th, and snubs young Oliphant in this wise:—

“I suppressed your letter for fear of making you incur the King's displeasure. Let me beg of you to beware of meddling in this critical conjuncture, and of advancing such topics as those contained in the exclamatory part of your letter. The course you propose would widen the breach in place of shutting it.”<sup>1</sup>

Not long after sending off his letter to Rome, Oliphant wrote a less formidable one to “Mons<sup>r</sup> Bouret, Fermier General, Directeur des postes et messageries de France.” He seems to have been an old Corbeil friend.

MONS<sup>R</sup>

Je ne compte pas vous donner la paine de vous ecrire, encor moins vous solliciter, mais M. le Comte de Murray me marque qu'il vous a rencontré a souper il y a quelques jours, et que vous avez eu la bonté non seulement de souvenir de moi, mais de dire même que vous parlerez a M. le Duc de Choiseul pour faire avoir à mon père et moi la gratification de Mons<sup>r</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It may be, that the Court at Rome had by this time got an inkling of the Protestant plot of the Oliphants. This would account for the snub; moreover, Lord Alford was a convert from Protestantism.

Gordon de Couberdy, qui a quitté la France. Je ne pouvais me dispenser de vous temoigner ma sensibilité d'une souvenir si efficace, et qui me prouve d'une manier si marqué que l'absence n'a pas changé la disposition bienfaisant que vous avez si souvent montré pour moi; et puisque vous voulez toujours continuer, j'imagine qu'il sera plus apropos de demander cet gratification, que n'est, je croi, que de 800L., pour M<sup>me</sup> Oliphant au lieu de mon père et moi; parceque, ayant point de dotte, elle sera bien a plaindre, si je vennois à mourir. Il y a des exemples pour cecy; Mi Lady Strathallan a eu un gratification depuis quelques années dans cet gout, et pleusieurs autres dames de notre pays; cela sera un joli bouquet pour M<sup>me</sup> Oliphant de votre part à son retour et que la surprendra bien agreeablement. Votre tems est trop precieux pour que je vous tienne plus longue tems."

The writer ends with the usual compliments; we may hope that the copy he has left behind of his letter was only a rough draught.

The next paper was dictated by Gask to his son on the 16th of October, 1762.

"M<sup>r</sup> Douglas, who is writeing a new peerage of Scotland, having desired me, though but little versed in antiquity, to give him some account of the Family of Oliphant; it is my opinion that M<sup>r</sup> George Crawford has done a great deal of justice to the principal family, but I told him he had ommitted to mention that he had not named Walter Oliphant as Justiciar of Scotland; that when at Arbroath in 1733, I had taken a Cobby and got it notorialy attested of the Cartelary of that Abby granted by King William, called the Lion, to which Walter Oliphant is a witness and designed 'Justitiarius Scociæ;' M<sup>r</sup> Crawford said he had not seen anny paper designing him so, before he publish'd his book, but had seen many since.<sup>1</sup>

"As to the other Familys of that name, I can say little about them, as never having seen any of their papers, excepting some of Condie's; but I had had the perusal of those of Gask

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<sup>1</sup> Laodonia, not Scotia, was the province most usually ruled by the Olifards as Justiciaries.

and had seen in the records what Vouchers are not in his custody. (I suppress Gask's descent from the First Lord Oliphant, since he was wholly under a mistake as regards the ninety years that followed 1455, as I have already said. I begin with Gask's father.) James Oliphant recover'd the lands of Gask and Cowgask after the death of his Uncle and his sons; he married Janet Murray daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Murray of Woodend, and possessed that estate after the death of her only Brother. The said James got a Resignation from Patrick Lord Oliphant his cousin of the Title of Lord Oliphant, yet he did not design it to the prejudice of any that had a nearer right; as appears from his having kept Colonel William Oliphant his Grand Uncle (after assumeing the title of Lord Oliphant upon the death of his nephew Lord Patrick) in his family for seven or eight years after and till his death, which happend in his Son's house at Williamstoun; and did not oppose Francis L<sup>d</sup> William's nephew in assuming the Honours, but did assist in getting him a pention, as he had no other way of subsisting.

“Laurence his son was attented in the year 1746.

“Laurence his son is also proscribed.

“It cannot easily be conceived what should have induced a Gentleman of the name to assume the titles of L<sup>d</sup> Oliphant upon the death of Francis the last Lord; if it was not that the Lands of Archally (belonged to a Cadet of the Family of Oliphant, but now extinct) being bought by his predecessor, should make him believe he had a title from that, although he cannot shew any connection in Blood with that family which possessed Archally.

“And as I imagine you will find that Gask has the best & only title to these Honours, I suppose he will not fail to assume them as soon as he shall find himself in a proper situation.

“These are all the particulars I can think of just now regarding y<sup>e</sup> family of Gask; if any thing I have mentioned does not seem clear enough, I know none so proper to inform you as the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>farlan, as I know he saw all the papers instructing that family. If any particular point occurs in which I can be of use to you, pray let me know it. I wish you

all manner of success in so laudable an undertaking, and am, &c.”

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The Oliphant above referred to, as having laid hands on the Title, was a descendant of the bastard son of the Abbot of Inchaffray, the Churchman who fell at Flodden. The well-known Sir William Oliphant, Advocate to King James VI., was one of this line, which in time came to own the lands of Archalzie and Bachilton. The Gask Oliphants looked upon the pretender to their honours with much of the scorn that they felt for the House of Brunswick. The subject is again brought forward twenty years later.

Gask's exile was now drawing to an end. In May, 1763, we find the reasons for and against his coming to Scotland, in his son's handwriting. The Prince is always his first thought.

Against M<sup>r</sup> Whytt's coming.

Leaving his Superior when every body seems to abandon him, and when he stands in need of Honest men to be near him.

Putting himself in the power of Government, & of every wretch base enough to accuse him.

The danger of being often shagreen'd and his Temper ruffled at finding his Planting, Dikes, Hedges, Enclosures, Gardens, and House in a decay'd situation, and funds wanting to repair them.

Finding himself pinched in his Circumstances, (if no addition is got.) Especialy as he will have a house and ferm to furnish and that his health may suffer if he does not continue to drink wine.

Living at home without enjoying y<sup>e</sup> Priviledges of a Native, or freedom of Sentiment, and in most of his affairs must act by others and wait their motions.

The Purchasers perhaps differing with him in opinion about selling more land, a proper Settlement of the Estate for their security, &c. He not altogether satisfied with them, not being able easily to help freating at their not managing some Transactions better; which on the other hand would

disgust him, as on the whole he is highly obliged to them, and no doubt they think so.

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For Mr Whytt's coming.

His affairs will be better managed & his Estate improved in many articles when he is upon the Spot.

The supposition of his Daughter in Law's coming frequently over to ly in is attended with risques, inconveniencys, and expence.

The difficulty of disposing of the Children when they come to be fitt for Education.

Living at home, & amongst his Children, Friends, and Relations, & by his Example instilling good principles in them.

The Exercise of his Religion.

Three of his nearest Relations here have of themselves proposed his coming, & desire he should be let know their opinion.

To be near the burrying place of his Ancestors.

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In the summer of 1763 Lady Gask was busy about her plot, as is shown by Bishop Forbes's book, full of correspondence; Prince Charles is alluded to by all the plotters as "Cousin Peggie," or "My favourite Lady." Their project now seemingly was, to choose a wife for the Prince from England or Scotland. The following are Bishop Forbes's notes of his conference with Lady Gask at Edinburgh in June. "As to the Marriage, good Mrs W. spoke very seriously to me about it the morning she went off from Edina, & asked my Opinion. I honestly & plainly told her, that in my humble Opinion, it was not in the power of Man, as Matters were circumstanced at present, to devise a better or wiser Match than an English one, all things fairly considered & weighed in the Ballance of Sober Reason. This startled her greatly. I then added, "that, to be sure, for Soundness & healthiness of constitution, &c, &c, I would prefer a Scots Match; but then, who would be so

mad as to entertain such a thought, as such an Event would evidently make matters worse & worse still." In a word, I reasoned this particular point fully, & the good Lady came to see the force of my Reasonings & the seasonableness of the Plan, could it be brought to bear. She then urged the common Objection; but I soon discussed that Point by shewing her that this was truly a vulgar Error; as it was only Matter of Precedent, & that there was no Law in the Case. However, I desired that my suggestion upon the interesting Point might go for nought; but that the opinion of good B. Gordoun should be taken about it; & for that end I gave a written Memorandum. The Conversation ended with saying; "O Madam! if this same Confabulation between you & me should happily end in a real Match, how joyous should we be!" "Ay; that is true indeed!" said she. "God grant Success!"

Bishop Forbes then refers to the projected return of the Oliphants to Gask. Writing to Bishop Gordon, he says; "I have no doubt, God willing, about seeing Somebody at Oldhall. A plan was laid for that too between Mrs W. & your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>, & I trust in God it will take place. But then, a word in your ear, my dear Sir, which is that in such an Event, you must positively & expressly forbid all Friends, even the nearest & dearest, to come near Oldhall, but when particularly desired. Throngs & Crowds of Company must be carefully avoided. . . . God be thanked for the good health of the friendly fair Lady."

Lady Gask writes on the 6th of July from London, where she and her son's wife had arrived. She tells Dr. Forbes of her interview with Dr Gordon, and of her claims on Government. "The good honest B—p did me the favour to come to my lodgings this morning. We had a long conversation. He told me he had seen one that saw my Cousin in May, & that she was in very good health, & even better than for some time past. He approves much of her marriage, & in his opinion one of a good Family in her own country might suit her very well, as matters stand. The Dutchess of Douglas has done her the honour of a visit. As to my affairs, I'm told that the Treasury here has ordered the Barons of Exchequer to look into them, & if the Law will allow of the thing, that it be granted. . . . It now seems all is in the Barons' power. It is hard I did not

know this, when so near them. I must trust now to good Friends. . . . The Memorial I brought with me can be of no use. I am, Dear Sir, yours most affectionately

AM. WHYTT.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Forbes had sent by Lady Gask a pot of marmalade to the Prince. She writes from Charleville on the 9th of August: "I have not made my visit yet, but will, God willing, in a few days. I cannot tell, if I shall write to you the Success, or delay it till meeting, as I am not fond of putting these things in writing. Tell the Doctor his Cousin is in good health & spirits. I heard of his laughing very heartily a few days ago."<sup>2</sup>

This year, 1763, Gask received his last Gratification from the French Government. I give one of the last letters that came to his Son when at Charleville.

A Monsieur Le Brun chez Monsieur Oliphant de Gask a Charleville.

SIR,

I was honoured with yours of the 16th cour<sup>t</sup>. I received the barral of 400 oysters, which my Master found exceeding good, and has order'd me to retourn yow his sincere thanks for the same. Oure Dearest Master is very glad to here that Sir James Stewart has been honorably acquitted, as no P. upon Earth desayrs more the happiness of his people than he dos, and if he had it in his poure, would give prufs of it. He is very glad to here that the appointments of the Scots officers is to be augmented, and wishes that my Lord Strathallan may succeed in every thing he wishes for; oure Dear Master wishes all health and prosperity and a safe Retourn to the

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop, in copying, has altered Lady Gask's spelling for the better.

<sup>2</sup> The Prince, hearing that his brogues had been preserved by Bishop Forbes, who made friends drink out of them, laughed most heartily, and said: "O, he is an honest man indeed; & I hope soon to give him proofs how much I love & esteem him."

young gentleman that is gon to the country. Oure dear Master is in very good health, thank God for it.

Sir, I hope you'll do me the justice to believe that I have the honnour to be with the most perfound Respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble Serv'  
to command,

JONES.

The 23rd March, 1763.

The Oliphants had now resolved to brave the Government and go home. The countrymen of Lord Bute had in truth little to fear from George III. Mr. Brown was the first to set foot in Scotland, after seventeen years of banishment; one of his first objects, after his arrival in September, was to recover the charter of Gask, granted to his forefather by King David. "There is nothing," he writes, "that ever happened to my father, that he regretted more than the loss of these old papers." Mr Whytt and his lady soon followed. They bade farewell to their friends at Charleville, took Paris in their way, and were waited upon by Bishop Forbes in Ramsay's house, over against the Cowgate Port in Edinburgh. Arriving at "Oldhall" in November, they were welcomed by their neighbour, Lady Rollo, the aged widow of Gask's old Colonel in 1715. She writes on the 23rd of November; "I cannot express the joy it gave me by hearing last night of good worthy Gask being com to his own house." The Oliphants lived very quietly, saw none but their especial friends, and paid no visits. Their circumstances were not what they had been in the beginning of 1746; nothing but pewter was now used in their house. They found whole baronies, that had once belonged to them, gone from the family for ever. The right of being Heritable Baillie of all the lands within the Regality of the Abbacy of Inchaffray, a right bought from the Spendthrift Lord Oliphant in 1625, was no more to appear in the wills of the Lairds of Gask. The acquisitions of Sir Laurence and Laird James had been swept away. Some old Inchaffray charters, still at Gask, were all that was left to remind the family of their Woodend estate. The house of

Williamstoun, where young Laurence had been born and bred, was in the hands of a stranger. Even what remained of the Oliphant property was under the thumb of Trustees, who would not always listen to the requests of the Laird, a mere nobody in the eye of the law.

Later in the year, Government allowed Lady Gask a pension of £111 a year; the warrant is signed by George Grenville, and is dated the 7th of December. She had made Oswald of Dunnikier, one of the best men and boldest thinkers of the day, her channel for reaching the Minister.<sup>1</sup> From a note of her case, we find that she had brought a large portion to her husband, which was sunk in his estate; she contracted a load of debts after 1746; and for sixteen years neither she nor her daughters got a groat out of the property.

The old Laird, an attainted rebel, had returned home at the risk of becoming a victim to any informer. Lady Dunmore writes thus to Lady Gask, on the 25th March, 1764:—

DEAR SISTER,

I dare say you need not be in any apprehensions about Lord X. Z.<sup>2</sup> informing against your friends, as that must be done by a signed information, which, bad as he is, he never can be capable of doing a thing he knows he must ever be detested for by all parties. . . . Orchil & all of us think it would be wrong to make any application to Lord X. from you, as that would be suposing him capable of doing so odious a thing.

Gask, for more than three years, was allowed to sit at his hearth in peace, and to deal out his homespun wisdom to his guests, as became one who had seen the manners and cities of many men. He must have reappeared in Perthshire as the last survivor of its Jacobite leaders. Of the Perthshire Chiefs, who had met the Prince in September, 1745, all but one were gone. Lord Strathallan had died at Culloden; the Duke of Athole in the Tower; the Duke of Perth at sea, worn out with hardships; Lord George Murray in exile; the elder Strowan

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<sup>1</sup> See Oswald's Memorials, 145.

<sup>2</sup> I suppress the man's name out of respect for his family.

had not long outlived the third Jacobite rising in which he had borne a share; Lord Nairne was never to leave the banks of the Loire.

But the race of Perthshire heroes was by no means extinct. Among the neighbouring gentry, who must have interchanged the news that Gask was come home, was a lad of fifteen, of an old Jacobite house, whose estate lay next to Gask on the North. This lad, Graeme of Balgowan, was to add the name of Barrosa to those of Kilsyth and Killiecrankie, the trophies of his House; and to live fourscore years from this year, 1763.<sup>1</sup>

The lives of the Oliphants, happily for them, were now no longer eventful; their chief object of interest was their correspondence with the Robertsons at Givet. Old Strowan was fond of expressing his horror at Voltaire and Rousseau, and of giving his ideas as to the upbringing of children. Another daughter, Amelia, was born to Mrs. Oliphant in 1765. In the next year Gask had to mourn for his King, under whom he had served at Perth full fifty years before. His wife writes to Bishop Forbes on the 22nd of March, 1766; "I heard a piece of news that the son of the late Chevalier of St. George is gone to Rome, and with him three Scots gentlemen all of his own religion, that is, Protestants. He has often been heard to say, it was the religion he would live and die in." But the Bishop writes, rather later; "It is said that my Favourite Lady goes frequently to mass, and has two priests in her family. How much this galls me to the heart, and how manfully I contradict it, I leave you to guess."

The plotters took a little comfort from a story set down in his book by Dr. Forbes some time afterwards. "The King is a true Christian hero. His answer to the Pope, when he sent him word that he would not allow him to take on any titles there, was somewhat good. He told the Nuncio, that the loss of Culloden gave him more real concern than any loss he could suffer by any orders from His Holiness; and that whatever titles he would take, neither Pope nor Conclave

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<sup>1</sup> Another Peninsular hero, Sir George Murray, was born not far from Gask, little more than eight years after the Laird's return.

could, nor had any right to, take from him. This I had from a gentleman that was present.”

In 1766 was born the chief ornament of the Gask line. Her birth is set down in a list of births and deaths, reaching from 1668 to 1774, in her father's hand; “Carolina, after the King, at Gask, Aug. 16th, 1766.” She soon grew to be “a sturdy tod,” as her mother writes to Givet. Never was there seen a more interesting group of Oliphants assembled together, than in the winter of 1766; not even in the days of the old Justiciaries of Lothian; not in the days of the knights who withstood the onset of the mighty King Edward. In 1766, there were living together at the Auld House of Gask, the tough veteran of 1715; the more weakly Soldier of 1745, who even now, a score of years after his warfare, went by the name of Mr. Brown; and the little babe who was to become the Poetess of the Jacobites,—“a soul so charming from a stock so good.” There were the Father, the Son, and the Granddaughter, whose lives stretch from 1691 to 1845; three nobler lives were never lived.

But one of the group was soon to be taken away. The old Laird of Gask, aged seventy-five, died early in 1767, and was buried near his forefathers in the spot he loved so well; the greatest man of all the Oliphants that were ever laid in that lowly Kirkyard. Bishop Forbes writes to the new Laird:—“Methinks I could attempt a character of your father in Latin, fit to be inscribed on his tomb; but the iniquity of the times will not bear the truth.” “Cousin Peggy” was at once informed of the death of “Mr. Whytt.” What kind of man Gask was, may be readily gathered from his own handwriting; he has set before us his own likeness, as Antiquarian, Farmer, Soldier, and Treasurer; a shrewd Scot, swayed throughout life by the two over-mastering principles, Chivalry and Religion; a man, free, open-handed, and great of heart; careless of renown, but most heedful of his good name; willing to starve or to lose his beloved Perthshire acres, rather than tell a lie or become a burden on his King; ever living in the great Taskmaster's eye. It must be allowed that the one blemish in his character was his leaning to Feudalism, which I have not disguised. It is barely possible that from him may have been drawn some hints for the portrait of the Baron of Bradwardine. Gask's ghostly adviser,

for the three last years of his life, was the Rev. William Erskine of Muthill, who lived to see 1783; and Erskine's son, Lord Kinnedder, became the bosom friend of Sir Walter Scott. Through this channel many Perthshire traditions must have floated down to the great Novelist. None of that charming pedantry, however, in which the Baron abounds, is to be traced in Gask's journals or letters. But we find the old Laird's religious exercises in English, Latin, and Greek. He has copied out the Lord's prayer in the latter tongue, and has transcribed certain English Psalms. One of the stanzas seems most appropriate:—

The Honour of my strange escape  
To Him alone belongs.  
He is my Saviour & my Strength,  
He only claims my songs.

\* \* \* \* \*

“See in what peace a Christian can die.”—ADISON.

Stude, fili, alterius potius facere voluntatem, quam tuam.

Elige semper minus, quam plus, habere.

Quaere semper inferiorem locum, & omnibus subesse.

Opta semper et ora, ut voluntas Dei integrè in te fiat.

Ecce talis homo ingreditur fines pacis et quietis.

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O most mercyfull God, grant that my soul may dwell at ease, & I may never be Distracted nor confused in my Thoughts; but do my Duty towards Thee, with evenness and constancy and chearfullness of Spirit.

Gask was a good specimen (though he had more learning than most of his fellows) of that breed of men who were the main strength of the armies of Charles the First, and who fought for his sons, his grandson, and his great-grandson. The gentry of England and of the Scotch Lowlands, followed by their tenants, grooms, and gamekeepers, furnished to the Stuarts a body of horsemen such as no other Kings have ever led. Never has more chivalrous loyalty or more unflinching self-sacrifice been witnessed. Who could have upbraided

these men, had they chosen to stay at home and leave the King face to face with the sturdy burghers upon whose time-honoured rights he had trampled? The gentry and their privileges were unthreatened in 1642; no ruthless foe, as in the case of La Vendue, was longing to grind them to powder. Pym and Hampden were not as Marat and Barrère. Yet the British Royalists chose to embark in the doubtful chances of war, without hope of reward; for could any King reward so many thousands? How manfully they fought may be gathered from the fact, that they were only to be kept down by the standing armies trained by such leaders as Cromwell, Marlborough, and Stair. The breed of Cavaliers in question, first appearing in England, lingered on in the Scottish Lowlands down to 1746.<sup>1</sup> To the last, these Lairds and their tenants, men unused to war at the outset, seem to have inspired with wholesome awe the horsemen who had seen Malplaquet and Dettingen. At Sherriffmuir, Gask and his brethren fought hard for three hours, before they could be driven off the field by Argyle's cavalry. At Culloden, Gask and his brethren showed so bold a front in the hour of defeat, as to bring off the main body of the beaten infantry with little loss after leaving the field.<sup>2</sup>

By this time, Chivalry had made her last effort in behalf of the Stuarts; a sober and prosaic age was setting in. But in the next Chapter we shall see that the principles of Montrose and Derby could find a home in old manor-houses down to the French Revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> I have purposely refrained from noticing the Celtic infantry, the mainstay of Charles Edward; ample justice has been done them by many writers, and Gask was a Lowlander.

<sup>2</sup> I must gently blame my great-great-grandfather, first, for not having bequeathed to us a full account of Sherriffmuir and Culloden; next, for not having written down the adventures of his uncle, the Ninth Lord Oliphant, who died in Gask's house.

## CHAPTER III.

LAURENCE OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF GASK.

1767-1792.

THE household of Gask, in the summer of 1767, comprised the Laird and his wife, their three little daughters, and old Lady Gask. Letters from Givet came regularly; in one of them, dated the 4th of July this year, Strowan alludes to a controversy of his day. "I have read Fingal, but not with the pleasure that I have heard many of his Exploits repeated in the original Language. It is more than 40 years since I knew the characters of Fingal and his principal Heroes. The Translation seems really surprisingly good, but let any body that understands the Language compare the 7th Book of Temara in the Original (which M<sup>c</sup>Pherson has given as a specimen), with the Translation, and he'll find a great deal of strength & beauty of expression lost; which is perhaps not so much the fault of the Translator as the deficiency of our modern Language. . . . I am always glad to hear every thing that regards the dear little ones, and I have really a longing to see them in particular, but I cannot precisely tell when I shall be so happy." Strowan's Lady makes an allusion to the family plot. "I need not trouble M<sup>rs</sup> White till I can inform her of her friend's Marriage, or her Fortune mending, or something worth writing." Strowan's two sons, Alexander and Colyear Robertson, were now in the Scotch Brigade in the Dutch service.

The Bishops were busy with their pens in 1768. Lady Gask wishes "that Cousin Peggie might come out of that country (Italy), that is so detestable to all that wish her well. It is hard if nobody lets her know so much." D<sup>r</sup> Gordon writes in the same year to D<sup>r</sup> Forbes, and says of his female ally: "My best respects to that excellent Lady and her house, for whom I bear the highest esteem. Indeed I think I may truly say, they are almost daily in my thoughts, in prayers and good wishes. Let that worthy Lady know that her Cousin Peggie was well not long ago." D<sup>r</sup> Gordon writes in another letter, referring to the birth of the heir of the Oliphants in June, 1768: "Worthy M<sup>r</sup> Brown's lady was safely delivered of a son. May the dear babe live and grow up to be a comfort to all his family, and a right worthy and honourable representative of it. Make my

hearty congratulations to the good old Lady, that excellent woman, and the most respectable parents, on the happy occasion. Her Cousin Peggie, I dare say, will be glad to hear it. God bless them all!"

The Laird fished, shot, and rode; but his asthma never left him. Sir Steuart Thriepland, his old adviser, wished him to go abroad. Gask and his Lady therefore turned their thoughts towards Italy; they were entrusted by the wife of Bishop Forbes with some cake for "Cousin Peggie." The Oliphants saw Garrick in London, where they were entertained by the Drummonds; they went on to Paris and then turned out of their road to visit Lord Nairne at Sancerre; we have now our last glimpse of that noble old relic of the Seventeenth Century. M<sup>rs</sup> Oliphant writes from Fontainebleau to Lady Gask at home:—

Nov. 14, 1768.

