

# The Lockhart Papers:

MEMOIRS and COMMENTARIES upon the Affairs of SCOTLAND from 1702 to 1715,  
by GEORGE LOCKHART, Esq. of CARNWATH,

His SECRET CORRESPONDENCE with the Son of King JAMES the SECOND from  
1718 to 1728,

And his other political Writings;

Also, JOURNALS and MEMOIRS of the Young PRETENDER'S Expedition in 1745,  
by Highland Officers in his Army.

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ANTHONY AUFRERE, ESQ.

OF HOVETON, NORFOLK.

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*Celebrare domestica facta.*

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A  
REGISTER OF LETTERS  
TWIXT  
THE KING  
AND  
GEORGE LOCKHART OF CARNWATH.  
CONTAINING ALSO  
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
From 1716 to 1728.

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I DOE not pretend in this treatise to give a full and perfect account of all the transactions in Scotland. My cheif design is to narrate such matters as have relation to the intrigues and projects that were, at several times, set on foot for the King's service; and even therin I cheifly confine myself to such negotiations as I was directly concern'd in, 'tho at the same time I cannot shun entering sometimes upon publick matters, that the springs and series of affairs may be so much the better understood; and where any matter of moment concerning Scots men and Scots affairs occur'd to my memory, 'tho somewhat forreign perhaps to my main view, I have taken notice of them.

When the King retired with his little army from Perth in 1716, he himself went on board a small vessell at Montrose, from whence, tho' several cruisers were lying neer to that place, he arrived safe in France; and the remains of his army, which then consisted of a body of Highlanders under General Gordon's command, and a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen marcht northwards; but being followed closs at the heels by the Duke of Argyle, and in no condition to make a stand, they soon dispers'd and betook themselves to holes and bores, mostly in the remotest highlands and adjacent isles, where many lurked till they could with safety appear. But such as were most obnoxious took the first opportunity of ships to carry them into forreign countrys, in order to which the King himself ordered several light vessells to be sent to them from France; and such of his freinds, as had escaped the late hurricane, provyded others secretly at home, so as, by God's blessing, all those that were in greatest hazard and inclin'd to retire, found means to escape from their cruel enemies.

When the royall party was thus entirely dispersed, and none

appeared in arms for the King, the great men of the opposite side flockt to London, eager to seek and hopefull to obtain rewards suitable to the great merit they severally boasted of, and at the same time full of resentment against their enemies, proposing not only to extirpate them root and branch, but at the same time to enrich themselves out of their spoils; but it pleased God, by their divisions and animosities, to pave a way for the preservation of vast numbers, who, in all probability, would otherwyse have mett with no mercy. From the time of Queen Ann's death the Scots Torrys had no share in the administration, and did not medle in publick matters, which at first fell joyntly into the hands of the Duke of Argyle and the Squadrone; but as these hated one another heartily, each endeavoured to blacken and supplant the other, and their animosities became as great, as if they had been in the service of opposite masters and acted for opposite causes. No sooner was the battle of Sheriffmoor fought, and the suppression of the royall party certain, than the Lord Cadogan was sent to Scotland as a check on the Duke of Argyle, and when the several partys mett at London, the Squadrone exclaim'd against him, condemning his conduct both before and during the said battle; and as they were supported by the then powerfull Marleburrow and Cadogan faction, his Grace soon saw he was like to reap little personal benefit from the services he had done to the common cause; and as he had all alongst shewed himself of a mercifull disposition, and advised the granting of a general indemnity after the battle, to render him now more popular, he still continued eagerly to oppose the carrying of punishments too far and too high. The Squadrone again, with their English and German supporters, observing that the violent thirst after blood which they at first so evidently manifested, woud render them odious to most people, and give Argyles party a great advantage over them, found it necessary at length to think of more gentle ways. But befor matters came to this state, they had the pleasure of putting to death a great number of persons, amongst whom were several noble Lords and persons of distinction at London and in Lancashire; and when they became more gentle, it still evidently appear'd to be contrary to their natural tempers, and proceed from some other motive than a mercifull disposition; for they obliged all that were in the several prisons in the country, to petition for banishment, and then gave them as slaves to a parcell of their trading friends, who sent such away to the plantations as could not, at dear rates, purchase their freedom; and all, except a very few that were in prison at Edinburgh or London, against whom they could not find evidence, which in the end proved pritty difficult to obtain, were try'd and condemn'd, and 'tho their lives were spared, their estates were forfeited. For 'tho the

rampant party was in some degree satiated with blood, and saw that the people over all Britain began to resent the too liberall effusion therof, and therupon thought fitt to stop, yet nothing could divert them from ruining and extinguishing as many estates and familys as they could; and in order therto, when they found it would not be expedient for them to ask and obtain grants of these estates to themselves, the better to cover their secret malitious views, they procured an act of Parliament, appropriating to the use of the publick the estates of all persons attainted or condemn'd for being accessory to what they call'd the late unnaturall rebellion, and that a commission should be appointed, consisting of a parcell of sharpening beggarly locusts, to enquire into the value of their estates personall and reall, and sell them; the produce wherof, after paying the debts affecting them, was to be payd in to the Exchequer. The Whiggs make a terrible outcry against the Administration for some years befor 1688; but if a full account was transmitted to posterity, as they would judge which was the best cause, it would also appear, that the barbarous treacherous usage of the royall party that surrender'd at Preston, the blood that was spilt on scaffolds, the slavery to which great numbers were, like brutes, sold, and the illegal proceedings of the Commissioners of Enquiry, not only against the heirs and representatives, but even the just creditors of the familys they purposed to demolish, if these matters, I say, were fully exposed, it would appear that a precedent can scarcely be shewn in any civilized country.

During the first period of these ticklish times, the Scots Torrys were obliged to keep themselves very quiet, and live in the most retired manner; for many who were not actually in arms, had by other ways been assistant to the royall cause, as their circumstances allowed and occasions offered; and none of that complexion could tell how far even innocence was sufficient to protect them against a sett of vindictive blood-thirsty men. The first case they gott was from the Indemnity, published in the year 17, but that again was so crouded with exceptions, that it did by no means correspond with the mereifull disposition which the authors pretended to manifest by it; so that the triennial prescription of high treason was the first solid relief and security to the distress'd royall party; after which they began to peep out, and many, who not inclining to trust themselves in the hands of the Government, had retired and lived abroad, and were not under any sentence, return'd home to their familys.

During this intervall the Squadrone gott the better of the Duke of Argyle at court, where he and his friends had very little to say; but as the prince and his father were at odds, His Grace adhered to and was

the cheif adviser of the former, nay was thought to have him in leading strings; and whilst the discord betwixt him and the Squadrone daily increased, the Scots Torrys interfeer'd with neither, having at the same time no correspondence abroad, further than what by private letters gave an account of the Kings and their friends health.—There was however a surmise that the King had some hopes of gaining the King of Sweden to espouse his cause; and the ftrst nottice therof to be depended upon, was a letter from the Duke of Mar to Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Lord Bahnerino and my self, wherin he signifyd that if 5 or 6000 bolls of meal could be purchased by the Kings friends and sent to Sweden, where was then a great scarcity, it would be of great service to the King. But wee foresaw so many difficultys in raising a sum of money sufficient for it (most of those who formerly would have contributed to the King being exiles or forfeited, and such as were not so nevertheless in great straits by the losses they sustain'd and the depredation of their estates during the war, and by the great charges they were at in supporting their distressed friends abroad and at home) and withall so impracticable to collect and embark such a quantity of meal, without being discovered and creating some suspition in the Government that wee could not think of undertaking it with any hopes of success.

Not very long after this, another letter came to the same person to be communicated as the other, wherin the Duke of Mar represented, that wheras there was a design to attempt the Kings restoration by the assistance of a certain forreign prince, and that it would look odd if his freinds at home did not putt themselves in a condition to assist him, he thought proper to signify so much in general; and as the want of ready money to be employ'd when the King's service required it, had hitherto been a great impediment to his affairs, he wisht wee could fall on ways to perswade his friends to have in readiness what summ they severally could afford and would venture in his cause, when a fair oporlunity offered. This, for the reasons above narrated, was a matter of the greatest difficulty, and as the other three persons were, either by the bad state of their healths or other circumstances, no ways fitt to goe about as agents in such an affair, the burthen was laid upon me; and I had much better success than I expected, having gott assurances, in the most solemn manner, from several persons of honour, that they would take care to be in a condition to answer his majesties call. The Earl of Eglington offer'd 3000 guineas, and signifyd so much by a letter to the King, and the others would amongst them have advanced a good round sum. Nottice of this was sent both to the King and Duke

of Mar, and at the same time represented, that as this country did not abound in riches, and that the loyal I party was less now than ever in a condition to raise money, wee were humbly of opinion that nothing of this kind should be demanded from them but when matters were so well concerted and so far advanced, that the main stroke was to be struck.—At the same time I received the following letter\* from the King:

“January 1st 1718.

“The late accounts I have had of your true and sincere friendship for me, doe not allow me to deferr returning you my heartiest thanks for it: you shall, I can assure you, ever find me most gratfuli, and I hope it will yet be in my power to be so. effectually. I referr to Mar for any thing I had further to say in my affairs, and I shall be glad to have your opinion of them from time to time, either from your self or our friend Captain Straiten;. no body esteems you more than I doe, nor hath a truer value and regard for you, being ever

“Your &c.”

To which I made the following answer:

“March 26th 1718.

“Sir—I cannot but esteem it the highest honour, that you entertain so favourable ane opinion of me as you are pleased to express in yours of the first of January, which came safely to my hands. I am not so vain as to imagine I ever was or will be capable to be of any great use to you in your affairs, yet I have the satisfaction of being conscious, that as your interest was hitherto the cheif object of all my views and desires, since I first applyd my self to publick bussiness, I at no time knowingly or willingly omitted any thing which I conceived might in the least contribute therto, and I doe assure you that for the future, I will as cheirfully embrace every occasion to doe you all the services in my power; which is indeed no more than what I think my self bound to by many particular as well as general obligations, and what my inclinations and personal regard for you prompt me to. It being unnecessary to repeat what I have writt to the Duke of Mar, I will trouble you noe further, but beg leave to subscribe my self

“Your&c.”

The letter from the Duke of Mar mention'd in the King's (of which and my answer therto I only keep the heads) recommended secrecy

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\* Received 21 March 1718.

amongst the King's friends, the want of which had often been very detrimental to the common cause, as he had frequently observed, when he had not, at least when it was not known he had, any concern or correspondence with the King; he then proceeded to exhort me to try if it was possible to bring the Duke of Argyle to think of coming over to the King's measures; this, he thought, I was the properest person to attempt, because there was an old firm personal friendship betwixt us, which he himself at no time took amiss, because he saw I never on that score deviated from my principles, and he thought this a proper season, when the Duke was so poorly rewarded for the great services he had done to the party, and could not but see the inevitable ruin of his native country, and the small grounds he had to expect from any English Ministry, the trust and power he might justly claim and aim at, on account of his quality, interest, and merit; that there was no way to retrieve his country and do justice to himself, but by contributing to the King's restoration; that His Majesty would meet him with open arms, and he should make his own terms. And for his own part, as he never was at odds with His Grace but in so far as he was acting against the King's interest, were that obstacle removed, he would concur in every scheme he could propose for his interest and glory, there being none alive for whom he had a greater honour and regard: all which he desired I might represent to him, if so be I would undertake and could perform so great a service to the King.

In my answer to this letter I agreed with his sentiments as to secrecy, and recommended to him to give strict injunctions to all the King's subjects abroad, to write no manner of news, good or bad, to their friends at home, for as their letters abounded with schemes and often with false hopes, their correspondents here could not conceal their joy from others, whereby they soon became publick, which induced the Government to be much upon their guard, and at the same time justifyd, in some measure, their severity to those they saw so ready to oppose them. As to the other part of his letter, I express a very great readiness to perform any thing the King required of me for his service, but I was afraid matters were now come to such a pass, that the Duke of Argyle would never, after having commanded the army during the late war, think it was possible for him to be in favour with the King. The time indeed once was when such a transaction might have been undertaken with good hopes of success, and with that very view it was that I stood so much up for the Duke's interest in Parliament, which he (Mar) then opposed with some resentment at my conduct, the grounds whereof I could not then communicate to him, since he confessed there was a time when his concern for and

correspondence with the King was not known. However I would cast about to see how matters stood, and if I found a proper juncture, and any tollerable hopes of success, I would doe what in me lay to bring about, what from a regard to both partys I allwyse vehemently desired, and was once in a fair way of accomplishing, had not others from pique and particular views disconcerted all my schemes.

It may perhaps appear to some, that this was too tart an answer; but the truth on't is, I could not command my self, when I reflected that he had been the principal obstrucker of this project at a time when it would have been of more use, and could have been easier brought about, and that he was conscious I knew this proceeded from his own ambition and envy, notwithstanding those professions of friendship he charged me with in his letter.

Whilst time passt thus away, the Duke of Argyle turn'd his back on St, James' and resorted altogether to the Prince's Court; but as he found him a worthless giddy-headed creature, no wyse to be depended on, he retired much to the country and seemd highly discontented. At the same time his friends did not stand to tell such as they could confide in, that His Grace was resolved to have no further dealings with this Government, and 'tho he would doe nothing against it, yet if any attempt was made, he himself would stand neutral and Jeave his Clan to doe as they pleased, which, by the by, was known would be in favour of the King, from whom they were only diverted by His Graces authority and interest. Finding matters thus, I took occasion to talk seriously at Edinburgh with my old friend Collonel John Midleton, who, I knew, at the bottom wished the King very well and was much trusted by the Duke, and to him I represented, that seeing the Duke could have no prospect of riseing under tlns Government to the power his interest, character and station justly entitled him, I could not but imagine he highly resented such usage; and as he was naturally ambitious, and it was impossible but he must side with and act for some party, in all the divisions and contests in this island, I could not see what hand he could turn to, or whither he could steer his course, but to the King; taking it for granted he would not render himself so little in the eyes of all the world, as again to countenance and support the interest of a sett of men, w ho had used him as a tool in being the means of destroying his native country, and extirpating so many noble familys for the most part nearly related to his own, and then sent him a packing. That 'tho he kept in with the Prince, he could not but perceive how little he was to be depended on, and that if ever his father and he were again on good terms, His Grace would be left to pay the piper, and 'tho he should come to the crown, he would be

under a necessity of being ruled by English counccills and English ministers, alj which howsoever differently affected, concurr'd in not allowing any Scots man to grow too powerfull, or to be trusted but in a subordinate manner with the administration of affairs, which in no sort suited with His Grace's mind, more than it corresponded with his merit.

Midleton replyd that he perfectly agreed with what I said, and had good reasons to beleive His Grace had the same sentiments, and as I knew that he was once in the Queen's reign in a fair way of being brought over to the King's side, he did not see any cause to despaire still of affecting it, notwithstanding what had since that time occur'd, provyded it were handsomely intro' duced and dexterously managed; but one thing he was sure of, His Grace would not directly nor indirectly treat with Mar, or any by commission from him, for he beleived him his mortal enemy, and had no opinion of his honour; and added Midleton to me, "I cannot think Mar does more seriously now than befor desire to see Argyle in the Kings measures, least he eclipsed him."—I told him that I knew the King desired nothing more than to bring the Duke over to him, and I would engage to putt this matter on such a footing that Mar should not be concern'd less or more in it, nay should not know of any correspondence the King had with Argyle, for it should be established directly between them two and such persons as His Grace should name to carry it on, under the strictest tyes of secrecy, untill a proper time came for propaleing it. At last wee concluded that I should acquaint the King of the fair prospect of gaining the Duke, and propose that His Majestie would send me a letter to him in a kind strain, inviting him to come into his measures; and *wee* thought it fitt that no time should be lost in getting this letter, least things should alter during the time that was taken up in sending messages to and from the King at so great a distance.—And whilst I expected the King's pleasure, Midleton, who was furthwith to go to London, undertook to sound the Duke and let me know how far he found him disposed to harken to this scheme, according to which wee would take our measures. I accordingly writt, but kept no cobby of my letter to the King, giveing him an account of this and some former conversations with Midleton, from whence I gathered that the Duke might be gaind, and desired his directions as soon as possible. And because I foresaw that when I came to treat with His Grace, I'd be obliged to give him the most solemn assurances that Mar was not privy to it, and that he again would be jealous and offended if he came to know that letters from Scotland were given to the King without his knowledge, besides that I did not then know of any about the King

that would venture to do it; for those reasons I seal'd my letter and gott Captain Straiton to send it under a cover to the Duke of Mar, and withall to tell him, that I hoped he would excuse my not communicating the contents to him, because I was bound under the strictest obligations to impart the same to no other person whatsoever but the King himself.

Not many weeks after this, I mett with Captain Dougall Campbell; this gentleman, a person of great worth and loyalty, and a bosome friend of Argyle's, was lately come to Scotland from London, where he had resided these many years bypast. The Duke soon became the subject of our conversation, and when I perceived that he had great hopes of gaining him, and affirm'd that even the Earl of Isla seem'd well disposed, I frankly told him all that had passt and been concerted betwixt Middleton and me, which he much approved of, being hopefull it would succeed, and undertaking to forward it when he return'd to London; but soon after this he unfortunatly gott cold in his journey to the Highlands, and on his return to Edinburgh took a flux and dyed. A *few* days befor this happen'd, being with me at my country house, he askt me, if I heard Argyle blam'd for having received and given no answer to a letter writt to him by the King whilst he was at Perth; I told him I had, but could not agree with those who censur'd him, for I had such an abhorrence at breach of trust, that had I been the Duke's adviser, it should have been to doe as he did; for 'tho there was nothing I so much desired as to see him engaged in the King's cause, I wisht it done in a way consistent with his honour. Campbell smiled and told me he was to acquaint me of a secret which he must previously have my solemn word I would communicate to none, which he had given when it was revealed to him, having however obtained liberty afterwards to speak of it to me. After giving him the assurance he demanded, he told me, that the letter was not delivered to the Duke, for in his late Highland progress he saw it and another to Lord Isla in the hands of the person to whose care they were committed (but who that person was he- would not tell me) who receiving them unseal'd did not, after perusal, think it for the Kings service to deliver them, that to the Duke being writt in a style by no means to be approved of; "And indeed," added Campbell, "when I read them I was entirely of the same mind, and could not but think that Mar, or some other person, with a view of rather widening than healing the breaches, had prevail'd with the King to write after that manner." The letter to Isla was writt as to a man of business, insisting on the unhappy state of Scotland, and that nothing but a dissolution of the Union by the King's Restoration could prevent the utter ruin of that

country. That to the Duke did invite him to return to his loyalty and duty, threatening him, if he neglected, with revange and the utter extirpation of his family, for what he and his predecessors had done in this and the last century. I doe not pretend to relate the precise words of this letter, nor did Campbell mention them as such to me; however I have narrated what he said was the aim and purport of the letter. I was not a little surprized, and at first doubted if it was genuine; but then he assured me it was under the King's own hand, wlvch he knew perfectly well. After having reflected on this very odd letter, I was confirm'd in the opinion of its being absolutly necessary that Mar should know nothing less or more of any correspondence that might be sett on foot betwixt the King and Duke of Argyle.

Collonel Midleton was not many days in London till he wrote to me that he had-made a tryalland was in hopes my friend would accept of the Galloway (wee haveing agreed to couch the matter in our letters under the name of a Scots pad that was to be sent up) and therfor desired I would make haste to be master of one fitt for him; and not long after that, he wrote to me again, that my friend would receive the Galloway if I came up and made him the present, in doing of which no time was to be lost. This message overjoy'd me, and I impatiently waited for the King's answer (Midleton calling for me in the interim two or three times by other letters to strike the iron while it was hot) for above seven months, and when it came I was not more vexed than surprized; for as this was a matter of no small importance, I had reason to expect a particular return, and in less than half that time; wheras the answer was contain'd in the postscript of a letter from the Duke of Mar to Captain Straiton, wherin he bid him tell me that the King had received my letter, but not approving what I proposed, would enter into no measures with that person, hoping (by the assistance of Sweden I suppose) to doe his bussiness without him. I knew not in all the world what to say to Midleton, for I had no mind to let him know that the King had revealed the affair to Mar, much less the nature of the return I had gott to my proposal; so I pretended that I had gott no answer, which I ascribed to my letters having miscarried, and by such shifts and excuses endeavour'd to putt the best face I could upon it, which I could not however so well feign but that he suspected I had mett with a rebute; and how far this influenced the Duke to think of making up matters some time afterwards with King Georo-e, when he had left the Prince as one in whom he could have no honour in adhering to, I will not take upon me to say; but indeed when I reflected how near resemblance there was betwixt this and an answer formerly sent by the Earl of Midleton to a proposal of the same kind,

when I considered the part which Mar acted in the latter end of the Queen's reign towards Argyle, and the account which Campbell gave me of the letter from Perth, and that by Mar's handing the return to me, it would seem the King had communicated the proposal to him, 'tho I had begd as a thing essentially necessary to keep it in his own breast; these things made me inclinable to beleive my Lord Mar had taken the liberty to break up my letter, and, without acquainting the King of the contents, given his own answer therto, which I judged still the more probable, that he did not doe it directly to my self, btft in a letter to a friend of his own, who he was sure would not bring it in judgement against him; and what I then imagined seems now to be confirm'd, in that the King some time after this told my son, when he at Rome verbally by my direction renew'd the proposal, and represented what a fair opportunity had been formerly lost, that he did not remember ever to have heard of it befor.

The King's affairs for a long time made little or no noise, but on breaking out of the war with Spain, people began to hope, that something in his favours would cast up, and whilst wee were fed with these hopes in very general terms by letters from abroad, all of a sudden wee received the joyfull news of the King of Spain's having declared for our King. What correspondence King Philip had in England I cannot particularly tell, but sure I am there was not the least intimation of such a design to any in Scotland, untill a very little befor it was publick over all Europe. About which time the Earl of Wigton writt a letter to me from his country house, desireing me to meet him without fail next day exactly at four in the afternoon at a certain private place in Edinburgh, and I having accordingly kept the tryst, His Lordship introduced me to Mr. Francis Kennedy; this gentleman was sent express to acquaint the King's friends of the attempt that was to be made by Spain on Britain, and he was directed to goe first to my Lord Wigton, who thought fitt to call me to be present at the conference. Mr. Kennedy produced a small peice of parchment, writt and sign'd by the Duke of Ormond, desireing entire credit might be given to the bearer therof; and then he told us that the Duke was actually .embarked with a considerable body of Spanish troops, designing to land them in England, and that the Earl Marishall was sail'd with a battalion, accompanyd by the Marquis's of Tullibardin and Seaforth, and some of the heads of the Highland clans, and was to land in the Highlands; that the troops design'd for England and Scotland were sufficient to make a stand till the Kings friends could gett togitlier, that he durst say Marishall was landed befor that day, and that wee would soon hear of the like of Ormond; and he desired

wee would consider what was to be done for the King's service at this critical juncture. After having fully talked over the affair, wee judged it highly necessary to conceal this intelligence as long as it was possible, because wee perceived the Spaniards design'd to catch the British Government napping. Besides, as there were many accidents to which the Spanish fleet might be exposed in so long a voyage, wee did by no means think it adviseable to move in Scotland, till wee were sure the Duke of Ormond was landed; for if any appearance should be made for the King in Scotland, and the grand design fail in the execution, wee would meet with no quarters from the Government, and the King at the same time reap no benefit.

A few days after this, the Spanish design against Britain was known every where, and that the Earl Marishall was actually landed at in the Highlands; and wee dayly expected and impatiently long'd to hear the same of the Duke of Ormond in England. A great many days being spent in this uncertain state of hopes and fears, wee had at length the melancholy account of his being beat back by a storm, which at once putt an end to our hopes and our enemies well grounded fears; for it is more than probable that if His Grace had escaped this storm, he had been in England ere the Government had known, of the design and had been in a capacity to oppose him, especially when it is certain that the body of the people of England were groaning under the yoke of the present tyranny, and that great numbers of the first rank and greatest interest, and many officers, some even of the highest stations in the army, were privy to the design and ready to joyn him; and the zeal of the Scots for the King was rather encreased than lessen'd by former misfortunes, so that his friends in Scotland, whilst there was a diversion to the standing army in England, would have made a short work of it.—It was pritty remarkable that the Government did not on the first surmise, as formerly on the like occasions, croud the prisons with suspected persons; whether it was that they were confounded and at a loss what to doe in so unexpected a surprize, or that they really design'd, as some of them pretended, to leave every man to himself, and have a fair general stroke for it, that so the contest might be finally ended by the total extirpation of the vanquisht party, I wont determine.

I doe not pretend to give an account of my Lord Marishall's proceedings; one thing is sure, that he and Tullibardin were soon at variance about the command, and it seem'd very odd that such matters were not adjusted befor their embarkation; the Highlanders being formerly heartiely bitt, resolved not to move till they heard of Ormond's being landed, so that few except Seaforth's clan joyn'd this

little army, which however kept together, till General Wightman marched against them with a strong body of regular troops, in which were several battalions of Dutch auxiliaries, (for so terribly affraid were King George and his Ministry, that 'tho they knew the Duke of Ormond was driven back, they did not think themselves secure, untill, at a great expence of money, they brought over these foreign troops, wherof a good part was sent to Scotland) and after a smart action at Glenshiles, wherin a considerable number of Wightmans men were killd, the Highlanders dispersed into the mountains, and the Spanish battallion surrender'd themselves prisoners of war; Marishall and other persons of note lurking in the Highlands till ships were provided to carry them off.—In the intervall betwixt the Lord Marishalls landing, and the accounts of the Duke of Ormonds fate, I had an opportunity of sending the following Memorial to Marishall, which I judged might be usefull to him in case the enterprize was like to goe on; whither it came to his hands, I cant tell.

“The Kings friends are far from being diminished on the south side of Forth, and are abundantly willing to venture all in his service; but they have been kept so much at under these three or four years by past, and so little expected what has of late occur'd, that most of them want horses and arms, and it will be no easie matter to procure them; and as they are surrounded with spys and enemies, and cannot propose to make such a body as can resist the force that will be sent against them if they take to the feilds, it is not to be desired or expected they should rise in arms untill there be such a number of forces near them, as can make a stand, and to which they may resort. 'Tho the King does not want some friends in the western shires, yet the gross of the people both gentry and commons are either prysbyterians favourably disposed towards the present Government, or pritty indifferent as to all Governments whatsoever; but as the far greatest part of both these have an heartie aversion to the Union, if once they were throughly convinced that the King's prosperity would terminate in the dissolution therof, there is reason to beleive a great many of the first would be converted, at least so far as to be neutrall, and most of the others declare for him. And therfor it is thought proper that the Earl Marishall should publish a Manifesto, in which, after having at large enumerated the many greivances attending the Union, such as the decay of trade, and the violation of the Scots libertys and civil rights, &c. he should declare that it is the King's intention to restore his Scots subjects to their ancient rights and independent state, and that he himself and those with him appear in arms as well to redeem the nation as restore the King, and that he does therby invite

all his fellow subjects to contribute towards so just, honourable, and necessary an undertaking. And in this Manifesto, assurance should be given that a Scots Parliament will be invited to meet as soon as the posture of affairs will allow the same to assemble, that such laws may be therein made and past as shall be judged necessary for settling the peace and tranquillity of the nation and securing the liberties and religion of the same; and lastly recommend to the several electors in shy res and burrows to have their thoughts on persons fitt to be appointed their representatives, when matters of such universal consequence are to be determin'd.—At present there is none on the south of Forth to whom the King's friends can repara for intelligence, or to have instructions and directions as to their conduct and measures; and thence it is that there is no correspondence nor concert amongst them, which in the event may occasion many inconveniencies: it is therfor proposed that the Earl Marishall would impower, or at least recommend to a small number of persons, to be by him named, to meet and concert such measures as to them seems most conducive to the King's service, and that with them he would correspond and give them such directions as from time to time he shall judge proper: This being done and the King's friends apprised of it, their intelligence and measures will be more uniform and regular than can be expected in their present uncertain state and condition. And because the Earl Marishall cannot in his present state and circumstances so well know what persons are in a condition to execute such a trust, it will not be amiss to mention the Earls of Eglinton and Wigton, the Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh and Mr. John Paterson, as persons that will be faithfull to the King and agreeable to his freinds."

A resolution having been universally taken not to move in Scotland till England was fairly engaged, this measure was very near being broke by a peice of odd conduct of Captain Straiton at Edinburgh. There came, it seems, an unknown fellow to one Mr. Millns, tutor to Mr. Macdonald yonger of Glengarie, and told him that being a servant to Cameron of Locheal, he came with him from Spain, and was set on shoar on the coast of Galloway from the Duke of Ormond's fleet as it past by, with orders to goe and acquaint his master's friends to be ready to take up arms. Mr. Millns carried this fellow to Captain Straiton, who with joy heard and gave some credit to what he so earnestly wished, and was soon confirm'd in the truth therof by a letter sent express by the Viscount of Stormont, then at his house in Annandale, giving an account that five or six days before the date a large fleet of tall ships, being no doubt Ormond's fleet, past by that

coast, sailing with a fair wind directly for the west of England. Straiton having after this no remaining doubts, sent off an express to acquaint my Lord Nairn in Perth-shire, that the Duke was on the coast and certainly landed by that time, and desireing His Lordship to forward the good news to Marishall and other proper persons in the Highlands, that no time might be lost in drawing to the feilds; and as he imparted it likwyse to some in and about Edinburgh, the Earl of Dalhousie and some other gentlemen of that county gott on horseback, with a resolution to try if they could joyn Ormond, for they knew there was no possibility of getting up to Marishall; but I persuaded His Lordship to stop at Selkirk on pretence of seeing the race? till I enquired further into the story, and sent him nottice; and I went instantly to Edinburgh, where having examin'd Straitons intelligence, I soon found he was deceived, for I did not think it probable that Ormond would allow such a fellow to come on shoatj when I knew he ahn'd at being himself the first messenger of his errand: besides, having no credentials from his master, he could doe no service in the matter he pretended; and he gave 110 tollerable account of himself, not so much as knowing the name of the port in Spain from whence his master and he came with the Heet; from all which I concluded he was a rogue that proposed by this story to gett a little money, or that he was sett out by some of the Government (who by this time had certain assurances of the Duke of Ormond's misfortune, 'tho they did not own it) with .a view of persuading some of the King's friends to leap at the bait and goe to arms, and therby afford a handle to ruin them. And as for my Lord Stormont's information, I was sure if the fact had been as he represented, wee must, since the time he mention'd, being eight .or nine days, have had the certainty of it even in the public!- letters; and I gave the less credit when I perceived his Lordship's letter was dated at one in the morning, about which time I knew he was apt to credit any news that pleased him. Having joyn'd all these considerations together, I immediatly sent to stop Dalhousie; and I dispatched Mr. George Kinnaird with the utmost expedition to Nairn, to advertise him of the false intelligence he had gott; for which he gave me afterwards many thanks, as it was the means of saving him and many others that were ready and resolved to gett speedily together and joyn Marishall.

When the Spanish battallion were brought prisoners to Edinburgh, the officers, who had the liberty of the town, were used by the loyall party with all the civility and kindness imaginable; but the Government for a long time refused to advance subsistance money to them, by which in a little time they were reduced to great straits,

which appeared even in their looks 'tho their Spanish pride would not allow them to complain. As I was well acquainted with Don Nicolas who commanded them, I took the liberty to ask him if he wanted money; and finding it was so, I told him it was unkind in him to be thus straitned, when he knew our King, for whose cause he suffer'd, had so many friends in town that would cheirfully assist him; so I immediatly gott him credit for as much money as was necessary for himself and his men, till he gott bills from the Marquis de Beretti-Landi the Spanish ambassadour in Holland, when he thankfully repay'd what was advanced to him.

Befor I leave this Spanish affair I must mention a pritty odd story which I had frum Colonel Guest, a very discreet gentleman and well disposed to the King. It seems, about the time the Spanish invasion was discover'd, he was with two or three troops of dragoons quartered in Stafford shyre or Warwick shyre, but I have forgott which. There he received orders sign'd by King George himself, directing him, that if there happen'd any riots or disorders, to burn, shoot, or destroy without asking questions, for which, and all that he in execution of these orders should doe contrary to law, he therby previously indemnifyd him. The Colonel was thunder-struck with these orders, they were what, on no account, he would execute, neither durst he, for the people in that country were all well affected to the King, and would have torn him and his men to peices, and if Ormond had landed, he must either have surrender'd or joynd them with his men. Having seriously reflected on these orders, he thought it best to communicate them to some of the leading gentry of the place, telling them that he did not know whither they were design'd as a snare to him or them, that for all their sakes he wisht they would keep the peace, for as he would not perform what was required, he hoped they would at the same time prevent his being brought to trouble. This method was kindly taken, and they assured him he should be safe and free from all insults, unless there was a general insurrection, when they would be glad to have him with them. There was accordingly no disturbance in that place, tho at the same time the people were prepared and resolved to take the feilds as soon as Ormond landed. This passage I take notice of as it seems somewhat a kin to the affair of Glencoe, and Us probable the like orders were givn to other officers.

Some months after this Spanish affair was over, and whilst there appear'd no prospect of any design in favours of the King, I happen'd one evening to converse at length on the state of his affairs with that worthy prelate the Bishop of Edinburgh; and he told me that he often

regrated there were no persons here impower'd by him to overlook his affairs, and give such directions from time to time as should be thought necessary, that by such an establishment an unity of measures would be maintain'd amongst the King's friends, proper schemes might be concerted and pursued, and many things which did much harm be prevented. I reply'd that I had long been of the same mind, particularly since the first news of the Spanish invasion, for at that time the King's friends acted without concert, and many inconveniencies would have happen'd, had the enterprize been followed out, which I was perswaded would have been prevented if such a power as he mention'd had been established; and I wisht His Lordship would propose it to the King. He answered he had done it above a year agoe in a letter to Mar, which he desired him to communicate to the King: but as he had no return he suspected that noble Lord, for reasons best known to himself, did not approve of it and had not acquainted the King of it; and if that was the case, it was needless for him to repeat it. I told him if he had no other objection, I knew how to have the proposall made directly to the King himself, for my son would be by that time at Rome, and I'd undertake he'd deliver any memorial or message His Lordship would trust him with; or if he pleased, and would allow me to use his name, I would acquaint my son at large of what past in this conversation, and desire him to lay the same befor His Majestie. This the Bishop heartiely agreed to, and desired I would not neglect it: and as the King could not at the distance he was, and during the present situation of affairs, be so well apprised of persons characters and circumstances as was needfull, in making such a choice as would answer the purpose with respect to their capacity and being agreeable to his friends, he judged it necessary to mention a certain number who wee reckon'd well qualifyd might be trusted and would be generally agreeable. And in concerting this list, wee had under consideration, that it should consist of persons not absolutly dependant on either Mar or Marishall and the party that joyn'd with him in opposition to the other, at least that there should be a mixture of both their friends, that so the measure might not appear to be a party bussiness, but really calculated for the King's service, without any by views whatsoever; and wee accordingly pitched upon the Earls of Eglington and Wigton, the Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Paterson of Prestonhall, and Captain Straiton. The Bishop desired I would add my self, but that i declin'd, seeing the motion was to come from me, and my son to be the actor in it. Against these wee reckon'd there could be no exceptions, and most of them liv'd near Edinburgh or were frequently there, and at hand to act as occasion offer'd.

I lost no time in writing to my son on the subject, setting forth at length the many inconveniencies that had happened from the want of such a power lodged in proper hands, and the great advantages which in all probability would attend it, when duly executed; desiring him to demand a private audience of the King, and from the Bishop and me lay this proposal before him. At the same time, when I reflected on what the Bishop told me of his suspicion that Mar did not communicate to the King such proposals as he himself did not previously relish, and the return I got to what I had wrote concerning Argyle, I judged it not amiss once more to try if I could bring that project to bear, especially seeing by some late correspondence with Middleton, I found it was still practicable, and I instructed my son to acquaint the King at length, with all the reasons I had to hope such a treaty might be happily accomplish!, if he would be pleased to send me a letter to His Grace, kindly inviting him to come into his measures, but withall requiring as a preliminary that he would give his royall promise to communicate this proposal and what should follow thereon to no soul living, for otherwise I knew it would be in vain for me to think of serving him in it. And *as* it was probable the King would communicate the first proposal to Mr. James Murray, and that he would endeavour to have his father the Viscount of Stormont added to the list; by the Bishop's allowance I acquainted my son, that in case he found it so, that he should frankly tell the King he was directed to inform him, that no body would undertake his service in conjunction with that Lord, who knew not what it was to keep a secret, and had not resolution necessary for those imployd in such matters; which caveat was very seasonable, as it prevented his being named. My letter having gone safe to my son, he executed what was committed to his charge, and I received the following letter\* from him.

“Rome, February 20, 1720.

“Last post in a short letter I acquainted you that your former letters were come safe, particularly those relating to the Commission you proposed and Argyle's affair. I don't know if I had time to tell you, that two or three days after receiving yours, I had a long discourse with the King on these points; but if not, I now take the liberty to tell you, that, for the sake of my memory, I transcribed the passages in your letter that related to the two different affairs contain'd in it; after reading, he desired me leave them with him, and then after many kind acknowledgements of your friendship to him, told me he had never

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\* Received 15 Aprile, 1720.

heard any thing of these matters befor; so it seems all the letters on these subjects have either been suppressed or miscarried. He was befor hand with me as to Argyle's capacity and usefullness, if he would but accept and help to manage his affairs, and he promised to be very cautious. He sett about the Commission next day as he told me, and a cobby is sent to Captain Straiton. Its true some people are putt in more than you named, but I fancy my Lord Dun won't medle in it. I mention'd this to Mr. Murray, but he answer'd, if they would not medle, the King at least shew'd them his good will, and they would be his fast friends afterwards. It is but two hours agoe that he sent for me and delivered the inclosed; he was pleased to communicate his reasons for not writing a formall letter to Argyle, and said he was very hopefull he had given you so many good reasons as would satisfy you; so since I can but repeat or putt in a worse light what he has writt, it is better in my opinion to referr you to the inclosed letter. I beg'd him to look on the affair in general as the effect of your zeal for his service.

“In all this matter I am sure you and I have done our duty, of which he seems very sensible, and in many respects deserves all the service his friends can doe for him. I had almost forgott to tell you that at parting he desired me to make his compliments to you, and that you would write frequently to him, and that he expected you would all in general acquaint him of such storys as were writt home and spred abroad in order to divide his friends and lessen the good opinion people had of his servants here. To this I made a bow but no answer, as I did not well understand his meaning, and won't allow my self to beleive he'd have you or any of these gentlemen turn tale-bearers or tatlers. Murray mention'd the same thing more fully to me; and I answer'd, I was persuaded these gentlemen would doe the King all the service they could, but that many storys were told not worth the reporting or taking notice of. I should think my self much to blame did I not communicate to you, that, to my great surprize, I find Colonel Hay is let in to the story of Argyle; how farr that is consistent with your inclinations and the King's promise, I know not. I am affraid it proceeds from a mistake in his beleiving that himself and his servant are but one and the same person; however that be, you will act in it as you judge most safe for your friend and your self. Let me have your sentiments, and beleive me to be

“Yours &c.”

The following letter from the King is what was inclosed in the above.

“February 15, 1720.

“I saw a few days agoe a paper you sent hither for my perusal, in which I remarked, with pleasure, that same good sense and affection for me I all ways found in you and of which I am truly sensible. I am entirely convinced of the advantage it would be to my affairs that some persons of weight and prudence should frequently conferr together and communicate to me their opinion and reflections on matters, and at the same time, on proper occasions, give such advice to the rest of my friends, as might conduce to our common good. To appoint a certain number of persons for this effect by commission is by no means at this time adviseable, because of the inconveniencies it might draw sooner or latter on the persons concern’d; since it could not but be expected that the present Government would at long run be inform’d of such a paper, which by its nature must be known to a great number of people; besides that many who might be most fitt to discharge such a trust, might with reason not be fond of having their names exposed in such a matter; while on the other hand numbers might be disobliged for not having a share where it is not possible all can be concern’d; but I think all these inconveniencies may be obviated, the intent of the proposal comply’d with, and equall advantages drawn from it, if the persons named below, or some of them, would meet and consult together for the intents above mention’d. The persons you propose I entirely approve, to witt, the Earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Paterson and Captain Straiton, to whom I would have added Mr. Harry Maul, Sir John Ereskine, Lord Dun, Powrie and Glengary. Now as these gentlemen want, I know, no spur to their zeal for my service, and that out of regard to them, I am unwilling to write directly at present to them, I am persuaded that when this letter is communicated to them, they will willingly enter into what is proposed for our mutuall advantage; and to make the thing easier to you, I send a duplicate of this to Straiton, that either by him or you it may be communicated to the persons concernd, with all that is kind to them in my name; and if any of them are desireous upon occasions to consult others not named in this letter, I shall entirely approve it; but what *I* desire may be the first point settled is that of a regular correspondence with me. For which end, if Straiton is not sufficient, I shall approve of any person my friends shall appoint for that effect, as I have already that one Mr. Cowpar should be assisting to Straiton on occasions, Brigadeer Campbell having represented him to me as one agreeable to them; but whoever is appointed, as I may say, the secretary of my friends with you, should be very particular in hisaccounts, and inform me of the different advices; and as enemies are not wanting who officiously spred storys to dishearten or disunite my friends, it will be

also convenient that such reports be also communicated to me, to the end that things, on occasions, may be putt in their true light, and that persons may not be imposed upon by lyes or malicious insinuations. I was heartiely glad to find by a letter I lately received from your parts that friends there continue to have the same good opinion of Mar he ever deserved, and I dare answer for him ever will. I am doing all that lys in my power towards his liberty, and I hope a peace will soon restore me so worthy and usefull a servant; and in the mean time when I doe not write to your party my self, I shall make James Murray doe it, who having had for many years the lives and fortunes of the most considerable in England in his hands, will make any of yours very safe there also. I think I have no more to say to the proposal you have made me as your opinion and that of several others, and by the method here prescribed I think wee reap all the benefit without inconvenience. The good and wellfare of your country is what I ever shall have at heart, and I shall ahvyse with pleasure enter into what is proposed for that end, which with the assurance of my particular regard and kindness for you is all I have to say. &c.”