DEAR MADAM,

After a very agreeable journey from Calais, we arriv'd at Paris the 10th, & found the good Principal well;<sup>1</sup> he said he was ten per cent. the better for seeing old acquaintance. . . We sett off at 9 this morning; we saw the Dauphin pass through the appartments this evening, & were sorry to see him look delicate; he is very tall for his age. . . The Abbé we pass'd at Corbeil, not having time to go, but sent a billet. Meg is out of the Convent & with a Lady, but is now in the country, so we did not see her.

The Laird now takes the pen. "D<sup>r</sup> M. I have kept free of y<sup>e</sup> Astma hitherto, which I think a good omen; we hired a post chaise up to Paris 3 Louis, and by the good Principal's help bought a good strong Italian one to carry us on. He has given me a furred Gown to keep me warm. I've got a furred sack & Meg boots; pray make my best Comp<sup>ts</sup> to Abercairny & excuse that I cannot deliver his Commiss<sup>n</sup> at Avignon, as I will not be nearer it than Lyons. The Principal has had nothing of his astma for five months, & says he has not been so well for many years; long may it last! I've desired he would send some peach trees by y<sup>e</sup> Boulogne Coach, and hope they will come

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gordon.

safe to hand. I got £50 at London, and have taken two hund. here; if this go on, we will be bancrup soon.”

Mrs. Oliphant proceeds: Cosne, 16th. “Yesterday morning we saw the King of France, the Dauphin, the Conte de Provence, & Mesdames pass thro’ the apartments to see the Duke d’Artois, who is a little indispos’d; the Conte de Provence staid with his brother; it was very pretty to see him take leave of his Aunts, tho’ but for a day or two, with so much kindness; he is a pretty boy, & like his Father. We were brave and warm while we waited for the Royal Family in the Salle des Gardes; these Gentlemen were very polite & made us sit next the fire. We came last night to Montargis, & to-day here. The above will be a tale to May & Ame; poor Tods, I think of them all every child I see, & wish May were seeing all the bonny things.

“Sancerre. Nov<sup>r</sup> 18.—We came here yesterday to dinner, & surpriz’d my Uncle<sup>1</sup> and his sons very much; honest man, he is a good deal fail’d, & has not been downstairs for several months till yesterday; he drank a few glasses of wine, mixt with Tisane, more than usual, & rested the better of it. They cannot get him to drink above a glass at a meal. The gravel is sometimes very hard on him; he bid me make you many compliments & tell you how happy we had made him by staying this day; indeed there was no refusing him, tho’ we had resolv’d against it. Our Cousins are the same as ever, & say they have got headaches, drinking to the 8 Auntys. Lady Inch, was not forgot. Your brother is very lucky in a nurse, the Gentlewoman M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond spoke of; she is as carefull as any Daughter could be, says prayers to him twice a day, & reads the salms & on the Bible regularly, which I know you, Aunt Mary, &c., will rejoice to hear. M<sup>r</sup> O. begs to be kindly remember’d to Sir Steuart, & thinks the consultation should be sent streight here.”

Gask goes on. “Dear M. I have inclosed my Uncle’s case, which I wish were sent to Sir Steuart, who I dar say will be at pains to give his best advice, as there is no confirm’d stone. His spirits are much sunk, and no doubt the situation of his

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Nairne, the brother of the eight ladies afterwards mentioned. He died two years later, aged seventy-nine.

affairs helps to make them so. Tom is managing very well & would keep his affairs in good order, could the present burthen be got off. I'm press'd for time, so shall only heartily wish you & all friends well. Adieu. L.O.<sup>1</sup>

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From Sancerre, the Oliphants travelled to Turin, whence Gask writes on the 1st of December: "We drank every day in Savoy to y<sup>e</sup> King & R<sup>l</sup> family, & y<sup>e</sup> first Prince of y<sup>e</sup> blood." He well knew what house had the right of succession, should the heirs of the body of James II. become extinct. The travellers then pushed on to Florence and Rome; they reached Naples towards the end of the year. Sir William Hamilton was the English Ambassador; the great topics of the day were the wonders of Pompeii, and the expected visit of the Emperor. The Oliphants received much kindness from some English noblemen, who were staying at Naples. But Gask is always the first object; the bairnies there are to be kept in mind of their little song after dinner, when they get their glass; and the Buchans are to have the preference, if a farm is to be let.

Our travellers returned to Rome for the Holy Week, and paid five or six visits to King Charles; they winked as hard as they could at his failings, and alluded to him and his brother as "Miss Peggie and her sister," when writing home to Gask. "She is a lovely lass, but finds, I imagine, a proper settlement for her difficult." The Laird dined with the King twice, Mrs. Oliphant making one of the party. Whatever Charles might seem to others, he was still to his old Aide-de-camp much what St. Louis was to Joinville, what Charles V. was to Quixada. The sum of Gask's observations in 1769, as embodied in Bishop Forbes's manuscript, is, that the King

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<sup>1</sup> Sancerre was the residence, not only of the Nairnes, but of Lady Austen, to whom English literature owes so much. Cowper thus addresses his sprightly friend,—

"And you, though you must needs prefer  
The fairer scenes of sweet Sancerre,  
Are come from distant Loire, to choose  
A cottage on the banks of Ouse."

took the air in a coach with six horses, and had a large retinue; that he was a great economist, and paid all accounts once a month at farthest; that he got up in the morning about four o'clock, took breakfast about seven, dined at twelve upon the plainest dishes, drank tea at four, supped between seven and eight, and was in his bed-chamber by nine or before it, so that no man could be more regular in his hours. He had for his Protestant chaplain Mr. Wagstaffe, the son of the Non-juring Bishop mentioned in Lord Macaulay's History; this clergyman entrusted Gask with a letter for Bishop Gordon. The King would gladly talk with his chaplain, but durst not, so closely was he watched. Charles unbosomed himself about his unlucky position as to religion, and as to his creed since childhood, laying all before Gask. The Laird, mindful of the family plot on "Miss Peggie's" hand, suggested that Charles should leave Italy, with a view to procuring a Protestant bride. Little explanation was given of a late Royal freak of replacing Scotch attendants by Italians. Gask thought that the former set were no great loss; one of them was a free-thinker; another was a man of loose life. Cardinal York treated the Oliphants as though they had been his brother and sister. His Eminence was busy in the spring of 1769, taking his part in that stormy Conclave which elected Clement XIV., the hammer of the Jesuits.<sup>1</sup> Gask, when bidding farewell to Rome, waited upon the Cardinal, much to the satisfaction of the latter, in the midst of the hot turmoil.

This year was the last in which the Chief of the Stuarts and the Chief of the Oliphants ever met, after having been brought into contact, times without number, for six hundred years. In the days of the old Celtic Kings of Scotland, the Dapifer and the Justiciarius, (the latter being an honour held by four generations of Olifards,) often witnessed the same Royal charter together.

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<sup>1</sup> What a change has been wrought by a hundred years! In the last century, Rome suppressed the Jesuits, her best champions, in deference to public opinion. In 1870, Rome is putting forth new and wondrous dogmas, in defiance of public opinion.

The Scotch travellers set out homewards by way of Venice, taking with them a budget of Roman news for the two Bishops. The lady writes from Tavernet, on the 24th of May, 1769.

DEAR MADAM,

We set out yesterday from Turin. . . . M<sup>r</sup> O. kept his health well at Venice, except being sometimes sickish going thro' their streets, which are some fathoms deep of water; the little yoals there are all like Hearses, except the Ambassadors, &c.; we saw a fine ceremony of choosing one for Constantinople. We are now a post & half on your side of Mount Cenis at Bramant, just going to bed; such road as this side of the hill is I never had imagin'd a horse could go on, but M<sup>r</sup> O. rode it all over up & down, & tho' in many places the men that carried me could scarcely keep their feet, with gutters, stones, & snow; besides being so steep that I was realy like to fall out of the chair; his horse behav'd vastly well; the snow had need to have been pretty hard, as it was in some places the only brig that was over burns. . . . We have had no Asthma, thank God. Apropos, they have made a Pope of the only Monk that was in the Conclave, Ganganelle, a Francesken. . . . All will be well, when we meet; there will be some stops yet, w<sup>h</sup> are, a day or 2 with our Uncle; a week I doubt at Paris; as much at Givet, which you will not grudge; the same at London, & then, I hope, streight home, if we do not stick at Edin<sup>r</sup>.

Gask thinks that his wife has painted the road over Mont Cenis rather worse than it was, "but travelers must be allowed a little taile to y<sup>e</sup> munkey." Reaching London, they took the sacrament at Mr. Connachar's<sup>1</sup> meeting-house, where their ears were outraged by no prayers for King George. Their cousin Henry Drummond showed them Richmond and Hampton Court. They must have shuddered at Temple Bar, where the heads of many stout comrades of old were rotting; and must have gazed with interest at the Tower, whither many of Gask's forefathers had come, either

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<sup>1</sup> This must be the nonjuring clergyman tried before the Circuit Court at Inverary for celebrating a clandestine marriage. He was sentenced to banishment. See Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, 339.

as ambassadors, as hostages, or as prisoners. He had many annoyances, even now, to remind him of his own share in 1745; thus a new conveyance of the estate had to be drawn up, a costly business, “but,” writes the Laird, “we must let the tail go with the skin.” A settlement of the estate had been made a year before this time. Lady Gask, styling herself Mrs. Amelia Nairne, otherwise Oliphant, recites the contract with the purchasers of her husband’s lands from Government, and their obligation to convey these lands as she should direct. She then directs Gask to be settled upon the babe Laurence Oliphant her grandson and his heirs male, then upon the descendants of the old Laird James in tail male; then upon her granddaughters, whose issue were always to bear the name and arms of Oliphant. She makes some provision for her daughters, “as they were cutt out of their portions and claims upon their father’s estate by a hard judgment of the Lords of Session, in which the Court were exceedingly divided.” A few months later, she adds; “But if it so happen that the attainder of Laurence Oliphant my son shall be taken off, he thereby becoming *personam standi*, the estate of Gask shall go directly to him, even in my life time.”

In July, the Oliphants came northwards; on the 8th of that month Bishop Forbes writes; “I was with the two fellow-travellers, and supped with them at Edinburgh; and many interesting articles did they communicate to me.” Bishop Gordon writes of Gask; “He is a man of understanding, and well qualified to discuss the subject thoroughly.” A month later, the two Prelates met at Moffat, the one coming from Edinburgh, the other from Durham. The budget of news, brought from Rome by Gask, was thoroughly discussed between them; it had been digested by Dr. Forbes into separate Articles. These I have copied from his Manuscript; Gask is alluded to as “Our Common Friend;” he and his Lady are the “Fellow Travellers.”

Article 1.—That John Hay, Andrew Lumisden, and Cap<sup>tn</sup> Urquhart had been dismissed for a real act of disobedience. It was true indeed that the K. had been in use for some time past to call frequently for t’other glass of wine at dinner and supper, not from any liking to liquor, but like one absent in mind, when He met with things that vexed him, as too often

was the case. That one day at dinner He had done so, till he was somewhat intoxicated; and in that condition proposed going to an Oratorio in the afternoon; but they absolutely refused to attend him; yea, He went into his Coach, and they would by no means go into it. Upon w<sup>h</sup> He returned to his Apartments, and dismissed them. In a day or two, He sent for them to return to their duty; but they, happening to consult with the Cardinal York, he advised them absolutely not to return; which counsel they followed, and he took care to have four Italians put into their places, as persons more fit for his purposes and designs; the principal one of whom our Common Friend declared was very fit to be about a great Personage; having been bred up at the Court of Modena. The Cardinal would have been well enough pleased, had John Stewart, a constant and faithful attendant, been likewise dismissed; but that could not take place, as both Master and Servant, an Atholl man, were not willing to part. Therefore there are still two Britons with him, M<sup>r</sup> Wagstaffe, an Englishman, and John Stewart, a Scotsman. That He now enjoys more ease and quiet than formerly, and has never been seen concerned in the least with Liquor since that Event, which had been happily attended with one good Effect, to make Him think very seriously upon what had happened; and that no Man could be of a more firm and determined Resolution, when once formed, than He was known to be. Too great Freedoms had been used, which were not easily to be put up with. Such were condescended upon, even when He was in Scotland. Not a Blot, nor so much as a pimple, was in His face, though maliciously given out by some, as if it were all over blotted; but He is jolly and plump, though not to excess; being still agile and fit for undergoing Toil.

Article 2.— It having been asked by our Common Friend, what he should say to Friends, as to particular ways of thinking in religious Matters, it was answered, that He left that to his own discretion, as he knew well his Resolution in that shape. Meantime he could not fail observing that he was in a most miserable Situation in this Respect. “Being looked upon where I am,” said He, “to be a firm Protestant; and at home in Britain to be a rank Papist,” and that His change of Opinions was not of recent Date; “Having been deemed a

sprightly quick young Fellow, when between 11 and 12 years of Age, I was now and then putting Questions to my Pædagogue upon religious Subjects; whose answers not being satisfactory, he put Treatises of Controversy into my Hands, in which the Arguments and the Answers to Objections appeared to me so weak and trifling, that in place of persuading, they riveted me in my Resolution of a Change.”<sup>1</sup>

Article 3.—There were two grand points He always had in view; His R . . . on, and an earnest Desire to be married. As to the First, He was ever attentive to any Circumstance that might be conducive to that good End. As to the Second, He hoped to have that soon accomplished. Our Common Friend, having been indulged the honour of speaking freely what he might think best for promoting the Interest of all concerned, could not help suggesting that his M . . . in his present Circumstances could have none but a Popish Princess, which might prove an Injury rather than an Advantage in the eyes of Friends. To this it was answered;

“You know, Sir, that I made my Addresses to a Protestant Princess, and that this negotiation, when on the point of being concluded, was frustrated by the Misconduct of those who had the Management of it.<sup>2</sup> But, if I should match with a Popish Princess, and be so happy as to have Children, she should have nothing to do with their Education. I would positively take that upon myself, and have them educated in my own principles.”

Article 4.—It having been suggested, that his residence in Rome was far from being fit or convenient upon several Accounts, He said, He resolved to stay there till he should be introduced to the then to be elected Pope, with particular Views. Upon this it was remarked, that such an introduction might prove prejudicial to his Interest amongst Friends, and therefore perhaps better to be let alone. To this He answered,

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<sup>1</sup> Charles’s Grandfather told Burnet, that the feeble teaching of his Protestant instructors had helped to send him over to Romanism.

<sup>2</sup> The Princess was the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt; this was in 1749.

that if the Pope should acknowledge him in his proper Rights and Titles, he would not only have a pension from him, but likewise this would afford him a proper Foundation in applying for pensions from Spain and other foreign Courts, and thereby he would be put on a respectable Footing for entering into the Conjugal State; but at any rate, he was resolved to leave Rome, after settling business.

Article 5.—Our Common Friend, desirous to bring Him upon the Dismission of the Three Gentlemen, tried one piece of address, which was, that if any persons were coming to Rome, who had a mind to see Him, he begged leave to know how or by whom they might be introduced. To which it was answered, that as his Hours of Retirement, and of his being to be seen, were well known, there was no difficulty of access to Him; and that he kept no Secretary, but despatched all his business and wrote all his letters with his own hand. In a word, it was not in our Friend's power to have the remotest Hint upon the Dismission of the Three Gentlemen.

Article 6.—That the Cardinal York was extremely polite, frank, and free; more like a Companion than a Superior, insomuch that one would have taken Him to have been Brother to either of the two Fellow Travellers, who had visited and dined frequently with the K.

Article 7.—That M<sup>rs</sup> Forbes had given the two Fellow Travellers a piece of Seed Cake, which they took entire to the K., making a present of it to Him, and withal telling Him from whom they had it. "Aye," said He, "a piece of cake from Scotland, and from Ed<sup>r</sup> too!" Then, rising from his seat, and opening a drawer, "Here," said He, "you see me deposit it, and no tooth shall go upon it but my own."

Article 8.—The Common Friend had the Honour to take leave of the Cardinal York, though cadged up like a Bird in the Conclave; which was extremely well taken, the Cardinal declaring, He would have been sorry if this had not been done.

Article 9.—A discussion as whether M<sup>r</sup> Wagstaffe was a Bishop.

Article 10.—I showed Bishop Gordon a Memorandum, written by Common Friend in presence of the K., containing these words only; “Travels in the Highlands; Cookery Book of English Pastry, Puddings, &c.” and told him that I had brought along with me four copies of the Narrative of the Escape, &c., which is what is meant by Travels in the Highlands; namely, one for the K., the second for M<sup>r</sup> Wagstaffe; the third for M<sup>rs</sup> Smith of Burn Hall; and the fourth for M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon; all handsomely gilded; but that for Cookery it behoved M<sup>rs</sup> Gordon to make choice of the best author upon that in London; which was agreed to.

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Thus we are enabled to pry into the intrigues of this little knot of plotters, the Bishops and the Gask household. These good folks, “true, leal, and aefald,” were living in the sure hope of another happy Restoration. With a constant side-glance to that end did they look upon the politics of the day. They had little doubt but that they could turn aside the stream (and a boisterous stream it was!) to their own mill. For them, as they thought, Wilkes was fooling London to the top of its bent; for them, Junius was striking King George full in the face; for them, America was making ready against the struggle with her mother. These views are most plainly set forth, both in Bishop Forbes’ letters now at Gask, and in his own manuscript. I give one of his epistles written to Lady Gask on the 21st of December, 1769; it is written in the mysterious style of which he was so fond. The “trusty Trojan” may be Strowan; the King would be called by another name.

MADAM,

I am truly vex’d at what you write about the honest Trojan; but your Ladyship names the Thing well, “the silly Fears of some;” as I think I can assure he would have been in no danger at all; for had he come to me, I would have despatched him instantly, without seeing or informing any one acquaintance, to that place which lies at an Elbow; the name whereof is enough to conjure the D--, & where he might have been snug for some time, as a certain trusty Trojan was before him. I could name Two, as obnoxious as He possibly can be, that have been at home for years past, & one of them

visits frequently in Ed<sup>r</sup>. I wish a different way were taken to let him know all this, and let him judge for himself. Let him pop in all at once, in the way of Surprize.

Well, Doctrix Forbes will prescribe for the good Lady. (Here follow some medical details). God be thanked that the Asthma witholds its visits! May it never return! May the bonny Bairns live & be happy!

Auld Reeky, Madam! Does your Ladyship think that the smoke of it can reach and spoil our fine air upon the pleasant banks of the winding Forth? Bankruptcies & Robberies are very frequent hereabouts, & portend no good to old Caledon.

You have the pen of a ready writer; & therefore it is a pleasure to correspond with your Ladyship. Indeed, I know not what has become of the Lad M<sup>r</sup> O. enquires about.

N.B. Some Folks have another Tow in their Rock, God be thanked, than to heed the old trusty Trojan or any such as he is. The troubles of some are the safety of others.

I ordered the Carrier to call at M<sup>r</sup> Anderson's for the acorns. . . . Commending your Ladyship, & all at the Fireside of Auldhall to God & his Blessing, for a joyful Christmas & a comfortable New Year, with large amends,

A Dieu, Dear Lady,  
A Dieu.

Copy. "London, Dec<sup>r</sup> 9, 1769. You tell me, Sir, you want my comment on a late article from Italy. All I can say to it is, that the party hath certainly removed his quarters, for the present at least; but where gone & for how long time, I have not heard. Time & patience will tell."

I had almost forgot to mention, that we were lately in a goodly Company supping, when it was confidently asserted, that the trusty Trojan was for certain in Scotia, insomuch that two Gentlemen, utter strangers to him, were like to lay Wagers about it. I sat fou snug & said nothing, but allowed the two to wriggle in the Dark like a blind Mare in the mire. The other day I was made up to on the street of Ed<sup>r</sup> by M<sup>r</sup> O. his physician, asking, if M<sup>r</sup> S. was come yet; for that he himself had got a letter from M<sup>r</sup> D--d of L--ie, importuning

him not to allow the Trojan to stay any time on this side the Water, but to hurry him off directly to L--ie. I answered, I judged S—k—t—rt to be the most eligible place of any, as being in a corner, where none knew the Trojan but the family alone I then told him that I had reason to assure him, the Trojan had stopd by the way at P.

Some great Folks in London, under the rose, were highly dreaded to stop short, which will make terrible work throughout all Britain, if not also in Ireland. May God bring light out of darkness, & order out of confusion. Amen.

Thus, my dear Lady, I have, somehow or other, hurried out an odd Hurlo Thrumbo of a motley piece. If it prove somewhat like a Gazette to worthy friends at Auldhall, I have my aim. May all of you enjoy all ye wish, all ye want, & that's neither Hunger nor Cauld. Amen.

Once more, A Dieu.

Ay, one word more; when people come from London, they are never suspected of coming from any other place. A letter from London, advising me of their moving either by sea or land, would do very well. If by the former, let them put up at Lawford's, a well known Tavern on the shore of Leith; if by the latter, then you all well know the place of Destination over against the Cowgate port, where we have had several agreeable interviews. Let the good Lady G., that well-trying person, think on all this, & ponder it in her mind; for I advise, I direct nothing, but only suggest what to me seems best and wisest upon the whole. For a third Time, A Dieu; for I could clatter a Moon with you.

Methinks the trusty Trojan should see James George only, & not another acquaintance, & M<sup>r</sup>George could write to me of the intended motions of the Father & the Son. The more I think upon it, the more do I see no danger, if a strict silence be observed.

For a 4th time, A Dieu.

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The times were indeed most alarming. In the next year, 1770, we find from one of the Gask letters, that a favourite toast in London was, "Wilkes and Liberty, Campbell and

Property!” All readers of Boswell’s book will remember the death of Lord Eglintoun, shot by Campbell, from whose hands the Peer was trying to wrest a gun. Little happened at Gask in 1770, except the birth of a fourth daughter, Margaret; the only one of her generation whom I ever beheld. I can remember in 1847, at a time when I was still liable to the Eton birch, her bidding me never to forget how her father, my great-grandfather, had wrecked his health for life, by lurking in the Highland moors, all for the cause that he thought right.<sup>1</sup> In 1771, there is a letter from Lady Gask to her nephew Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia (where he was shortly to face civil war), asking him to provide for one of the Buchans, who had taken orders in the Episcopal Church.

In 1772, there was a great stir among the Jacobites, at the news that King Charles was about to take a wife. The Oliphants wished to know their new Queen’s name, that the babe then expected at Gask might be christened after her. But it proved to be a boy, the last of the Laird’s six bairns. He writes, on the 8th of June, “The child is to be named ‘Charles’ to-morrow, and an oak bough is to be his chief ornament. I know the name-father likes the boys best, therefore will not grudge that his Royal consort does not get the name-daughter till next occasion.” Some of the toasts in honour of the wedding, inserted by Bishop Forbes in his manuscript, are not too delicate. The Laird was hopeful as ever, as the next paper proves, written after the ill-starred marriage which linked together Paris and Vienna.

Gask, June 25th, 1772.

A Prophecy told by a Man of Honour, David Graeme of Orchill, this day at Gask of M<sup>r</sup> Buchanan of Achmar, who died in the 1746, and which Orchill heard in y<sup>e</sup> 45.

Achmar said he was sorry for the present Rising, for it would not succeed, but that the Family would be restored by the united means of Bourbon and Austria; and being answer’d it was not likely ever that would happen, as these

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<sup>1</sup> This lady, Mrs. Keith, was the authoress of the sprightly letter about Neil Cow and the dance at Orchill, printed in Lady Nairne’s Life.

two houses were always at enmity, he reply'd, that it would be seen some time that they would agree, & jointly bring about the above event.

A true Copy by L. O.

“I remember hearing this Prophecy in the 1747, which people did not like, saying Achmar might as well have said the restoration would never happen, as say these familys would agree.”

HEN<sup>TTE</sup> NAIRNE.

Gask, Aug. 10th, 1785.