In regard I would not take upon me to act as a trustee, because I was not expressly named in the above letter, Captain Straiton acquainted Mr. Murray therof, and the King was pleased to add me to the number, by a letter to Straiton of which this is a cobby.

“June 14th, 1720.

“I perceive by yours to Murray that in a paper latly sent you Mr. Lockharts name was forgott; it was only an error in copping, for it alwyse was and it is my intention that he should be of the number.”

Besides this first letter (which was to be communicate as a warrant to others) I at the same time receiv'd the following letter from the King:

“February 17th, 1720.

“After having writt to you my opinion in most of our private concerns, I must mention here one article, which I entirely agree with you is of the greatest importance. No body can have a more just value and esteem for the great lawyer (i. e. the Duke of Argyle) you mention than I have; the consequence of gaining him is obvious, and towards that, nothing shall be neglected by me, since what is past shall never be a hindrance to his being used as a true friend by me, if he proves himself such hereafter. After this, I doe not entirely agree with you in the ways and means to be made use of, having reasons not to write as you propose, till such time as you acquaint me that a letter will be

acceptable; your intimacie with him makes you the properest person to feel his pulse, and that should, I think, preceed all other steps. You can take a proper time to bring on the discourse, inform him of my sentiments, and remove all jealousie or uneasiness on account of past transactions; and if, upon his entering into the matter, you find a letter would be relished, I shall then write it and send it to you, taking my rise from your conversation. I take this to be the most prudent and effectuall way of proceeding, and if you can bring this affair to a good issue, it is a favour I shall ever acknowledge, as I shall your endeavours towards it whatever the event may be. I am far from thinking any step of this kind dishonourable; for in my case, whatever is not unjust can never be against honour, since the gain of my suit is what I am resolved to pursue by all lawfull means; and for the necessary secret you recommend, you may be assured that all due regard to it shall be had on all accounts. I have had occasion of late of seeing your son, who hath a very good character, and who will, I doubt not, continue to deserve the friendship of those who are sincere friends to his family. The regard now shewn to your advice will, I hope, encourage you to continue to let me partake of it on proper occasions, and you will but doe me justice in beleiving me full of gratitude and esteem for you, being

ever

“Your &c.”

Upon the receipt of this letter, I immediatly made the following return, but omitted to mark down the date therof.

“Sir—Being, at the time of receiving your letter and writing of this, at some miles distant from Straiten, with whom it is necessary I talk, befor I can say any thing distinctly on the contents of yours, I would not however delay making my very humble acknowledgements for the honour you doe me in reposing any the least trust in me, and in a particular manner for the regard you have been pleased to shew my son; that he may truely merit the continuation of your favourable opinion, is my utmost desire, and I hope his highest ambition. I dare confidently affirm I never entered into any measure nor gave any advice that did not, according to the best of my judgment, appear for your interest and service. That of late, with respect to the Commission, was the joynt and concurring opinion of several very sufficient well designing persons, and I make no question, if duly and discreetly executed, but it will turn to good account; one thing I am sure of, that many inconveniencies arose on many occasions for the want of it. The other matter, relating to Argyle, did come indeed only

from my self, the nature of the affair being such as required that no other person whatsoever should be privy to it. But as what I proposed proceeded altogether from a good intention, I submitted all and every part of the scheme to you, with whom I readily agree, that before the attempt is made, it is highly expedient to sound the other's pulse, and be assured of its success; and for no other reason did I propose the letter's being sent, but that no time might be lost in striking the iron when it is duly heated. But since another course is, by a much more sufficient judge in such matters, thought reasonable, I very readily succumb thereto, and will not fail to use my utmost endeavours; with what success, its impossible just now to tell or so much as guess; yet notwithstanding all that has of late occur'd, I am far from thinking the game irretrievable, 'tho not so probable, as some few years agoe when I proposed it. The result of my endeavours in this affair shall be communicate to you, not doubting of that profound secrecy on which the success so absolutely depends. I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to beg you'll doe me the justice to beleive there is nothing I so much covet, as to deserve and obtain the character of being

“Yours &c.”

I own I was a little surprized at the King's niceness in writing to the Duke, and I did not think it expedient to broach this matter to the Duke without having vouchers for what I was to say and the hopes I was to give him, that matters should be adjusted to his satisfaction; but what chiefly influenced me to drop the attempt for some time was Colonel Hay's being apprised of it; for besides that I could not in honour assure the Duke that this matter was to be managed wholly betwixt the King and him when I knew others had already notice of it, I could easiely foresee if ever this matter was discover'd, the Duke would think I had not done fairly with him, and never more confide in me; and I had reason to fear the worst, seeing I understood Captain Straiton, by some intelligence I beleive from Rome, had smokt my design, and was so imprudent as to exclaim against it to some of my friends, alleging it was a jest to attempt it, and that the Duke was not to be trusted, even 'tho he engaged; which I reckon'd did proceed from his friendship and attachment to Mar; so that in the mean time I was obliged to suspend all thoughts of moving in this affair, and even be at pains to cause the Captain beleive I was now of my self convinced it was a chimerical scheme, as he was pleased to term it; with a resolution however of prosecuting it whenever I saw a fitt oportunity; but before that happen'd, His Grace had left the prince and made up matters with the Ministry, and was made lord high chamberland of the

household; after which there were no further thoughts to be entertain'd of gaining him.

With the first opportunity, I acquainted the several persons of the honour they had received from the King by the trust he had placed in them, and they all frankly undertook the office; but in regard many inconveniencies would follow a discovery thereof, and that there was no occasion just now to act or let their powers be known, even to the loyal party, they all seem'd inclin'd that the letter, naming and empowering them to act for the King in his affairs, should remain with me, and that when any thing occur'd, wherein their directions here or their advice to the King were necessary, that I should state the matter to such of them as I could conveniently meet with, and from their several sentiments give the proper instructions here with due caution, and communicate their opinions to the King, and when any commands came from him to them, which they desired might be address'd to me, that I should take the like method to apprise them thereof.

Before these above recited letters from the King came to my hands, the Bishop of Edinburgh, to the irreparable loss of Church and King, departed this life. And it being absolutely necessary that some one of the Bishops should be appointed to reside at Edinburgh and take the chief government of the Church upon him, there was some appearance of factions and divisions amongst the Episcopall clergy on this head; but Mr. Paterson and I kept close in town with them, and were at much pains to prevail with them to take no resolutions till the College of Bishops were conven'd. And as it was of great importance that one of a good character was made choice of for this charge, we earnestly recommended Bishop Fullerton, as he was qualify'd for the trust, and in some respects entitled to it, being the senior Bishop of those now alive. In a short time the Bishops met and, with the concurrence of the presbyters of that diocese, made choice of him to be Bishop of Edinburgh; and to encourage him the more cheerfully to undertake it, I engaged to gett a hundred pounds sterling per annum settled upon him by a certain number of well disposed persons, to enable him to bear the charges of living at Edinburgh; which was accordingly perform'd. 'Tho the King should have been acquainted of this choice, and his approbation obtain'd, yet because it was not adviseable to delay it, least the clergy had split and divided, it was thought sufficient that his trustees here did approve of it. However it was proper to communicate this step to the King, and to desire he would write a letter to the clergy, recommending unity amongst themselves and obedience to their superiours, particularly to

Bishop Fullerton, who was appointed Prime of the College of Bishops as well as Bishop of Edinburgh; and accordingly I wrote the following letter on this subject and that of the trustees:

“25 April, 1720.

“Sir—Since my last to you I have seen almost all those people mention’d in your last letter to me, and to those few I did not see, I writt an account of your sentiments and resolutions. All of them highly approve the measure, and will cheirfully perform what is required of them; but in regard there is not an immediate occasion for them to act, they think it proper to conceal the measure, untill the propaleing of it may be of use, least in the interim some people being inform’d therof, and finding themselves not included, might perhaps be somewhat disgusted and doe a world of mischeif. This they desired me to communicate to you; but the cheif reason of my troubling you at this time is the state of the Church.

“You are not a stranger to the great honour and reputation the Scots episcopall clergy have justly gaind by their unshaken constancy and uninterrupted unity, from the commencement of their misfortunes to this time, and that the same may be in a great measure imputed to the prudent conduct of the late Bishop of Edinburgh. Now that he is dead, and no other of the old bishops alive, the care of the Church does naturally fall to those who of late years have, for the preserving of the succession, been consecrated bishops, of which there are six now extant, and of these, Mr. Fullerton is the senior bishop; and consequently it seems reasonable that he should have the preference and be appointed to act the part of the late Bishop of Edinburgh, to whom all the other bishops and the clergy, after the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, gave due obedience. And indeed it is very lucky that matters stand thus, for it is a question if any of the other bishops are so well qualifyd to discharge that trust; but as he has not the advantage (as had the late Bishop of Edinburgh, by being virtute officii vicar general during the vacancie of the sea of St. Andrews) of any tittle to support his authority, it is thought this defect may be supplyd by a letter from you (to be communicated with all prudence and discretion to the clergy) intimating that as their unity and the regard they shewed to the late Bishop of Edinburgh did prove much for their honour and interest, you recommend to them the like conduct for the future, and particularly seeing Mr. Fullerton is the senior bishop and a person of known abilities and merit, that they would have regard to his opinion in all matters relating to the Church. This is the opinion of the Lord Balmerino, Lord Dun, and several others that look after your affairs, and it is by their express direction that I lay this

proposal befor you, that if it is approved by you, you'l be pleased to transmit! such a letter to me as soon as possible, least difficulties arise and inconveniences happen; especially seeing wee hear that Mr. Archibald Campbell (who, 'tho adorn'd with none of these qualifications requisite in a bishop, and remarkable for some things inconsistant with the character of a gentleman, was most imprudently consecrated some years agoe) is coming here from London, with a view of forming a party and propagating these doctrines which were at least unseasonably broached some few years agoe in England. As both clergy and laytie have a great regard for Bishop Fullerton and contempt of the other, it is probable he will make few proselyts; however it is still fitt to provyde against the worst, and leave nothing undone to prevent a breach which would be attended with bad consequences with respect to both Crown and Mitre. If you approve of what is here proposed, give me leave to sugest that it will be proper you signify your inclination that he should be added to the number of those you have appointed to inspect your affairs; and, for certain reasons, I could wish the Earl of Dalhousie was likewise added; he is a person of great honour and integrity, and the fittest perhaps in this part of the country to be at the head of an army, having been bred a souldier from his infancy, and a man of undoubted courage and resolution. Bishop Fullerton is come to town, and wee think it will be necessary that hence forwards he reside constantly there; but as it is unreasonable he should be at so great a charge in serving the publick, 'tho he has a handsome little estate of his own, a certain number of people have resolved to contribute annually such a sum as will sufficiently enable him to support his character, and make up the odds of his living retiredly at home and publickly at Edinburgh. I am

“Yours &c.”

The King, as was proposed to him, quickly sent a letter to Bishop Fullerton as follows:

“Albano, June 12th, 1720.

“The perfect knowledge I have, and the great sense I retain of the worth and loyallty of the Scots episcopal clergy, makes me at all times desirous to provyde as much as in me lies for what^ ever may conduce to their honour and our mutuall advantage. It was these sentiments that made me regrate the more sensibly the loss of the late Bishop of Edinburgh, who, besides his personal singular merit, had for so many years, with an indefaticable zeal and application, both by his authority and example, entertain'd and supported among the clergy that union and attachement to my just cause which cannot but

recommend them to all honest men, and much conduce both to their and my interest. I am sensible it is not easie to repara the great loss wee have made of him; and on t'other hand I think it absolutly necessary for our mutuall advantage that some one person should in some measure fill his place, by following his example towards the clergy, and receiving from them that deference and regard which t'other did. I know none so equall to such a trust and charge as yourself, and therfor I hope you will not grudge undertaking the trouble of it; and considering that our present circumstances render it impracticable to comply with certain forms, I am persuaded that my expressing here how much I desire that the Scots clergy should shew you the same respect and deference that they did to the Bishop of Edinburgh, will be sufficient to make them concurr with you in all matters which may tend to our mutuall advantage. I desire you will communicate this when convenient and needfull; and when those concern'd see the regard I have for the Church of Scotland, and the sense I have of their particular loyalty, I doubt not of their ready compliance to what I propose only for the common good. You will sufficiently find by this the confidence and esteem I have for you; I doe not fear being disappointed, and all I have in particular to recommend to you is, the preaching of union and charity both to clergy and layty, since it is that alone that can with God's blessing make us see an end of our misfortunes: both while they last, and after it may please God to put a period to them, the wellfare of the Scots clergy I shall ever have at heart, as I shall at all times be desireous of shewing you the deep sense I have of your personall merit, and attachement to me and my just cause."

I delivered the above letter to Bishop Fullerton, it being inclosed to me within the following letter\* from the King, of the same date with the other.

"I received yours of the 25th April some days agoe, and you will see by the inclosed letter how much I approve of the proposal you made me in the name of the Lord Balmerino, Lord Dun, and several more of those who look after my affairs. My letter on that subject is so full that I need not enlarge upon it here; I hope it will give satisfaction, and if it takes effect, I am sure it will be of advantage. It is my intention that Bishop Fullerton should be added to the number of those to whose care my affairs with you are more particularly recommended. This step I think both necessary and unavoidable, and I desire that you will communicate it to him, since I could not mention

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\* Received July 18, 1720.

this particular in my letter to himself, which will be shewn to so many persons. It was what I think no more than prudence required, to conceal at this time the confidence I placed of late in some of your hands; and the same reasons which hinder'd your publishing that commission makes me think it not adviseable at this time to add any new person to it; but this need not hinder you from saying all that is kind in my name to the Earl of Dalhousie, nor from consulting him in my affairs as occasion offers, with which he must be satisfy'd that it is particular reasons, and not want of confidence in him, which hinders my adding his name to the rest. I shall take it extreamly kindly of those who will enable Bishop Fullerton to support the expence his new character must putt him to, and which I would let no body doe but my self, did my present circumstances allow of my so doing.

“I have now answer'd all the particulars of your letter, and was extream glad to find by it that some general directions I had lately sent had been approved of and were acceptable to the persons concern'd; but it would appear to me that some letter of yours must have miscarried, for I received no other letter from you but that of the 25th of April since you received mine, which related to the particular directions above mention'd. Wee are come here into the country for a few weeks, and the Queen contimies very well with her big belly; which is all I shall say here, having nothing to add to a long letter I lately writ to Straiton. In whatever form you write to me, your letters will alwyse be agreeable; I heartily wish you good health, and desire you may make my kind compliments to all friends with you. You may be alwyse assur'd of my particular kindness.”

Within this letter (writt by his secretary and sign'd by himself) was a little note, under the King's own hand, seald up in these words—“I am very impatient to have your answer to what I wrote about Argyle; this would seem a proper juncture to press him closs on a certain point, and if he understood things right, he would be easiely convinced that he would find his account in befriending me.”

Some little time after Bishop Fullerton was elected Prime and appointed to reside at Edinburgh, the College of Bishops sent an humble address to the King with an account of their proceedings, to which they had the following return:

“Rome, July 2d, 1720.

“Wee received with particular pleasure the first assurances you gave us of your loyalty, and of your affection to our person and family, by your address of the 5th of May. Wee have the deepest sense of the sufferings that the bishops and clergy of the Church of Scotland

have undergone at all times for their firm adherence to our family, and will not fail to give them the strongest marks of our protection, gratitude, and esteem, when it shall please God to putt us in possession of our kingdoms. It is a satisfaction to us to know that the bishops who survived the unhappy revolution in our kingdoms, have promoted persons of your characters to their order; and since the circumstances of past times have not permitted certain formes to be observed, wee think it proper hereby to approve of your promotion, in so far as our authority is necessary to it by the laws and constitution of that our ancient kingdom: but as to such future promotions as may be thought necessary for the preservation of your order, wee think it equally for our service, and that of your Church, that notwithstanding our present distance from you, you should propose to us such persons as you may think most worthy to be raised to that dignity. Wee shall, you may be assured, have all possible regard for your opinion in such cases, and ever be willing to give you marks of our favour and protection, and of our particular esteem for your persons.”

The Dutches of Perth having carried off her sons to France, so soon as she heard of the Duke their fathers death, I was desired by the friends of the family, and directed by some of the trustees, to write to Mr. Murray on that subject as follows:

“August 2d, 1720.

“Sir—Yours came safe to my hands some days agoe; as I need not tell you with what satisfaction I heard of my old friend’s being well, neither need I insist on the pleasure that the King’s freinds received from peruseing his letter to them, seeing it not only contain’d a good account of himself and his family, but likewyse some reasons to hope his affairs were on the mending hand, which in truth is as much wanted as earnestly desired. The troubles and crosses he meets with, are what he hath been too much accustomed to, and the natural consequences of having to deal with a sett of men whom no rules of honour or bonds of society can bind. However, as I will never doubt but sooner or latter, Providence will favour him, in all events my poor endeavours shall never be wanting to doe him all the service I am capable of, and I know nothing can contribute more towards redressing his injuries, than a good understanding amongst all who are on his interest; and I never will be persuaded that he who’s directed by the smallest selfish view in the present state of affairs, can have the least title to be reputed an honest or loyall man, and therfor I must own that the accounts he gave of the harmony amongst his servants was extreamly agreeable to me, and gives great encouragement to all his friends, and the continuing therof should be

recommended as the *unum necessarium*.

“The Kings affairs here at present afford very little for the subject of an epistle, matters being at a stand, and people waiting to see what arises from the present state of Europe. As for Britain, tis plain there must be some very extraordinary turn, for, as I take it, the Constitution is wholly subverted, the whole power being now lodged in the hands of the South-Sea Company, which is now become absolute masters of all the money, and have established such an interest, that King Lords and Commons joyntly or separatly are meer names. Many (and those for the most part little scrub fellows) are said to have made vast estates; but for my part I cannot see thro it; tis like a meditation on eternity, that appears the more incomprehensible the more narrowly it is canvass’d. One thing is plain, the Company has no fund to pay at the rate of half a crown interest on the 100 pounds, as the stock is now sold at, nor is there, I beleive, as much species in Europe as what the stock is now screw’d up to; so that how these new rich men will draw their effects, is more thari I can see through, unless, as is talked and too probable, an act pass next parliament obliging the South-Sea bills to pass as specie; and what confusion this in the event will occasion is veryobvious. So that I doe conclude this stupenduous structure will terminate in some very extraordinary event, which at present noe man can foretell, only in so far that it may come to have a quite contrary effect from what is design’d by it.

“Wee’ve now reason to think that the ensuing will be the last session of this Parliament, and all hands are already at work against the elections; but I dont hear of any of the King’s friends that resolve to concern themselves in the matter, so that the squable in Scotland will lye betwixt the Squadrone and Argyle. I had the honour of a visit the other day from the latter, and a long conversation with him, which may probably pave the way to talk more freely on other subjects ere long.

“Those to whom the King has committed the inspection of his affairs, are extreamly glad he approves the method they take, and which they are resolved to follow out till an alteration will be of use.in his affairs. Ther’s one thing however I am directed to represent to you by some of them on whose judgement and experience in bussiness, as well as affection and zeal to the King ther’s sufficient ground to rely, which is with respect to the present Duke of Perth. The concern which the King expresses for the loss of his worthy father, gives them reason to hope he will more readily harken to what is so necessary for the preservation of his family. To proceed then to the matter; I suppose you know that about the very instant that the news of the father’s

death reach'd this, the mother went off in a ship with her son, without communicating her design to any of his relations, and is now with him in France, and this step is like to prove very prejudicial both to the King and to that family. To the first, as it gives a handle to the Whigs to make a terrible outcry, that here is the heir of a noble family carry'd off from his friends, and what may they not expect and dread from the Papists, were the King on the throne, when they presume to act after such a manner in the present situation of their affairs. As to the family, it will in all probability prove its utter ruin, for whilst matters stand thus, the valuable Logic will not take on him to act as tutor in law; and ther's ground to beleive the Exchequer will putt it into the hands of a parcell of relations (such as Roxburrow, &c.) who having other both particular and general views, will act in a manner that must have fatal consequences with respect to the heir and the clan. Besides, tis but too certain that they'r already beginning to whisper of Lundie's title as next protestant heir, and in all probability will, in due time, take the advantage of the law relative therto. The relations therfor of the family, and several of the King's trustees are, on these accounts, humbly of opinion, that the King could not doe a more popular action than to interest himself in this matter, and, by his interposition, prevail with those of the child's relations as are at Paris to send him back to Logic; and t'is beleived they will not dare oppose or counteract the King's inclinations in the matter. At first view it may seem hard to desire and unreasonable to expect the King should act such a part, seeing, no doubt, religion will be the pretence to justify what has been done. But, with submission, it may be putt on another bottom; for here is a child (the custody of whom, by the present laws, belongs to another, who alone, by his acting, is capable to preserve the family) taken or rather stolen away by his mother, who, without respect to religion, has no right or claim to the disposing of his person; so that the restoreing him to his tutor is no more than what is agreeable to the municipal laws of the land with respect to his civill interest. And as he is yong, he has time enough to think of choicing or at least declareing his religion; wheras if he continue where he is, all the advantages that can possibly arise to his unnatural relations will be taken, and perhaps a sequestration follow, which, were he at home, could not be demanded and obtain'd till he be 15 years old; and what may happen betwixt this and then, he's wiser than I that can tell. A great deal more than I have urged will occur to you on considering the natural consequences of such an affair, and therfor 'tis recommended to you to lay it befor His Majestie. One thing I may affirm, that as the favour shewn to his protestant subjects, at Mr. Packingtons interment, was very agreeable to all his friends, and did him good service with the

Church party in England, his interposeing and obtaining a just redress in this matter would be duely improven, and tend much to his advantage.