In 1772, the Gask family were cheered by a few lines from one of the Stolberg Princesses, brought by Robertson of Woodsheal. Bishop Forbes has left a copy of a letter from Lady Gask, dated December 22, 1772:—“Woodsheal was here in his way home; his business carried him to Charleville, where we were for some time before we came home. There is there a Convent for Ladies, where we often visited Madame Victoire the Abbess; & who should be there but our Queen's two younger sisters. They came to the Grate and spoke to him with ease & great politeness. How it came into his head I know not; but you'll say it was not blate in him to desire these Ladies would write a line to M<sup>rs</sup> Oliphant, to which they consented, went to their apartment, wrote the letter enclosed, & their own and their Sister's names with their ages. We have never shown any body the Princesse's letter, & you are the first. The Reason is, they may make up some Story, as if we were corresponding with them. The Eldest of the two was the Writer, and very prettily it is wrote, especially for so young a creature, & in a hurry.”

A Charleville, le 14 Septembre,  
l'an 1772.

Nous ne pouvont, Madame, refuser à Mons<sup>r</sup> Robertson la satisfaction qu'il nous demande de vous écrire; nous nous y sommes rendue avec d'autems plus de plaiser que nous savons, Madame, tous ce que vous valais; d'alieur, nous n'ignorions pas tout l'attachement que votre Famille a pour le Prince Edouard notre beau frere; ce motif est plus que sufisent pour vous assurer du tendre attachement que nous vous voulons pour la vie aient l'honneur d'etre,

Madame, vôtres humble et obeissante Servante,

DE STOLBERG LA CADETTE.

Madame Victoire me prie de la rapeller dans votre souvenir et dans celui de Mons<sup>r</sup> Oliphant, et d'agreer ces plus sincere compliment.

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The writer was but sixteen. Bishop Forbes wrote to his brother Bishop, wishing to get the letter inserted in some of the London newspapers. Mrs. Oliphant sent the following answer:—

MADAME LA PRINCESSE,

La lettre que vous me fittes l'honneur de m'ecrire en Septembre dernier m'a surpris plus agreablement que je peus exprimer; d'avoir des nouvelles des propres mains de deux sœurs de notre chere et aimable Reine etait pour toute cette famille une chose des plus flatante, dont nous vous prions, Madame, aussi bien que la Princesse Theresa Gustave d'en accepter notre reconnaissance et d'agreer les sentiments du profond respect, avec lequel je suis

M<sup>m</sup>e la Princesse,

votre tres humble et tres obeisant servante, &c.

A Gask, le 28 Fev<sup>r</sup>, 1773.

About this time, Lord Kinnoull allowed his charter chest to be searched by Mr. Kemp, the Minister of Gask, the Laird wishing to trace the early history of Aberdalgie and Dupplin; but little is known of them before the year 1364. Gask's health was bad; he tried drinking whey in the Highlands, and also resorted to the mineral waters of Pitcaithly, one of the seven Baronies in Perthshire owned of old by his forefathers. Meanwhile, the bairns were left under the care of their grandmother, who describes their dancing lessons. Mrs. Oliphant was plagued with a stubborn cough, which drove her and her husband once more from Scotland, in October this year, 1773. Bishop Forbes calls them "a valuable pair; as good is rarely to be met with in this age of boasted light and liberty; besides, they know the rules of economy, particularly in travelling. Well may they go and come, to the joy and comfort of all their friends!" Later in the year he wrote, "I

talked with the worthy gentleman (Gask,) about a pædagogue for his children. ‘Yes, with all my heart,’ said he, ‘but then he must be in orders, to perform sacred offices in the family.’ ‘Done,’ said I, ‘such a one I have had under my care from his very infancy, ready, God willing, against the term of Whitsunday, to be in the character you desire.’ How comfortable and encouraging is this; O for many such! . . . . You know the famous Dr Johnson has been among us; several anecdotes could I give you of him, but one is most singular. Dining one day at the table of one of the Lords of Session, the company stumbled upon characters, particularly, it would appear, of Kings. ‘Well, well,’ said the bluff Doctor, ‘George the First was a robber; George the Second a fool; and George the Third is an idiot!’ How the company stared, I leave you to judge; it was far from being polite, especially considering the table at which he was entertained, and that he himself is a pensioner at £500 a year.”<sup>1</sup>

Gask, his wife, and his eldest daughter Marjory, went up to London in October; on their way they stopped at Stamford, where Lord Exeter, an old Naples friend, showed them his house. In London they dined with the well-known Mrs. Strange, whose politics agreed with their own; they also saw Dr. Hunter, and were entertained at Wimbledon by Mr. Drummond, who furnished them with a credit on Lisbon. “We saw our namesakes, the elephants,” writes little Marjory, “at Buckingham House; they are monstrous creatures indeed; they would about stand in the high dining room at Gask.” The Oliphants sailed from Falmouth to Lisbon, and thence made their way overland to Seville; they invited some Irish residents to dine with them on the 31st of December.

They passed the first months of 1774 at Seville; their daughter receiving lessons in French and music. Mrs. Oliphant sends home to Gask about ninety verses on their late journey across Portugal. We should have expected better lines from a near kinswoman of the Poet Laird of Strowan; since her day, her daughter, her granddaughter, and her

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<sup>1</sup> Boswell, in an unwonted fit of discretion, has suppressed this story.

great-granddaughter, have all appeared in print as poetesses. I give a few of the lines from Seville, showing what travelling in Portugal was a hundred years ago:—

Long was it dark before they reach the Inn  
 Of Vendas Novas, where new scenes begin;  
 The loft, where without bedsteads they must ly,  
 Was damp all o'er, & not since washing dry.  
 Long they demurr'd, no help! with fear & dread,  
 Each for th' other, at last they went to bed.  
 Their own dry sheets and cloaths some wants  
 supply'd,  
 Sheets, very wet, for Marjory were dried,  
 By a poor fellow-Travler, who, on's feet,  
 Was fain with them his native Spain to greet.  
 He to the rough grim host with accent grave  
 Compassion was the greatest stranger there,  
 Tho' guests so circumstanc'd might claim a share.  
 From broken doors and window blew fresh air.  
 However, sleep o'ertook them by degrees,  
 Much interrupted tho', with scores of fleas.

\* \* \* \* \*

In midst of night, lest too sound sleep had seiz'd  
 The weary three, some monstrous Rat was pleas'd  
 With smell of good boiled mutton they had brought  
 In case of need; and next to taste it sought.  
 Which to effect, he tumbles to the ground  
 The meat, and a large glass with liquor crown'd.  
 The sleepers start, and wake with great surprize,  
 Dark was the night and useless were their eyes.

\* \* \* \* \*

After imposing all she could, the Dame  
 With the long earrings to their baggage came,  
 Unty'd it at the door, and careful gaz'd,  
 Lest ought her guests had stole. Marget, amaz'd  
 And wroth, espey'd th' audacious Host, who said  
 She miss'd a blanket off the stranger's bed.  
 In five long hours three leagues they march, and dine  
 At Vendodeda, where men singeing swine  
 Salute their eyes; the inwards fried in haste,  
 Garnish'd with onions, constitute the feast.  
 Slow as some wounded snake, in five hours more

Three leagues of sandy ground they travel o'er.

\* \* \* \* \*

To Elvas next, where many a wall and tower  
Braganza rais'd, to ward off Spanish pow'r.

The aqueduct here made a great impression on the travellers. Mrs. Oliphant may have tried to form herself upon Pope, of whose Iliad she was a great admirer, choosing Hector for her favourite hero. The party preferred the climate of Seville to that of Naples.

But while they were in Spain, Lady Gask was taken away from the five children left at home. Her unmarried sister, Mary Nairne, died about the same time and in the same house. Another sister, Henrietta, writes to Givet about Mary: "She was quite senceable and distink to the last, & as you know, good Soul, it was a period she had been long wishing & expecting, dy'd resigned & compos'd as she had lived. She dy'd the 2 of March. As I know it was her inclenation to be buriead at Achtergeven, (tho on her death bed she said, were the Pig breaks, let the sheles lye,<sup>1</sup> there she was caread in a Hearse, & acording to a plan she had drawn some years ago of the Ile there, which she had always in her pocket book, was she laide beside my Father & dear Nephew James Nairne; there was a diner provided for the Companey at the 5 mile house.

Lady Gask lingread on till the 18th of March, not very violently ill & for most part senceable and distink; she saw her approaching end, which she bore with most becoming fortetude and a true christean spirit, & had a certine cheerfulness in her looks all along in her illness, quit free of all impations or freatfulness; it was not told her of sister Mary's ilness or death, but that she had gone somewere ells; if departed souls can be surpriz'd, sure hers would be to meet in the Regines of bliss one she thought was still hear in this world of woe. . . . That day sister Mary sickned, she went to Lady Gask's room before breakfast, when she desir'd her to say a prayer to her. There hapned not to be a book in the room, so sister Mary said one extempory, & when she came out she told us with a smile, she had made it better out than

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<sup>1</sup> Pig, a crockery vessel.

she expected, never trying the like before; she had a good appetite that morning for breakfast & went to her room to writ a letter, was sudently taken ill at 12 o'clock, & never came down stairs till she was caread out a Corps. Tho I know I would be thought rather too teadous in my relation to most people, yet I dare say you will not dislike it.”<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Forbes writes to Bishop Gordon on the 26th of March:—“Alas, dear Sir, Lady Gask is no more! She expired after five weeks’ illness on the 18th instant, half after two o’clock afternoon, having received the Viaticum, and was sensible and distinct to the very last, aged about seventy-five. I may with great truth say, ‘Woe is me, for the faithful are minished from among the children of men.’ The Church never had a more faithful daughter, nor the King a more steady and loyal subject! She bore up under all the trials and difficulties of life with a firmness and constancy, a mildness and cheerfulness of mind, not to be outdone by any other. When her Ladyship was in use of coming over from foreign parts to do the business of the family, she displayed a fortitude, calmness, and application, endearing and instructive. I admired, I respected her. Gone she is, I hope, to reap the fruit of her labours; and may all her descendants tread in her steps! Be she with God, and God with her! I heartily wish the honest man, his Lady, and daughter were returned home soon and well.” Thus died Lady Gask, one of those women whose price is far above rubies.<sup>2</sup>

Her son and his party came home from Seville in the summer; their voyage, a most stormy one, lasted six weeks, and ruined Mrs. Oliphant’s health. She was brought to Gask, but died on the 4th of November. Her husband writes: “She talked to me of death and our future meeting, as if only going

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<sup>1</sup> The writer of this once ordered out from Perth to Gask the best chaise to be got. She spelt it so, that two men came out with a huge cheese. The story is in the Second Edition of Lady Nairne’s Life. I have heard the tradition from one who could just remember Lady Henrietta Nairne.

<sup>2</sup> Her grandfather, father, brother, sisters, husband, and son, had all been either imprisoned or banished for the sake of the Stuarts.

a journey for health. She called for all the children, took leave of them without the least emotion, said, as they were going away, ‘See who will be the best bairn and stay most with Papa.’ She said, ‘You see how easily I can part with the bairns, for I know they are in good hands,’ meaning their Maker.”

Gask, thus bereaved in one year of both mother and wife, tried to persuade his Aunt Henrietta Nairne to live with him and take charge of his six children. He writes thus to Strowan at Givet, on the 16th of January, 1775:—“You and my dear Aunt and only mother, as you very well name her L<sup>p</sup>, will see dear L<sup>y</sup> Henr<sup>t</sup>’s good heart, & I hope I may say intentions, tho the word promes must not be brought in, yet hinting, if we are all in life, to continue my comfort & comforter till May becomes a woman, is saying a good deal; who knows the lots cast for us befor that period arrive? no doubt it requires a good deal of her d<sup>r</sup> sister L<sup>y</sup> Mary’s spirit to go about doing good; live laanly here, have y<sup>e</sup> charge and anxiety of six children, when Orchill would be so much more agreeable, & just now two Sisters there. It is at least very much my wish; but why should I have wishes, but cast my care where it should be? Amen.

“All our operations in y<sup>e</sup> family go on very regularly, which L<sup>y</sup> H. is very good at promoteing, & y<sup>e</sup> Chapelain does his part quietly, & gives a good discourse on Sundays. M<sup>r</sup> Erskine was here on old Christmas, M<sup>r</sup> Rollo, her sister M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond, Kelty, Garvoch, & M<sup>r</sup> G. My sister & Inch<sup>y</sup> intended, but his Rhum<sup>tk</sup>s made their visit delay’d. My sister keeps pretty well out now. . . . You’ll see M<sup>r</sup> H. Drummond is made member of parliament for an English town.”

These meetings for Episcopalian worship were not without danger. Old Perthshire men, who lived to see the reign of Queen Victoria, used to tell how in their youth, in the days of the penal laws, they had stolen up to Gask in the dark, to join in the only worship they approved. What this worship was, may be gathered from the following verses, copied by Gask out of Bishop Forbes’ manuscript:—

Since George has abused our good common Prayer,  
By inserting his name in large Characters there;  
I’ll absent from the service so foully inverted,  
And stay till Charles for George is inserted.

For how can I say an Amen to that part,  
 Where the words of my mouth give the lie to my heart?  
 To pray an Usurper may long fill the throne,  
 And in quiet enjoy what is none of his own:  
 To pray after him that his son may succeed,  
 And after that man a whole train of his breed:  
 To pray for the Subjects that now rule the state,  
 That all their sham plots may succeed as of late:  
 To downright deny both my God & my King,  
 To pronounce these vain words when I mean not the thing!  
 Nor sure is the sin of those wise ones abated,  
 Who stand up and break off when these words are repeated;  
 For Christ's Coat was seamless, which seems to require  
 That all forms in his Church should be whole and entire:  
 To join in one part & take snuff at the rest,  
 Is but poorly dissembling with God at the best.

The two last lines are thus explained by one of Dr. Forbes' correspondents. "When Mr. Nelson agreed to go to the public churches, it was on condition he should be allowed to show his dissent as to some prayers, which he did not like; and accordingly he did rise from his knees and feel in his pocket for his snuffbox; and to this these words allude, and thus explained they pretty well point out the date of them, for this transaction was not long before Mr. Nelson's death."

Mr. Andrew Macdonald, in Deacon's orders, was now at Gask, acting both as Chaplain and Tutor. It is amusing to compare his lot, in the household of such a Laird, with the woeful plight of the young English Levites, over whom Lord Macaulay makes so merry when describing the days of Charles II. Mr. Macdonald gives us one glimpse of Perthshire life in the olden time: "I see you have been somewhat merry on the King's birthday, but you cannot imagine what merriment was here. The tenants, to the number of about fifty, assembled in the hall before dinner, and drew tickets for a cow, which Mr. Oliphant gives them annually. Then they adjourned to the barn to dine, and afterwards returned to the hall and began their dancing, which continued till eleven at night without the least intermission, except about half an

hour, while the fiddler was getting his dinner; and all the while they got plenty of ale and punch.”<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Forbes writes to Gask in 1775:—

“I heard lately a narrative, that pleased me much, as it had been a common Tradition in & about Perth, that the Bell on the Kirk of Aberdage had of old been the Kail Bell of the Lords Oliphant, when they resided at Duplin; so the following Inscription has been discovered upon it, viz., *Lawrence Lord Oliphant*, 1189; as strong a proof of the antiquity of your Family as any Charter can be. Perhaps you have known this long before now.”

Gask has added to this letter the words, “1586 appears to be the date on this bell, now at Gask, presented by Lord Kinnoull.”

The household went on in the usual way while the American war was raging. The following letter of the Laird’s is interesting:—

Gask, Nov<sup>r</sup> 6th, 1777.

DR. MARTIN,

Few things could give me greater pleasure than to hear of y<sup>e</sup> revival of y<sup>e</sup> Royall Company of Archers; it is a manly & agreeable amusement, & associats y<sup>e</sup> best of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdom together. I lose no time in acquainting you that my Archer’s coat is still preserv’d, & shall be sent you Tuesday next by the Carryer, directed to y<sup>r</sup> Lodgings in Edin<sup>r</sup>. I desire you will make my Compt<sup>s</sup> with it to whoever is Precess to y<sup>e</sup> Company. I think myself happy to have it in my power to contribute my mite in forwarding a March which I think is an appearance that does honor to our Countrie; it is pretty odd if my coat is the only one left, especially as it was taken away in ye 46 by y<sup>e</sup> D. of Cumberland’s Plunderers; & Miss Anny Graeme, Inchbrakie, thinking it would be regrated by me, went out to y<sup>e</sup> Court and got it back from a Soldier, insisting with him that it was a Lady’s riding habit; but puting her hand to y<sup>e</sup> Briches to take them too, he with a thundring Oath asked, if y<sup>e</sup> *Ly* wore briches. They had green lace, as y<sup>e</sup> Coat; y<sup>e</sup> knee buttons

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<sup>1</sup> From Bishop Forbes’ Manuscript.

were more loose, to show y<sup>e</sup> white silk puff'd as y<sup>e</sup> coat sleeves; the Officer's coats had silver lace in place of green, with the silver fringe considerably deeper; fine white thread stockings; the men blue bonnets, y<sup>e</sup> Officers' were of velvet, with a plate Japan'd of white iron, representing St. Andrew, in y<sup>e</sup> middle of a knot or cockade of, I think, green ribbons. An old Embroidry of a former generation I have sent, in case it may be of use; y<sup>e</sup> Bonnet was tuck'd up & y<sup>e</sup> St. Andrew placed in y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> Brow; y<sup>e</sup> Bonnet rim watered with a green ribbon and tyed behind. Y<sup>e</sup> bonnets of a small size, to hold the head only, scrog'd before to y<sup>e</sup> eyebrows; y<sup>e</sup> hair & wigs were worn in ringlets on y<sup>e</sup> shoulders. The bow cases were linnen, with green lace like y<sup>e</sup> coat, one on each side ending in silk tufts or tassels; these were worn during y<sup>e</sup> March, as sashes about y<sup>e</sup> waist, & two arrows stuck in them; y<sup>e</sup> Bow carry'd slanting in y<sup>e</sup> left hand; but I am probably mentioning circumstances that others will remember better than I, therefore shall only add my hearty wishes for Prosperity to Scotland & y<sup>e</sup> Ancient Company of Archers.

In the next year, Lady Henrietta was looking about for a governess for the four young ladies, her nephew's daughters; this is his transcript of her letter:

April 13, 1778.

Mr. O. joyns me in thinking there is no better sign than diffidence in what one knows nothing about, therefor has no doubt Mrs. Cramond, for you know I cannot call her Miss when a Governess, will make herself usefull to y<sup>e</sup> children with a little practice in many things besides y<sup>e</sup> needle, particularly as to behaviour, principles of Religion & Loyalty, a good carriage, & talking tolerable good English, which last you say Mrs. Cramond does properly enough, & which in y<sup>e</sup> Countrie is necessari that young folks may not appear Clownish when presented to Company. Mr. O. approves of all you have done, & has had his ebs of fortune too, but since Mrs. Cramond would fain have the Pounds turnd into Guineas, he agrees, and makes her present twelve guineas the first year & ten Guineas ever affter, so sends six Guineas by y<sup>e</sup> bearer, for which you will take her Rec<sup>pt</sup>, as the half in forehand paym<sup>t</sup> of this first year, all her Traveling expenses Included, only Mr. Ol. will send horses to Perth, if Mrs. C. can

ride; if not, allows her to have a chaise to out here, which he shall not grudge to pay. Her trunks are arrived here. Now after all y<sup>e</sup> trouble you have had, I have still to add the continuance of your good offices to get Mr. Marconchi to come out, that the little ones may not forget all their Dancing.

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The Laird's sober household was in glaring contrast to that of his unhappy Master at Florence, where little of wedded happiness had ever been found. The following prayer is in Gask's hand:—

Gask, August 16, 1779.

O Lord, be gracious to our King and Queen, enable the King to please thee and shine forth an example in Virtue. May he be the Instrument in thy hands of restoring truth and justice to these Nations and of turning many thousands unto thee. May all his Subjects become dutyfull & obedient unto him; and all our pass'd Iniquitys be pardoned. May the neighbouring Nations joyn, and kindly all events concur to bring the King back. May the present Possessor think upon his ways, do justice to the King, and have thy favour upon him and his familie for doing so. But upon the King's head may the Crown flowerish, and may he live with the Queen in virtue, comfort, and affection, be blessed with Children, and whatever be thy will here, made greatly happy hereafter for our Saviour's sake. Amen.

In 1780, Gask had a dispute with his neighbour, Haldane of Gleneagles, as to their rights of fishing in the Earn. Gask does full justice to his opponent's "genteel way of thinking," and says that he himself "writes in the stile of a Friend, who wishes ever to be so to you & yours;" he resolves "to repell, but in as smooth a manner as I can, any attack upon my family's rights." The Jacobite sends to the Whig certain extracts from the famous Charter of David Bruce, and thinks he can depend upon Haldane's not taking advantage of the Oliphants' situation since the Forty Five. It was the Ground Officer and underfactor of the Trust proprietors of the estate, who was called in; for, as Gask remarks, "you know I'm nobody." He agrees, "for the sake of pace," to make a sacrifice to Haldane of a privilege of passing at all times his friendly

enemy's boat and net over the Gask mill dam dyke, "and this on account of the favour your Grandfather granted to mine." Oliphant declares of his own knowledge, that no boat from Gleneagles or Ardoch passed that dam dyke for fishing purposes before September, 1745.

Mention has been made of Sir William Olifaunt, whose history is dimly traceable in the prison records of Edward the First, and in the charters of Robert the First. Of the forty Scottish patriots, "the high men of the land," who set their names to the renowned Arbroath protest of 1320, Olifaunt is almost the only one, whose tomb is left among us to this day. Scotland has made a clean sweep of her antiquities. The hero's monument had been endangered by the pulling down of the old Kirk of Aberdalgie, seven years earlier; and Gask had put a stone covering over his forefather's incised slab, to shield it from the rain. This seems to have annoyed Oliphant of Bachilton, who, though his branch had sprung from the loins of an Abbot, was pleasing himself with the idea that he was Lord Oliphant. Hence the rightful Lord drew up the following paper:—

Gask, June 14, 1780.

Memorandum.

Lord Kinnoull came here to-day, and said Mr Oliphant of Bachelton, calling himself Lord Oliphant, had wrote him that he heard I had put on a Stone on the Oliphant's Monument at Aberdalgie, & enclosed it with a rail, with an intent to hinder his burying there, & that he proposed applying to y<sup>e</sup> Shireff, as his family had long been in use of burying in the Vault there; which application to the Shireff L<sup>d</sup> Kinnoull desired him not to make till he should speak to me. I told his L<sup>p</sup> that I had never heard that the Bachelton people bury'd in that tomb till within a very short time, by a clatter of the Country, but that I had no objections. I have since reflected that I heard, perhaps two years ago, that Bachelton said he meant to be bury'd there, but I took it he intended that, not from any of his Ancestors being there interr'd, but from himself usurping the Title and from thence claiming right to y<sup>e</sup> burying place of Oliphant.

Reflection.

Suppose ye Dupplin & Aberdalgie Estate was sold to L<sup>d</sup> K.'s predecessor without reserving y<sup>e</sup> burrying vault, L<sup>d</sup> K. may give it to whom he pleases to bury in. After y<sup>e</sup> Sale of Dupplin, &c, Lord Oliphant went to live in y<sup>e</sup> North on the Deveron, at a small estate he had there called Pitendreich, which James Oliphant of Gask, my Grandfather, bought of the Son or Grandson to this Lord, & was the last of all their lands, when he gave also a Resignation of the Titles, & went into Dumbarton's Regiment, & had a Company there.

Quere.—Has the head of the Family a title to dispute Bachelton's burrying in the Vault, he who cannot shew any propinquity to the Family, tho he and his Uncle both usurped y<sup>e</sup> Title?

Oliphant has left a copy of the letter he sent to Lady Lude, one of his mother's many sisters.

Gask, May 23rd, 1781.

MY DEAR AUNT,

I'm in a great strait; your dear Sisters & my very dear Aunts are going to leave me in June, & I shall be left alone with my six young ones, a poor valetudinary person. Will my dear Aunt do me the very great favour as come to be a Comfort and Companion to me, & a Guardian to them, & keep them Loyall, in which I shall assist you, & we shall drink to the King and his happy Restoration every day till it be over. I do not mean that you should have any charge or trouble about them or the house, only to guard your nephews & nieces from a wicked world, have them in your Company, & walk & divert yourself with them. I know the dear Friends you are with will be loath to part with you, but they will feel for me & help to give me a Neighbour lift.

Believe me to be,

Dear Loyal Ladie,

your most affect. Nephew

& most obedient humble Servant, &c.

An humble friend writes thus to Gask in 1782 from Perth:—

“DEAR SIR,

“Both my sister and I wants language to express our gratitude to you for your generous offer in behalf of poor Christy. May Heaven fully reward you for all your goodness to our family, and grant you the promised blessing of the peace-maker. We are perfectly ashamed to put you to so much additional expence, considering what you have done and are still doing for Jamie. My sister joins me in wishing every blessing to attend you that such benevolence of heart as yours merits.”

Gask received many such letters.

I give a specimen of one of the joint epistles from the Gask household to their kinsfolk at Givet. The notice of Angers, where Chatham and Wellington studied, is interesting:—

Gask, June 11th, 1782.

The Laird begins with many details about various Drummonds and Robertsons in Perthshire, and goes on:—

“The Miss Oliphants told me their Br Condie had wrote that he saw you at Paris. He has a good sweet naturall disposition, that wants only to be polish’d up to make him figour in his station as an honest Country Gentleman. I wish you could bring it about that he went soon to the Paris riding School, by which he would get in to the acquaintance of y<sup>e</sup> young French Nobility, the only opportunity he will have of getting into good company, a thing of more consequence to him than all his other studies. People will say, to go to Angers is better; but that takes him into English company, y<sup>e</sup> worst of all. Paris is dear, but his friends wish him to spare no expence for his Education while he is abroad. I’ve encroach’d.

“yours. L. O.”

Marjory, the eldest daughter, goes on:— “Aunt H. has got up her spirits very well, indeed they were allways amazingly equal. We are all very happy just now with a visit from my d<sup>r</sup> Aunt Inch. (Inchbrakie), but I will allow none of my B<sup>s</sup> or S<sup>rs</sup> to pretend they can be so happy as I am, car quoiqu’on soit assay convaincu de sa merite, il n’y a que moi qui a eu

l'occasion d'admirer de si près ses vertues, son aimable disposition, et son Economie admirable. J'écrive ceci en françois, parseque ma tante n'aime pas les louanges."

Carolina, the future Poetess, takes up the pen:— "As May is at present very busy playing some favorite tunes of mine, I hope you will not expect a very correct epistle; for to hear agreeable music & at the same time employ my mind about any thing else is what I can hardly do, for

'Music has charms to soothe a Savage Breast,  
To soften rocks and bend the knotted Oak.'

"I do think fine Music engrosses all the senses & leaves not one faculty of the Mind unemployed, (so says with all her heart Carolina Oliphant)."

A few details follow about Aunt Inchbrakie's son, cousin George, who is "well at Gibraltar, esteemed by every body, and will soon have his Company free." Another friend is a prisoner off Antigua. But the American war happily was now all but over.

There must have been hearty rejoicings at Gask next year, when the following letter came to the Auld House.

For M<sup>r</sup> Cowley, Prior of ye English Benedictines at Paris.

Florence, y<sup>e</sup> 21 Feby, 1783.

MR COWLEY,

I received y<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 28 Jan<sup>y</sup>, & all as mentioned. It gives me a sensible pleasure, y<sup>e</sup> remembrance of Oliphant of Gask; he is as worthy a subject as I have, and his family never deroged from their principals. Not douting in y<sup>e</sup> leaste of y<sup>e</sup> Son being y<sup>e</sup> same, make them both know these my sentiments, with y<sup>e</sup> particular esteem that follows a rediness to prove it, if occasion offered.

Y<sup>r</sup> sincere friend,

CHARLES R.

Gask made it his business to gather together relics of his old master, and of all the Stuarts. The neighbouring gentry used to send contributions to the chest of relics, which still remains at Gask; of this the Laird was the fitting high priest.

Prince Charlie's bonnet is there, given by its old owner to Sir Steuart Thriepland; there are besides, the Royal brogues, crucifix, and ribbon of the Garter; also his spurs, worn at Perth, and exchanged with the former Laird of Gask. Some of these articles may have been given by Bishop Forbes. There is also a piece of the cloak of Charles I., cut up by Bishop Juxon for distribution; a fan of Queen Mary's; and two relics proved by the following letter from an old comrade, who had served in Lochiel's Regiment.

Keithock, near Brechin, June 6, 1787.

SIR,

No length of time can make me forget Mr Oliphant. I understand you have collected several memorandums of our Master, and have the pleasure to send you a child's head, drawn by him when a boy, and a shot bag which he used before he left Rome. I got them from my uncle when I was in Italy twenty-one years ago, and think they can be nowhere so well bestowed as in your collection.

Your most humble servant,  
JOHN EDGAR.<sup>1</sup>

Gask's daughter has taken the freedom of a Poetess, and has given a wrong account of the way in which the lock of the Prince's hair, now at Gask, came thither. She says of her grandmother:—

“The leddy too, sae genty,  
There shelter'd Scotland's heir;

And dipt a lock wi' her ain hand  
Frae his lang yellow hair.”

She tells the true story in prose. “Charlie's hairs were given to my grandmother Strowan, the day they were cut, by the man who cut them, one John Stewart, an attendant of the Prince. This is marked on the paper in her own handwriting. I

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<sup>1</sup> James Edgar, the uncle referred to in the letter, was private Secretary to the exiled King in 1743 and long afterwards; his name has often appeared in this work.

have often heard her mention this John Stewart, who dressed the Prince's hair." Old Lady Strowan could not have made a more welcome gift to her nephew and son-in-law.

Gask was ever on the look-out for old family papers; a friend, in answer to his inquiries, thus details the doom of some old writings, bearing on the Oliphants of Newton:—"One M<sup>r</sup> Paton, an ejected Episcopal Minister, came with his family to live in Dundee; he married a Miss Oliphant of Newton, and they both dyed about the year 1734. M<sup>r</sup> Paton's grandson succeeded to him as his heir; the papers were thrown into a Garret as useless lumber; and his wife had recourse to them from time to time, when she had occasion for paper to singe her Hens, so they may have been destroyed in that way. Some years agoe, your friend M<sup>r</sup> Oliphant of Condie came to Dundee, and gave up all hopes of recovering them." Gask also made researches in Caithness, but complained of the unwillingness of the Lairds to throw open their charter chests. A few years later, he was still bent on making out his pedigree, and wrote thus in May, 1790, to a friend in Edinburgh:—"Could you get Lord Hailes to answer any questions you may see fit for clearing up, he might perhaps do it with ease, from his great knowledge in these matters. He owes me something, for he published that he did not find that Lord Oliphant had married a lawful sister of King David Bruce.<sup>1</sup> I, hearing of this, sent the original Charter to my Son, and he with Lord Dunsinnan shewed it to Lord Hailes, who said he was glad to see it, & mentioned, I think, that he would rectifie."

Gask thus writes to the widowed Lady Strowan at Givet, giving the news of the death of one of his old friends, and of the young Graemes of Inchbrakie, victims to the American war:—

Feb. 27, 1783.

MY DEAR MADAM,

. . . . . We have lost our Minister M<sup>r</sup> Erskine; he died y<sup>e</sup> 2nd; he spoke to his son not five minutes before his

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<sup>1</sup> A mistake, it was Sir Walter Oliphant who was the bridegroom.

death; he is a promising boy, Willy, about 14, an excellent Scholar, has a Bursary at Glasgow College.<sup>1</sup> Mr Erskine has left a daughter & a young son; was 73 going, & had been at Muthil 50 years. No further accounts of Nephew Pety Graeme's death, & still some faint hopes of his brother Laurie, as it is said Lord Keppel told severall that the Ville de Paris & Glorieux were both safe in a Neutral port. George wrote he was well not long ago from Gibraltar.

The next year, 1784, wrought a great change both in the British Parliament and in the fortunes of the house of Strowan. On the 2nd of August in that year, Mr. Dundas proposed the restoration of the Scottish estates, forfeited in 1746, to their owners. He said that the son of Chatham would complete the good work begun by that Earl, who had sought for merit and had found it in the mountains of the North. Fox, as might be expected, was forward in a work of humanity; and Pitt followed on the same side. One voice alone was raised against the Bill, when it reached the House of Lords; Thurlow the Chancellor made two long speeches against the proposal; noticing in particular the fact, that the Bill granted the estate of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, forfeited by a decree of the Scotch Parliament in 1690, to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Robertson. A mere knave in matters political (such was Thurlow,) could have but scanty fellowfeeling with the heroes of 1745 and their offspring.<sup>2</sup>

Gask wrote to his mother-in-law before the Bill had passed:—

Gask, August 9, 1784.

D<sup>r</sup> Mother, your Son was vastly obliging in writing me directly of his getting back his Estate, which, though it may have Cloggs upon it, will, I hope, make you pass some comfortable years with him in your own Countrie; the submission with Glengarry seems to be in good hands. I hope

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Kinnedder; the daughter, here mentioned, was the bosom friend of Lady Nairne.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever Pitt proposed, Thurlow did his best to thwart. For the debates on the question, see "Parliamentary History," vol. 24, 1316, 1363.

that this Restoration will be the forerunner of another, the Man getting his Mare again & make young & auld dance upon the green, at Caric & elsewhere. I am most Dutifully yours,

LAU. OLIPHANT.

The six young Oliphants each add a postscript of congratulation to Lady Strowan, on her leaving France, where she had been in banishment for thirty-one years. She soon took up her abode at Gask; and there her homely features may still be seen on canvas, as she plies her distaff.

Gask, who could never forget that he had brought home his own bride at Corbeil without a sixpence, was a great match-maker, as well as peace-maker. He writes thus in 1785 to his brother-in-law, Inchbrakie, about the son of the latter.

“I spoke yesterday to Capt<sup>n</sup> Graeme, and was happy to find he rather inclines to settle and marry. What a difference betwixt the Captain & the Farmer; the first puts him in the way of vice, the other in the way of Heaven. O my dear Sir, you must make the choice for him. What will your dear Wife, & every ally of the extensive House of Inchbrakie say, should you not put him in the proper way. You have lost two fine young men already in Government service; and can you risque the third, just happily escaped out of imminent danger! A fine young Man, that, one may say, has not a fault nor his equall all round; what diffidence can you possibly have in a Lad of principle & piety as he is? Let not this odd thing happen to you, which is too common in the world, that when the Heir grows up, there is an unaccountable Jealousy. This must be a temptation from the Devil; & for aught I know, it may yet happen to myself; but I will earnestly pray to my God against it, & do you the same. But I fear my preaching will be tiresome; I will then give over, most earnestly begging you will make a settlement on your son and my very dear nephew; it might be a round hundred; that has a Sound & looks like Inchbrakie’s Son, & a near Cadet of Montrose. Thus you will add to the health & happiness of your dear Bosom Friend, whose tender feeling heart must be suspended betwixt hope & fear. O joyfully relieve her soon & most particularly oblige, &c.

“L. O.”

Gask's request was granted, and he was soon able to wish his sister joy. She died this year at Inchbrakie.

His own son, Laurence, who was now sixteen, was studying at St. Andrews, of which University his neighbour Lord Kinnoull, the old Minister of George II., was Chancellor. The Earl, who had been used to hear the boy spout odes of Horace, writes to his young friend in 1784, enforcing diligence. "Hard labour in your early days will prove the greatest Economy of time. In my busy days, when in the evening I was wore down with the fatigue of the day, I comforted myself with this reflection, that a man who has nothing to do is far more unhappy than he who has too much. I approve of the disposition of your time. Your leisure cannot be better spent than in reading History." Lord Kinnoull writes again next year;—"The fund of rational and delightful entertainment, which Greek and Latin will afford, is inexhaustible. In my early years these studys soften'd the Drudgery of publick business, and now enliven the calm evening of retired Life. Read Cicero in defence of Archias. . . . The science of Mathematics is universally useful, and is of essential service to a young man by fixing his attention." The writer of these letters, an old friend of Pope's, died at a great age in 1787; his father had been thrown into prison for Jacobitism in 1715, but the son's politics were widely different. Lord Kinnoull was a model landlord, and greatly improved his estates. The good turn which he did the Oliphants in 1753, we may be sure, was never forgotten by Gask.

Young Laurence's letter to his father from St. Andrews, in 1785, confirms Dr. Johnson's theory as to the state of learning in Scotland. "Greek I find very difficult; I think it is a very agreeable language, if understood well enough, so as to see its beauties; but I believe very few, if any, at the old college understand it to that extent. I am now reading Homer's Iliad, and Virgil. I read some of Shakespear's tragedies, for one looks foolish when they know nothing about them. I have got a volume of Hume's history, which is reckoned the best; but I know he lies in some places, & so do they all. I read French every afternoon." Gask was one of the last partizans of the old alliance between France and

Scotland; he took care to make his sons and daughters good French scholars; while his fellow-exile, Mr. Maitland, known as “the good Parson,” overlooked their studies in arithmetic and other branches of knowledge.

In April, 1786, Gask was trying to recover the Charter of David Bruce, carried off forty years earlier. He drew up the following paper:—

“Mr Oliphant was told, when abroad, that Sir Joseph York was sent from Perth by the Duke of Cumberland to Gask in y<sup>e</sup> 46, to search for arms, and that going into the Charter Closet he saw a small blue box, not bigger than a tea chest, with the Oliphant arms painted on y<sup>e</sup> lid. On examining it, he found a Commission of Lieut. Col. of Horse from a certain Person to Mr Oliphant of Gask; also a letter to him, signed Athol. This made Sir Joseph carry off the box to the Duke of Cumberland with all the other papers. If Sir Joseph chanced to remember what became of these old family Papers, whether Sir Everard Falconer sent them & the Box to the Duke of Newcastle’s office, or if they were left at Perth, it would be vastly obliging to the Family to let them know.”

The search was made, and the famous Gask Charter of 1364 was sent back. It must have been as much prized as the Blessed Bear of Bradwardine, and its recovery must have been hailed with equal joy.

Gask had the true feudal love of a male succession in old houses; and he carried out this principle, even when it clashed with his own interest; as we see by his next letter to his son.

Gask, Feb<sup>y</sup> 7th, 1787.

DEAR LAURIE,

One day converseing with Charlie, he asked me if you & he were not the Heirs to Strowan, failing childeren of him & his Brother; I told him you were not, & endeavoured to explane to him that it would be unjust for either of you to accept of that Estate, & if in your offer should leave it to the Male Heir. Next day, which was some time last week, he said he wished I would put what I said on that subject in writeing, least he

should forget it. I did so & now write the same to you as follows.

Old Strowan the Poet was Atainted or Forfeited for his Loyaltie to his Lawfull Prince. After y<sup>e</sup> Fifteen his sister Margaret got a gift or grant of y<sup>e</sup> Estate from Government for his behoof, & he afterwards accepted of a pardon for his life. He became disobliged at your Grandfather Duncan Robertson of Drumacheen his Male Heir, & on that account settled as far as he could the Estate on y<sup>e</sup> Heir Femal, a sister's Daughter, his Niece. The Clan sided with your G. Father Drumacheen, & assisted him in applying to Government for a gift of the Estate; he showing in his Memorials on the subject, that the Estate always went to Heirs Male. He succeeded so far as to get a grant of the Estate in his favours, which was actually made out & lay ready in the Treasury for George the 2d to signe, when Drumacheen joined the Prince.

After his death his son, your Uncle Alex<sup>r</sup> Robertson, got a Parliamentary Grant of the Estate from Government, the principle argument in his favours being, the Grant intend<sup>d</sup> to his Father; this will show you that, though farther distant in blood than the Heir Femal, the plea of both Father & Son was their being Heirs Male, and therefor, as it had always gone to Heirs Male, it should continue so to do from them, if the misfortune should happen of both your Uncles Alex<sup>r</sup> & Colyear Robertson dieing without childern. And in that Event I forbid both you & your Brother Charles to accept of that Estate, but give it to the Robertson that is the nearest Male Heir, only you may accept of a moderate sum of mony from the Heir as your Mother's portion. The plea, that the Government gave the present Strowan your Uncle power to dispose of the Estate as he pleases, signifies nothing, as neither they nor their Predecessors had right either to take away the Estate or to give it back. I am

Your most affectionate Father,  
LAU. OLIPHANT.

To Laurence Oliphant my Eldest Son.

I suspect, that when Gask wrote the above letter, he must have had a lively recollection of what he saw at Culloden,

when the Robertson clan rushed upon the English left wing, and left more than half their own officers and men on the field.

He thus writes to his eldest son in 1787, who was then studying at Edinburgh, about young Charles, the second in age:—"His bent seems to be much of y<sup>e</sup> Naturalist, when kept from Dogs & hounds, &c. This may give a very right turn to his mind. My wishes would be for him to be a Clergyman, and gentle insinuations now & then may give him a turn that way. I do not wish to give him a turn for guns. My faith may reasonably go so far as suppose y<sup>e</sup> Restoration of our Royal Family will happen before Charly would be fitt to enter into Orders. Should it not, if he live & prove such a one as D<sup>r</sup> Drummond Logie, he will always be one to help to support the Orthodox Clergy, and be able to pass thro life honestly though not brilliantly. If he goes to Edinburgh, you will have to adjust whether one Room can serve you both, which will, I fear, be troublesome to you."

We find a list of the 63 Gask tenants, who drew Lottery Tickets on the 31st of December, 1787, as they paid their rent. Among them are two Buchans, and two Reids. Lady Strowan, Lady Harriet Nairne, and the four Misses Oliphant signed a petition to the Laird that a defaulting Tenant might be allowed a chance for the prize at this Lottery; the paper is endorsed, "Granted. L. O."

Gask, in February, 1788, thus speaks of recommending a young cousin to Count Dillon, the well-known favourite of the French Queen, the General put to death by the Jacobins a few years later. "As for myself, having return'd from France in the 63, those I could have formerly apply'd to there, are mostly gone; but if Monsieur Le Compte would enquire at y<sup>e</sup> Principal of y<sup>e</sup> Scots College at Paris, Fossé St. Victor, he can be inform'd of the attachment of my Family to the good old Cause. . . . I was one of the P. Edward's Aide-de-Camps, & present at all his battles. My father's brother was very active at Perth in the 45, & was put in prison for many months; he bred up his children in his own principles. Though I have not y<sup>e</sup> honour of M. Dillon's acquaintance, you will present him with my most humble respects; his family distinguished themselves much in the Cause by their duty &

attachment for many years back; and as a wellwisher, let y<sup>e</sup> Count know from me, that I heard of my old Master by a letter from Rome y<sup>e</sup> 19th of last Dec<sup>r</sup>, when he was in surprising good health, & did not doubt but he would yet see better days.”

Very soon after writing this letter, Gask had to mourn the loss of his beloved King. He has carefully tied up in a separate bundle the letters he wrote and received on the question of acknowledging the House of Hanover, now that the last of the Stuarts was a Cardinal. Gask's words are strong; his is Jacobitism with a vengeance. Had he lived ninety years earlier he would, I am afraid, have been reckoned a Non-compounder. I must plead in excuse for my great-grandfather, that he had been bound to his old Master by unusually fast ties; they were almost of an age; they must have ridden side by side for many a long hour in 1745, and may have laughingly claimed kin on the score of King Robert the Bruce. As to Cardinal York, he had treated Gask like a brother.

So early as May, 1786, the Episcopalian clergy in Aberdeenshire had bethought them of making such a declaration of their principles as would bring about the repeal of the penal laws. Mr. Cruickshank, who had taken the place of Mr. Erskine as the ghostly adviser of the Oliphants, wrote strongly against the scheme; “as long as the fifth Commandment stands in the Decalogue, so long it is our duty at least to pray for the King.” But when King Charles died two years later, the clergy began to come round. Dr. Webster, who had charge of the young Oliphants studying at Edinburgh, reports that the Bishops have unanimously agreed to pray for King George, and he protests against a new heresy of his brethren, “that the violation of an oath is as criminal in a Prince as in any other individual.” Gask writes on the 1st of May, 1788, most angry at the conduct of the greater part of the Nonjuring clergy, and at the shock, not to say the crime, they imposed on their people. Webster was almost as bad as the rest. “O Doctor, think, think again, and yet advise a delay; there never came good of hurry; wait at least for one year, as your Primus proposed. Let not the long boasted faith of the Jacobites be lost. Government leaves you in quiet; is there no

reliance on the Almighty?"

Gask, writing in 1788, becomes a soothsayer unawares, for he goes on, "Is there to be no waiting a little for the manifestation of great Events that may be near at hand, to give relief to injured right & greatly perhaps change the face of Europe, not only in a civil, but a religious manner? The present aspect of things gives more than a bare supposition of such events. The particular situation the King is in, cannot take away his right; were he even Mahumitan & a Turkish Priest, it could not do it, unless he himself gave up his right. You know y<sup>e</sup> King of England never dies, & were Henry the 9th to do so, unquestionably the King of Sardinia is our Lawfull Prince. It is true that the Savoy Princes have treated with the Electors of Hanover as Kings of Great Britain; but these are Political double dealings that Subjects are not allowed. Passive obedience and non-resistance is our unalterable duty. How much pain must it give to you and me to think that the worthyest of all the Non-jurant Congregations in Scotland must in a few weeks withdraw from the publick worship, & mourn in private their King & the fickle selfishness of Man! These honest few may live to see their King restored & a joyfull Father of Childem too. I am better off than most; both my Parson and Bishop are Old Stile. You had better join us, Doctor, & give a Chapel of Relief to the Metropolis. I would wish that my Sons went Sunday after Trinity and heard the Service read by M<sup>r</sup> Lindsay at Bunker's Hill. M<sup>r</sup> Maitland's return will not be long, who no doubt will supply the Destitute. I will finish by giving you a Toast of mine:

Here's to a happy Termination  
Of the Hundreth year of Usurpation."

Gask's Bishop, Dr. Rose, writes: "I myself will not alter my method, if all my Congregation should leave me." Mr. Cruickshank also talks of "the black 25th instant." He alludes in his letter to Mr. Low, then a Deacon in Perth, who lived to die a Bishop almost seventy years later.

"There is always room for repentance;" Gask writes. "The late Orchill was prevailed on to qualifie long ago at an Election, to oblige his Chieff; but he grew steady from the pangs he felt, and never did so again, tho' often teased to it; &

Mr Patrick Stewart, of Orchil near Lude, prayd for y<sup>e</sup> Hanoverian Family by name to oblige the Duchess of Athol; but he never repeated it. This is the only reparation those that have swerved can make.”

Mr. Cruickshank writes from Muthill on the 3rd of June; “I came from Doun on Saturday last; the honest Bishop (Rose) is so very much depressed that he is really in fear of being taken into custody, from Keir telling him in jest he would be persecuted. The honest man said to me, “O what would he do & what would become of him!” Willie Erskine writes me from Edinburgh, y<sup>t</sup> when Dr. Webster on the 25th Ult. was pronouncing the fatal names, his voice faltered and sunk.”

Bishop Rose writes to Gask from Doun in the same strain. But Mr. Cruickshank soon shifted his ground; he sent to his Jacobite disciple another letter, only nineteen days after his last; saying that he had begun nominal Prayers that day, “which I’m exceedingly sorry for on your account, but satisfied on my own. Whether you’l desire any more of my ministrations must be left entirely to yourself.” Gask made answer on July 3, 1788:—“Mr Oliphant presents his Comp<sup>s</sup> to Mr Cruickshank, and as he has incapacitated himself from officiating at Gask, his Gown is sent by the Carryer & the books he gave the reading of. As Mr Cruickshank has received his Stipend to this Whitsunday, there is no mony transactions to settle betwixt him and Mr Oliphant.” We afterwards learn that the Gown came safe, and that the sending of it home was indeed no surprise to Mr. Cruickshank. Gask writes to his son at Edinburgh, “You may freely contradict the story of my receiving letters that the K. had given over all thoughts of recovering his own.” The staunch old Jacobite says that he had sent to the Primus the same kind of letter that had been written to Dr. Webster, already quoted. Mr. Brown, a clergyman, one of the faithful few, came to stay at Gask, and afterwards writes from Perth that Mr. Low is not likely to be recovered from the Defection.<sup>1</sup> This guest had been consulted as to procuring a new Chaplain for Gask. The old Laird again testifies: “I mention with regrate that the late

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<sup>1</sup> The story about Gask, his chaplain, and the gown, was one of the Perthshire traditions handed down by Bishop Low.