“I have little more to add, but that wee long impatiently to hear of the Queen’s delivery. Your frequently remember’d when your friends can meet together. Bishop Fullerton is not yet come to reside in toun, but I expect him in a few weeks, and then I’ll putt into his hands the King’s letter, which can’t fail to have the design’d good effects. I have no more to say to my good old friend but that I am entirely his.”

From Mr. Murray I gott this return\* :

“September 20th, 1720.

“Sir—I received yours a few days agoe, of the 2d of August, which was most agreeable to me, as every instance of your friendship and remembrance will alwyse be. The King is very well, and desires to be remember’d kindly to you and his other friends. Nothing can be more agreeable to him than a good understanding amongst his friends where you are, and he relys upon you as one who will use all friendly offices in order to it. Such of them as are here, I must say, agree as well as can be expected, ‘tho I beleive, in the present situation of affairs, the King almost despairs of seeing all of them long pleased with any one he shall entrust more immediatly with his affairs; which disposition is less or more incident to mankind in general, but move particularly to people in their circumstances. I need not say any more at present of this matter, because he is to write himself in a little time upon it, and to inform his friends of the measures that the necessity of his affairs will oblige him to take in that respect. As a friend of mine, I cannot hinder myself from letting you know that I have reason to hope they will be such as will no ways tend to my dishonour, and will extreamly contribute to my repose; and I hope the concern you’r so good to have in what regards your old friend and servant, will make you share in this and every other thing which happens to his satisfaction.

“I have read your letter to the King, who, you may beleive, gave particular attention to that part of it which relates to the Duke of Perth. I shall state to you what has past as to this affair, and then I will leave it to you to judge, whither the King has not all along acted the most prudent and reasonable part in that matter. The Dutches carried her son to France upon orders she received from the late Duke whilst he was in Italy, which were renew’d by him from Spain. Upon her

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\* Received December 8, 1720.

arrivall at Paris she wrote a letter to the King informing him of the steps she had made, and that it was in order to educate him in the inclinations of his father as to King and religion. The King return'd her a civill answer, thanking her kindly for her good endeavours as to the first, but did not say one word to approve of her intentions as to the second. Some time after, he was again writt to, upon an apprehension that King George might, at the desire of the Duke of Roxburrow, take measures to force the yong Duke back, and was entreated to use his endeavours in France to prevent it; and 'tho, upon this representation, there appeared a danger of his yong friend's falling into the hands the most disagreeable to him in tlve worlds yet so carefull was he not to medle in any thing which concern'd the religion of one of his friends, or which might indirectly approve of what the Dutchess has done, that he declin'd meddling in the matter. Now, Sir, pray consider what can the King doe on t'other hand, if it were reasonable for him to interpose now in an affair of which he has hitherto kept himself clear upon so good reasons. The Dutchess is now in Scotland, and in her absence you may beleive no body at Paris can doe any thing, and if he should write to her, it would only procure an answer that her conscience was concern'd in that matter, to which you know he could make no reply; so that from any measure of this kind he could not propose to be able to answer the intentions of the Duke's friends, and would break a rule he has established to him self, never to medle in what concerns the religion of any of his friends. He is concern'd to find from the account you give of this affair that the family is like to suffer, and would doe with particular pleasure any thing in his power to prevent it. He hopes the Dutchess will, upon the application of the friends of the family, doe what, is reasonable upon this occasion; but if she should not, it is hard the Duke should suffer by his friends being disobliged at the behaviour of a woman. He is perfectly well acquainted with the merit and worthy character of our valueable friend Logie, and he hopes, beside the tye of friendship and relation to the late Duke, it may be a strong motive with him to doe what he can for the present good of the yong Duke, when you tell him that he cannot possibly by any instance add more to the obligations the King has already to him. You'l be pleased to assure the Duke's friends of my earnest desire to have served him and them upon this occasion, and of the King's being ready to have done every thing that was proper on his part; but considering the state of this affair, he hopes both you and they will be of opinion that it is not a thing he could have medled in very fittly, and that if he had interposed in it, there was no reasonable prospect of his being able to gratify the desire of the Dukes friends.

“I have address’d this according to your directions, which was most reasonable, and shall continue to doe so, with what other I may have occasion to write to you; after which I cannot but recommend it to you to be well with Captain Straiton, for you know he is an honest man, and in such, small infirmities are to be overlooks All goes extreamly well as to the Queen, but there has been a considerable mistake, in so much that upon a consultation held a few days agoe, it seems almost certain that she will not be .brought to bed befor the letter end of November at soonest. However, a delay of two months is not material in a matter of that kind. I beg the favour of you to remember me to all friends, and to be persuaded with what esteem and respect I am &c.”

Upon the 22d of December 1720, and the 20th of January 1721, I wrote two letters to Mr. Murray, wherof (having only reserv’d the heads and not compleat coppys) I here insert the substance.—I acquainted him that the divisions and animosities amongst the King’s servants abroad gave great pleasure and diversion to his and their enemies, and occasion’d much grelf to his friends here; that ‘tho they had no regard to their King and countrys service, their own interest seem to require they should live in a friendly manner, for people here began to imagine that such ruptures must proceed from the want of either good sense and prudence or true loyalty and zeal for their Master, and entertain’d a very bad opinion of all who contributed to measures so pernicious to the King and his faithfull subjects; and therfor I recommended above all things, that a strick friendship and good correspondence might be established amongst the loyal party at home and abroad, without which, people would have small encouragement to engage with any tollerable view of success in the King’s affairs.

I told him that I had communicated his last letter to the Duke of Perth’s friends, who were extreamly well satisfyd with the part which the King had acted, and desired me to return their most humble and dutifull thanks for the great honour he had done that family in the concern he had exprcsst for it.

And wheras the King had not long agoe named Mr. Freebaini to be a bishop, and directed that he should be consecrated, I acquainted Mr. Murray that I found this step was not agreeable to, and approved of by the clergy, both on account of the person named and the manner of doing it; that ‘tho he was not under any bad character, they did not think him adorn’d with those qualifications of learning, good sense, and the like, so necessary in one of that station, and that he was in no reputation amongst his brethren, or the layty of his communion; that as the King at the distance he was, and from the little knowledge and

experience he had of private mens character and circumstances, could not judge thorowly so as to be sure of making a right choice, it was hoped that befor he proceeded to a nomination, he would have consulted with the Bishops; that as this method would prevent his making a bad choice, it would endear him much to the clergy, and be attended with this further benefit, that it would prevent his being solicited and obliged perhaps to give denyalls, for were it known that he made no such promotions but by the advice and approbation of the Bishops, people would apply to them befor they presum'd to teaze him with solicitations. And therfor I recommended to Mr. Murray to lay this befor the King, adding withall that he himself was so much the more bound to doe so, in regard he was generally blam'd for having advised the King to this step.

Antony Osburn, an old acquaintance of Mr. Murray's and mine, was lately come to Scotland; this gentleman was formerly an ensign in Orkneys regiment, but becoming very infirm and valetudinary, he left the service about some twenty years agoe, and lived closs at London; he had no visible means of subsistance, yet after he recover'd his health, he lived and spent at a considerable rate, 'tho no body could imagine how or from whence he was supplyd: he pretended and was beleived to be very well affected to the King, and kept much in company with the Tories, wherby I became well acquainted with him: he wanted not parts nor a good share of assurance and cuning, and I never heard of any further communication with him, than what passt in common conversation with him, and toasting loyall healths over a bottle\* About a year or two befor the Queen's death, his means of subsistance seem'd to fail him, for he was thrown into prison for debt, and remain'd there till she dyed, When all of a sudden he appear'd every day at St. James's. About the time of my writing to Mr\* Murray, he came to Edinburgh, well equipt in cloaths, servants^ and horses, and his pockets were full of money; he took pains to gett acquainted with the King's friends, and dealt much with those of yonger years, to whom he pretended much zeal and great trust in the management of the King's affairs, was fond and inquisitive to know what was doing or could be done for him in Scotland, exhorted people to exert themselves for him,. and assured them of assistance. As soon as I understood that such was his behaviour at Edinburgh, I desired my friends to be upon their guard, and I gave him an oportunity to open his pack to me; he kept much on generals for a long time, at length he told me, he was much trusted by the King's friends in England, particularly those who depended upon and kept a correspondence in England, with the Duke of Ormond, and he would

answer for it, that wee should have 1 or 200000 pounds if that would enable us to make an attempt for the King in Scotland. I took him up very smartly, telling him I beleived he wisht the King very well, but I could not understand how he came to be lett so much into the secret, that he knew I knew him too well to credit him, and I admir'd how he imagin'd such storys would pass with me, without shewing some credentials, and therfor I advised him to leave this place; for whatever his intentions were, I could assure him he would find himself disappointed: and indeed he took my advice, for not long after he went off to England, and what became of him afterwards I know not; but as his story was very suspicious, I judged it proper to let Mr. Murray know of it, that the King might be on his guard, if he carried on any bad designs, and applyd to him or any about him: and I represented to Mr. Murray that as secrecy in all the Kings affairs was of the utmost importance, especially such as came thro the canal of his trustees, I desired such orders as should be transmitted to me might come directly to my self, and not thro Captain Straitons hands, because he was much faild of late and not so closs as formerly and is still necessary, and that I observed he was jealous and not well pleased that any person but himself was appointed •to correspond directly with the King.

In my second letter to Mr. Murray I told him I Was inform'd by a good hand from Paris, that Seaforth, Tullibarden, and Penmure, having gdt nottage of the powers granted by the King to his trustees, were much displeas'd, and challeng'd Mar upon it; that His Grace denyd having any hand in it, affirming it was a measure which came originally from me, was propos'd, in his absence, to the King by my son at Rome, and supported by him (Mr. Murray). I told him I had therupon writt a letter to a friend, who I knew would shew it to those noble Lords, wherin, after mentioning what I had heard of this affair, I said that people here were much surpriz'd at the part the Kings subjects acted abroad; that it was not enough that they mast quarrell with one another, but even take upon them to judge of the King's measures, and approve or condemn as they listed; that as for the measure they complain'd of, I own'd the part I acted in it, and if they would allow themselves to reflect, they could not but approve of it; but be that as it will, the King's pleasure was enough to justify it, and should be acquiesced in by all who profess themselves his subjects, wheras repining and snarling at such steps as he thought fitt to take, lookt somewhat too selfish and assuming, and could not fail to give very odd impressions of them, whatever their professions or even actions and sufferings had been on former occasions.

I proceeded then to tell Mr. Murray that I was directed by several of the trustees, whom I named, to desire that he would entreat the King, from them, to make no bones of laying any number or all of them aside and supplying their rooms with others, if so be he perceived he could thereby gratify those who were capable and willing to serve him, but were dissatisfy'd that others were preferr'd to them by the King, and they would, by their respect and obedience to what ever persons the King employ'd, make it appear that as they had no design in accepting the honour he conferr'd upon them, but to doe him service, they were as ready to be directed as to give directions in the King's affairs; but at the same time, if it was His Majesties pleasure to continue his confidence in them, they would not decline his service from any hazard they might be exposed to from his enemies, nor the malice or envy of their own party.

To these two letters I had the following returns from the King himself:

“March 4th, 1721.\*

“It was some time since, that I received yours of the 22d of December to Murray, and as it required no speedy answer, and that I have nothing material to inform you of, I did not press my self in making a speedy return to it.

“Murray left this place some weeks agoe, and I think you doe him but justice, in the good opinion you seem to have of him, as you doe it to your self by your impartiall and just way of thinking in some matters.

\*\* I hope I shall soon be able to appoint a secretary to succeed Mar, but on whosoever the choice falls, I can assure you, I my self shall be the best friend your country can have.

“I am very glad Perth's friends are satisfied with my way of proceeding with relation to him. I have only in view the good of a deserving family, and shall alwyse take it kindly of any who contribute to it.

“I thank you very kindly for the light you gave me in relation to the Scots bishops. There will be no occasion in haste of doing any thing in that respect, but it is my intention in those matters alwyse to act in concert with the bishops on the place, by which all inconveniencies will be avoided.

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\* Received June 12, 1721.

“I see with concern that Scotland had a share in the common calamity as to money matters, in which I am very glad to find you had none.

“As to what you mention in relation to Mr. Osburn, it is fitt you should know there is no such person employ’d by me, and I am pritty sure he is not by Ormond. So that the knowledge you have of that person’s character and proceedings in Scotland can only determine you as to the conduct which ought to be kept with him.

“A little jealousie in an old man is pardonable, and if that should be the case of Straiton, you’l be much to be commended in bearing with it; for there is no evill so great as any animosity or disunion amongst my friends, and I am persuaded that Straiton is too reasonable to take any umbrage at our private correspondence; for I must have to doe with all sorts of people, and make use of all canals which may contribute to the good of my service. I send this to Straiton, having no other way of addressing to ybtf, but if you’l send me a private address I shall make use of it.

“I am glad your son is come back safe to you: you have certainly reason to be well satisfyd with him, and he has but to continue to follow your example to make me so too. Pray say all that is kind to him in my name; it will be a satisfaction to me to hear from you, when your conveniencie can allow it, for I have all the regard imaginable for your advice and opinion, and all the esteem and kindness for you, which you so justly deserve.”

“March 15th, 1721.\*

“Yours of the 20th of January to Murray was communicated to me, and I thank you for the account you gave me of a private family concern, of which I had heard nothing before; such accounts of what comes to your knowledge will alwyse be proper and convenient, but neither you nor any other concern’d need be under the least uneasiness upon the particular you mention. There are alwyse bussie people, who, out of an itch to medle in bussiness, will be writing, and, may be, often commenting on what they hear, and which is frequently said without much view or reflection, and therfor the less people with you ndttice such informations may be the better, further than to communicate them to me, and to make proper use of such lights on occasions. However, I am far from disapproving what you took care should be communicated to Seaforth &c. on this subject, and there is no doubt that it would be much the better for the common cause if all

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\* Received June 7, 1721.

concern'd had your disinterested way of thinking, and if they attended more to its reall and solid advantage than to little personal views, 'tho I am apt to beleive in this particular, there has been more made of it, than it deserves. Pray assure my friends whom you mention to me on this occasion, how sensible I am of the message they sent me by your canal, and how much it increases the good opinion I have of them; for as to the measures you heard had been found fault with, I doe not see any reason to change them, for I think they were taken on good grounds.

“I doe not in the least doubt of the satisfaction my friefids with you received on my late good fortune, which was the more pleasing to me, that I hope sooner or latter they may feel the good effects of it.

“I hope this will come safe to you under James Cummings cover, to whom I will continue to address to you, and if you send your letters to me to William Dundass in Holland, directed to James Kelly, they will come safe to my hand. My family continues very well, which is all I have to say to you at present, it being but about a week since I wrote to you. I am and ever shall be &c.”

I quickly communicated the contents of these letters to the trustees, who were highly pleased with the honour of being so much in the King's esteem. I also acquainted the Bishops, of that paragraph in the first letter which related to the Church, and they were ass well pleased with the resolution the King had. taken; and this part of the letter was afterwards of good use, when some difficultys occur'd in consecrating Mr. Freebairn, in which the King seem'd very earnest, and took ill that it was so long delayd. In the first letter was inclosed another design'd for the publick, that is, for the King's friends in general. I caused make coppys therof and dispersed them over all the country, a copy wherof is hereto subjoyn'd.

“March 4th, 1721.

“The increase of my family will, I am sure, have been agreeable news to you, and I thank God they continue all in very good health; I wish I had as comfortable an account to send you as to other matters, for the present situation of Europe is such, that it is not possible to form as yet any solid judgement of matters; I have many great and true friends both in France and Spain, and as soon as it shall be possible for these nations to think of forreign affairs, there is all the reason to hope that one or t'other, if not both, will find it their own interest to befriend me, and in the mean time all means are using to make such friends effectually usefull on a proper juncture. It is a melancholy thing to be alwyse preaching patience, but I hope a very

little more will serve, for it is not possible that affairs can long remain in the violent situation they are in, and it is not, I think, flattering ones self to beleive they will soon change for the better which is all I can say on these matters, and pf ay communicate as much to my friends with you, with many kind compliments in my name.”

In the year            a bill was moved and past the House of Lords, well known by the name of the Peerage Bill; the purport was to restrain the Sovereign from cxfcrceing the unlimited power of creating Peers of Great Britain or Lords of Parliament, and to suppress the representation of the Scots Peerage by sixteen elected by themselves, instead wherof 25 Scots Peers (such as the Crown befor the dissolution of that Parliament should nominate) were to be vested with an hereditary right to them and their heirs to sit in Parliament. It cannot but seem strange the Crown ever consented to such a measure, seeing this restraint was q. very not table diminution of the prerogative, and the election of sixteen Peers from Scotland seem'd to be the only article of the Union from which the Crown received any benefit, in regard the Soverain had a fair, nay almost a certain lay to gelt such sixteen elected as he recommended, and their election depending thus on his favour, served as an aweband over them when elected, and hindered them from kicking out and entering into measures disagreeable to him; and it appear'd to be as little the interest of any Ministry or set of men in power, in so far as the restraining the royal prerogative was a lessening of the means by which they supported their interest against opposite factions.

For clearing of this matter wee must call to mind, that King George knew little or nothing of his own personal interest or that of the Crown, and that he was entirely managed and directed by the Earl of Sunderland, who, at the same time, was powerfully supported by the favourite and predominant German Ladys and Ministry; that this noble Lord (and these his supporters) was at open war with the Prince, who vowed and declared war against him if ever he came to the Crown. And as Sunderland made no doubt of being able to maintain his interest at Court during King George's life, he did not stand in need of recruits in the House of Lords to carry on his designs; and if the Prince should survive his father, he reckon'd upon a great number, so as to make a majority in the House, of his personal friends and such others as were in no better terms with the Prince than himself; wherby he would be in a condition to make a stand, if the then Sovereign was restrain'd from having it in his power to ajtrenthen his interest by reinforcements of new created Peers, and was deprived of his trustee sixteen elected Scots Peers.

This bill mett with a vigurous opposition in the House of Commons, and, to the great surprize and disappointment of the Ministry, was thrown out. The Tories opposed it as being an essentiall alteration of the Constitution, by raising the power of the present Peerage too far above the influence of the Royall prerogative, and as it was an open violation of the articles of the Union, concluding that if this bill past, a precedent was laid down for subverting all or any part of the parliamentary constitution, and unhingeing all or any of the articles of the Union; and lastly that it was an indignity to the Commons of Great Britain, in so far as they were therby debarr'd from having such honours conferr'd upon them as the Sovereigne thought they deserved. The Prince again, being well enough apprised that he was struck at by this scheme, engaged all his friends and layd out money in forming a party against it, and so it was thrown out by a great majority. The behaviour of the sixteen Scots Peers in concurring, nay zealously promotting a measure, which tended directly to raise themselves (for they to be sure had all of them assurance to be of the number of the elect) by striping their constituents of their rights and priviledges, is not to be past by^ but always remembered to their infamy and disgrace.

At the time this affair was in agitation (because it was openly told and certainly once design'd to renew the attempt in some subsequent session of this Parliament, in so far as concern'd the Scots Peerage, which they did not question of being able fo carry thorow) the King's friends in Scotland thought it a rare handle to spirit up the Peers and raise in them a just resentment of the injustice and indignity design'd against them and their familys. But it is scarce to be beleived what little impression it made upon many, who, one would have imagin'd, should have had the highest resentment, but were so simple and mean spirited as to credit and be carryd off by the promises of being named amongst the number of the happy five and twenty, so as to approve at least not oppose the pernicious scandalous project. But, on the other hand, such of the Peers as had the service of the King, or their own and their family's interest at heart, resolved openly to oppose it, and in order therto signd and sent up addresses to the two Houses of Parliament, asserting their right, and craving to be defended and supported in the exercise therof; and this spirit continued for a considerable time, when at length, by the Marquis of Annandale's death, they had an occasion to shew themselves. Betwixt the time of this noble Lord's death and the issueing a writt to elect one in his room, a whole session of Parliament interveen'd, during which no means were omitted to form a party and raise a spirit of opposition to

the Court, and the Torie and other Lords who were against the Peerage Bill pitcht upon the Earl of Aberdeen. The first considered him as a person well disposed towards the King, and all of them as one of great capacity and knowledge, particularly in the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and consequently most proper to oppose all further attempts against their rights and priviledges. The Duke of Argyle had of a long time affirm'd (very justly) that the Squadrone had no great interest in Scotland if they were not supported by the Court, and he proposed that he and they should be left to themselves, and allow'd a fair tryall of their interest and power at the approaching election, and therby make appear which had most to say in Scotland. To this proposal the Ministry consented, and His Grace att first endeoured to have the Duke of Douglas or Earl of Morton elected; but perceiving that the Squadrone, since they could not prevail in favours of one of their own stamp, rather than one recommended by and attached to him should be elected would vote for and therby carry Aberdeen, thought the next best course was to try if he could break and divide the Tories amongst themselves. The particulars of Which affair, and of a treaty soon after set on foot betwixt His Grace and the Tories, being fully related in my following letter to the King, I need not repeat the same but referr to the letter itself.

“June 15th, 1721.

“Sir—I received yours of the 15th of March and in a few days thereafter another bearing date the 4th of the same. What commands you laid on me I have executed; and I can assure you all your friends are extreemly well satisfyd with your conduct, and think themselves very happy and highly indebted to you, that you are pleased to take the affairs of Scotland under yovjr immediate care.

“I send this as you order to Mr. Dundass, and if you please to address your letters to Mrs. Ann Mitchel, under cover to Mr. James Gumming, they'l be convey'd to me. I am master of Straitons numericall cypher, and will make some use therof in this as well as the alphabeticall one by which our correspondence has been of late.

“As your curiosity leads you to know what is a doing here, I beleive it will not be disagreeable to inform you of an affair that has made some noise. After Annandale's death, great pains were taken to spirit up the Peers, from a necessity of shewing a resentment against the Peerage Bill and other obvious causes. The Tories did resolve to set up Aberdeen, as one in whom they could confide. Argyle finding he could not carry one of his own dependants, because the Squadrone would rather favour Aberdeen than any friend of his, thought the best

way he could take was to divide the Tories, and for that end made choice of Eglington, and he ('tho in the main a very honest man, and without designing to follow Argyle in Parliament) was unluckily prevaild with to accept of the invitation, by which means the Tories were divided, and made not near so good a figure as they would otherwyse have done and may alwyse doe, being more than able to cast the ballance betwixt Argyle and the Squadrone, and therby oblige some one of them to joyn in their measures at an election. However, so many did stick together as to doe the bussiness and carry Aberdeen. The consequences to be dreaded of such a division were of more moment than the thing it self; but it soon took a quite different turn, for next day after it was over, a particular friend of Argyle's came to me and told me he was much surprized to find the Tories, and particularly my self, did preferr one for whom the Squadrone votted, to one recommended by Argyle. I answer'd that I alwyse preferr'd the general interest to private views, and I was sure no service was done to the Squadrone, seeing Aberdeen would heartiely oppose them and was perhaps in Scotland the fittest man for it, 'But,' added I, 'if any thing wrong is done it is Argyle's fault: Why did he not offer terms to the Tories?' He replyd that was an omission, but he wanted to know if the Tories would yet accept of them. I answer'd I could not tell positively, but I thought they should and beleived they would; and then he told me he was directed to ask the question at me, and desire I would negotiate it. This I readily, undertook, and have made such advances therin, that I beleive if there be a new Parliament the Tories will have at least the half of the 16 Peers, and Argyles assistance where Torie Commoners set up to be elected, seeing so far wee'r near agreed, being what Argyle, as matters stand, must come into, or succumb to the Squadrone. I also insisted that matters should be made easie to those who were persecuted for the King's sake, and that Argyle should oppose the Peerage Bill, both which are ex-, pressly agreed to. If matters can be adjusted thus, it cannot, I think, fail to have good consequences, especially seeing it paves the way to make a further progress with Argyle in higher matters, which I must own I have much at heart on many accounts. In order to bring this scheme to answer, and to avoid all future mistakes and divisions, a good number of the Peers have solemnly engaged to stand by one another and in all matters submitt to the opinion of the majority. These Peers are all much in your interest, and it is more than probable they'l soon prove a formidable body, and be able to rouse up a spirit towards accomplishing matters of the greatest moment, in time and I was particularly directed to acquaint you of this step, which its hoped you will approve of. If the treaty with Argyle goes on, I believe I shall be

desired to goe soon to London to conclude it, which I will not decline, and shall not fail to let you know the result.

“The Duke of Hamilton is lately come home, and I think resolved to stay, especially if there is any prospect of the Parliaments being dissolved, in which case he may be of great use; for the truth on’t is, since his father’s death, your friends have sustain’d a very great prejudice, by the want of one in an eminent station to appear at their head and keep them together, and for my part I can see none so fitt for that work as His Grace. Tis true he’s yong and void of experience, but I am much mistaken if he is not entirely honest and a zealous friend to your interest, and it is obvious he wants neither spirit nor capacity. Some of his father’s old friends have spoke very freely to him, and given him their best advice; and as he promises, and I hope will follow the same, I am fully persuaded he will make a great figure. But after all, ‘tis necessary I acquaint you that wee find great difficultys in reconciling the different humours of some persons with respect both to the necessary concert, and giving the encouragement that is proper to Hamilton, which I presume proceeds from envy and old family picques, ‘tho these I hope will be removed in time, and give way to the publick interest. However, in order therto some of your friends are of opinion it would be of great service to the common cause, if you writ a letter recommending unanimity amongst the Tories (which might take its rise from your being inform’d of the late division in the matter of the election) and at the same time another letter to the Duke to encourage him in your service, in which case it is submitted to you, how far you would think it proper to add him to the number of your trustees, which I know he’ll be fond of. If you approve of this, you’ll be pleased to signify your orders therm to me in a letter by it self (because all the papers relating therto are in my custody) which I shall communicate to the Duke, and likwyse deliver the letter 4o him, if you send it fly my canal. And here give me leave to add, that some are likwyse of opinion you should signify in a letter to your trustees, or in one to me to be communicated to them, that as you are well satisfyd of the Duke’s good intentions^ you desire that they would give him all due encouragement, and support him in his endeavours to advance your service. This, wee think, would give him a right to interpose with more autho^ rity, where differences arise, and at the same time give no just ground for others to think he assumes too much. I have taken the liberty to express the terms in which such a message should be sent, because their’s hazard in saying too much or too little.

“And now, whilst I am on this subject, allow me to mention Tom Bruce, who lately, by his brother’s death, is become Earl of

Kincardine, whom in justice to your service and his merit I cannot pass by. This gentlemans zeal and sufferings for your interest is well known, and as I have been intimately acquainted and corresponded with him these many years, I can bear testimonie in a particular manner to his indefatigable zeal, this last year, in forming that unanimity which is so necessary for your service; and as he is very well versed in the affairs and constitution of both England and Scotland, and has a talent superior to most people in drawing of papers, I know no man so fitt to be employd in your affairs; so that his being added to the number of your trustees will be of great use and agreeable to the rest; but this I mention with all submission.

“I had almost forgott to tell you that, by the direction of your friends here, I have writt to an old honest friend of mine at London, proposing that the English Tories should appoint one of their number to correspond with the Scots Tories, that so they may understand one another’s minds, and act in concert, and I hope in a little time to have an agreeable return. I find a great many very hopefull that wee’ll have a new Parliament, and that the Torie interest will prevail, and in order therto have some thoughts of applying to you that you would use your interest with all your friends to take the oaths and vote at elections, and some proceeded so far as to desire me to write to you in these terms, which I told them I could not take upon me to doe. However I thought fitt to let you know so much, and you’ll consider how far it will be convenient to signify your pleasure therin, that according therto, the measure may be either advanced or suppresst.

“Upon the 10th of this month a parcell of boys, with more zeal than prudence, gott together, having whyte roses in their hats, near to the Netherbow in the High Street of Edinburgh; a file of musketeers was therupon sent for from the Cannongate guard, who, firing up the streets, killd a man and a woman accidentally passing by, and indeed it was a wonder that many more were not killd, the streets being pritty full of people at that time. ‘Tho this was done without any provocation and contrary to all law, wee are not to expect any redress.

“I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to communicate the great joy of your friends in hearing of the prospect of your familys increasing, seeing it cannot fail to be much to your satisfaction, and will in all probability turn to a good account. I conclud with the most unfeignd assurance of being to the utmost of my capacity

“Your &c.”

To this letter I received the following return\* from the King.

“August 4th, 1721.

“Yours of the 10th of June came safe to my hand, and I thank you very kindly for the particular accounts you give me in it. It is true I was not a little concern'd at there having been on a late occasion some disunion amongst our friends, but 'tho they were of different opinions, I am persuaded they all meant and acted for the best, and at the next elections I hope Eglington will be unanimously elected, for without any compliment to you, I have a particular regard to his worth and merit. It is much to be wisht that our friends may guard against any divisions amongst themselves for the future, for it is plain they can doe much if united, and that the contrary must greatly prejudice the common cause.

“I think very good use may be made of the transaction you mention in relation to Argyle, and it is very necessary that wee should draw all the advantage from it that wee can, but still proceed with such caution, as to be no lossers in the matter, if wee gain nothing by it. This negotiation will also give you naturally some opportunity of speaking with that Duke on matters of greater importance, and if he once enters into any sort of union with my friends, he may, at long run and by degrees, be insensibly engaged in my cause, altho' at present he should only be moved by private interest or picque, and I doe not see any thing can so much contribute to bring this about, as the engagements of union which you mention that some of the Peers have entered into.

“I am well inform'd of Hamilton's spirit and capacity, and well assured of his good will towards me; and the credit and interest his family has long had in his own country must naturaly induce my friends to have the deference and regard for him, which he deserves and my service requires. A few days befor I received your letter, I had writt one to your part of the world recommending unity amongst my friends, of which you will ho doubt be inform'd, and you will find here inclosed a letter from me to Hamilton. As to his being added to the number of trustees, what is here said on the matter and what I here write to himself, answers that end effectually.

“I send you here a letter to Kincardine, with whose zeal and capacity I have been long acquainted, and what I say to him will authorize him to act in concert with the other trustees, for I am unwilling to add any more to their number, in any formal manner, to

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\* Received 28 Sept. 1721.

avoid disgusting others that might pretend to have the like done for them. It is perfectly right done to endeavour to settle an union and a correspondence betwixt the Scots and English Tories, and I am persuaded both of them know their interest too well, not to enter readily into it.

“I wish the poor people you mention to have been so maltreated had been as prudent as zealous, for it afflicts me to think that people should suffer so much, and for what does no reall good to the cause.

“As to our affairs on this side of the sea, all I need say is that nothing is neglected by me nor those employd by me, to enable us all to protitt of the present conjuncture, for I am very sensible wee can never have a more favourable one. I would fain hope my endeavours will not alwyse prove unsuccessfull, and in the mean time I depend on the zeal and readiness of friends with you on all occasions, and earnestly recommend union to them, as the most necessary preparation for whatever may happen; their in<terest and wellfare is what I have mainly at heart, and they may be assured that I shall ever have the most tender concern and regard for them. You will I know make the proper use of the contents of this letter, in saying also to my friends all that is kind in my name.

“Our new landlord is very kind to us, and my family continues, thank God, in very good health, and wee are now a few miles out of toun for the rest of the summer. I beleive I have tyred you with this long letter, and so shall conclude with many kind compliments to your son, and with the assurance of my particular confidence in and kindness for you, which your constant application to whatever may promote my service, so justly deserves.”

The King in this letter appears fond of the negotiation which I had represented as being pritty far advanced, and seeing the event did not answer, it will not be amiss here once for all to take nottica that the above mention'd treaty carried on by me, and other treaties managed by Mr. Maul, with some of Argyle's friends, were kept on foot till the time that the election of a new Parliament approached, when the Ministry, however otherwyse divided, thought it necessary to use their joy nt authority to oblige Argyle and the Squadrone to unite their interests in the election of the sixteen Scots Peers; and in order therto a list was made up at Court, which they were required to support with their united interest, and admitt of no alteration whatsoever, which Argyle submitted to at last, being affraid to provoke the Ministry; but had he been master of so much resolution as to have embarked with the Tories, he might have made a clean house of the Squadrone, and

been able by his own interest, supported by the Tories, to have forced good terms from the Court. After what manner the intrigues were carried on with a view to the said election will appear from my letters to the King, which were so full that any other account is unnecessary.

Betwixt the time of the Earl of Aberdeen's being elected and the ensuing election of Parliament, Captain Alexander Urquart came to Scotland. This gentleman was possesst of a small fortune in the north of Scotland, had served most of his time in the army, and at lenth gott himself chosen to represent one of the northern districts of burrows in Parliament. He had a very fair character, and 'tho he never was in any station to make a figure or be of great use, he professt a great zeal for the King's service, and on being a Parliament man joyn'd with the Tories. He dealt much in the Stocks and made an immense estate during the South-Sea infatuation, but neglected to sell out in time and preserve it: however whilst he was possesst of these imaginary riches, he told sevrall of his freinds, of his intention to give a substantiall proof of his loyal tie, by remitting 5000*l.* to the King; but before he ]>erformd it, the South-Sea scheme was demolished and he under an incapacity of making good his design. Whilst he sat in Parliament he found means to be well known to the Earl of Sunderland, who made professions to him of inclinations towards the King; whither these were reall, and that he made choice of Urquart to be his confident, or if he aim'd at bambouzing the Torries with the hopes of gainmg him, and imposed so far on Urquart as to make him beleive he was in earnest, God only now knows, but so it is, that Urquart, who was then reckond a man of honour and well affected to the King, (tho his future conduct gave too good reason to suspect he aimd more at serving the chief Minister than the Royall cause, seing on Sunderland's death he became as great a depender on the succeeding Minister, and some circumstances were discovered that made it evident he served as a spy to Sunderland, and in so far Urquharts charactar must suffer, unless he had full certainty of that Lord's sincerity) when he, I say, came at this time to Scotland, where he had not been for many years befor, he applyd very earnestly to Kincardine, Mr. Maul and my self, endeavouring under secrecy to give us a good impression of Sunderlands designs, that wee might be therby induced to influence the Tories to favour his interest at the election of a new Parliament; the particulars of what past on that subject being fully related in the following letter to the King, I referr therto.

“December 5th, 1721.

“I had the honour about five or six weeks agoe to receive yours of the 4th of August, and lost no time in delivering the letters therin

containd. As I had occasion I communicated the contents of your letter to your friends, and I doubt not but what you design'd and expected from thence will follow, all of them having a very just regard for your sentiments and inclinations. As it is agreeable to your commands and my duty to acquaint you of every thing that I think for your service, either by way of information to your self, or in order to the having of your advice and directions, several things since my last have occur'd, which in the opinion of Kincardine and Mr. Maul are judged very necessary to be laid befor you.

“About the end of August Captain Urquart came to Edinburgh from London, and being very earnest to have a conference with Kincardine, Mr. Maul and my self, there were accordingly several meetings, where the present state and future views of ‘publick affairs, particularly in so far as they might contribute to your service, were the main subject of the conversation, and Urquart seem'd very desireous that your friends would enter into measures with Sunderland, particularly with a view to the elections of a new Parliament, insinuating that His Lordship would give them good terms, and that such a measure would be agreeable to you. As these gentlemen were infidels with respect to any good intentions from that Lord, at least much affraid of the danger of being imposed on, especially seeing they had no knowledge of your sentiments, they gave small attention to this overture, wherupon Urquart, in confirmation of what he affirm'd,. and to gain more credit to his scheme, produced some papers under your own hand, wherin you take notice of proposals being made by that Lord and approved of by you, remitting entirely to him the ways and means of bringing the same to bear. The perusal of these papers putt these gentlemen to a stand; they were unwilling, without knowing more, to enter into this measure, and at the same time desirous to keep the game open, in case it should be thought expedient to follow it out, and therfor they replyd that they could not but require time to consider very seriously, befor they either agreed to or rejected proposals of such consequence, but withall they told him there were two things they insisted on as a necessary preliminary, without which, they were sure, none of your friends would ever have any dealings with that Lord, viz. that the present Parliament be dissolved, and that the Peerage bill be not reassumed. This he promised to report and make a right use of, ami now wee are told that a new Parliament will be call'd, and that the Peerage bill is altogether laid asside; but how far what these gentlemen thus represented and insisted on hath had any influence on that Lord with regard to these matters, is what I can't presume to say. These gentlemen reflecting

seriously on what had past in their conversation with Urquart, and being very desirous to know more, in order to the better regulating your friends conduct, put on me to make a journey to England to meet and converse with Mr. Shippen; I the more readily undertook it, in regard he was come to Newcastle, and had intimated to me, that in consequence of the measure I had proposed (wherof I acquainted you in my last) of settling a correspondence 'twixt your Scots and English friends, these had approved of and directed him to correspond with me in name of the others, and he was therfor desirous wee should meet and adjust matters in order therto. And that being done I took occasion to tell him that there had been advances made to your Scots friends by Argyle, and that wee did not doubt but the like would be done by Sunderland, but as wee resolved to advise with and act in concert with your English friends, wee desired to know, with which of the two sides wee should take up, seeing wee might have terms from either, and would have theballance in our own hands. And withall I suggested that I had heard a surmise that Sunderland had made advances to the English Tories. Mr. Shippen replyd it was very true that Sunderland had done so, and particularly with great earnestness not long agoe; but your friends beleiving this proceeded only from a view to support himself against Walpole, and fearing that he might afterwards betray them, and at the same time considering that the Tories were now pritty strong ami like to encrease, that they were very popular and seem'd very stanch, and to have true notions as to the only means of releif, they did not think it expedient to venture their reputation and interest in the hands of one in whom they had so little confidence, and besides did not know how far some of their number might be taken off the right scent, in case, as the consequence of such a conjunction, they found the sweet of power and preferments; for which and the like reasons they had utterly rejected the proposall, resolving to enter into no concert with any of the two contending powers at Court, but to stick together and wait till it pleased God some event might occur, that would give them an occasion to doe you and the country service. And therfor Mr. Shippen was of opinion, your Scots friends need be under no difficulty with which of the partys to joyn in matters of elections, but to determine themselves by closeing with the highest bidder. From what thus past betwixt Mr. Shippen and me, I could not gather that your friends in England had or were like to have any dealing with Sunderland. Whither the fact is in truth really so, or that he, in case it is otherwyse, was not apprized therof, or so ty'd up that he could not communicate the same to me, I cannot determine; but as it was probable that one of his figure would know something of the measure ('tho perhaps not the primary rise) and that

he, in that case, would have thought it at least expedient to drop some expression in favours of Sunderland in a matter of such moment as the elections, when I return'd to Scotland and reported what past to the gentlemen that sent me, wee did not know how to reconcile the same with what wee had learn'd from Urquart. But they were still more at a stand on the receipt of my last letter from you, where, taking notice of the advances I had acquainted you was made by Argyle, you seem to approve of your friends entering into measures with him and-his party, on their giving reasonable terms, hoping at the same time such a transaction may pave the way for leading that Duke peice mail into measures of greater weight and importance. Now as 'tis no secret that his interest (especially when in conjunction with Walpole) is incompatible with that of Sunderland, from a review of Urquarts credentialls Mr. Shippens account of matters and this paragraph of your letter, these gentlemen are at a loss what to think, or how to act, without runiug the hazard of committing some blunder that may be prejudiciall to your service. For if so it be that you have dealings with and hopes of Sunderland, it would seem expedient that he be supported; and on these and many such other obvious considerations, I was desired by these gentlemen to Jay this matter fully befor you, in order to your giving such light and directions therin, as to you shall seem proper, and that with all the expedition possible, for till then, no measures can be laid down, and time is now precious. They .are far from presuming to desire or expect you should communicate to them the particulars of this or any such transaction, being .sensible that it must be handled with the greatest nicety, attended probably with the greatest secrecy, but at the same time they thought it their duty to acquaint you of this matter, in case you should judge it proper to give any orders therin. And on that supposition they directed me with all submission to represent, that it would be managed in the most delicate manner, and that in their humble opinion, if so be you incline your Scots friends should favour Sunderlands interest at the ensuing elections, that without loss of time, you'd signify so much in a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, but withall that you drop nothing to him of any advice or information you have by this (for as Urquarts story was imparted on promise of secrecy only to these three gentlemen for any thing they know, it is not fitt that any besides your self (should be apprized therof, and His Grace might perhaps take it amiss that a matter of this nature, and the resolution of communicating the same to you should be kept from him) and that you require him to let none know that he receives this direction from you, but that 'tis a measure altogither of his oun, unless he finds an absolute and indispensable necessity to communicate your orders to some select persons (who

perhaps would not otherwise comply) on whose prudence and assurance of secrecy he can absolutely depend. You'll be pleased to consider how far you think it proper to give the gentlemen, at whose instance I write this, directions how to move, in case Urquart renews his application to them; for seeing they were the only persons to whom he open'd his pack, and that tis probable the same Mas by the knowledge and allowance of Sunderland, tis presumeable, if he intends to proceed further, he may putt it in the same canal, and as matters stand now befor them, they will not know how to regulate themselves. But this is with all due deference to your better judgement, and only mention'd in case you think they can be serviceable to you in such a negotiation, being fully apprized that an affair of this nature requires the greatest prudence, and to be entrusted to no more than what absolute necessity requires, till the scheme opens and the nail's to be struck at once to the head.