King, which I'm sorry to say I think was wrong, conveyed as far as he could his Crown & effects to his Legitimate Daughter; his Br, the Duke of York, most reasonably protests. . . The King may wave his claim & resume it; but y<sup>e</sup> subject is always bound. . . . From the heavy inconveniences the greater part of Europe feel from the Celibacy of the clergy, would it be wonderfull if they were allowed to marry? Will not our King have both influence & inclination in bringing this about?" The Cardinal King, however, was never utilized in the way contemplated by his staunchest follower, though Gask in the next year writes to an old fellow-soldier, hoping that Henry IX. may yet take a wife.

The next letter bears upon the downfall of a great Scottish house. Henry Nairne, who had fled from Scotland long before in the same ship with his father and the Oliphants, writes thus to Gask from Sancerre on April 23rd, 1789, referring plainly to some interview with King Henry IX.:—

"I did not fail to remember you to the Personage you mean'd, and it was received in a very flattering manner, and desired to be remembered to you most affectionately. It gave me pain for the ridiculous and unnecessary manner the Clergy has acted. Our worthy old friend was not in the number of the apostates, I mean Mr. Maitland. . . . I have at last completely paid both my Father's and brother's debts, which has been a great load upon me for these twelve years, out of fifty Louis d'or a year that the Court here allows me. I mean to sell my house; but not the little garden, where the remains of my Father, Sister, and Brother lie. I shall spin out the remainder of my days in a Pension, and shall then be laid in the same place, rot, and be soon forgot, with the rest of my family there. Remember me in the most dutiful manner to our two most respectable Aunts."

Henry Nairne writes again to Gask from Sancerre in 1790:—

"I had the happiness to receive the favour of my dear cousin Miss Carolina's of April last. Were I young and gallant, I would not write to the father, when I have permission to correspond with your four fair young and amiable daughters. Two letters have reached me from Rome. The personage we

are so much interested in is in perfect health, but in low spirits, and not surprising, as he is in great danger to lose both St. Amand and Anchin, or at least the greatest part of the revenues, as L'Assemblée Nationale respects no persons; if this happens, he will be one of the poorest of his robe. He is nearer related to Henry 4th than the present reigning King. His eldest brother's widow is also in great danger to lose her joynture of £60000. tournois. I shall be very glad to hear of the success of the Strathallan cause, as also of its great champion, the worthy Parson.<sup>1</sup> This deplorable state affords a great deal of interesting news, but not proper for me to mention."

Thus had passed away, as his true and worthy son tells us, that one of the leaders in 1745, who was nearest and dearest to the Oliphants. The bones of the Nairnes rest, far from their own broad Tay, at Sancerre, in the middle of France. A son of the last Lord was left, through whom the old stock was kept up for fifty years longer. Some details of their history may be found in the lately published Memoir of Baroness Nairne.<sup>2</sup>

In the spring of 1790, Laurence Oliphant the younger made his first trip to London. He was to take up his quarters with Mr. Henry Drummond the Banker, a younger son of the Lord Strathallan killed at Culloden. The traveller's father writes thus:—

Gask, April 19th, 1790.

DEAR LAURIE,

Though I have not yet got accounts of your arrivall in the great Citie, yet I know you wish to hear how we are going on at Gask. At Potterhill things are much mended; L<sup>y</sup> Strowan's wheel was sent to the Garet thinking never more to use it, but it has come down stairs again & the good Ladie begun her spinning again for severall days pass'd.<sup>3</sup>

As you return'd my Letter for Mr. H. Drum<sup>d</sup>, I wrote him

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<sup>1</sup> The House of Lords this year rejected the claim to the Strathallan Peerage, on account of the Attainder.

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, page 150.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Strowan's picture, with her wheel, is at Gask.

another in its place explaining the reasons of the change to a cash act. The strictest attention must continue to cement that friendship my two dear Cousins so remarkably bestowed on me & family, & take every opportunity comes in your way to bring in gratefull acknowledgments due them; & as you may not have heard of many of their favours, I shall mention a few; Kind reception to my Mother & Sister Janet when at London in y<sup>e</sup> 53 in their way to Scot. to endeavour to purchase y<sup>e</sup> Este, offering mony to y<sup>e</sup> vallue if not got in Scotland, Mr. & Mrs. Rob<sup>t</sup> Drummond keeping my sister many months with them on my Mother's return to France. Mr. H. D. got a grant from y<sup>e</sup> Exchequer of y<sup>e</sup> price of y<sup>e</sup> furniture left in y<sup>e</sup> house of Gask valued between £300 & 4. for £15. Most kind & obliginly received when my Mother & Wife went over, she lying in of y<sup>r</sup> elder Br<sup>r</sup> (Dr Hunter Man Midwife); allways supplied with mony when we run short; 2<sup>nd</sup> Journy for my Wife's Inlying of May at Gask; Scheme put in motion for getting my Mother her joynture & succeeded; then I telling Mr. H. that there was difficulty in geting y<sup>e</sup> Estate settled till the 40<sup>th</sup>. merks were paid, he generously told me at Dunkeld, "I'll be hang'd if I don't get a Grant of it;" & soon he made his promis good. I thought I had done with asking him favours; when, asking a recommendation f<sup>r</sup> Jamy only, he took him by the hand & gave him, besides geting him into y<sup>e</sup> Hospitals, near a hund<sup>d</sup> Pound out of his owen pocket, beside what I repaid him. Remembr the Scots proverb, "That commonly he that gets forgets, & he that gives thinks on," & act conterways, as far as you can; you & I are one.

I will send the Genealogical papers as soon as I can. Charly sent yours from York, it was very agreeable & amusing.

L<sup>d</sup> bless my D<sup>r</sup> Boy,

LAU. OLIPHANT.

Mr. Maitland & Dr Webster were to adjust about Charly. You will not forget seeing L<sup>d</sup> Kinnoull, L<sup>y</sup> Dunmore, if in town, Mr Dundass & Advocate, according as great bussy people can be seen.

Gask, April 22nd, 1790.

DEAR LAURENZO,

I received with particular pleasure your letter of y<sup>e</sup> 15th, & take the first opportunity by you to convey my thanks to my D<sup>r</sup> Cousin Henry Drummond for his new & old favours; he is what he always was & has been to my Family, therefor I'll say no more on the subject, but *think* the rest.

The intention of writing in the Journal way would be extremely agreeable to me, but it is a Task too constraining where you are, to practise. If you get an opportunity to be presented to S<sup>r</sup> James Johnston of Westeraw, say I desired to renew my acquaintance with him by my Son; he'll remember we were boarders together at M<sup>r</sup> Hunter's private College, Cowgate, Edinburgh; his sister was Lady Ogilvie. I suppose it him who would "plunge into Hell" to support y<sup>e</sup> D. of Athol's Claim in y<sup>e</sup> Man cause. The day I wrote you last I turn'd hot & thirsty & went to bed; I was better next day, but to be cautious in not fatiguing, I shall continue by one of the fair hands of the Ladies. (*The letter is continued in the hand of his daughter Carolina.*) D<sup>r</sup> Webster commends Charly's progress in his studies, & to get the more forward thinks he should stay till July. M<sup>r</sup> Maitland will be with you as soon as this, as he had got his order for the 25th, & seem'd keen to obey it. M<sup>r</sup> Murray sent a letter of the 7th from his Son, then at Paris, which he was preparing to leave, having seen most things except the King, (who was a prisoner & only got leave to walk sometimes in the gardens of the Tuilleries, when no body was allowed to approach), & the National Assembly, having no acquaintance of any of the Members to bring him in. M<sup>r</sup> Murray has some doubts of my being able to read his Son's letter, for he says he writes like a Nobleman. Sultana gave us a fine foal, a mare, the 20th; May observes it's like a Hunter already. Peter Ried ends planting the oaks in Carolina's Wood, Clathy, this day. You was lucky to be in the house of Commons & see so many friends in so short a time; I beg to be remembered to them who make enquiry for me. You did right to take a servant; to keep in good health it would do well that you took a stout walk once a day, or perhaps a ride to accompany your Uncle (& my D<sup>r</sup> Brother in law) whose cough I hope will soon be better. Lady Henrietta & all here well. Be ever assured of the warm affection of

LAU. OLIPHANT.

His daughter Carolina goes on with the letter on her own account; her portion has been already printed in her Life, with its details of her dancing, riding, and chance of visiting a puppet-show at Crieff. Her sister Amelia then takes up the pen, and writes:—

“My grandmother desires me to say she is very fond of your letters, & likes M<sup>r</sup> H. Drummond now better than ever, & begs her Comp<sup>ts</sup> to him.”

Laurence Oliphant had not been long in London before he began to hanker after the Court of the Elector of Hanover. Old Gask sternly rebukes the youthful backslider:—

Gask, 28th April, 1790.

DEAR SON,

I last night received yours of the 20th, franked 23<sup>d</sup>. The contents could not be very agreeable to me, & I absolutely forbid your being presented.

However few continued faithfull to their Prince, I never doubted but my Sons & I would have been of the number; I was in hopes I had done my part to bring up my Family Loyal, and it was my joy & comfort to think in so generall a defection that they were so. It gives me real pain to see that I am in some measure dissappointed, for had you consulted y<sup>e</sup> principle that should be within, you would have given a proper answer to the proposal yourself. What I mentioned to you of the Electoral family was, that you might take a view of them as far as that went; supposing that you perhaps would be shey to do so without my mentioning it, I wanted to free you of constraint wherever I could; but when there is homage to be paid, the thing is widely different.

I know my very dear Cousin Henry will rather approve of my continuing steady and wanting my Sons should follow their Father's footsteps than otherways; & though formerly Jacobits have been presented, and continued Jacobits, yet a two-faced person is not a Character worthy of imitation.

I approve greatly of your improving yourself in riding &c, as far as your time will allow, & it was like a Father & a Friend in my D<sup>r</sup> C. Henry to propose it to you.

You will not be forgot to-morrow, & be ever assured, D<sup>r</sup>

Laurie, of the hearty affection of

LAU. OLIPHANT.

Mr Maitland was uncommonly carefull of what regarded Charly, & he is to be at Mathematics & Naturall history, as he proposed, & writing, &c.

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I add a few more passages, taken from Gask's letters to his son in London:—

“Heaven should never go out of our head, and we should constrain our inclinations so far as reason should govern, & keep inclination within due bounds, so that when the happy call comes we may meet it with joy. . . . You would pass a very agreeable week at Cadlands. You are not extravagant in mony matters. The description of y<sup>e</sup> Westminster Spiritual Concert was quite new to us. Make my acknowledgements to dear Henry Drummond the younger for the present made to you, and thereby procuring you the most healthy & agreeable way of coming down you could wish.<sup>1</sup> I have sent to fitt up a stall. The offer my constant Friend makes Charly is vastly obliging; I wish only that Charly may qualefy himself to be fitt for so favourable a proposal. Pay for the two copys of Fenelon on piety, a good book for our evening reading, & Dictionaire de l'Ancienne Geographie par Vosgien; it will be usefull & agreeable. Willy Erskine, Advocate, sent lately copys of his Thesis; I writ him thanks & wish'd him joy.<sup>2</sup> . . . The accounts from Dolerie are bad to-day; poor Mr Murray is dead; you'l let Mr Henry Drummond know, & few will regrate him more than he & I. This is the third Anthon that has gone off in my time, all Loyall, all clever & friendly, & y<sup>e</sup> last particularly so to me. His son is very promising, & will be, I hope, the fourth that will walk in y<sup>e</sup> footsteps of his

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<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the gift of a horse made to young Oliphant. The giver was the father of Henry Drummond, the head of the Irvingites.

<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that Willy Erskine never brought his friend Scott to Gask. We should have had a fine photograph of the Laird.

forefathers. . . Let me put you on your guard when you may be in different Gentlemen's houses where the old English Hospitality reigns, that you be not enduced to take more Glasses than is proper, this being a prevailing Vice of the Age, & y<sup>e</sup> worst, as being the inlett to all others, will justifie a Father's anxiety, at y<sup>e</sup> same time addressed to a dear Son he never saw offend in that way. You mention as a place for Charly to study, Gottingen in Hanover; it is a quarter not too agreeable according to my ideas. Present my respectfull Compliments to my dear Cousin Lord Strathallan; he is not less, if not more the Viscount on my list, than if he had been acknowledged by the powers that now are; a benign Genius watches over & prevents the Titles from being sully'd. You will have waited on Lord Exeter; I'm greatly obliged to his L<sup>P</sup> for his kind remembrance. I'm very glad you continue an inclination for study, & none is properer for a Scots country Gentleman, which I hope you will always be, than as much of y<sup>e</sup> Roman and Scots Law as to be satisfactory to himself & give him a proper weight with his neighbours & fit to give them solid advice; farther than this I think it is to be detested; Chicanery & Knavery make up ye rest. Your feeling that you have deficiency is both advantageous to yourself, and makes you agreeable to others. I hope you will never feel what I have done for neglects in learning & improvement. Deep learning is not necessary; the length of being the polit well-bred man is all that is necessary; as a happy state in y<sup>e</sup> other world should always be y<sup>e</sup> primary object; the chief view is always to be turn'd to that side. You will now perhaps be sensible that English expence & manner of living, when seriously reflected on, yield no solid satisfaction for y<sup>e</sup> future; & that what they would call Scots poverty will in retirement give the reall & lasting satisfaction. Edinburgh is not destitute of men of learning, the fittest to bring you forward in y<sup>e</sup> Study of y<sup>e</sup> Law, as far as is necessary. I can see no good reason for your stay in London further than this, of its serving to amuse our Benefactor in his distressed situation. . . . Our friend from the West Indies expects to be in Scotland soon to get a loan of three thousand pounds to buy Slaves; he proposes being some days at Gask."

In another letter, the Laird draws up for his son a statement of the Gask rents. From this we learn that what

had been worth one pound sterling in 1745, was now in 1790 worth £1 12s. There had been a steady rise in the rents, in spite of the two burdensome wars waged by Chatham and George III. Out of the Gask rents, £100 a year went to a sinking fund, according to a contract with the purchasers of the estate. The Laird adds:—"When we keep to what is necessary & prudent, there is no fear but we will be always liberally supply'd, as we have always been; for the tender mercy of our Lord is over all his works. I begin to preach & to tire myself & you perhaps." In another letter he says; "We must shape our Coat to our Cloath & not bring ourselves into difficulties; other people have a resource in borrowing, but I know my Trustees would not consent to augment the Debt on the Estate, nor could one ask it of them; so that till you can get a proper Match & clear the debt, we must keep within our income, which I doubt is hardly ye case at present."

Gask speaks of a Peer, whose family had lost their title in 1746, and who had voted at an uproarious election as a Commoner, "when he got y<sup>e</sup> reding stroke, as we call it, on y<sup>e</sup> Eye from one of the raskely fellows. . . . I was sorry for y<sup>e</sup> Accident, but cannot help thinking he deserved it. I should never have debased my Family by voting as a commoner, & geting the benefit of y<sup>e</sup> Oaths to y<sup>e</sup> bargain. And I think his Chieff showed him bad example." Gask bids his son mind and take Oxford in his way back to Scotland; this would of course be the Queen of all English cities in the eyes of a Jacobite.

Late in 1791, young Oliphant was once more on the wing. His father writes to Strowan's brother in November:—"Laurie has been wishing to go to y<sup>e</sup> North part of France to learn the language; the disturbances there made me reluctant; now I find no objections to his wintering at Bruxelles. Now, my dear Sir, you know my principles; & I write that you would procure recommendations to proper French officers at Bruxelles. I would wish him to associate with the French only; & when he has got a length in the language, he may be presented at y<sup>e</sup> Archduke's Court. As Laurie is no Officer, I think you may mention to whom you write that his Father & Grandfather were both Proscrite after the Forty Five, & that their Estate was sold by Government, and that their friends bought it back, sold the half to take y<sup>e</sup> great part of y<sup>e</sup> Burthen off

themselves, & left the remaining part upon the other half, which the family now possesses. My Father & I were for sixteen years in France under good Louis y 15.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hope Stewart of Balaichan goes with Laurie, an excellent douce young man; his father was with the Prince too, a Lieutenant Colonel, and brought out a Company of good men to the Prince. I would have them go strait to Ostend & not touch at Calais. They both require Economy as much as may be.”

Few more letters was Gask to write; his daughter sends worse and worse accounts of his health to her brother; she describes a visit from the new Lord Kinnoull:—“a charming easy man, he went to my Father’s bed side, who was not then got up, & talked as you would have done. He told him you would have the best society at Brussels, and must fly your countrymen, the English.”

Laurence Oliphant, Laird of Gask, died on the 1st of January, 1792, while his son was in Flanders; the corpse was followed to the grave by his neighbour Lord Kinnoull, and by many kinsmen. This Laird, like his father, has left us his own portrait, drawn by himself. He seems to have been Chivalry embodied in the shape of man. To the Stuarts he was true as the dial to the Sun, when others began to forsake them. In him was found a man’s thoroughness, a woman’s softness, a child’s simplicity. He could never see a poor fellow fallen among thieves, and yet pass by on the other side. Hence he was led into some acts, from which worldly wisdom would have shrunk. His letter to Rome in 1762, on the subject of the Prince, probably cost him more pain than when he faced the English bayonets at Culloden; and the reception it met was a warning to him to beware thenceforth of meddling with the Court of King James. This Laird had none of his father’s learning. Trees he understood better than books; many of the Gask woods were planted by him, and named after his daughters. He was great at match-making and at peace-making, and caused his influence to be felt for miles

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<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the only instance of this epithet being applied to that King; at least, after his death. But one of the few good deeds recorded of him was performed in Gask’s behalf.

around him. Though pinched in purse, he showed a scorn, seldom found, of worldly pelf, and would not have the Oliphants aggrandized at the cost of the Robertsons. He was a strong Episcopalian; yet when the Scottish Bishops were not of his mind, he would rate them as soundly as any Ritualist of our own day could do. The prayer-books he loved are still to be seen at Gask, altered so as to suit his politics. He ever bore himself as one who had the right to be the Twelfth Lord Oliphant, if every man could have come by his own; he scorned to vote at an election as a commoner.

This is a book of good faith; I have no wish to foist upon the world a new lying legend; in other words, to draw a flawless hero. I must therefore acknowledge that there are traces, in the Oliphant journals, of Gask's having been led into misdeeds, when a stripling, by his admiration of his fair friends; for this he must have been heartily sorry in his old age; his sins were speedily followed by sharp penance, for at the age of twenty-one he was hurled down from the lap of ease upon the rugged rock of Poverty. Stern moralists might also shake their heads at Gask's use of the verb "damn" as a passive participle, applied to the French inns, when they were bad beyond all reason, or to the French priests, when they were luring some lady cousin of his away from the Protestant fold. These things excepted, there is not a trace in the huge mass of papers left behind him by Gask, of anything that could be wished otherwise.

"As master, landlord, husband, father,  
He does na fail his part in either."

There is not the least token of his having ever had an enemy, at least in private life; and in this he was happier than his sire. His character was mellowed by religion and by the influence of his young wife; higher praise cannot be given to this pair than to say that they were well worthy to be the parents of Lady Nairne. That Poetess has drawn her father in one of her best songs,—

"The auld Laird, the auld Laird,  
Sae canty, kind, and crouse,  
How mony did he welcome to  
His ain wee dear auld House!"

that House, a true "Honour's Broad Stone," which was to

outlast him barely ten years. There he lived, weary and war-broken, as shown in his picture that hangs in the dining-room. Through life he bore about him an ever-present reminder of his feats in behalf of the Stuarts, for whom he had sacrificed his health, just as his father had sacrificed his lands. His aches and pains were beyond the leechcraft of his friend Thriepland. Gask's path towards the Land of the Leal must have been smoothed by his four charming young lasses, brimful of mirth and song. Then there was his eldest son, the handsomest of all the Lairds of Gask, as the youth's portrait makes clear; and the younger son Charles, towards whom Gask would look, when naming "The King, Charles," as his toast after dinner; thereby avoiding offence to any partisan of the Brunswick line who might be at table. Traditions about the staunch old Jacobite have been handed down by General Stewart and Bishop Low. The legend in the family is, that Gask, when hearing the newspapers read, would never allow George III. and his wife to be called any thing but the K. and the Q. This identifies Gask as "the well-known Perthshire gentleman," to whom George III. sent his compliments as Elector of Hanover; this tale is mentioned by Scott in the Preface to "Redgauntlet," and was probably given him by Erskine.

Soldier though Gask was, his battles were but three. Yet it must be borne in mind, that in two out of the three, he and his comrades in fair open fight, with equal numbers, overthrew the renowned British army; an achievement that has been compassed by few under the same conditions. It is to be regretted that he, an eyewitness, has not left behind him more records of his own share in the last civil war that has ever rent our island.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> While my work was passing through the press, I received the subjoined information from Captain Graeme, one of the Inchbrakie family, born seven years after Gask's death. "When George III. was graciously pleased to restore the Gask property, the Lord Chamberlain hinted to his Majesty that the old champion of the Stuarts would not accept the gift as from the King of Great Britain. The amiable Monarch replied quietly, 'Say, say, the Elector of Hanover restores it.'" This

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story must refer to the removal of the Attainder, and not to the restoration of the property, which was bought in hard cash. I have always found Tradition a slippery jade, but I have been luckily able to test her by written documents. I find that the Pistols, with which Gask performed his exploit after the battle of Preston Pans, are still preserved at Inchbrakie. Of course, according to Tradition, Gask on that occasion captured a whole English Regiment single-handed.

## CHAPTER IV.

LAURENCE OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF GASK,  
1792—1819.

LAURENCE OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF GASK,  
1819—1824.

JAMES OLIPHANT, LAIRD OF GASK,  
1824—1847.

After the old Laird's death, the Oliphants somewhat softened down their politics, sliding with ease from Jacobitism into high Toryism. This had been done by most of their neighbours a few years earlier. Old ideas had undergone a rough shock. Even the former Laird and his friend Lord Ogilvie, perhaps the last partisans of the alliance between France and Scotland, must have cooled down in their zeal for it, on seeing King Louis fast in the gripe of the Girondins. This alliance had lasted "abone memor of man;" as was declared by the Second Lord Oliphant and his peers, who met at Perth after the black tidings of Flodden. The young Laird of Gask, finding himself in a new world, enlisted under the banner of George III., though Henry IX. was still alive. In 1794 the youth joined the Perthshire Light Dragoons. He writes to his Uncle Strowan in July, thinking that they shall soon be ordered on active service, describing their drills on the Inch at 6 in the morning, and thus goes on:—"There was a man last night who came to the bed side of one of our lads, & insisted upon his drinking "Damnation to the King & success to the Friends of the People," "which he refused to do; & in the mean time another recruit, who was in the room, went & put on his sabre, & came back & told the Friend of the People, that he was his prisoner; upon which the gentleman changed his key & said, he meant to have said, 'God bless the King!' but our gallant trooper detained him prisoner till he was committed to the Guard; and he was this morning delivered over to the local Magistrate and thrown into Goal, there to remain till he stands his trial." Gask's commission, as Captain in the Perthshire Regiment of Fencible Cavalry, under Colonel Moray of Abercairny, bears date May 29, 1795.

Late in this same year, Gask married Christian Robertson, the heiress of Ardblairin Perthshire. Her father, Dr. Robertson, had been a Surgeon in the Scottish Brigade in the

Dutch service, and could remember welcoming to Holland his friends and kinsmen, escaped from Culloden; he lived to hear of Waterloo. The first child of this marriage, Rachel, from whom I have heard many old traditions of the family, was born early in 1797. She outlived all of her generation, dying in 1864; in self-sacrifice, she rivalled any one of her ancestry, as many now alive can bear witness. Her uncle, Charles Oliphant, was long unprovided for; Gask says in 1796 that a Collectorship might be bought for his brother, "but I understand that the oath of Abjuration is indispensably necessary, which Charles, I am sure, would not take, nor could I desire him." Thus we find a long tradition of Jacobitism in the Oliphant family, from the year of Killiecrankie to the year in which Napoleon first burst upon astonished Europe. Charles Oliphant died shortly afterwards.

Early in 1797 the Perthshire Horse were marched into Westmoreland, to keep order during a ballot for the supplementary militia. Gask describes Shap, where he was quartered, as one of the most barren and bleak places he ever saw. "Great preparations are making to oppose us; men are even at exercise for that purpose; but if any resistance is made, our lads will give them a complete drubbing; numerous mobs have already assembled, but armed only with bludgeons. Lord Lansdown and the Duke of Norfolk are both great democrats, and very likely abettors of the rioters." These letters give some idea of the task undertaken by Pitt, when making head against the French Revolution. Little union was there at home.