“Your having mention'd my negotiation with Argyle, it will be proper I give you some account how that matter stands. You may remember I told you from the begining that secrecy was absolutely necessary, in regard I knew assuredly he would never treat with any body on that affair but your self; yet in a few days after I gott your instructions in that matter, I was inform'd by good authority that Mr. Murray and his sister Mrs. Hay had been babling of it at Rome, and not long after that gave some hints therof to a certain person at Edinburgh, who from old picques or some other cause, could never be brought to beleive, or even, by what I could see, desire such a measure accomplished. This alarm'd and surprized me exceedingly, and as I durst not venture to medic any further in it, untill I knew that the surmize therof was husht, I was even obliged to be at some pains to cause inform that gentleman, that being now convinced it was a chymericall project, J had dropt it altogether; but by this time Argyle had entered into new measures and made up matters with the Ministry, and I did not think it convenient to make any steps therin till I saw further about me. However I am still hopefull it is not impossible to bring it about, for I know he is far from being well pleased or thinking his present a 9ure footing, and you may be assur'd I will lay Irold on a proper occasion, if such ever again happen, beleiving it is the best service I can doe both partys in their several stations.

“If the persons by whose direction I have writt this, from a zeal for your interest or a misapprehension of their duty have ventured to treat on affairs beyond their sphare, and which is not fitt to be communicated in whole or in part to them, they nevertheless hope, the

sincerity of their intentions will interpose and mediate their pardon, assuring you at the same time in the most solemn manner that nothing herein contain'd, or what they may. be further apprized of in that matter shall goe further than their own breasts, or according to the instructions they receive from you, having in all their views nothing so much at heart as to evidence with how much truth and sincerity they are devoted to your service.”

To which letter I gott the following return, dated January 31st 1722\* .

“I received your long letter of the 5th of December about ten days agbe, and thank you very kindly for the accounts you give me in it; it is very true that Sunderland has to some people made, of late, a shew of wishing me well, but I have never heard directly from him my self, and have been far from having any particular prooff of his sineerity, so that altho one who may be so essentially usefull ought to be managed and his friendship cultivated if possible, yet as matters stand I doe not think it would be either prudent or adviseable to deliver our selves up entirely to him in the situation in which that particular affair is in. at present; and considering the distance I am at, I doe not think it adviseable for me to give my Scots freinds any positive direction as to their behaviour towards Sunderland, and I am sorry to find by what you say in relation to Argyle, that any negotiation with him seems to be more remote than it was, ‘tho I think you should however have an eye that way, that nothing nor no body may be neglected, who may any ways serve to forward the good cause. ““After this I think the conduct of my Scots freinds in the approaching elections will be very easie; let them cultivate a good understanding with my English friends; let them act in con<sub>7</sub> junction with them, and have always in their view the choice of such persons who wish best to the cause; and above all keep a strict union and unanimity amongst themselves; by this conduct they will make themselves to be equally considerable and respected by all partys, and whither it be Argyle or Sunderland who wish me well, they will equally serve the purpose of one or t’other in that point, which ought only to be regarded. These are general rules which must be always observed, but the particular application of them can only be made by those on the spot.

“It may very well be that James Murray may have writt formerly something to Scotland in relation to Argyle, but I beleive, on enquiry, you would not find it relative to what you had writt hither about him,

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\* Received March 18, 1722.

for I never knew that person given to babbling, and can be therfor very sure that nothing relating to that particular secret was ever mentioned here by him or any body else. For women, I can assure you, are not trusted with any secrets here; but as all bussiness is kept in a very narrow compass, it may very well be that those who may think they have a right to be let into it and are not, may write several storys, out of envy to those that are. Did I know your informer in this particular, I could judge better of the matter, but I think the best use to be made of such informations is to putt a mark upon the infbrnier, that their little piques or jealousies may not create liereafter any jealousie or diffidence betwixt me and my friends. And it is only my; concern to prevent any thing that may tend to that, which has made me enlarge on this particular, which in it self I think deserves very little attention. I think I have now in general answer'd the contents of your letter. I shall conclude with returning you many thanks for the accounts you give me and the freindship you express for me, and to desire you and your two freinds to be assured of my constant esteem and kindness for you.”

I took nottice befor that the King soon after the late Bishop of Edinburgh's death sent directions for having Mr. Freebairn consecrated a bishop; but as the other Bishops did not approve of this choice, they delayd his consecration, some of them being obstinatly bent against him, both on account of his own character, and the way and manner of the King's naming him. At the same time, as the King had, in his letter to the Bishops, required of them that they should acquaint him previous to any future promotions, and that they thought it expedient to have it in their power to add to their number as the service of the Church required, either by the death of any of the present number, or because of the divisions which they foresaw were like to happen, they writt to the King to desire his approbation of promotting Mr. Cant and Mr. Lammie and obtain'd it. But as Freebairn was extreamly fond of the honour design'd him, and could not with patience bear a delay, he, or his son then at Rome, represented to the King that the delay proceeded from an unwillingness in the Bishops to approve his taking upon him to name those that were to be Bishops of the Church, which the King took very ill, seeming no ways inclin'd to part with this right and priviledge of the Crown; and care was taken to lett the Bishops and his trustees know he expected obedience. This putt the Bishops to a stand, and they resolved to advise with the trustees, who finding that Freebairn had made no secret of his promotion, and fearing the performance, which probably could not be conceal'd, might provoke the

Government and doe harm at this juncture, they thought it proper to delay the same, and directed me to write the following letter to the King.

“March 12th, 1722.

“I did my self the honour to write to you about three months agoe, and as your return, if no accident has happen’d, may come about this time, the same is as impatiently expected as it is very much wanted at this juncture. I am airraid I overdoe in what you was pleased to command, by writing and troubling you so frequently, but when you are immediatly concern’d in the subject, I have the satisfaction of beleiving you’l easiely forgive me.

“Some considerable time agoe you was pleased to name three persons to be bishops, and sent directions for their consecration. The College of Bishops in obedience therto mett frequently, but were always prevented from executing your orders for reasons that to them seem’d unanswerable; but one of the three, not being satisfy’d with the delay, and pressing to be consecrated with the greatest earnestness and anxiety imaginable, the College was again lately conven’d in order to putt some end or other to that matter; where taking into their consideration, that from the present state of the times it was a matter of no small importance, and that a great deal of caution and prudence was requisite in a matter of that nature, and reflecting withall that the interests of Church and State are so blended together as to become reciprocally, they thought fitt to ask the advice of such of your trustees to whom they could have access, befor they took any positive resolutions. And having accordingly layd the affair fully befor the Duke of Hamilton, the Lords Wigtoun, Kincardine, Balmerino and Dun, Mr. Maul and Master Paterson, they all with one consent and assent agreed, and gave it as their opinion and advice, that the consecration of any more bishops in the present state and circumstances of affairs (especially seeing the number in being was sufficient in all respects for the bussiness committed to them) would be prejudiciall to your service and the interest of the Church, and probably occasion much trouble and many drfficultys, and that therfor a delay should be madetherin, untill either you signifyd your express commands to the contrary, or the death of any of the present Bishops, or a happy scheme and turn of affairs gave them reason to think and act with other views. And as they are all very well assured that your sole intention in the forsaid nomination was to promote the true and solid interest of your people, they hope you will not misconstruct their proceedings, form’d by the best advice, on grounds to them convincingly apparent to be suitable to your and the Church’s interest

and service at this critical juncture. This in general I was desired to represent, and withall beg you would according to your wonted goodness admitt of no interpretation that may give you the least disgust at what is done with a sincere intention for your service, and the interest you have so much at heart.

“Captain Urquart came lately to Edinburgh from London; as he does not deny there is a close correspondence betwixt him and Sunderland, he still insinuates that the latter is favourably disposed towards you, and we hear His Lordship tryd to compromise the election of the Scots Peers, having persuaded the Argyle and Squadrone partys to consent that four or five of the Tory Lords should be chosen, but that Tounsend and Walpole opposed it violently, and prevaild with their master to interpose and discharge it. In the mean time, methods are taken to superceed all final resolutions as long as possible, expecting to have some directions from you in return to what I did communicate to you in my last; yet nevertheless it was thought necessary to lay the foundation of an opposition to the two partys united, and in order therto, the Duke of Hamilton wrote circular.leiterf<sup>l</sup>, and accordingly twenty seven Peers did lately meet together at Edinburgh, where all but Tweedale sign’d a paper obliging themselves, under the strictest ties of honour and conscience, not to vote at the insuing election, for any Peer who does not previously give the like assurance and security that he will to the utmost of his power oppose the Peerage bill; and it is expected a great many more Peers will come in to this concert, which its hopt may be the foundation of entering further into other measures and defeating the Court list; and wee are setting the like measure on foot amongst the shires and burrows with success, which wee hope will turn to good account. Aberdeen has acted a part all this last session, and particularly on this occasion, highly to his honour; for ‘tho both partys offer’d and prest him to accept of being in their list, he told them that he was chosen by a sett of honest men his freinds, without whom he would enter into no measures, being resolved to stand and fall with them.

“I have no more to trouble you with but that I am in the most respectfull manner your &c

“P. S.—After writing the above letter, as I was just sending it off, yours of the 31st of January came to my hands; I therupon stopt this some days, that I might acquaint you that it came very oportunly (because the certainty of the Parliament being to be dissolved very soon, would admitt of no delay in thinking of measures to be prosecuted with respect to the election of a new one) and that I immediatly did communicate the contents therof to the Duke of

Hamilton and your other friends, who are now much more capable to determine themselves, and will improve all for the good of the cause. Next day after receiving yours a message came to Kincardine, Mr. Maul and my self from General Ross, acquainting us that he would be at Edinburgh from London next day<sup>^</sup> and earnestly desireing wee would meet and spend that evening with him; which being done he assured us that all sides were alarmed at the unanimity and concert of so many Peers, and that both partys would break off from the concerted Court list, if the Tories would joyn with any one to kick out the other, and he made some remote insinuations in favour of Argyle; but in regard of the directions contain'd in your letter, wee kept aloof untill wee heard more, and from all quarters. Next day a particular friend of Argyle's came to me, asking if my friends would hear of terms from him. I answer'd that matter was well advanced several months agoe, just after Aberdeen's election (wherof I then acquainted you) but that Argyle had since slighted them, and had even agreed with the Squadrone in a list of Peers to be chosen, but that the Tories would look to themselves and find friends else where. He reply'd, that might well be, but nevertheless begd I woud endeavour to keep the door open for some time, and sound my freinds inclinations on that point. I return'd that I should try to doe the first, but for the other I would not attempt it in the least unless I knew the terms, and thought they were such as would be acceptable. So this gentleman left me with an assurance I should hear soon from him, and he hoped to my satisfaction. At the same time the Squa- ( drone is in a way of trying the same course, as Mr. Maul and I' could gather from the Lord Advocate's insinuations; and you may depend upon it your friends will make as much as possible they can of the present posture of affairs for the benefit of the common cause. Yesterday the Duke of Hamilton 'received a letter sign'd by nine of the most considerable English Torry. Lords pressing all endeavours to bring about a right election of the Peers, being very hopefull of doing something to good purpose and very agreeable next Parliament. I shall not fail to give you a full account how these transactions terminate, and what is the result of them."

To this I had the following letter\* :

“May 9th, 1722.

Yours of the 12th of March came safe to my hands, and I was glad to find by the postscript to it that my last to you was also arrived safe.

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\* Received August 28, 1722.

By this time your elections will be all over, and I doubt not of your and your partners having behaved yourselves on that occasion in the manner that may be the most conducing to mine and your countrys interest. At this distance it is not possible for me to be giving particular directions, but I think in general that my friends bussiness is still to endeavour to support the good cause, whither by joyning with any particular party, or by keeping by themselves, as they may think most proper or practicable; and in all cases it is only a strick union amongst themselves which can make them considerable and usefull to me and their country. Aberdeen has acted a very honourable part, and I'm persuaded he will always stick firm to his present principles. I'm pleased with the accounts you give, and extreamly sensible of the Duke of Hamiltons activity on the late occasion, and am no less of the continuance of the zeal of your other friends you mention. I am satisfyd Captain Urquart is a sincere wellwisher of mine; but 'tho I know perhaps more of Sunderland than he does, I cannot say I think so favourably of him, and as I am far from having the least prooff of his sincerity, I think it would be not at all adviseable to putt our selves any manner of way in his power, or to depend so far on his friendship as to neglect other views; but nevertheless considering the great use he may be of if he pleases, and that sooner or latter he may be sincere, it would certainly be equally imprudent to doe any thing to shock him or discourage him.

“As to what you say about the Bishops, I never imagined there could be any difficulty about the consecration in respect of the present conjuncture, since two of the three were actually proposed to me by friends in your party. If there be any personal objection against any of them, it is fult I should know it, and as I have no other view but the common good, in meddling with those matters, I shall be far from expecting that any thing should be done in them that maybe made appear to me to be prejudicial to it.

“A little time will now shew us of what temper the new Parliament is like to be, and which way affairs will turn after its meeting, and I would fain think that ere long, some favourable change may happen in our favours. You will easiely beleive I neglect nothing that depends on me to forward it, and therfor wee must always live in hopes, whatever may be the uncertainty of future events. You need not make any apologie for your writing so frequently, for your letters will be always most wellcome as coming from one whom I sincerly value and esteem. My family continues in good health, as I hope this will find yours, being sincerly Yours.”

When it was certain that the old Parliament would be dissolved,

Kincardine, Mr. Maul and I resided class in Edinburgh, and had dayly conferences about the proper measures to be taken at this juncture; wee saw very few of the King's friends would stand candidates amongst the Commons, and the truth ont is wee thought it of no great importance, knowing well that few<sup>M</sup> or none of them would be returned, 'tho elected by ever so great a majority. And it happen'd that the shiriffs made what returns they pleased even of the Whiggs. Such as were in the Crowns nomination return'd those the Ministry recommended, and those that were hereditary, as they stood severally affected to the Argyle or Squadrone faction; so that in a manner the Shirriffs and not the Barons or Burgess's made choice of the greatest part of the Scots members that went to the House of Commons.

And as wee foresaw this would happen, wee bent our thought cheifly on the election of the Peers, which besydes seemd most material, in regard the House of Lords made a notable stand last session; and to strenthen them with a right election from Scotland, was of the utmost importance. And in order to accomplkh this, great pains were taken to spirit up the body of th« nobility with a just abhorrence of the design'd Peerage bill, and manifest a suitable resentment against the last representation of the Scots Peerage in Parliament and all such other Peers as were accessary or even satisfy'd with that scandalous bill, and if any thing could make the body of the Scots Peers more infamous than their former conduct, the coolness of many in this would doe it; for setting asside the manifest injustice that was design'd to so many noble familys, and the plain gross violation of the articles of the Union, it was as plain as the sun at noon day that this scheme, if effectuated, would render the Scots Peerage despicable, as it deprived them of the only small pittance left to make them valued and carressed by the Ministry.

Yet the little present gain which some of them enjoy'd from places and pensions of no great value, influenced them to overlook the honour and interest of their posterity. However there was a goodly number who thought and acted a quite different part, and openly professed their resolution to gainstand the measure, and solemnly engaged to give their vote for no Peer that did not as solemnly engage to oppose any alteration of the representation of the Scots Peerage (in which the Court Lords and Candidates positively refused to give any satisfaction when it was demanded of them) but at the same time they delay'd coming to any resolution how or for whom they would vote, untill they saw if any of the opposite Court partys would break off and come into measures with them; and till the dyet of election drew near, both sides treated privatJy, some with Mr. Maul and some with my

self; but at last when it was perceived that the two partys would keep together in obedience to the positive commands sent them from London, the Duke of Hamilton gott together a select number of Lords and gentlemen well affected to the King, who thinking it highly necessary to let the world see that there was a considerable interest in Scotland opposite to the present Governments mea\* sures, resolved that at the elections of countys and burrows, motions should be made for instructions to such as should be elected, and who should be required to give publick assurance to oppose the Peerage bill, and that addresses to the same purpose should be sign'd, with directions to be presented, if that affair was again moved in Parliament: and they further resolved that they would fix on a list of sixteen Peers for whom they would vote at the election in opposition to the Court list, and that each of the Peers who agreed therto should, previous to his voting, enter a particular protestation in his own name against any alteration of the representation of the Peerage, of what stands regulated by the articles of the Union.

The election for the shyre of Edinburgh came first on, where I moved and carried instructions and an address in the terms concerted; and coppys of the address being dispersed, the like measure was followed in most places, that therby the nations sentiments might appear. Most of the addresses being coppys or to the same purpose with that which I drew for the shyre of Edinburgh, it will not be amiss to subjoyn a copy therof.

“To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled. The Address of the Barons and Freeholders of the Shyre of Edinburgh mett in order to choice a Representative to Parliament,

“Humbly sheweth,

“That wee taking into our serious consideration, That, during the last Parliament, a design was laid to suppress the representation of the Scots Peerage in Parliament; and, instead therof, to vest in a certain number of Scots Peers and their descendents, the sole right and priviledge of sitting in Parliament; and that a bill, to this effect, did pass in the House of Lords, and was from them sent down to the late House of Commons: and being affraid that the attempt may be renewed in some subsequent session of Parliament, wee presume, by this application, humbly to remonstrate against it, First, Because the representation of the Peerage of Scotland, as it now stands regulated by the laws of the land, is a fundamental part of the Parliamentary Constitution of the United Kingdom; and whoever assumes a right

and power to suppress or innovate the same, may, by parity of reason, claim the like privilege, with respect to any other part or branch of the Parliamentary Constitution, in either of the two Houses: and consequently such a step will prove a precedent highly pernicious to the rights, liberties, and privileges of Great Britain. Secondly, Because the representation of the Peerage of Scotland, by sixteen chosen by the body of the Scots Peers, for that effect, being stipulated by the articles of Union, and declared so to remain unalterable, in all time coming; the subversion thereof cannot be accomplished, without a manifest infringement of the said articles, and would prove a precedent for unhinging the faith and security of all the other articles of the said solemn treaty, particularly in so far as concerns the representation of the Scots in the British Parliament; for whoever can assume a power and right to dispense with what is stipulated in favour of the Scots Peerage, may also entirely cutt off the representation of the Scots counties and burghs in the House of Commons, or make such alterations therein, as are diametrically opposite to the rights and priviledges of the freeholders and burgesses expressly reserved to them by the articles of Union.

“On these, and many such other accounts, wee cannot but apprehend very dismall consequences attending so great an encroachment on the Parliamentary Constitution, and so obvious a violation of that solemn, recent treaty, by which the two nations are united. And as the members of the Honourable House of Commons are the bulwarks and guardians of the British libertys, both national and personal, wee thought it incumbent on us to make this our humble remonstrance against a scheme so illegall in its own nature, and which will prove a precedent for the most arbitrary, pernicious a’trmpts. And as the late House of Commons did reject a bill of this nature, sent down from the House of Lords, wee cannot doubt but you will show an equall zeal for maintaining the Parliamentary Constitution, on which depend the liberties of the people whom you represent, and preserving inviolably all and every part of that treaty, on the faith wherof the two independent kingdoms did unite, by discouraging and rejecting every motion and scheme, which doth any way tend to infringe and violate the same;

“And your Petitioners shall ever pray &c.” The Peers having adjusted their list and protestations, when they came to reckon up their numbers, it was evident they had a. majority on their side, if all the Tory Lords would have complyd and taken the oaths; for several Lords, such as the Earls of Glencairn, Balcarross, Broadalbin, Dunmore and Portmore were willing to joyn if so be, by their joyning,

a majority would follow; but unless that was made evident, they did not incline, by disobliging the Ministry, to loss the posts they enjoyd and at the same time fail in the main point. But as eleven of the Torry Lords would not come in, and therby have made a certain majority, the forsaid Lords voted with the Court. However those Torry Lords that thought it expedient to make a stand, continued in the same sentiments to the end, and accordingly voted and protested at the election. What is above narrated, and my letter which I sent to the King, will give a full enough account of this transaction, and therfor I proceed to add a cobby therof.

“April 23d, 1722.

“Sir,—In my last bearing date the 12th of March I promised you a further account of the elections of this country. From a reflection of the tempers of the severall partys, and some particular circumstances at the time I wrote, there was reason to imagine some one of the two Court partys would, in opposition to the other, strike in with the Tories, but the commands of their superiours were so peremptor that ‘tho each had all the inclination imaginable to undermine the other, they were compell’d in this single matter of the election of the Peers to unite and keep together. The Tories however were not discouraged; they resolved to make a stand and shew they would not silently give up their rights, in order to which, one and twenty were present at the election and voted against the Court list, and each of them enter’d a protestation against such as should be chosen assuming the liberty to dispose of their rights or alter the representation. The Court not expecting that a broken, harassd, dispers’d party could or would have dared to make such an opposition, were much alarmd, till they understood that eleven of the Torry Lords would not qualify; for had these Come in and joynd the twenty one, there were so many more of those who, for private reasons, voted for the Court, would gladly have comed off and joyn’d the Tories, when by this conjunction, it appear’d certain that they would be sufficiently able to throw out the Court list; but when they saw that so great a number as eleven lay off, and that without them they could not make up a majority, they thought it needless to shew their teeth and when the consequences in that case would have been detrimentall to them. The nonjurant Peers were Stormont, Blantyre, Strathmore, Kintore, Colvill, Strathallan, Rollo, Sinclair, Wemyss, Arbuthnot and Pitsligoe. The Peers that would have come over from the Court were Glencairn &c. It was a pitty any thing should have impeded such a general conjunction of persons thinking and wishing after the same way, especially when ther’s good grounds to believe the taking off the sixteen Scots Peers from the

Court and adding them to the Tories, would have putt them in a capacity of doing good things next Parliament. The great reputation Aberdeen gain'd by his behaviour in the House, and his refusing to be in the Court list, obtain'd him so many dropping votes, from a great many who voted for that list, that he was elected, to the no small satisfaction of all honest men; for besides his actmg a right part in publick matters, he is of singular use in curbing Isla, who formerly took upon him to cutt and carve in all Scots appeals, as the sole dictator and oracle of the Scots law in the House of Lords; wheras Aberdeen kept him all last session within bounds, and was the protector of such Scots Tories as had affairs there, and did them very good service.

“The Ministry were not only displeas'd at the opposition they mett with in the elections, but likwyse at the spirit which appear'd against them throughout all the country. Tis true indeed few of the Tories are chosen, because they did not sett up for it; but had they stood timeously candidates they would have made a good appearance, 'tho at the rate the shirriffs have behaved, few or none would have been return'd; for generally speaking they have return'd, both for shyres and towns, such persons as the Ministry directed, without having regard to law or justice. However, in most places, addresses against the Peerage bill were sign'd at the meetings for elections, and the persons chosen oblig'd publickly to engage to oppose it, and endeavour to have the triennial elections restored. This measure was first sett on foot in the shyre of Edinburgh, as it was the first that elected and the most considerable shyre in this kingdom, and 'tho wee mett with all the opposition the Ministry could give us, wee carried our point by a great majority; and indeed there appear'd such a spirit amongst the barons and freeholders against the present maxims and measures, that it had been very easie to have thrown out both the Argyle and Squadrone candidats; in order to which I was prest the very morning of the election to offer my service, with assurance of being elected, but that was what I did by no means incline to; besides, about two years agoe, when the Commission of Enquiry was rampant, I gave the advocate something like an assurance that if he would preserve Mr. Basil Hamilton and some other honest mens estates from being forfaulted, I would take care so to manage matters that he should be elected for this slyre in opposition to Mr. Baird, a creature of the Dalrymples; and as the advocate did from thence forward act a friendly part to them, and that therto in a great measure the preservation of these familys is owing, I thought my self oblig'd in justice and honour to support him. Several of my friends, it being by

no means fitt to communicate my private reasons to them, blam'd me for assisting the advocate, who is a man so capable to make a figure; but I am hopfull you'l approve of my conduct, when you know it proceeded from so good a design and had so good effects.

“I have latly had several oportunities to talk with the Duke of Argyle, but found him in a temper quite different from what I ever knew him. He seems to have a high resentment against the Tories, for adhering to Aberdeen last year when he was elected; he pretends the Tories are ungratfull to him, who protected them when others inclind to be severe. I told him that charity begun at home, and he could not blame the Tories for favouring themselves in the first place; but I knew very well they liked him better than the Squadrone, against whom they would willingly have joynd with him, but that he slighted them and their assistance, even so far as to joyn with the Squadrone in a Court list of Peers; that I was surpris'd at this his conduct, being, as I had often told him, persuaded he would never be trusted by an English Whigg Ministry unless he sold his Scots estate and threw up his Scots interest, so as to become altogether an Englishman; and 'tho he and Walpole were very well together, it was only in *odium tertii*, and that if Walpole gott the better of Sunderland, he would retain the Squadrone, well knowing they would serve or truckle under him or the devill for wages, wheras His Grace aim'd to be at the head of affairs, which Walpole would never allow; but if he would sett himself at the head of the Tories, or enter into a private concert with them, I durst venture to assure Irim, he should make his own terms, and be effectually supported, and this I signifyd not only out of regard to the Torry interest, which I professt, but as His Grace's friend who wisht him personally well and would gladly see him doe well. 'Tho he well enough understood what I meant, he made as if he did not understand me, and kept off upon generals, and as I could perceive he was buoyd up with the hopes that Walpole and he would gett the better of Sunderland and the Squadrone, I did not think it convenient to explain my self further, till I saw him better prepared to receive what I might urge, which indeed I fear will not happen so long as he can see a way to gratify his ambition from another quarter. However I shall not fail to improve every oportunity that may cast up for treating with him.

“Now that the elections are over, your friends here have scarce any feild to work in for your service, whilst affairs are in the present situation: what turn they may take, and what releif God in his good providence will send, time must determine, and with patience be expected. If in the interim any thing worth your knowing occurs, I

shall not fail to give you notice, and your commands will always be acceptable to all your friends, and in a particular manner to Your &c.”

To which I had the following return \*.

“August 16th 1722.

“It is now long since I received your letter of the 23 April, for which and the accounts you give me in it I should long agoe return’d you many thanks, had I not been afraid of being troublesome at that time to my friends, which will not I hope be the present case; and that being, I should think I did both my self and them wrong, did I not now and then put them in mind of one who wishes them sincerely well, and who never ceases doing what little is in his power to serve them. Altho I have mett with several rubs in my way, yet I am not, I can assure you, the least discouraged by them, nor will be less intent on doing what is expected from me, and what I still hope to compass at last.

“I desire you may be under no uneasiness on account of the particular you mention of your self, for that I am persuaded all your actions are directed by those principles of honour and affection for me and my friends which you have exprest on all occasions, and none can judge so well of particulars as those on the place. I own to you I am not much surprized at the little hopes you have of drawing Argyle into our interest; wee ought not however to neglect any thing towards the gaining of him, the time may come in which he may think it his own interest, and it will certainly be always our to receive him.

“You will have heard befor now that I am at present in the country, and it will be some weeks befor I return to toun; both I and my family are in good health, I heartily wish it may be the same with yours, and shall give you no further trouble at present, but to desire you to continue me the favour of your correspondence and to be persuaded of the friendship and sincerity with which I am Your &c.”

Some time befor the election of this last Parliament, Captain Straiton was directed by the Duke of Mar to try if he could raise a sum of money from the King’s friends to be remitted to Generall Dillon in France for provyding of arms, and he procured a letter to Straiton from the King to the same purpose. Whither this was committed wholly to Straiton, with orders not to communicate the same to any of the King’s trustees, I cannot tell, but so it is, that for several months he did negotiate it by himself, and at lenth sent to acquaint me of it, desireing I would sett about it also. I answer’d I had no directions

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\* Received 25 November 1722.

from the King therein, and I would not run the hazard of meddling in an affair to which I had no call, and wherein he had tamper'd so long and so much, that it was too probable it would be discover'd. What success he had I know not, but in general that he procur'd some money (about two thousand pound I beleive) which was remitted by Mr. William Erskine, and occasion'd his being afterwards made prisoner and sent up to London, the Ministry having intercepted some letters which showd-he had remitted money; but upon examining him, they could make nothing of the story to his prejudice. Tis pritty odd that in a matter of this kind the King or rather Mar should have only entrusted an infirm superannuated gentleman, and not sett his trustees about it, who were much more capable; but so it is, that except to the Earl of Eglington (who therupon advanced 500*l.*) I doe not know that the least intimation therof was made to the trustees; and in some years thereafter it came to light, that all or part of this money was by Mar apply'd to other uses than that which was at first pretended, which it would appear he had from the begining in his view, from the clandestine ways taken to collect it.

This money affair putts me in mind of a passage so much to the honour of Mr. Lows of Murchiston, that in justice to *his* memory I cannot pass by it. Some little time after the Spanish affair was over, I was desired to make a collection for some three or four officers that had come from France in order to joyn Lord Marshall and could not stay longer here with safty; amongst others I applyd to Mr. Lows who produced a purse of a hundred guineas, and frankly desired me to take what I pleased out of it, but I took no more than five. He then told me that he observed the service of the distrest Royall interest since the Revolution had often faild for want of money, that for his own share, 'tho he liked his money very well, his purse had never been shutt to any person suffering for the King or Church; and as he seldom wanted money by him, he should always have a thousand guineas ready for the King's service, and he had so much confidence in me, that when I saw a fitt occasion, if I would send to him, I should have that sum to be expended thereon. I told him that it was a very generous offer, and I wisht others the King's friends would follow his example, and I would be sure to let the King know it. But herein he interrupted me, and made me promise the contrary, saying that what he would doe, was only from a sense of his duty, and he desired neither thanks from the King nor praises from others. I have mention'd this particular to stand as an example to others and a reproach to some.

The letter formerly mentioned, with regard to the persons the King had recommended to be Bishops, being communicated to the Bishop

of Edinburgh and by him to his brethren, prevail'd with them to proceed immediatly to consecration, after which at their desire I writt the following letter to the King.

“December 7th 1722.

“Sir,—I had the honour about a fortnight ago to receive yours of the 16th of August, and I am hopfull that the reasons you are pleased to assign for your silence of late will likewyse plead my excuse in not making a return ere now to another bearing date 9th May which I gott some three months or therby agoe. The truth ont is that as all intercourse was stopt, people of my complection have been obliged to act very cautiously, for fear of falling into the snares were laid for us; and having nothing of importance to communicate to you, I thought it proper to suspend our correspondence for some time. Besides, as I could discern you was not perfectly well pleased with the steps our Bishops did take with respect to the consecration of those you had named, I was unwilling to write untill I could say something to your satisfaction in that particular, and in order therto, as soon as I gott yours in summer last, I went and showed the paragraph therin, concerning that affair, to Bishops Fullerton, Miller, and Irvin, and prest them to loss no more time in performing what you expected from them. These I found all along very frank, but another of the College, Bishop Falconer (a man of great piety, learning and loyalty) was so affraid of the rights of the Church that he scrupled at your recommending Mr. Freebairn. I represented to him that this was a very improper time for him to enter into such disputes, and that he had no reason to imagine you design'd to claim any other power than the laws of the land had expressly declared did belong to you, and which your Royall progenitors had exercised; and to convince him that even that power would be tenderly used, and in such a manner as no reall prejudice could arise from thence, I laid befor the Bishops a part of a copy of a letter I received from you a good time agoe, wherin you commanded me to acquaint them it was your intention for the future not to name any to be consecrated untill you had the opinion and advice of the Bishops with regard to the qualifications and characters of the persons. This gave them all infinite satisfaction, and they desired me very lately to acquaint you, that if any person hath represented that they delay'd this affair out of disrespect to your pleasure a very great injury was done them, and that such representations must either proceed from gross ignorance or a malicious design to give you a bad impression of them: that as they have hitherto given evident prooffs of their loyalty, they are determined in all their actions to behave as becomes good and

obedient subjects, and that they have, to the satisfaction of the inferiour clergy, consecrated Cant and Freebairn, and were sorry they could not prevail with Lammie to accept, as he was a person on many respects more capable than perhaps any other to have been usefull in that station to your and the Churches interest.

“Tho this affair is now adjusted, ther’s another in the feild, that if not very prudently and cautiously managed will be attended with very fatal consequences. You have heard no doubt of some contests of late years amongst the nonjuring English clergy, concerning some alterations that some of the number desired in the Liturgy and forms of Worship, which were driven so far as to occasion a great breach amongst them, to the no small prejudice and discredit of the whole party. Of those who sett up for alterations, two of our Scots Bishops, Campbell and Gatherer, made a considerable figure at London where they have resided these many years; and Falconer favoured them in Scotland, in the northern parts wherof some of the layity began lately to think after the same manner; and as the clergy, of all mankind, are most zealous to propagate and establish their own schemes, Gatherer, on ane invitation from some people of notte, is lately come to Edinburgh in order to his going north and heading that party. There have been several meetings of the Bishops, and all, but Falconer and Gedderer, are against all alterations or innovations untill the Church and State are so happily restored and settled that such matters can be duely considered and legally determined. They think what is desired not so essentiall as to be laid in the ballance with the misconstructions their enemies will putt upon them, that they are now, at least but latly revived in this church, and not much approven of by a great majority of layity of their communion, and any thing that may occasion a difference of opinion and practice, cannot fail of very bad effects with regard to that harmony which is so necessary both for your and the Churches interest, and hath been hitherto so inviolably maintaind, and seeing the body of the College of Bishops can by no means approve of what the other two advance and design to practise without any legall authority, as they therby shake off the obedience which they owe, they can in no sense excuse themselves of schism, and must answer for all the bad effects that such proceedings will have in the affairs of Church and State. Fullerton and those of his sentiments taking this affair much to heart, desired the advice of such of your trustees as could be gott conveniently together at Edinburgh, and by these I was t’other day directed to attend a full meeting of the College. Both partys endeavoured, by the practice of the Fathers and the first ages of the Church, to justify themselves: but I stopt them short and told them

it was none of my province to judge of such points, that I was directed to wait upon them, and in your name to recommend unity and harmony and to avoid every thing that might give your and their enemies a handle to calumniate them, and in order therto that they singly would give that obedience to the College of Bishops which they expected from the laicks, and which indeed they could not contradict, without at the same time oppugning your authority, as the College of Bishops derived their present power of governing this Church from you; that as I was sure they were all convinced of your good intentions towards them, I left them to judge what sense you must and would putt on any measure that had the least tendency to divide such of your subjects who had adhered to your interest, and what opinion the world would have of those who were the cheif instruments therof. After having said a great deal to show the bad effects of divisions at this juncture, Falconer and Gadderer professt a great deal of loyalty and zeal for you, and hoped that you would not misconstrue their endeavours to accomplish what had no manner of concern with the State, or even the external government of the Church. I replyd that as the consequences of what they aim'd at would affect both Church and State, you had an immediate concern to interpose, and which I, as authorized by those you trusted with the management of your affairs, did accordinly doe: and I required them, as they would be answerable to you for all the bad effects that would follow, to move no further untill at least your pleasure was known to them. At these words I saw they were moved, and seem'd very desirous that no account should be sent to you. I told them I could give them no satisfaction in that matter, for that depended on your trustees, and they, I beleived, would regulate that matter as they saw the Bishops behaved. Mr. Fullerton next day told me that what I had represented had made an impression on them, 'tho he was affraid it would be hard to bring them to reason. I beg pardon for troubling you with this long story, but as it is a matter which your friends here beleive is of great moment to your affairs, and that I am affraid there will be a necessity of laying the affair befov you, more fully and from better authority than from private hands such as mine, I reckon'd you'd be pleased to have some previous hints of it. As nothing is omitted to keep these people within reason, I am hopefull they'l at last succumb, but should it be otherwyse, I doe verily beleive the least intimation from you, that you doe not approve of these steps at this season, will at least have such influence with the laity that few converts will be made, and therby discourage the undertaking. But how far this will be necessary and expedient, a little time and your own judgement after further information must determine.

“ I have nothing else of any value to communicate to you. Your friends live pritty easiely here just now, but how long it may be so, God knows, being, by the repeal of the Habeas Corpus, at the mercy of their enemies.—Wee have been pritty much in the dark as to all designs of late, and the truth is ther’s no need nor great curiosity to have secrets communicated to this part of the island, where wee want nothing, but a heartie concurrence of those in the South, to bring matters soon about to our mutuall benefit. And when ever that happy circumstance can be obtain’d, I dare venture to say your interest in this part will appear to have rather gain’d than lost ground. In the mean time wee must exercise our patience and live in hopes that sometime or other God Almighty will releive us from our state of bondage, by redressing your injuries, towards accomplishing wherof, the ties of self interest as well as those stronger motives of duty and inclination towards you cannot fail to stirr up the utmost endeavours of all your faithfull subjects, in which number allow me to assure you no man is with more sincerity than

“Yours &c.”

Follows the King’s answer\* to my last letter.

“April 5th 1723.

“It is but a few days agoe since I received yours of the 7th December, which came by Holland, and as ther has been but too good reasons of late to avoide writing without necessity, wee ought neither of us to take amiss our having been less exact in our correspondence. But I hope wee shall be able to continue it more exactly for the time to come, altho’ till the Habeas Corpus act takes place again, great caution will be necessary on all sides, for fear of giving the Government any handle of exerciseing the same severitys in Scotland, as they have done in England, where I am in great hopes that none will at least suffer more than by present confinement; and on the whole, considering the present disposition of the nation, and the posture of affairs in Europe, I think wee have all reason to hope ere long for some favourable change. My endeavours to hasten it are continual, and when the time comes, I cannot doubt of the heartie concurrence of my faithfull Scots subjects, for whom I have and ever shall have the most sincere and tender affection.

“Pray let the Scots Bishops know how sensible I am of the message they sent me by you and of the regard they shewed to me in adding to their number the two J desired might be so; and now wee understand

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\* Received 28 May 1723.

one another rightly on that head, I hope wee shall be able to proceed in such matters for the future with mutuall satisfaction. I hope your and my other friends exhortations to peace and unity amongst themselves will have had good effects, and indeed it must be very visible how prejudicial the contrary must be to the good cause at this time; and on proper occasions you and they cannot doe me a better peice of service than in employing your credit towards so good and necessary a work, which is all I shall say on this head, on which I was glad to be inform'd by you, and hope there will be no more occasion to write about it.

“I have nothing furer.at present to mention to you, but the good health of my family, which I am sure will be acceptable news to you and all my other freinds, and shall therfor conclude with the assurance of my sincere and constant esteem and friendship for you.”

Bishop Gedderer, 'tho Falconer left him and submitted to the College, continuing to advance and propagate his usages, as he term'd them, in the northern countrys (where he made many prosylites) notwithstanding of the remonstrances of the College of Bishops against all innovations, the Bishops and Kings trustees, thinking it proper to lay the matter befor the King, directed me to write this letter to him:

“May 21st 1723.

“Sir,—I have not heard from you since my last of the 7th of December; whither your silence proceeds from a regard to the ticklishness of the times, or that my letter or your return has miscarried I cannot tell, but least mine has not reached your hands, it will be necessary on this occasion that I recapitulate a little what I mention'd in my last.—[Here I need not relate what was mention'd in my former letter but proceed to what is new in this.] Since my last, Gadderer having gone to the North, and boldly contemn'd both the advices and orders of the College and your trustees, by openly advanceing his opinions, and-practiseing his usages, and having gain'd several of both clergy and laity over to his way of thinking, is in a fair way of creating a terrible schism, which cannot fail in having dismall effects, by dividing those that have hitherto lived cordially, and been ready to joyn hand in hand, for the service of the Church and State. The College of Bishops are inclin'd to delay, as long as possible, their proceeding to suspend Gadderer and such of the clergy as follow him, because they would gladly shun propaleing this unhappy division to the world, having at the same time too much reason to apprehend their authority, as matters stand, will not meet

with the regard that is due to it. A good number of your trustees thought it incumbent on them to lay this matter before you, and withall directed me to offer their humble opinion that a letter from you to the College (or the Bishop of Edinburgh to be communicated to them) approving of their opposition to all novelties at this juncture, and recommending to each of them singly, and to all the inferior clergy to shew a regard and give due obedience to the authority and directions of the College, and to continue their utmost endeavours by the most prudent methods to discourage and crush all practices tending to the contrary, as being pernicious to the interest of the Church and your service; and that another letter to any of your trustees you please to be communicated to the rest intimating your disapproving such practices, and desiring them to acquaint your faithful subjects, that you look upon such steps as most detrimental to your service: your trustees I say are of opinion that two letters to this purpose would have very good effects even with many of the clergy, and tend very much to turn all the laity against those measures and the promoters of them, whereby in process of time they may be laid aside, and your friends live in that harmony and good understanding which hath been hitherto so much their honour, as is indeed indispensably necessary both for you and them. This their opinion I am charged to lay before you with all submission, and what directions you are pleased to give them will be punctually followed. I am your &c.”

The College finding Gadderer still persisted in acting contrary to their orders, resolved to cite him to appear before them to answer for presuming to introduce any innovations of the worship and ceremonies of the Church, without any contrary to their reiterated orders, and to give an account on what ground and by what title he pretended to exercise the jurisdiction of a Bishop in the diocese of Aberdeen; and as they knew he would not give obedience to their citation, they intended to suspend him. And this step they thought necessary, because the enemies of the Church represented, that the Episcopal clergy were already making advances to Rome (seeing indeed many of Gadderer's tenets, such as the mixture of the cup, chrism, prayers for the dead &c, seem'd nearly ally'd to those of that Church) and what might be expected if their popish King was on the throne: and as such surmises tended highly to the prejudice of both Church and King, the Bishops thought it incumbent on them to manifest their dislike of what gave their enemies such a handle against them.