In September, Gask was quartered at Dumfries; he says, "We were ordered to march at a moment's warning, the Dutch fleet being supposed out at sea, & a landing of the enemy upon some part of our coast apprehended. You have heard no doubt of the very tumultuous behaviour of the Atholl men, who threatened Atholl house & Lude with being burnt, & assembled to the number of many hundreds. Aunt Henrietta & May happened to be at Lude at the time upon a visit, & together with M<sup>rs</sup> Robertson & Lude at the head of near a hundred men went down to Atholl house for safety. Every thing is now quiet there, and a troop of Dragoons is at Blair. I am anxious to know how my Uncle's tenants behaved;

mine have been showing their teeth too.”

In the foregoing letter we see how the shock of the great French earthquake had been felt in Perthshire. “Aunt Henrietta” could well remember how the grandfathers of these rioters had poured forth to the war in 1745, at the call of the Jacobite Duke of Athole, Strowan, and her brothers-in-law, Lude and Drummachin. More than half of the Athole men, who fought at Culloden, were there mown down.

Gask left the Perthshire Dragoons late in 1797, rejoicing that he had seen more of the world in the last three years than in all his life before. He found that his estate had suffered from the absence of the master’s eye. He feared that the French, then expected to land, would again call him off from his home duties. In 1798 he was named to the Duke of Athole as one of the officers of Yeomanry Cavalry about to be raised in Perthshire. He gave his tenants their yearly dinner, and proposed a subscription in aid of Government, putting down £105 himself; the tenants subscribed £50 among them, and even their servants gave their half-crowns.

In May this year, Gask was blessed with a son and heir. He writes, “Mr Maitland is expected over here very soon, and young master’s christening will take place not long after.” This babe was the fourth Laurence Oliphant of Gask, with whom the good Parson had been brought in contact, since the voyage he had made to Sweden with the babe’s great-grandfather in 1746. Young Laurence was one night assailed by the rats, which swarmed in the Auld House; the morning light disclosed the cause of the screams from his cradle. The old housekeeper, Mrs. Hutton, was once found composing a letter to the Captain of the rats, begging him to change his quarters; such a paper, stuffed into a rat-hole, was held a sovereign remedy.



*Portrait of Lady Nairn the Poeress  
said to be the best likeness of her now extant.*

The Laird of Gask had for inmates his wife, his children, his sisters, and his great-aunt. He kept up a brisk correspondence with his Uncle, the old Chief of Strowan. The

latter writes in 1800, on receiving the Life of the late Czarina and the Campaigns of Suwarrow; “Catharine the 2nd was certainly one of the wisest and most politic Sovereigns that ever reigned, and it is to be lamented that she should have been forced by the opposition of her enemies to act at times (as old Lord Lovat told my Father he was) in a manner her soul abhorred. Suwarrow was a real hero in every respect; I could not help shedding tears on reading the account of his tragical death, and execrating from the bottom of my soul the unworthy wretch who was the occasion of it.”

In 1801 the new House of Gask was begun, and was built far larger than the wants of the family required, owing to the promises made to the Laird by a rich kinsman; promises never fulfilled. The war prices (the peace of Amiens was but short) made the cost of building enormous; although the quarries were close at hand, quarries which the Earl of Strathearn had allowed the monks of Inchaffray to work so early as 1266. Lady Henrietta Nairne did not live to see the new House inhabited. She lost her memory, which must have reached back to the days when her father was pining in the Tower, after the beheading of his comrades taken at Preston, Lord Derwentwater and others. She had one remaining kinsman of her own name, a grand-nephew, who became the husband of her niece Carolina Oliphant in 1806, when he had won the rank of Major in the army.

Carolina, as already remarked, is the brightest jewel in the Oliphant crown.<sup>1</sup> The “sturdy tod” first comes before us at two years old, listening with prim attention to her father reading prayers on Sunday evening. Then we see the child performing her reels like a fine lady in miniature; then learning her lessons of Miss Cramond and the good Parson; then riding, dancing, and playing old Scotch tunes; known in the Gask household as “Miss Car the pretty.” Fired by the example of Burns, she began to write verses when about thirty, producing at one time a song to be sung by her brother

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<sup>1</sup> See the Life and Songs of Lady Nairne, lately published by Dr. Rogers; a very common book. I wrote the first thirty years of her life; and in the present work I have corrected a few mistakes I made in the former one.

when feasting his tenants; at another time, Jacobite lays for her old uncle Strowan; at another time, her greatest work, to soothe the sorrows of Willy Erskine's sister. She tended the last years of her great aunt, Henrietta Nairne, and plighted her troth to her cousin, Major Nairne, a man of infinite humour. Heaven had bestowed upon her for her tocher more wit than wealth; the wedding took place in 1806, in an upper room of the new house of Gask. The pair lived at Edinburgh, in a small house called Caroline Cottage, bought for them by Strowan. Here Mrs. Nairne wrote many of the poems (her name being carefully hidden) which she furnished to Purdie, the music publisher, under the name of Mrs Bogan. The partner of her secret describes how she would spread a newspaper over her manuscripts, if her husband came into the room; he was too open-hearted to be trusted with the mystery. In 1824, she became Lady Nairne, his title being restored by George IV. She used not only the pen, but the paint-brush and needle; her great occupation however was the bringing up her son, the last of the Lords Nairne, who was born in 1808. She was, in her own words, "a too happy wife and mother." Her *Life*, published in 1869, discloses the sorrows which beset her towards the end of her days; how first her husband, and then her son, was taken from her; how she travelled abroad; how in 1843, she was brought home to Gask by her nephew the Laird; how she wrote verses at the age of seventy-five, the last leaves from a withered tree; how her bones were laid beside those of her forefathers in 1845.

Her poems have been stamped with the approval of all lovers of Scottish song; the first edition of them with her *Life* went off within ten weeks, and was honoured by the interest of Queen Victoria. The Poetess will always be held to stand high among song-writers. Burns, Béranger, and Moore are indeed unapproachable; but Lady Nairne has a foremost place in the second rank. Her excessive modesty, inherited from her forefathers, has probably clogged her poetic soul from soaring so high as it would otherwise have done. She chose to wrap herself in a veil of awful mystery; this was a burden both to herself and to her kinsfolk, as is clearly shown in her *Life*. She ought to have come forth from her lurking-place, and allowed the keen healthy gales of criticism to blow upon her. Scott or Jeffrey would have besought her

not to fritter away her genius in short ballads, but to aim at a higher mark. Her shrinking from the public gaze has perhaps robbed Scotland of a poem in the style of "Tam O' Shanter," or the "Saturday Night."

She had the wit to cleave to that racy form of our Teutonic speech, which, after having been spoken for hundreds of years between the Humber and the Forth, was making its way to the Earn and further eastward about the time that the old Olifards first took root in Scotland. This broad Scotch, heard by her in Clathy and the neighbouring hamlets, was the mother tongue of the men who followed her grandfather to the wars, and who risked their lives for him and his lady, when he was in hiding in 1746. The Poetess made the tongue of the poor welcome in the halls of the great, while at the same time she divorced the old tunes from the coarse words which had become fastened to them, substituting new words of her own. What Scottish songs are better known than the "Land of the Leal," "Caller Herrin," and the "Laird of Cockpen"? In the latter she commemorates the name M'leish, often heard from her father. What command of rhyme she shows in "Saw ye na my Peggy," and the "Mitherless Lammie!" Many compliments have been paid to the most striking capital in Europe; but few come up to Lady Nairne's "Farewell to Edinburgh." Here she is bold enough to step upon ground already occupied by Burns. She holds her own against him upon other themes; thus, both "Makers" sing the woes of a hapless lass who has lost her all at Culloden. There was this difference between them; the Ayrshire ploughman wrote to make men drink; the Perthshire lady, to keep men from drinking. Compare her version of "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen" with the other versions of that well-known ditty; in the third of her five stanzas, it is wonderful how much pith she has packed into a few words; an achievement by no means common with lady writers.

Most interesting is it to trace those of her songs which must have come straight from her heart; such as "The Auld House," "The Banks of Earn," and the homely dialogue she most likely composed when her uncle Strowan was allowed to come home from Givet in 1784. "The White Rose of June" recalls the Jacobite emblem which must have abounded in

the Oliphants' gardens throughout the whole of the last century; "He's o'er the hills ayont Dumblane," marks the furthest point in the Ochils to be seen from Gask. Jacobite as she was in her upbringing, she shows a warm feeling for the down-trodden Covenanters. "Dunnottar Castle" is an act of homage to the Keiths, a house of which she must often have heard her father speak with loving reverence. "The Attainted Scottish Nobles" is the product of the wife of one of that wronged brotherhood; and the household virtues of Lord Nairne have not been left unsung. The Poetess is weakest when she becomes didactic. Yet, as has been said of Chaucer, she springs like Antæus from the earth, when she comes upon a mirthful topic, such as "John Todd."

Her modesty has been already bewailed; its ill effects have reached beyond her grave. Not even Shakspeare was more heedless of renown after death. The poems of her niece and namesake, Caroline Oliphant, were transcribed with pious care more than once by the pens of her nearest of kin, and were set apart, unprofaned by meaner admixture; but Lady Nairne was not equally happy in her literary executors. Her works were left to struggle into the world in a somewhat hap-hazard fashion. The Editor of her *Life and Songs* has done his best, and is not to blame in the matter; but on second thoughts he has cut out of the current edition of her works no less than seventeen songs which he had been led by others to attribute to her pen. Interpolations have been suspected; very poor stuff has been put forth under the cloak of her name. In one song, she has been made to call the French of 1815 "coward loons;" yet by France her father, with whom gratitude seemed to be always the uppermost feeling, was fed and sheltered when almost a beggar. Another lay about St. Andrews and its Prelates, a song far too bloodthirsty for a lady, was foisted upon her pen. She was also thought to have been guilty of some wretched stuff about the Clyde, containing lines such as these:

"Loch Goil, Artinee, and Loch Long,  
A' are worthy of a song."

In 1842, when she is represented as having written this piece, which is meant to be jovial, she was bowed down to the earth by the loss of her only son; and her Muse produced the

very different strain, "Would you be young again?" Since I began this work, I have heard from one of her nieces, her old fellow traveller, that the poem on "Gascon Ha" is assuredly none of Lady Nairne's. "The Women are a' gane wude," has also been challenged on the best grounds as an interpolation. These two last-named songs are well worthy of her pen. But on comparing the first and second editions of her *Life*, there are tokens that some less gifted genius has been striving to climb Parnassus by clinging fast to the skirts of Lady Nairne. This mars the pleasure of all true lovers of the Scottish Muse. We cannot help thinking of the fate that befell Hooker's manuscripts after his death.

Turning from her poems to her life, we find Lady Nairne serving a Heavenly Master with a zeal as hearty as that which her forefathers felt for an earthly race of Kings; a race to whom the Oliphants dedicated sword and harp alike. Religion softened down her fine natural character, and brought the good that was in her to almost angelic perfection. Her chosen maxim was, "Religion is a walking and not a talking concern." Pride of birth, that last infirmity of Scottish minds, was at length driven out; she would not, in her old age, have talked with scorn of "low-bred boors," an epithet she applied in her youth to some officers in her brother's regiment who had incurred her wrath. Her coffers might have been inscribed with that fine motto which is sometimes seen on hospitals abroad: "Christo in Pauperibus." The extent of her alms deeds was only known after her death. In 1868, I spoke with her old maid, Henriette Vouaillat, at Geneva; after listening to a long catalogue of the virtues of one who had been dead a score of years, I asked in French: "But had your mistress no faults? you are describing a perfect character!" "Sir," said the old Genevese, "my mistress came as near to an angel as the weakness of human nature would allow; the only thing amiss I could see in her was, that she disliked my marrying or otherwise leaving her." A perusal of her *Life* will lead most persons to believe, that there has seldom been found in any woman so happy a union of the four great points, wit, breeding, patriotism, and religion, as was seen in Lady Nairne.

To return to the history of Laurence Oliphant, the brother

of the Poetess; he pulled down not only the Auld House, but also the Kirk which stood a little below it, taking care however to preserve the monument of his forefather, who bought Gask in 1625. The new Kirk was built a mile from the house; the villagers, not liking the change of the burial ground, used to force their way to the old Kirk yard, that they might bury their dead near their own kin; and this went on for at least twenty years. A new generation was now springing up; after the birth of an eighth child, another poetical Caroline, the Oliphants left Gask and removed to Durham late in 1807, there to educate their children. These were confirmed by good Bishop Barrington. In 1811, Mrs. Oliphant writes to her father: "Mr Philpot is a very clever man, is a great favourite of the Bishop's, and is now one of the Prebendaries here. His wife is niece to the Chancellor, so that he has every chance of preferment." This was the Bishop of Exeter, who died in 1869; I have heard one of the Oliphant ladies speak admiringly of his skill at whist in those old Durham days.

The Laird himself travelled about a good deal in search of a warm climate. He was at Lisbon in 1814, and at Ghent in 1815; Sir Charles Stewart, two months before Waterloo, advised him to get home as fast as he could. Gask however seems to have staid in Belgium to the end of the campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Oliphant writes from near Durham on the 13th of June, 1816, to her sister-in-law, the Marjory who sailed to Lisbon more than forty years before this time. "I have seen and admired Lord Byron's beautiful address to his wife. What a pity that one who can express such feelings and affections has such a diabolical disposition! that he is crazy, is the only apology that can be made for him. Can anything be so venomous as his account of her governess, who, by all I ever heard of her since I came South, is not a person who ought to have had such a trust. Her name is Clermont, or something very like it; I did not know she had ever been a cook; but I heard she was Lady Milbank's maid, and suited herself so

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<sup>1</sup> He was presented at Court by Lord Kinnoull in 1810. What would the Laird's father have said? "Proh Curia inversique mores!"

well to her humour that she got the charge of Miss's education. Lady M. is a clever odd woman, and has lived entirely in the gay world; and, I was told some time ago, was very unhappy if she had no company, and at these times Miss Clermont exerted herself to amuse, and made herself quite necessary to her mistress, who used to have so little respect for Sunday, that she worked on it as on any other day of the week. Miss was an uncommonly quick child, and was never restrained in anything, read what books she pleased, and formed her own notions of religion. From being idolized by her parents, and flattered by all their visitors, no wonder she had high notions of her own abilities. Yet the Miss Chaytors, who were often at Seaham, say she was always feminine in her manners, and not at all selfish, but attentive to all. When she was very young she was a disciple of Mary Wolstoncroft's school, and thought she owed no more to her parents than to any other acquaintance. But all that sort of independence was completely laid aside many years ago, and she uniformly behaved well to them. They however always seemed rather to consult her wishes than require her to conform to theirs. When she went to London, she took her place very high in society, and was looked up to in the literary world. Amongst other admirers was Lord Byron, and at that time she refused his addresses upon principle. Afterwards she heard some things explained differently from what she had understood them, and wrote him to say she had been mistaken on that point; thus entering into a correspondence with a refused lover. Of course, what was he to infer but the greatest encouragement that a female could show? He availed himself of her weakness and vanity, told her he was open to conviction, and required only to be guided by her well-informed mind; that his education had been neglected, his religious opinions required regulation, and would be modelled by her. Thus was she induced to undertake the task of conversion, and it is said he told her very soon after the ceremony that he had married her out of pique, as she had refused him. Certain it is, however, that he very soon vexed her by paying no attention, not even common civility, to her near relations. Miss Kirby never had any charge of her; she is a very different being from the artful and intriguing Miss Clermont."

In 1816, the Oliphants went abroad for four years; they lived at Marseilles and Hyères. The Laird of Gask died at Paris in 1819, and lies buried in Père la Chaise. The new Laird, bearing his father's name of Laurence, was but twenty-one. He kept a journal in shorthand, an accomplishment shared by many of his sisters; this journal, which gives dialogues and displays character with Boswell-like clearness, is of course little suited to the public eye. His family, after a winter at Florence and Rome, sailed home from Naples in 1820, under the care of the present Sir James Clarke.

The Misses Oliphant faded away one after another; their miniatures, painted by Chalon, remain to prove that they inherited their grandmother's beauty. In 1821, the family returned once more to Gask, after an absence of all but fourteen years; the property had been well cared for by a kind cousin, Graeme of Garvoch. The diaries kept by the household disclose the little incidents of daily life; we see one of the young ladies springing on her horse, and galloping forth to bar the inroad of a lordly intruder, who was killing the Gask roe deer; much as her forefathers had sallied forth against the Protestant Ruthvens about the time of the Reformation. The Episcopalian service was read at Gask, at intervals, by the same Mr. Cruickshank who had incurred the wrath of the Laird's grandfather. But by this time the title to the British throne was happily no longer a matter of dispute.

The family went now and then to London; they once fell in with Wilberforce, "the oddest man," one of them writes, "that you ever saw, but when he speaks you forget." Late in 1822, they all passed the winter in the south of France, taking with them, so far on his way to Rome, Mr. Laurence Macdonald, the first British sculptor now in Italy; his budding talents had not escaped the eye of Mrs. Oliphant. It is strange that he and Lady Nairne should have been born, at no great interval, in the same scantily peopled parish. Long afterwards he sent one of his best works home as a gift to the Laird of Gask.

Late in 1822, died the Oliphants' uncle, Alexander Robertson, Laird of Strowan, who was probably the last of the sufferers of 1746. His lands went to his own clan, and not to the Oliphants; thus the wishes of the old Jacobite Laird of

Gask were granted. In 1823, the family were at Carqueranne, a villa on the sea near Hyères; they were ever on the watch for the new works of Byron and Scott. The latter did the Oliphants the honour of borrowing their name for his hero in the "Fortunes of Nigel."

They went home by sea, stopping in London, where they heard Irving preach for 1¼ hour, of which no one seemed weary. They were soon back at Gask, where the Laird told a visitor a story he had picked up in Italy of the Cardinal York's being only 1¼ of an hour driving from Frascati to Rome. Another visitor at this time was Dr. Chalmers, who kept an eye upon young James Oliphant, when studying at St. Andrews; the Doctor's visit to Gask is recorded in his Life.

The portrait of Laird Laurence was taken in a Highland dress; this would have astonished his Lowland forefathers, who underwent so much from Celtic Caterans. Late in 1824 he died unmarried, and was succeeded by his only brother, James Oliphant, aged twenty. The latter writes to his sister at Clifton on the 13th of September, 1827, and thus describes the downfall of the old stronghold of his ancestors, which had figured in the Raid of Ruthven, and had stood unharmed (though modern additions had been made to the old building by the Kinnoull family,) since the burghers of Perth had burnt it down in the days of the First Lord Oliphant, whom they handled as roughly as the Guelfs of some Italian city used the Ghibelline noblemen of the neighbourhood:—"You will be both surprised & hurt to learn the total demolition of Dupplin Castle by fire, which took place the day before yesterday. I have seldom witnessed a scene of so much distress & bearing with it so pregnant a moral. Lord Kinnoull with his wife & family arrived from London on Monday evening, and on Tuesday morning by daybreak they found themselves obliged to fly from a house where every comfort awaited them. The scene I witnessed, on immediately arriving on the spot, was really heart-rending. With the greatest difficulty I pushed my way through crowds of people of every description, who had come from Perth & the adjacent country, some to help, others, I fear by their appearance, & those by far the greater number, to steal & pilfer. Soon reaching a miserable pantry through dirt &

rubbish, I found the Earl, surrounded by many of the neighbouring gentlemen who had flocked to offer assistance & consolation; he sat in the midst worn out with fatigue. His family were first driven to the west wing, & then sought refuge in the factor's house at Aberdalgie. I considered I had it in my power to be of real use to my distressed neighbours, & by an offer of my house to the noble outcasts I thought its situation & accommodation at such a time well worthy of consideration. I trust, if they decide on remaining any time in the country, they may perhaps become my inmates. His Lordship expresses most feelingly the kindness of his friends & neighbours. All the bedroom pictures & furniture, with half the Library, & many irreparable papers & valuables, are gone for ever."

In May, 1830, the Laird's sister, Margaret Oliphant, was married to Thomas Kington, of Charlton House, Somersetshire. Of the eight children of Laurence Oliphant, the opponent of the French Revolution, she was the only one who left offspring.<sup>1</sup> The Laird of Gask himself in 1840 married his cousin, Henrietta Gillespie Graham, the heiress of Orchill. The year before his wedding, he had taken steps to claim the Oliphant peerage, ninety years after the death of the Tenth Lord. James Oliphant, who had for his counsel Mr. J. Riddell and Mr. W. Skene, in 1839 instructed his direct descent as the heir male of the body of William Oliphant of Newton, the only younger son of Colin, Master of Oliphant, slain at Flodden. The Laird of Gask declared, that after every possible inquiry, he could discover no evidence of any competitor claiming a nearer descent; and that the right to the title of Lord Oliphant had for ninety years been reputed to belong to his branch of the family. James Oliphant, however, did not push his claim further; and never voted at an Election of Scottish Peers as Eleventh Lord Oliphant, his undoubted right.

Being, like his grandfather, a member of the Royal Scottish Archers, he was one of those who escorted Queen Victoria, on

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<sup>1</sup> For the births and marriages of various offshoots of the Oliphant family, and for the poems of Caroline Oliphant the younger, see the Memoir of Baroness Nairne.

her first visit to Edinburgh. Soon afterwards, he gave a home to his Aunt, Lady Nairne, for the two last years of her life; and, aided by her, built a chapel for Episcopalian worship in the garden of Gask, where the old Kirk stood; it had been removed elsewhere forty years earlier. He himself was buried there in December, 1847, the last heir male (a fact proved by the most searching of all tests,) of that Laurence Oliphant who bought Gask from Lord Oliphant in 1625. The body of Laird James was followed to the grave by Lords Elibank, Rollo, and Strathallan; the latter being the son of that Willy Drummond who fled from Scotland with the Oliphants rather more than a hundred years earlier.

James Oliphant, who died in 1847, was the eighteenth in unbroken male succession from the William Olifaunt upon whom Robert Bruce bestowed the lands of Gasknes, and who in 1296 was taken prisoner by Edward I. at Dunbar and sent into England with many other Scotch captives, in the sorry plight recorded by Pierre de Langtoft, most likely an eye-witness:—

“Par deus et II ensemble un hakenay mountez,  
Les uns en charettes, enfergez les pez.”

## APPENDIX.

## No. I

Copy of a letter from the Earl of Mar, which accompanied the annexed account of the rising in 1719 in his own handwriting.

SIR,

I had the satisfaction of yours by the bearer Mr. S--t, and can assure you, will never forget your former hearty friendship. It is impossible for any to endeavour more sincerely to satisfie every reasonable expectation, besides performe my duty without any byass, that tends not directly to answer our King and countrie's service, as may in the end be found by every honest man who with calmness does examine things impartially to the bottome.

I have drawn a short sketch of the publick affairs, which will give a pretty full idea of my part ever since employed. Perhapps others might have had better success, but I may say none could more indefatigable lay themselves out to make something of inconsistencies, and to bring a little order out of a mass of confusion, where there was hardly anything of moment to work on; so that great fates could not be perform'd with cross materialls, as we were most unaccountable trysted with.

Pray give my humble service most kindly to good Mr. Williamsone; pray communicate this to him and the account I send of Scots affairs to your friend C. H. S., who I have writ to, desireing him to give you a coppie of it. So shall add no more, but that I am with true esteem,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

Aug. 20, 1719.

A DISTINCT ABRIDGEMENT OF SOME MATERIALL POYNTS  
RELATEING TO SCOTTS AFFAIRS.

The King haveing thought fitt to despatch from Pezaro the Duke of Ormond and some others of his subjects to ffrance the Low Countries etc: that they might be the readyer to excute what should be found proper for the service in case the intended Swedish expedition should succeed, His Majesty

gave each their instructions how to act most agreeable to his intentions on all events, severalls being thus sent off to different stations. The Marquess of Tullibardine and Brigadeer Campbell of Ormadale were order'd to Gascoigny where most of the subjects abroad that had interest in the Highlands went from Avignon. Soon after they arriv'd at Bordeaux, it was found the designes from Sweden had miscarried, people therefore dispersed about the countrey, being requir'd to live in the privatest manner till a fitt occasion should offer to appear more publickly. In the meantime my L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine with some others were wrote to by the Duke of Mar about buying up a very considerable quantity of firearms, broad-swords, & targetts, which they were to give patterns off, and allso to take care all should be provyded accordingly under the direction of a Considerable person both for distinction and merite at Paris, who they were to apply themselves to on all urgent occasions, the Court being at too great a distance to determine everything that required immediate dispatch. The affair was carryed on a great while in the hands of ane Irish merchand call'd Richard Barry who play'd a double game, keeping a correspondance with Stanhope and others of the usurper's ministry. At last being found out a false coyner in Spain, he run into a Convent, and afterwards makeing his escape went over to England that he might doo the Government a service of the last consequence, as it is term'd in his Letters that were intercepted to Carpenter and others of the Hannoverian adherents. It seems he likeways design'd to have gott all the arms put into their hands when ship'd off. That project miscarrying thus, there came soon after a rich Irish Lisbone merchand from Italy who had been with the King, and was fully instructed how to provyde all that was wanted, so haveing mett with my L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine Clanranald and Brigadeer Campbell of Glenderuell they settled everything with him, believeing his negociation could not prove abortive at Madrid; however he being something too foreward enter'd upon things out of his sphære, which oblidged him afterwards to quite all publict busieness in Spain.

The Earle Marishall who was sent to fflanders, being wearied there gott levee to come to Paris, and haveing mett with the Duke of Ormond, said he desired his Grace to try if

there could be any service gott for him in Spain. Some time after the Duke sent, desireing he would come there with his brother Mr. Keith, they accordingly went off without acquainting anybody, takeing a Tour by Avignon and Marsailes. They were no sooner arrived at Madrid, than Cardinal Albaronni sent my L<sup>d</sup> immediately to Astorga after the Duke. His L<sup>op</sup> finding Scotland neglected in the preparations that were makeing, however was soon furnished with his Grace's instructions, and quickly return'd to Madrid with a Credentiall for his brother, who was directly sent off with it to ffrance, and himself took post for Passage to hasten two ships he had procured with a few men and arms, besides a considerable quantity of amunition which he brought with the greatest expedition to the projected Rendezvouse at Stornoway in the Louis.

While things were in suspence as to the Lisbon merchand's negotiation, Mr. James Keith arrived at Bordeaux with the Duke of Ormond's Credentiall, dated ffebruary y<sup>e</sup> 15th, N.S., which only said, pray have intyre confidence in the bearer. A little before there were Letters from the Duke of Mar in the King's name, desireing his Majesty's subjects to obey what orders the Duke of Ormond sent them. Clanranald and Generall Gordon were startled at what Mr. Keith told, and wrote so to Lord Tullibardine who was then at Orleance, as for Brig. Campbell of Ormadale he left them to joyne my L<sup>d</sup> Marishall at Passage, Mr. Keith told that Gentleman was sent for by the Prince of Campo Florido, to inspect the makeing of arms, on which Generall Gordon and the other Gentlemen charged the Brigadeer with informing the Duke of Ormond of the hazard things would be exposed to in Scotland if not better provyded, and therefore by all means a larger provision should be made of what was necessary for such ane undertakeing, a memoriall of which was given him, and above all it was recomended that matters might be concerted so as the Duke of Ormond should at least be sail'd from the Groyne at the same time they were order'd to leave ffrance. Brig: Campbell willingly undertook these commissions and promised to execute everything as directed. Four or five days after he had parted with them Gen: Gordon had a letter from him and ane other from L<sup>d</sup> Marishall at St. Sebastian, assureing that the Duke of Ormond with the whole fleet was

sailed from the Groyne some time before, that they were to embarque that very day, and therefore desir'd him with the other Gentlemen to doe the same without delay. Gen: Gordon falling sick a few dayes after it was found he could not make the voyage, but upon the faith of the Letters Clanranald, Lochiell and some others sett out from Bordeaux for Scotland where they arriv'd in the Isles some time after. Mr. Keith came forward to Orleance and mett with Lord Tullibardine on the 3rd of March, N.S., showing his credentiall, withall told that he and my L<sup>d</sup> Seafort were order'd not to loose a minute in embarqueing for the Leuis, the Randezvouse given. Accordingly next morning they went both off for Paris, and there mett the day after with L<sup>d</sup> Seafort & Glenderuell. All were equally astonished at his message, by which it appeared Scots affairs were very much disconcerted, Mr. Keith said little more than ane amusement was expected, for the whole stress of affairs lay on England. My Lord Seafort was entyrelly dissatisfied with everything he told, and said the Credentiall might be turn'd to any use. Therefore that they ought to send to the King and receive his orders before leaveing ffrance. L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine was of oppinion they were to observe instructions since their directions were to follow the Duke of Ormond's orders, therefore obedience was to be given to what came from him. L<sup>d</sup> Seafort stuck closs to what he had advanc'd of not stirring till his Majesty should determine the matter, so that Ld Tullibardine and Glenderuell were oblidge to leave him, and setting out for Rhoan on the 7th to take shiping there. Mr. Keith stay'd behind some days that he might perswade L<sup>d</sup> Seafort to follow, who went to ask advyce from the person of distinction mention'd before, and that Gentleman prevail'd upon him to follow about a week after. In the Two days L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine was at Paris he designed to have waited on the person spoke of to receive his Commands haveing been all allong directed to him in what regarded the publict service. But Mr. Keith said it was not knowen how far he was intrusted then, and that they were order'd by the Duke of Ormond to see nobody, which made Glenderuell think they should give implicite faith to what Mr. Keith advanced, so L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine was overruled. However, while they were at Rhoan, before their vessell was got ready Mr. Keith own'd he had sent Mr. Robert Lessly with a message to the Gentleman

mention'd, upon which L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine immediately wrote to him with an account of what had happned, intreating he would let him know how to behave on so criticall a juncture. Att Pont-l'eveque the day before they embarqued the Gentleman's express overtook them, wherin he regrates their not meeting, for at a distance it was impossible to explaine things as was necessary on such an occasion. However he sent some materiall injunctions, and gave hopes that care would be taken of them and the concerns of their countrey, which was of no small consequence, tho it did not appear then, that Scots affairs were thorowly dejected, advyseing to engage such a number of the King's subjects as might draw the serious attention of the usurper upon them, and that to corrispond with the Duke of Ormond's landing in England, which was belived would be before they arrived.

On the 20th of March they sail'd from Honfleur in a small pink and landed in the Louis the 2nd of Aprile, N.S. My L<sup>d</sup> Seafort immediately sent to Stornoway to be inform'd if my L<sup>d</sup> Marishall had arriv'd, and found he was not come, but soon after he landed there, where L<sup>d</sup> Seafort, Tullibardine, & Brig: Campbell of Glenderuell came late on the 9th N.S. Next day they all mett, and L<sup>d</sup> Marishall produced his instructions from the Duke of Ormond, which gave power to him or any superiour officer to make war upon the usurper when and where they thought most convenient; accordingly his L<sup>op</sup> proposed immediately going to arms without any regard to a landing in England, which for many reasons was against the opinion of the others present, except Brig: Campbell of Ormadale. Considering what a blow the Highlands had received very few years before, which was so fresh in the people's memory that they would not be easiely brought to the field againe, without greater encouragement than what his L<sup>op</sup> brought, for to press things rashly on so slender a foundation might disconcert the King's affairs when a reall opportunity offer'd, besides ruine any that would be so foreward as to stirr if the designes on England should happen to miscarry, which would prove a mighty disadvantage to his Majesty's interest as well as bring destruction on the countrey. My L<sup>d</sup> Marishall alleadged the Duke of Ormond might be landed, and time would be lost if the Highlanders were not immediately call'd to arms. The others sustain'd

that a general rising might be as quick and easier upon the certainty of a landing in England, a partial rising being precarious, besides that it could not answer the end of people's appearing for the service as things were stated. The day after my L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine by advyce produced his Commission of Lieutennent Generall, on which L<sup>d</sup> Marishall quite his pretensions to a sole command, but still insisted in haveing the charge of the ships, which created a good dale of trouble, tho he was likeways oblidge to renounce any particullar authority over them, & allso to give up most things else only his L<sup>op</sup> retain'd a fifth part of the money which was sent for the public use. He told the Duke of Ormond had desired him not to ask much of the Cardinall lest he should grant nothing, and that he only required the 300 men for a guard to the arms and ammunition. L<sup>d</sup> Seafort seeing what slender encouragement there was for rising disarm'd people, was not only against goeing to arms, before a landing in England, but allso would by no means hear of stirring out of the Louis till the account came; all were against that, because it might prove of ill consequence by contrare winds hindering the news to come, and opposite gales would allso stop goeing to the mainland, besides if friggats came on the cost it would then be impossible to waft over at any rate. However it was with the greatest difficulty his L<sup>op</sup> was perswaded to move; at length April the 4th, O.S., the wind permitting they saild to the main land, but could only fetch Garloch, where there was only a rumour of the landing in England. However supposeing it certaine, L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine wrote to the Clans and Gentlemen in the Highlands requireing them to goe to arms, and Glenderuell went by land to gett the letters deliver'd. On the 6th the wind favouring they lous'd from Garloch, but a storm rising in the night they were drove back on the 7th to Stornoway, and could not saile till the 11th, and then only made the poynt of Garloch, the next day the wind drove them againe within 4 leagues of Stornoway, but on the 13th the wind changeing they came safe to ane anchor that night at Ileandonnan which was thought the fittest place for debarquation, tho it was the 28th before the arms and everything else could be gott ashoar for want of boats and other conveniences.

The 14th Glenderuell return'd with a Gentleman of no

small consideration, who was hearty and very ready for the service the minute there came any certainty of the Landing, and told that was the advyce came from the King's freinds both in Scotland and England. On the 17th the Lords Seafort and Marishall with several Gentlemen of the Mackenzies came to see L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine, and amongst other discourse L<sup>d</sup> Marishall began to talk of goeing to arms, without expecting the Duke of Ormond's landing, and without more adoe alleadged the meeting was a Councill of war haveing no ways apprys'd those who were then chiefly concern'd in calling it or officers on such occasions, which appear'd to L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine the more extraordinary that there came at the same time a letter from Brig: Campbell of Ormadale, who it seems was not weell, however thought fitt to send his oppinion to a Councill of war that had never been thought of, wherin he declares it was his oppinion that it appear'd most advantageous to the King's interest not to waite for any further news of the D. of Ormond's landing or a General assembly of the Clans, but that the Marquis of Seafort and ane other Gentleman should rise some of their men, not doubting but Clanranald, and Lochiell (who were then landed and comeing) would joyne their men for secureing some post with the Spainards to favour the diversion intended, on which L Marishall would likeways let the Company know his mind in wryteing, as it seems was before concerted, that as he had declar'd at Stornoway, his oppinion was, that according to the D. of Ormond's instructions his Majesty's forces ought to be assembled, it being for the King's service that they should be immediately employed in secureing some post where not only the Highlands, but the Gentlemen of the Low cuntry might more securely joyn, or whatever other expedition is judged most for the service, and that they were not to waite any news of the D. of Ormond's landing considering the distance; however the Generallity did not think his Grace's instructions meant that people should endeavour to force a rising at all hazards, on so small a foundation, especially since there was no directions how to behave on all events in case of any accident or disapointment as to the main designe. My L<sup>d</sup> Seafort was not against giveing oppinions in wryteing, but declar'd his mind was still the same as he had told in the Lewis, thinking it folly and destruction to stirr without a

landing in England, and the Gentlemen of his name agreed that all their endeavours would be to no purpose, for men could not be brought in earnest to the field before that time, & since Clanranald with Lochiell were expected in a day or two, they could certainly give the best account of their own people. On the 20th Clanranald and Lochiell being arrived, as also Mackinnon and the Chisme everybody mett, Brig: Campbell then proposed that the Spainards and Chiefs of Clans should continue where they were till the account of a landing in England, and that about 1000 men should be rised out of the estates of the attainted, and sent to attaque Innerness, under the command of the Earle Marishall, whose reputation and character might make ane attempt of that kind succeed. Clanranald answered, they were first to consider what way such a number of men was to be rised, since those that were not attainted would not readiely follow their Chiefs without a generall riseing. The people over all the Kingdome being equally safe, tho the persons of some Gentlemen were attainted, besides the Highlanders could not fight against walls, that all Clyton's regiment would be there long before them, and the toun could rise six or seven hundred militia, whose fire from the houses would quickly disperse their men, the consequence of which may be easiely imagined, but supposeing they succeeded, how could they keep it, if there was not a speedy landing in England. The Brigadeer answered, in that case (it being a seaport) they could easiely save themselves and the men by transporting all to Spain. The generallity thought makeing a bustle with such views as these would doe more disservice to the King than any of them could weell answer for. The discourse continued thus till it was late, next day everyone mett againe except L<sup>d</sup> Marishall. All who had followings saw projects of that kind were distructive to the service, and were entyrelly against a riseing before it could be generall; but in case of being attack'd where they were, they would endeavour to defend themselves that all might be preserved against the landing which they dayly expected, and least that miscarryed it was thought necessary the ships should be sent to a place of safety to carry back the Spainards. In the mean time Clanranald with Lochiell went away to secure their proportion of arms and ammunition.

Nevertheless on the 28th (before all the stores were weell gott on shoar Lord Tullibardine was inform'd that the captains of the friggats haveing L<sup>d</sup> Marishall's dispatches were resolved to waite no longer on any account whatsoever, and accordingly next morning fell down to the Calliach's Stone in their way out to sea. Lord Tullibardine, finding nothing could make them stay hardly one day for his letters, however necessary, was therefore oblidge to give them his consent on the 30th.

The 29th, my L<sup>d</sup> Seafort wrote a note to L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine that a party was come from Innerness, and were to be joynd by some disafected Highlanders to surprize them in Lochalsh, desireing proper measures might be taken to prevent any such attempt, on which L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine acquainted his L<sup>op</sup> that if he would rise some of his men, he would wryte desireing Clanranald and Lochiell, with any others that would joyn, to doe the same. My L<sup>d</sup> Seafort agreed, upon which orders were wrote accordingly, and the more pressing that on the first of May there came confident reports that the D. of Ormond was landed; but on the 4th Mr. Wallace arriv'd from the King's freinds at Edin<sup>r</sup> assureing that the Spainsh fleet was dispersed, and drove back by storme, advyseing by all means they should imediately reembarque the 300 men, and everybody gett off as quickly as possible. But the ships being gone there was no retreating; at the same time, there was a letter from a person of consequence, telling it would ruine the King's freinds and affairs if they pretended to make a stirre as things stood; on which L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine sent to Clanranald and Lochiell, desireing they would come to Isleandonan, that joynt measures might be taken how to behave most for the service under such a precarious situation; at the same time advysed them to leave such directions that their men might on all events be in the same readiness to follow them as if they had been present. On the 9th they returned, and the same evening three English men of war came to anchor at Caliach's stone. While there was hopes of a landing the great quantity of ammunion was lodged in a countrey house near the Crow of Kintaile, but when the accounts came of the fleets being dispers'd, there was no way of preserveing it in ane open place; upon which the Castle of Isleandonan being visited, it

was found by putting it there with a small guaird the old walls and vaults would be sufficient to keep it from any flying party by land, or attaque by sea. Accordingly it was put there in the best manner with all the dilligence the difficultys they had to struggle with could permitt, and Capt. Stapleton with a Spainsh Lieutennent and above 40 souldiers were sent to garison the place. On the 10th in the morning the three ships came up, and anchor'd within musquet shot of the Castle. They were no sooner moor'd than they begun to fire on the place, which continued the whole day, but the walls being very thick they could not make a breach; however one of the Spainards desearted to the Ennimy, informing them that their lieutennent would deliver the place at discretion. Captain Stapleton imediately sent a Highlander ashoar with the account of what had pass'd among the Spainards, on which their Cap: Commandant was ordered to goe and comand them with more men, and directions to blow up the place if he found it could not be kep'd, which might have very much shatter'd the ships, if not sunk them, but the tyde would not allow him to enter before ten of the Clock at night, and they surrender'd to the ship's boats at 8 without any resistance, nor so much as one man kill'd or wounded. In the afternoon the smallest ship sail'd up to the Crow, and fir'd so hard on a detatchment of 30 Spainards who guarded some of the Ammunition there that they were obliged to blow it up.

In short when Clanranald Lochiell and all had mett, my Lord Seafort declar'd he could bring out no men, while the men of war were about his cost, on which Clanranald and Lochiell went home to be ready against the first favourable accounts from abroad to make ane effectuall riseing, for as things stood there was no possibility of bringing people together, especially since there was none but Clanranald and Lochiell would so much as receive any proportion of arms, except my Lord Seaforth, who did not send for his till after the men of war came upon them.

The way by sea being cutt off, to the Crow they were oblidged to march on the 13th by the head of Loch Long, and transported all the arms with 3 or 4 boatfulls of ammunition thither, thinking to have carryed the whole from thence by land to the Crow, but could at no rate gett any baggage horse,

therefore were obliged to return it with great difficulty by sea under night, least they should be stopt by the ships, and so got the stores past Isleandonan to the Crow. A day or two after they came to Gleneligag at the head of Lochlong, my L<sup>d</sup> Marishall, the Brigadeers Campbell of Ormadale & Macintosh who were still endeavouring a riseing at any rate, acquainted L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine that L<sup>d</sup> Seafort was then satisfied to march to a Rendezvouse out of his own countrey, upon which L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine went to know of his L<sup>op</sup> how the matter stood, and what new resolutions he would have taken. The answer was, that L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine might march with the Spainards to Killiwhiman, and that Clanranald and Lochiell should joyn at that place with their men, and his L<sup>op</sup> would meet them with 100 men, and that he would order as many to follow as could be spar'd from guairding the coast. L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine said that to stirr out of the countrey so near the Ennimy without a body of men, would expose their weakness and show the world that none would join them, but if his L<sup>op</sup> would allow him to acquaint Clanranald and Lochiell that he would meet them on a day of Rendezvouse to be named with 3 or 400 men, or else a battalion without mentioning the number of which it should consist; in that case there was a probability these Gentlemen would undertake something effectually, and then they might stand their ground till others joyn'd, if there was still hopes of a quick descent, otherways they would have a very difficult task. L<sup>d</sup> Seafort said there was no promising on any number of men, however he would try what could be done, and took a warrand to that effect. However the execution of what regarded that designe was lay'd aside for a few days, by a rumour which was spread abroad and confidently reported, that the Regular troops with the Frazers and other Highlanders who were thought to be disafected were marching against them, and would be at Gleneligag in two days at farthest; on which L<sup>d</sup> Seafort sent desireing to meet with L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine, and proposed that since there was no possibility to oppose them, they too should leave everything and immediately goe off togeather. Both agreed there was no opposing such a force, but Tullibardine said, that tho it were certaine they ought once to see them and at least endeavour some way to secure the arms, ammunitiion, &c: and if better could not be, even tho they

were forced to give all up, yet it was necessary they should endeavour to abscond amongst the hills till the King's orders came how to dispose of themselves, which his L<sup>op</sup> agreed to, and charged himself with acquainting my L<sup>d</sup> Marishall of what had pass'd; on which next day that Lord and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale came to L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine, desireing under his hand that they might goe and doe for themselves. He answer'd he had seen nothing certaine of the Ennimy's motion, but if they were so near as was given out, there would be no occasion for liberty to dispose of themselves, since it would soon but too plainly appear impracticable that any of them could keep together under such difficultys as they were unavoydably obliged to wrestle with. The story proveing false and the arms being transported as is said, before they marched to the Crow of Kintaile May the 23rd, the same day L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine received a letter from the King's freinds att Edinr dated the 11th, telling private letters seem'd positive that the Spainsh fleet was repair'd and might be allready sail'd, or at least quickly would, allso there was ane article from London of the 7th which said, at last a lyne is come from the D. of Ormond, and his freinds here recomend and wish that those in the north of Scotland may keep possession and support themselves the best way they can, for that the Duke will certainly send them supplys, besides about the same time there were other encourageing letters from different hands, which gave L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine a handle of wryteing on the 21st to severall as weell as to Clanranald and Lochiell, earnestly desireing they would come, if it were but with few of their people, and more might follow by degrees which would give little umbrage, and could hardly be observed; but on the letter from Edinburgh he could not help sending fresh orders to them and others, requireing without loss of a minute, they would march immediatly with what people could be gott together, and leave directions for the rest to follow by degrees as they should be ready. Lord Seafort then went to Loch Carron and by his presence endeavour'd to bring up his people, which he found would be no easie task. At length on the 4th of June Lochiell came up first with above 100 men to Glensheall, where L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine with the Spainards mett him on the 5th, takeing up their quarters there, it being the strongest ground in those parts. On the 7th they had severall

accounts, particularly from the Chisme of Strathglass, that the Ennemy were marching from Innerness, calling for arms and ammunition to the Laird of Glenmoristone and himself who were comeing with about 100 men, and designed to observe the Ennemy's motion, and would joyne before they could be near them. The arms and ammunition were sent according to his desire, but there came no further accounts from either of them after. The passes in little Glensheall being view'd the 6th it was belived that rough ground might be mentain'd till the people who were expected could come, which L<sup>d</sup> Seafort did next day to the Crow with about 400 men, who it was thought would briskly defend their own countrey.

Late on the 8th there were accounts that the Ennemy had moved from Killiwhiman to the Braes of Glenmoriston. Lord Tullibardine haveing acquainted L<sup>d</sup> Seafort, next day he came from the Crow 3 miles distant, with his men to Glensheall, from whence they all marched with the Spainards (except about 50 who were sick and left at the magazine) to the Little Glen, where all posted themselves in the pass which was thought properest for defence. That evening ane hundred men of a freind's joyn'd them, and Lord George Murray who was on the out guaird sent word he saw the Ennemy encamp on the head of Lochelumie, which was about 4 miles from them. Next morning he sent againe to tell they were decamped, and moveing slowly foreward. Soon after 50 men of the neighbourhood joyn'd them, and likeways some of Lochiell's, besides Mackinnon with 50 more, which were the last, for the severall men that ought to have been with them were on both sides of the Glen on the tops of the mountains, many by 12 of the Clock, and the rest before four; yet they did not descend to incorporate as was expected, perhaps they thought the Ennemy too near, who as they advanced L<sup>d</sup> George retyr'd keeping about half a mile from them, till they came in sight of the pass, which was near two in the afternoon, when they halted at above a quarter of a mile's distance to refresh their men and make a disposition for the attaque which began at full six at night. The King's people had drawn up to the right of their main body, on the other side of the little water which runs through the Glen, upon a little hill to the southward about 150 men includeing 2

companys of L<sup>d</sup> Seafort's, besides 80 more were allotted for that place, who were to have come from the top of the mountaine above them, but tho they sent twice that they were coming yet they only beheld the scuffle at a distance. This party to the right on the little hill was commanded by L<sup>d</sup> George Murray, the Laird of Macdougall, Major Mackintosh, and John Mackenzie of Augh, ane officer of my L<sup>d</sup> Seafort's people. At the pass on the other side of the water, was first the Spainards who were hardly 200 men, next in the lyne was Lochiell with about 150 men, and then from the neighbouring bounds 150 with 20 volunteers, next 40 of Rob Roy's men, 50 of Mackinnon's, then about 150 of L<sup>d</sup> Seafort's commanded by Sir John Mackenzie of Coull, to the left of all at a considerable distance L<sup>d</sup> Seafort posted himself with above 200 of his best men, where L<sup>d</sup> Marishall and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale commanded with him. Brig: Mackintosh was with the Spanish Collonell, and L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine & Brig: Campbell of Glenderuell were in the centre where all imagined the main attaque would happen, it being by far the easiest ground, besides the only way through the Glen. However it fell out otherways. The Rebellious forces who were about 1300 strong, besides near 200 Highlanders, placed their Horse on the low ground, and a Battallion cross the water near them, with most of their Highlanders on their left, all the rest of their foot were at a distance on a rising ground, to the right of the horse. The first attaque they made was on the men with L<sup>d</sup> George, by a small detachment of regular troops with their Highlanders, who fir'd severall times on other without doing much dammage, upon which they sent a second & third detachment, which made most of those on the little hill run to the other side of the steep banks of a rivolet, where L<sup>d</sup> George and the few rest were afterwards obliged to follow, continueing there till all was over, it being uneasie for the Ennimy to come at them. When they found that party give way, their right begun to move in three bodys up the hill, from thence to fall down on the left of the Highlanders; but when they discover'd L<sup>d</sup> Seafort's people who were behind the steep rock, they began to attaque them, least they should be flanked, upon which the Laird of Coull, (many of whose men begun to goe off on seeing the Ennimy,) marched with his battallion to sustaine the rest of the

Mackenzies, which obliged the Ennemy to push harder that way, on which Lord Seafort sent down for a further reinforcement, at the same time Brig: Campbell of Ormadale came, saying it was uncertaine if that main body would not just then fall upon their centre, which made Mackinnon, Roy Roy, and the volunteers, with above 50 more, the longer of drawing of after orders to the Mackenzies' assistance, but seeing them begin to give way, they made all the dispatch they could to sustaine them. However before they could gett up so as to be fairly in hands with the Ennemy, the most of all L<sup>d</sup> Seafort's people were gone off, and himself left wounded in the arme, so that with difficulty he gott out of the place. That detachment finding the place abandon'd begun to retyre likeways, which made them still send fresh supplys from the left, so that Brig: Campbell of Glenderuell with the men out of the neighbouring bounds march'd up from the centre, but seeing everybody retyre before them, occasion'd their doeing also the same, tho severall of them with L<sup>d</sup> Marishall, and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale, turn'd twice back on Glenderuell's perswasion, the Ennemy finding all give way on that hand turn'd their whole force there, which obliged them to march up Lochiell and his men who likeways drew off as others had done. At last Lord Tullibardine with the Spainards were obliged to follow, and none standing to sustaine them the Ennemy being possessed of the high ground, they could doe nothing but moved up the same hill as others did, towards the left where at last all begun to run, tho the half had never ane opportunity to fire on the Ennemy, who were soon heartned at seeing some of them once give way, and the rest of their people as much discouraged, so that they could never after be brought to anything, but all went entyrelly off till they gott to the top of the mountaine, where it was impossible to bring them into any order, and night soon seperated them all, so that next morning there were hardly anybody seen except some of the Spainards.

L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine then proposed to L<sup>d</sup> Marishall, Lochiell, the Brigadeers Mackintosh Campbells of Ormadale and Glenderuell with others present, that they should keep in a body with the Spainards, and march through the Highlands for some time till they could gather againe, in hopes of a landing in England which had brought them together, or

else to expect the King's instructions, before all was given up; but everybody declar'd absolutely against undertakeing anything further, for as things stood they thought it impracticable, particularly for want of provisions, it being morally impossible to gett bread, on which L<sup>d</sup> Marishall and Brig: Campbell of Ormadale went off without further cerimony, or so much as takeing leive of the Spainards or any other. L<sup>d</sup> Tullibardine went to their officers and informed them of what had pass'd, desireing their advyce. and to know what they could doe under such a situation. They immediately declar'd, it was impossible for their men to live without bread, or make any hard marches through so rough a cuntry. Therefore without ballancing longer he was oblided to allow them to capitulate and surrender prisoners of war, there being no other course left, seeing all further acts of prudence and manadgement were enteerely cut off.

Eirly on the 11th Rob Roy went and blew up the Magazine so that nothing fell into the Ennimy's hands.

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The following letters bear upon this undertaking. The first is written by Lord Tullibardine.

April 6, 1719.

SIR,

On the 25 last month, when we arrived in these parts, I wrott pretty full to you that it might be communicated to my dear Uncle Nairn, and am now come to the mainland with Lord Seaforth, Marshall, and other Gentlemen, who are aboard the Spanish ships that are come here with some troops, arms, and ammunition, & money, which is sent for enabling the King's good subjects to appear immediatly in his Majesties and their countries service, as the D. of Ormond Capt<sup>n</sup> Generall of the forces Instructions require, and his other friends in England are to doe the same, which no doubt you have heard of before now. Therefore, if my Lord Nairn nor His son be not at home nor in the COUNTRY, nor either of my Mother's sons to come out at present at the head of the Atholl men for his Majestie's service, till I be there, these are injoining and requireing you, in case my father should decline appearing in arms for the King at this favourable

opportunity, to advertise all the Gentlemen and others that hold of the ffamily or otherways have any concern in the Estate [*the letter is continued by his brother, Lord George Murray*] of Atholl to be ready to rise against any part of his Majesty's Armie come to these parts, or as they shall be otherways requird by me, who leaves it to y<sup>r</sup> prudence, being on the spot, to rise sooner in case you cannot else keep your selves from being taken up, or otherways as you shall find it most condusing to the good of the service, as you will be answerable, for which this shall be to you & all others concern'd a sufficient warand, since by the Commission of L. Generall the K. has been graciously pleas'd to give me, I have the honour to command the forces in Scotland till an Officer of Distintion come, or his Majesty's pleasur be further known, so I'll add no more, but that I am intirly

Sir,

From a boord the Fidele in  
Garloch; April 6, 1719.

Post It's not yet very safe sending letters, therefor this will serve for my L. N. as well as the former w<sup>h</sup> was directed to you, as the nearest friend in these pairts could be imploy'd to take upon him in affairs of such consequence. I am to write fully about my father, so soon as I meet G. or any other friend who understands his situation, that every thing concerning him may be done in the best manner that's possible on so nice a subject.

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Lord Tullibardine to his Uncle Lord Nairne.

November 2, 1719.

DEAR U--

Tho' on many accounts I have not hitherto troubled you with writing, yet I assure myself you are convinced that when there is any reall occasion, it will never be wanting. All can be said at present is inclosed in severall papers to the number of eight, which the bearer M<sup>r</sup> M. will acquaint you particularly off, but the paquet nor sealls are not at any reat to be opend before I can gett a permission for you to that end for reasons you'll be thoroughly satisfied of, at that time or when I shall have the happieness of seeing you in a better condition then

now, which possibly may happen sooner than many are aware off. Thers no inlarging further here so must nesslerly leve the bearer to acquaint you and other worthy freinds of everything matteriall, which he is fully inform'd of. I must end this note with the continuall longing of my best wishes to see honest people & friends as happy as they ought to be. Singular returns are owing all hearty trew loyallistes with you & neighbours.

Deare U--  
Your most obedient  
& most affection N  
and Servant

J. KATESON.

No. II.

Copy of part of a letter from King James.

January 3, 1720.

The uncertainty I have been in for some time, as to the 2nd intended Spanish expedition, has caused me to delay for some weeks writing to you, but I am at last but too well enabled to write positively on that head, since by my last accounts from Urchard (Spain) I find that project absolutely disappointed, & I doubt not that Mr. Galloway (peace) will ensue. In the present condition in which S—n appears to be we can expect nothing from him during a war.

I have received several old letters from Tullibardine and some others, who went on the late expedition to Scotland, & I have the satisfaction to see confirmed in them the zeal and good will of my subjects.

I am entirely satisfied with Tullibardine's prudent conduct, and I am glad to find it was approved of by friends with you. You will have already seen the concern I was in about those gentlemen's safety, but I hope before this reaches you they will be safe on this side of the sea.

In the last expedition, neither Ormond nor I had the entire disposition of matters, it was on other people's mony & help that we depended, so that we were not masters neither of the time nor the beginning, nor dispositions to be previously made; but with all this, had I or Ormond landed, I doubt not

but the matter had succeeded, tho that not happning, it was lucky the whole cuntry did not rise. The zeal of those who were for taking that part ought not to be blamed, but the prudence of the others certainly deserves the approbation of all men of sense, as it meets with mine entirly. I am unwilling to mention to you my circumstances as to mony matters, but they are at the lowest ebb. If I cannot relieve your countrymen on this side of the sea it is want of ability, not of good will. I ever shared with them what little I had, and I hope in God that he will always enable me, during my misfortunes, at least to subsist those who so well deserve of me, and have no other resource but me.

No. III.

Among the Gask papers is the following, which will interest all admirers of Pope. I extract the best part of it. It must have been written about the year 1728:

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The Duke of Wharton's reasons for espousing the cause of K. J. III.

I shall begin with expressing the greatest regard for y<sup>e</sup> Memory of the Best of fathers.<sup>1</sup> I have endeavoured to modell my Life according to the Principles he gave me. He taught me those notions of Government that tend to the preserving Liberty in the greatest purity. When he extolled the blessings of the Unfortunate Revolution of 1688, he represented Triennial Parliaments as the greatest Bulwark against Tyranny; the being freed from a standing Army in time of peace was esteemed by him a blessing; as also was the security of the Church of England, the Liberty of the Press, & y<sup>e</sup> condemning the Right of y<sup>e</sup> Dispensing power in the Crown.

Imbued with these principles, I entered upon life, where I soon beheld the Triennial Act repealed, standing Armys established by Parliament, the Convocation of the Clergy prevented from meeting. Schism, ignorance, and Atheism became the only Recommendations to Ecclesiastical benefices; both Houses were filled with the Corrupt Tools of

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the very different character given by Swift and Lord Macaulay to "Honest Tom."

the Court, the nation overwhelmed with exorbitant taxes, the honour & treasure of England sacrificed to enlarge the dominions of Hanover, and German beggarly favourites trampling on the ancient nobility. The act of limitation disregarded, the liberty of the press abolished, and the constitution thrown into a hole of corruption, to be modelled according to the pleasure of arbitrary usurpation. When I reflected upon these dreadful scenes I saw the reasons which my father gave for the support of the Hanoverian succession fall to the ground. I resolved to follow my father's example, and endeavoured to stem the torrent of misery; I turned my thoughts upon the King, as to the most natural deliverer. The great care which had been taken by my governors to terrify me from the idea of a restoration, by the most scandalous & false reflections upon his Majesty's person and intentions, determined me to wait upon the King, before I would embark in the royal cause. The King has just returned from his dangerous expedition into Scotland, which his Majesty had undertaken contrary to his subjects' advice; he embarked aboard a small fishing boat, & attended only by two servants, & passing through the midst of the English fleet landed in Scotland; which was certainly showing the greatest contempt of danger, specially when the cruelty of the English government had extended itself so far as to set 100,000 price upon his royal head. I accordingly in the year 1716 had the honour to be introduced to his Majesty at Avignon. I was struck with a becoming air, when I beheld hereditary right shining in every feature of his countenance, & the politeness of his education illustrating the majesty of his person. How charmed was I when I heard the purity of the English language flowing from his Majesty, warmly expressing the sentiments of a true Briton. I was surprised to find him pointing out each particular misfortune that usurpation had introduced in his native country. Throughout his Majesty's whole discourse he appeared rather like a patriot weeping over the ruins of his country than an injured, exiled monarch. His resolutions to preserve inviolably the Established Church of England, his just sense of the necessity of frequent Parliaments, his abhorrence of corruption, his determined design to hazard his royal person to rescue his people from destruction attached me strongly to his majesty's person.

Since that happy interview with the King, I have directed all my thoughts to his Majesty's service, and however the circumstances rendered it necessary to temporize with the Government, yet even as I was labouring to serve the royal cause, which is a truth very well known to many persons.

The despotic government of England yearly furnishes us with new scenes of cruelty & tyranny, the wicked South Sea schemes will be remembered by the latest posterity, and the K. showed such an abhorrence of that corrupt project, that when the famous Mr. Knight came to Rome, where his Majesty resided then, he was ordered to depart from the city in four and twenty hours' time.

The forging of a plot to destroy the Bishop of Rochester, & the supporting of it by bribery and perjury, is a fact that has clearly appeared to the whole world, and the best friends of the Usurpation are themselves ashamed of the illegal proceedings against that revered prelate.

The abolishing of the ancient privileges of the city of London, and new modelling their character by act of Parliament is a dangerous blow struck at the root of the Constitution. The K was so sensible of the consequences of this proceeding, that when I had the honour of seeing his Majesty near three years ago, he was graciously pleased to show the utmost concern, & he expressed a fatherly kindness for his good citizens of London. He gratefully remembered their loyalty to his Royal Uncle, and said that the restoring their charter to their primitive lustre should be the earnest he would give them of his sincere resolution to maintain and protect them.

The present Government hath made fatal wounds in the Constitution; a crew of messengers are made the instruments of their fury, to plunder the house and arbitrarily imprison the servants of any printer who has incurred their displeasure, as has lately been the case of Mr. Mist. I could not bear any longer to be an unfortunate spectator of the miseries of my country, and accordingly I withdrew from it near four years ago. I scorned to keep my seat in Parliament where bribery had more weight than truth, and where corruption triumphed over eloquence. I have endeavoured

during my travels to serve my K-- and country, the K-- of Spain most generously offered me his royal protection, and when the siege of Gibaraltar was undertaken, I was willing to learn something of the arts of wars, that I might myself be able to draw my sword for the King, and the liberty of Old England. It was with that single view that I served the last campaign, and the government of England have taken it as a pretence to ground an accusation against me. I have now laid before you the principal reasons that have determined me to attach myself entirely to his Majesty's service. It is with pleasure that I have seen the hopes of the future prosperity of Old England flourishing in their Royal Highnesses the P of Wales, and the Duke of York. The Princes are admired by all who approach them, and the K--'s chief care is in the course of their education to instruct them fully in the maxims of government that are necessary to make a monarch happy, who reigns over a free and trading nation.

The cruel ungrateful manner in which I am treated by a set of men, whom my father dragged from obscurity, shall never be able to deter me from pursuing the King's interest; he has claims upon my obedience, when I call to mind his glorious ancestors, whose bounty raised my family to the dignity of Peerage.

How happy are we to see the necessity of all parties uniting to effect the work of a restoration, the Tories according to their ancient principles are obliged to maintain and support hereditary right j and the Whigs are bound by their consciences to resist arbitrary power in whatever shape it appears, though covered with the specious gloss of parliamentary authority, like the tyranny of the Roman Emperors who deluded the people, and preserved the forms of the republican government. The patriot virtues of the King will render his administration the channel of liberty and plenty; let us therefore support his cause and shake off the ignominious yoke of foreign fetters.

WHARTON.

No. IV.

The speech of the Right Honourable Arthur Lord Balmerino, which he made on the scaffold, August 18th, 1746.<sup>1</sup>

I was bred in the Anti-revolution principles which I have ever persevered in, from a sincere persuasion that the restauration of the Royal family and the good of my country are inseparable.

The action of my life, which now stares me most in the face, is my having accepted a Company of Foot from the late Princess Anne, who I know had no more right to the Crown than her predecessor the Prince of Orange, whom I ever considered as an infamous Usurper. In the year 1715, when the King landed in Scotland, I thought it my indispensable duty to join his standard, though his affairs were then in a desperate situation. I was in Switzerland in the year 1734, where I received a letter from my father, acquainting me of his having procured me a remission, and desiring me to return home. Not thinking myself at liberty to comply with my father's desire, without the King's approbation, I wrote to Rome to know his Majesty's pleasure, and was directed by him to return home, and at the same time I received a letter of credit upon his banker at Paris, who furnished me with money to defray the expense of my journey, and put me in proper repair.

I think myself bound upon this occasion to contradict a report which has been industriously spread, and which I never heard of until I was prisoner, that orders were given to the Prince's army to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden. With my eye upon the block, which will soon bring me before the highest of all tribunals, I do declare that it is without any manner of foundation, both because it is impossible it could have escaped the knowledge of me who was Captain of the prince's Life Guard, or of Lord Kilmarnock who was Colonel of his own regiment, but still much more so, because it was entirely inconsistent with the mild & generous nature of that brave Prince, whose patience, fortitude, intrepidity, & humanity I must declare upon this solemn occasion, are qualities in which he excells all men I ever knew, and which it

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<sup>1</sup> This document, printed in the State Trials, is there infamously garbled.

was ever his greatest desire to employ for the relief and preservation of his father's subjects. I believe rather that this report was spread to palliate & excuse the murders they themselves have committed in cold blood after the battle of Culloden.

I think it my duty to return my sincere acknowledgments to Major White & Mr. Fowler for their humane and complaisant behaviour to me during my confinement, I wish I could pay the same compliment to General Williamson, who used me with greatest inhumanity and cruelty, but having taken the Sacrament this Day, I forgive him as I do all my Enemies.

I die in the Religion of the Church of England, which I look upon as the same with the Episcopal Church of Scotland, in which I was brought up.

God reward my friends and forgive my enemies, bless and restore the King, the Prince, & the Duke of York, and receive my soul.

Laying his head on the Block, he said { God reward my friends and forgive my enemies,  
 bless and restore the King, the Prince, and  
 the Duke of York, and receive my soul.

## No. V.

Copy of what Dr. Archbald Cameron intended to have deliver'd to the Sheriff of Middle Essex, at the place of Execution, but which he left in the hands of his Wife for that End.<sup>1</sup>

On the first slip of paper:

Touer, 8th June, 1753.

Being denied the use of pen, ink, & paper, except in the presence of one or more officers, (who always took away the paper from me, when I began to write my complaints,) and not even allowed the use of a knife, with which I might cutt a poor blunted pencil, that had escaped the diligence of my searchers, I have notwithstanding, as I could find opportunity, attempted to sett down on some slips of paper, in as legible characters as I was able, what I would have my countrey satisfied of, with regard to myself and the cause in which I am now goeing to lay down my life.

As to my religion, I thank God I die a member, tho unworthy, of that Church in whose communion I have always lived, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as by law established before the most unnatural Rebellion begun in 1688, which for the sins of these nations hath continued to this day: and I firmly trust to find, at the most awfull and impartial tribunal of the Almighty King of Kings, thro the merits of my B. L. & Saviour Jesus Christ, that mercy (tho undeserved) to my immortal part which is here denied to my earthly by ane usurper and his faction, tho it be well known I have been the instrument in preventing the ruin & destruction of many of my poor deluded countrey men who were in their service, as I shall make appear before I have done, if opportunitys of writeing fail me not.

On the second slip of paper:

In order to convince the world of the uprightness of my intentions while in the Prince of Wales's army, as well as of the cruelty unjustice and ingratitude of my Murderers, I think it my duty in this place to take notice how much better usage I might have expected of my countrey, if humanity and

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<sup>1</sup> The whole of this is from a copy in Gask's hand.

good nature were now looked upon with the same eyes as in the times of our brave and generous Ancestors; but I'm sorry to observe that our present men in power are so far sunk below the noble spirit of the antient Brittons, as hardly at this day to be distinguisht from the very basest of mankind. Nor could the present possessor of the throne of our injured Sovereign, if he looked on himself as the father and natural prince of this countrey, suffer the life of one to be taken away who has saved the lives and effects of above 300 persons in Scotland, who were firmly attach'd to him and his party; but it seems it is now made a crime to save the lives of Scotsmen. As neither the time nor the poor materials I have for writeing, will allow me to descend to a particular enumeration of all the services I have done to the friends of the Usurper, I shall therefore only mention a few of the most known and such as can be well attested. In July 1745 soon after the setting up of the Royal Standard, before our small army had reached Coragarick, it was moved by some of the Chiefs to apply to the Prince for a strong detachment of Clans to distress Campbell of Invera's house and tennants in that neighbourhood, which my brother Lochiel and I so successfully opposed, by representing to our generous leader (who was always an enemy to oppression), that such proceeding could be no way usefull to his undertakeing, that the motion was entirely laid aside, to no small mortification of the proposers. My brother and I likeways prevented ane other such desine against Braidalbin, to the great satisfaction of our dear Prince. And on our return from Glasgow

ARCHBALD CAMERON.

On a third slip of paper:

My Brother and I did services to the toun of Glasgow, of which the principal gentrey in the neighbourhood were then, and are to this day sensible, if they durst own the truth, but that might be construed disaffection to a government founded on & supported by lyes and falshood. On our march to Stirling, I myself (tho I am like to meet with a Hanoverian reward for it), hindered the whole toun of Kirkintulloch from being destroyed and all its inhabitants put to the sword by my Brother's men, who were justly incensed against it for the inhumane murder of two of Lady Lochiel's servants but two

months before.

Here was a sufficient pretence for vengeance, had I been inclined to crewelty, but I thank God nothing was ever farther from my nature, tho I may have been otherways represented. Mr. Campbell of Shawfield likeways owes me some favors done to himself and family, which at least deserve some return in my behalf; and Lady Campbell of Lochnell, now in London, can if she pleases vouch for the truth of some of the above facts.

ARCHBALD CAMERON.

June 6th, 1753.

Note by Gask. "Mr. Cameron's custom was, when interrupted, to subscribe his name, in order (as he told his wife) to authenticate what he had written, lest he should not have another opportunity of adding anything further."

On a fourth slip of paper:

I thank kind Providence, I had the happieness to be early educated in the principles of Christian Loyalty, which as I grew in years inspired me with ane utter abhorrence of Rebellion and Usurpation, tho ever so successful; and when I arrived at man's estate I had the joint testimony of religion & reason to confirm me in the truth of my first principles. As soon therefore as the Royal Youth had set up the King his father's standard, I immediatly as in duty bound repaired to it, and I had the honour from that time to be always constantly about his person till Nov<sup>r</sup> 1748, excepting the short time his Royal Highness was in the Western Isles after the affair of Colloden, I became more & more captivated with his amiable and princely virtues which are indeed in every instance so eminently great as I want words to describe. I can further affirm, (and my present situation & that of my dear Prince can leave no room to suspect me of flattery,) that as I have been his companion in the lowest degrees of adversity ever Prince was reduced to, so have I beheld him too, as it were on the highest pinnacle of glory, amidst the continual applauses, and I had almost said adorations of the most brilliant Court in Europe, yet he was always the same, ever affable and courteous, giveing constant proofs of his great humanity and of his love for his friends and his cuntry.

What great good to these Nations might not be expected from such a Prince were he in possession of the throne of his ancestors! And as to his courage, none that have heard of his glorious attempt in 1745 I should think can call it in question. I cannot pass by in silence that most horrid calumny raised by the rebels under the command of the inhumane son of the Elector of Hanover, which served as an excuse for unparalleled butchery, committed by his orders, in cold blood after the unhappie affair of Colloden, viz.: that we had orders to give no quarter; which if true must have come to my knowledge, who had the honour to serve my ever dear Master in quality of one of his Aide-de-camps. And I hereby declare I never heard of such orders. The above is truth.

ARCHBALD CAMERON.

I likewise declare on the word of a dying man, that the last time I had the honour to see his R. H. Charles Prince of Wales, he told me from his own mouth, and bid me assure his friends from him that he was a member of the Church of England.

ARCHBALD CAMERON.

On a fifth slip of paper:

To cover the cruelty of murdering me at this distance of time from the passing of the unjust Attainder, I am accused of being deeply engaged in a new plott against this government, (which if I was, neither the fear of the worst death their malice could invent, nor the blustering and noisy threatnings of the tumultuous Council, nor much less their flattering promises could extort any discovery of it from me,) yet not so much as one evidence was ever produced to make good the charge. But it is my bussiness to submitt, since God in his all wise providence thinks fit to suffer it to be so. And I the more chearfully resigne my life as it is taken away for doeing my duty to God, my King and my Country, nor is there anything in this world, I could so much wish to have it prolonged for, as to have ane other oportunity to employ the remainder of it in the same glorious Cause.

ARCHBALD C.

I thank God I was not in the least daunted at hearing the

bloody sentence which my unrighteous Judge pronounced with a seeming insensibility till he came to the words, "*But not till you are dead*" before which he made a pause, and uttering them with a particular emphasis, stared me in the face, to observe, I suppose, if I was as much frightened at them as he perhaps would have been in my place. As to the guilt he said I had to answer for, as haveing been instrumental in the loss of so many lives, let him and his Constituents see to that; at their hands, not at mine, will all the blood that had been shed on that account be required. God of his infinite mercy grant they may prevent the punishment that hangs over their guilty heads, by a sincere repentance & speedy return to their duty.

I pray God to hasten the Restoration of the Royal Family, without which these miserably divided nations can never enjoy peace & happieness, and that it may please Him to preserve the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York from the power & malice of their enemies, to prosper & reward all my friends & benefactors, and to forgive all my enemies, murderers, & false accusers, from the Elector of Hannover & his bloody Son, doun to Samuel Cameron the basest of their spies, as I freely do from the bottom of my heart.

Sic subscribitur.

ARCHBALD CAMERON.

I am now ready to be offerd; I have fought a good fight, all glory be to God.

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The above is a faithfull transcript of what my Husband left with me as his dying sentiments.

J. AND W. RIDER, PRINTERS, LONDON.