Here it will be expedient to show Gadderer a little more plainly in

his proper colours, by exposing the title on which he claim'd to act as Bishop of Aberdeen. Some two or three years agoe, the prysbyters in that diocess applyd to the Colledge that they would appoint a bishop to preceed over them and reside with them. The Bishops fearing they would choice Doctor Gairns (who having publickly advanced Madam Bonguion's wild doctrines, was by no means fitt to be promotted) answer'd there was no need of consecrating a new bishop for that end, but if they the Prysbyters would name any of the Colledge that was agreeable to them he should be appointed to reside with them, if they (the Bishops) approved of him. The Prysbyters accordingly mett, and, to the surprize of every body, elected Mr. Archbald Campbell. The Colledge upon notice therof writt to Campbell signifying their being willing to approve of what was done, provyded he would promise under his hand to maintain and propagate noe doctrine or usage not practised and warranted by the cannons of this Church. To this, Campbell writt a most ridiculous impertinent answer, positively refusing to give that satisfaction, and styling Bishop Fullerton pope, and Miller and Irvin his cardinals, of the Church of Scotland. This letter confirm'd the Colledge in their resolution not to approve of Campbell's repaireing to Aberdeen, and therof acquainted the prysbyters. However Campbell, slighting the authority of the Colledge, reckon'd himself canonically elected by the prysbyters, and 'tho he came not from London to recide amongst them personally, he sent Gadderer with a commission to act as his vicar. Now as this was all the right and title that Gedderer could claim, the world may judge of him by his accepting of what is so illegall; and the truth on't is, from his own and his associats in Scotland and England their conduct first and last in this matter, as they manifested a base contempt of the authority of the Colledge of Bishops and the advices and entreaties of the King's friends, ther's too much reason to apprehend, they had some secret views and motives, which they did not think fitt to own, or that they were stirr'd up by some, who at the bottome had designs prejudicial to the King and Church.

But now to return to the Bishops, who after having fully considered the present state of the Church, directed me to write to the King on that subject, the contents wherof I need not repeat, but refer to the letter which is hereto subjoynd.

The late act of Parliament obliging all persons to take the oath of abjuration, seem'd to be a matter of great moment, as it exposed the King's friends to great difficultys; such as did not comply were left at their enemies mercy; and those who did, were likely to be disesteem'd by those who did not, which could not fail to occasion a dryness at

least, amongst people who in the main aim'd at the same things. Many, to obviate the penalties of the law, or to render themselves qualify'd to follow out their employments as lawyers or the like, enclined to comply, but wisht the taking of it might have its rise from a general measure concerted by the leading men of the party. In all events it was thought proper that there should be a general measure and concert lor preserving the unity and spirit of the party; and for obtaining therof, Mr. Maul (now, by the death of his brother, Earl of Panmure) Kincardine and I laid our selves out. The Duke of Hamilton was the only person fitt to undertake the calling of a meeting, because he had not yet taken the oaths himself, and that his rank and quality entitled him to call such persons as were judged proper to meet and concert together. Wee apply'd again and again to him, but to no purpose, for 'tho he approved of the measure, he could not be persuaded to leave his country diversions and spend a few weeks in toun upon so pressing an occasion. Not being able to bring about such a meeting for laying down and taking joynt measures and thereby maintaining the face of a party, wee judgd it more necessary to lay the affair fully befor the King, which I accordingly did.

This matter of the oath will not allow me to pass by the infamous scandalous behaviour of the Scots members in the House of Commons; had they joy n'd when desired by the English members that were against it, they were more than enough to have thrown it out, but instead therof they joynd with the Court to impose it on England, and in revenge the English members extended it to Scotland: for at first the bill was brought in and only design'd for England, and the Scots members trusting to the promises of the Court that it should not, and slighting the threats of the English that it should be extended to Scotland, voted, all hut three, for the bill, for which act of folly and knavery, this hardship was imposed upon their countrymen at home. - Follows now my letter to the King on the forsaid subjects.

“September 10th 1723.

“Sir,—Some few days after I dispatched my letters of the 21st of May, I had the honour of yours of the 5th of April, and after having shewed it to such of your trustees as I could meet with, I was by them directed to lodge a cobby of that paragraph, which related to the Church, in one of the Bishops hands, and Lord Wigtoun made a tour thro Perth shyre and the adjacent countrys, and communicated the same to Lord Nairn, Drummond of Logie and several other honest gentlemen, with whom it had such good effects, that wee have reason to hope your pleasure and sentiments more fully expresst on that subject, as was humbly proposed in my last, will effectually answer

the end, and the more that Bishop Falconer is dead. For 'tho he outwardly pretended submission to the College, yet secretly he favoured and promoted the seeds of division, and there was too much reason to apprehend that he and Gedderer design'd very soon, without asking yours or the other Bishops approbation, to have consecrated several other Bishops, with a view of strenthning and encreasing their party; haveing in order therto drawn up a paper which was privatly dispersed, wherein they remonstrated against the declaration which the College required of all in holy orders promising to give obedience to their present superiours and not to propagate any innovations; and in this paper was advanced severall odd maxims, particularly that the present Bishops of Scotland were all Bishops at large, and owed no subjection to any other, or even to them all acting in a collegiate body, so that each was at liberty to exercise his spirituall jurisdiction where and after what manner he pleased, without being controulable by or accountable to any other power. As Falconer was much respected or rather revered on account of his learning and piety, his opinion in these matters moved many to have a favourable opinion of them, but now that he is dead, wee hope there will be less difficulty to keep them within due bounds. If Campbell come down, I beleive the College will quickly suspend him, having sufficient grounds to warrand such a step, besides his promotting this schism. As his character is no ways suited to the station he was advanced to in the Church, since Falconer's death the College think it expedient to make a further promotion of Bishops to be settled in those countrys, such as Fyfe, Angus and the Mairns over which he preceeded, and in such other places as Aberdeen shyre &c. where Gedderer applys himself to propagate his schism; at least, seeing most of the present Bishops are men of a great age, they think it very necessary to have your allowance and direction to consecrate at such times as they shall see cause and think it expedient, a certain number of other persons. This they desired me to lay befor you, and withall presume to recommend Mr. Norry minister at Dundee, Mr. Duncan minister at Kilbirnie, Mr. Ross minister at Cowpar, and Mr. Gordon minister at Elgin, as persons in all respects qualifyd for the trust, hoping you'l be pleased to authorize the consecration of all or such of them as they think convenient, and at such times as they judge proper. Some few days after I received this instruction, I was again call'd upon by two of the Bishops, who told me that the College had appointed them to acquaint me, that on further consideration of the state of affairs, and fresh account of Gedderers practices, they had resolved to cite him to appear befor them and answer for his presuming to assume the charge and exerce the office of Bishop of the

Diocess of Aberdeen, without your or the College having approved and authoriz'd the same, and to introduce any alteration in the worship and Ceremonies of the Church, not authorized by the canons, without nay contrary to the express orders of the College; and as they expected he would not appear, they, in that case, would suspend him. At the same time they foresaw insuperable difficultys and inconveniencies that would attend the delay of one cloathed with authority to counteract Gadderer and inspect the affairs of the Church in the northern countrys, untill an answer to what is above represented could come from you, and that none of the present Bishops could undertake it, being either very infirm or altogether unacquainted with the tempers and characters of the people both clergy and laity in those places; that therfor they thought it absolutly necessary to loss no time in consecrating a person and sending him to reside in these places; but as they had a most profound respect for you, and a just regard for your authority, they would make no steps thern that might be any ways displeasing to you, which they hope might be prevented, if they represented the case to your trustees, and obtaind their allowance to proceed immediatly, in regard the present situation of affairs could not admitt of so long a delay as to know your pleasure; and this they desired me to lay befor your trustees, and report their opinion and directions in the matter. I mett accordingly with a good number of them, who from a conviction of the necessity of speedily performing what the College proposed, and in regard they had showd all due deference to your authority, did take upon them to approve the design, and directed me to acquaint the College therof, and that I should likwyse give you an account of what they had done, being hopeful I you will not disapprove of it, seeing it was really a case of necessity, and the application made to your trustees preserves your prerogative unviolated. If you are pleased to authorize the College to make the promotions they humbly propose, and to approve of what is done with respect to Mr. Norry (the person design'd to be consecrated immediatly) it will I believe be expedient that you write two letters to the College, one authorizing them to make the promotions in the manner desired, the other approving of what they had done with respect to Norry, therin taking nottice of the application made to your trustees, and of his consecration being hasten'd without waiting for your previous direction, because of the inconveniencies attending a delay, and that therfor you approved of what was done, and of his taking upon him the government of the Church in the Diocess of Aberdeen and such other places as the College should think fitt to appoint. This authority from you will raise his credit and make him more regarded in those countrys where every thing that comes from

you hath its due weight. I took a proper occasion likewise to acquaint Bishop Fullerton that tho I did not question his own and his brethrens regard for the royall authority, yet the step they were to make with respect to Norry, might perhaps be adduced many years after this as a precedent against it, seeing nothing would appear to show the method that was taken and the true cause of it, for which reason I proposed the College should write a letter to me, disclaiming any design of encroaching upon your prerogative, and shewing the reason of their proceeding so hastily in that matter. He desired me to draw such a letter, which having done, he laid it befor his brethren, and return'd it to me sign'd with some few additions of their zeal and loyalty to you. This letter I shall keep for your service, least in any time coming men of unruly tempers make a bad use of what was truly done with no bad views and meerly from necessity.

“It will not perhaps be displeasing that I subjoyn a copy of this letter.—’Edinburgh, 24th August 1723. Sir,—The representation which the College of Bishops made to the King’s trustees, as it convinced them of the necessity to loss no time in consecrating speedily some proper person to repare to the North, to oppose and counteract Bishop Gedderers unaccountable proceedings there, it will likewise stand as a clear evidence of our profound respect for His Majesties royall prerogative, for tho wee were well assured of many irreparable disadvantages attending a direct application to the King, and having his pleasure therin transmitted to us, yet wee unanimously resolved to advance no steps therin unless, upon a representation of the matter, wee obtain’d his trustees consent and approbation, in regard to the present case of indispensable necessity. This wee hope will so much convince His Majestie that wee are far from having any views of lessening his royal authority, that he will be graciously pleased to approve of what wee have done with respect to the consecration of Mr. Norry, who is a person well affected to His Majesties person and government, and as you are fully apprized of what steps we made in this affair, wee beg and expect you will transmitt to His Majestie a just and full account therof, with an assurance of our heartie zeal for his service, and unalterable resolution to behave and demean our selves with that dutifull regard towards him which is suitable to the principles and doctrine of the loyal orthodox Church of Scotland, and which we have hitherto maintain’d in the worst of times. This by the direction and in name of my collegues the other Bishops of our Church is subscribed by me who sincerely am, Sir, Your &c.—Sic sub. Jo. Bishop of Edinburgh.’

“The late act of Parliament obligeing all persons to take, the oaths

to this government, or register the value of their real estates, is like to have very dismall effects; for how far the penalty or mulct to be imposed on such as doe not comply will extend, no man can say; but, as wee have reason to expect, matters will be driven as far as a furious set of men can devise. Some of your trustees have had several consultations on this subject, and so far they have concluded, that as general measures as possible be taken and followed out, which they are endeavouring to propogate, and are at pains to know what are peoples sentiments and resolutions, that so a general measure may be laid down if possible. There are some who will expose themselves and their familys to the greatest hardships rather than qualify, but by what wee can gather, the greatest part incline to venture themselves in the hand of God rather than of such men as wee have to doe with\*, 'tho at the same time they will stave it off to the last moment. Some of good consideration are very desireous to have your advice and directions; I told them that was a subject I could not venture to write on to you, that I did not think they could expect you would explain your self on that head, and the utmost they could desire from you was an intimation that what they might doe at this juncture and in this strait to preserve themselves and their familys from ruin, would not induce you to suspect theui loyahy and sincere attachment to. your interest, when any oportunity offered for your service. Tho, I would\* not accept of any direct commission to write to you on this subject\* I thought it incumbent on me to let you know the state wee were in, and how I found people were inclin'd. One thing is plain; if people act at random and without a rule and measure, many will comply and many stand out, and these too probably as formerly wiil value and reclion themselves more upright than the others, who on the other hand, as it is a certain truth universally known, that their compliance will proceed altogether from a view of eviting the effects of persecution, and that they still will retain their zeal for your service, will think they are not to be less esteem'd and trusted. These different ways of reasoning, according to the different passions and views of men, as they may occasion heats and divisions, ought by all means to be avoided and prevented. Having thus represented the present state, and what consequences may follow, you can best judge how far it is proper and convenient for you to interpose and give any directions or even signify your sentiments on so nice and critical a point.

“As I have your commands to inform you of every thing wherin I judge your service may be concern'd, it is my duty to obey,■ especially seeing some of your friends thought it absolutly proper to let you know that they are inform'd by good hands of there being

shrewd suspicions at London that Frazer of Bewforl hath of late regain'd the favour of the German ministry (from which not long agoe he was almost totaly secluded) by furnish-<sup>1</sup>ing them with intelligence of most matters that pass at your Court or else where abroad relative to yon and yours, and that this he procures by and thro the means of his friend Mr. Camp bell of Glendarule. How far this last gentleman is justly or unjustly accused, no body here can tell; the suspision is in few hands, and the intimation comes from persons who at the boUtome are not enemies to you, and probably with an intention you should be apprized of it, and you know best what use to make therof.

“I am also directed to inform you that some of your friends nay even of your trustees are at a loss what to think and how far to confide and correspond with the Duke of Mar. That one in his circumstances should have both personal friends and enemies, is no strange thing in this world. Those who act with an impartiall view for your service, doe what they can to suppress storys and jealousies of your friends, and especially of one of so great a figure as that noble Lord. At the same time they have had no intimations of your sentiments concerning him since his confinement at Geneva, on which account many passages with respect to his conduct and your not confiding in him have since that time been asserted by people both at home and abroad, pretending to good authority for what they advanced. But what puzzells us most is that part of the report of the committee of Parliament concerning the conspiracy, which positively affirms that he received a pension from the Government, on the assurance of his being out of your service, and being usefull to the other. It is pritty odd that a. committee of Parliament should take upon them in so publick a manner and in such express terms to assert such a fact, if not true, and it is as odd that he has never yet been at the pains either by himself or his friends to wipe off the aspersion. And under those circumstances, some of your best and most significant friends are at a loss what to think, or how to behave towards him and those that depend upon him in this country; and therfor it is thought that it would be much to your friends satisfaction and your own service that you Would be pleased (as you did formerly) to signify to them how far you still continue to entertain a good opinion of him. Such an intimation in his favours (if he deserves it) would remove the ‘suspicions of some, and enable others to contradict and silence the storys and clamours of those who, from personal piques and party views, grasp at all occasions to asperse him. I earnestly beg and humbly hope yqu will beleive what I have mention'd of these two persons can and does proceed from no other motive but the obligation I think incumbent on me, from your

commands and the trust reposed in me, impartially to acquaint you of what I or your friends conceive for your service to know. How far the suspicions of one or both of these persons are well or ill founded, no body here can tell, but it may be perhaps of use for you to know what is reported here on these and the like subjects, for regulating your own measures and removing ill grounded and unwarrantable jealousies amongst those that are well affected to you and your good cause.

“From what I have observ’d in the Bishop of Rochester’s tryall, it is not expedient for you to sign your letters with the same surname I direct mine to you. And therfor instead of be pleased to use in signing your letters to me for the future.

“I am sorry to tell you that I think Captain Straiton very much faild of late, and that I am affraid he cannot last long.

“I wish what answers you return to this may be convey’d by sure and safe hands, for a discovery would have bad consequences. It is now high time to putt an end to this tedious letter by assuring you that I am with all imaginable truth and respect, Sir, Your &c.

“P. S. The day befor I was to send this off, I received a letter from Bishop Fullerton acquainting me that Gedderer having made some show of submission, the Colledge did resolve to delay the consecration of Mr. Norry untill they knew your pleasure therin, and desired that, instead of Mr. Gordon, I should insert Mr. Ochterlonie, minister at Aberlemno, in the list of the persons they recommend. I have not time to transcribe this, and leave out what relates to Norrys being immediatly consecrated, so I beg you’d forgive this being writt by way of postscript and what errors I may have committed in reduceing this letter into cyphers by being much straitned in time.”

In a few days after I dispatched this letter, I received the Kings answer to mine of the 21st of May last, of which I must observe that it is writt in a general style and not so closs to the subject as was proposed in my letter, and consequently of less significancy, seeing both the contending partys pretended they were in the right, and did desire to promote unity and peace, provyded their opponents would knock under. Whither this manner of writing proceeded from no design, or that the King did not incline expressly to condemn tenets and usages near a kin to those of his own Church (on which account I purposely shun’d in my letters to make mention of the particulars) I cannot pretend to determine.

“August 20th 1723\* .

“Your letter of December last was so long on the road, that alltho I answerd it without delay on the 5th of April, I doe not wonder you had not received that answer when you wrote yours of the 21st of May, which I only received a few days agoe, and am sorry to find by it, that those differences, you formerly mentioned, still continue. But I hope the letter I here send you for the Scots Bishops will contribute to putt a speedy end to them, and it is most certain, if they doe continue, it must end in the utter destruction of the Church, for whose wellfare the rulers of it must certainly have a sincere regard; and therfor I am persuaded they will more willingly comply with what I desire of them. You will take the properest manner to have tins letter delivered to them, and I desire you at the same time to communicate it to some others of my friends of the laity, that they may joyn their endeavours to mine in procuring that harmony and peace among the Scots Bishops, which is so necessary not only for the Church, but for the wellfare of the good cause, which I am sure you and my other friends of the laity have too much at heart not to doe all that lyes in your power towards the promoting it. I shall not repeat to you what I say in my letter to the Bishops, which I am sure will be satisfactory to them, and I hope I shall have no more occasion of writing on so disagreeable a subject. It is true I have avoided writing on any into Scotland for some time for fear of accidents which might happen in these times of trouble and inactivity, but you may be assured that my thoughts have still been equally and wholly taken up with what may conduce to the delivery and wellfare of my subjects, which I shall ever pursue by all means possible, and disappointments and delays must not discourage us, nor hinder us from trusting to good Providence, which never abandons honest men in a just cause. .When you can write to me with safty I shall be always glad to hear from you, and I shall ever retain for you that true value and esteem which you deserve of me. Ther was no venturing to write the inclosed letter out of cypher, and as it is a paper which must be seen by several people, you will take care that the cypher it is writt in do not become too common.” Follows a letter to the Scots Bishops from the King.

“August 20th 1723.

“It was not without concern that I heard some time agoe of some divisions and differences of opinions that were amongst you, and that concern is now much encreased by the accounts I have again received

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\* Received 16 September 1723.

of the continuance of those variances which must be so destructive both to the Church and my interest, and therfor I cannot but hope that as all of you wish well to both, you would by this time in an amicable and friendly way putt an end to all past differences. But for fear you should not have been able as yet to doe so, I thought it necessary to write this letter to you, to recommend and indeed require of you, to loss no time in taking the most prudent and effectual measures, for the establishing an entire union and peace amongst you, towards which I shall always be so desireous, as it is manifest our enemies will ever draw their advantages from the contrary. The many assurances I have given of favour and protection to the Church of Scotland ought to make my sentiments in that respect not doubtfull to you; and the personal esteem and regard I have for your selves, will be much encrased by your ready compliance with what I have desired of you.”

Follow two letters from the King in answer to mine of the 10th of September 1723.

“November 24th 1723\* .

“Your letter of the 10th of September came safe to me, and I am much obliged to you for the continuance of your zeal and attention in all that relates to my service, and for your exactness in what relates to it, which I earnestly desire you to continue. By what I sent to you some weeks agoe, the College of Bishops will have seen my sincere regard for them and my concern for their wellfair, and they may be assured of my continuing in those sentiments towards them, and that their late respectfull behaviour towards me (of which you now give me an account) will induce me yet more to concurr with them in whatever may be for their support and advantage; but as my nomination of the persons they propose to be added to their number, doeth not seem now to press so much, I shall deferr for some weeks making any ample reply to that particular, and even to the rest of your letter, for I have no surer ways than those formerly used to convey my letters to you, and you are much in the right to apprehend the ill consequences of any discovery, besides that I hear some letters have been lately intercepted in England, and I think what wee ought cheifly to attend to at this time is not to give the Government the least handle of encreasing the persecution against the loyall party, but I hope long befor the end of the winter, I may be able with safty to write fully to you. In the mean time let my friends with you behave with the greatest prudence and caution on one hand, but let them, on t’other, keep up

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\* Received 12 July 1724.

their hearts and good will, for Providence will, I hope, at last open a way for their deliverance, the hasting of which takes up all my thoughts and time. As their present sufferings are my greatest afflictions, my tenderness for them is inexpressible, and my endeavours for their releif shall be constant. Pray let such as you confide in, not be ignorant of these my sincere sentiments, and be assured that mine towards you are accompany'd with a sincere esteem and kindness. I earnestly recommend both to the clergy and laity a strict union amongst themselves. Of all evils, none can be so fatall as any division amongst the loyall party, and many things ought to be pass'd over, and suffered, rather than venture the least breach amongst those who are united in the same cause."

The King's other letter\* .

"March 18th 1724.

"Since my last to you of the 24th of November, there has happen'd many great changes in the world; it is not easie to forsee what consequences they may be attended with, 'tho I hope and beleive they will be with none contrary to my interest, and nothing shall be neglected by me to improve them to the best advantage towards what all of us equally desire. In this situation I have little to say to you, and that made me deferr so long returning you a more ample answer to yours of the 10th of September, especially since I had reason to beleive that a small delay could be of no prejudice to the College of Bishops. The paper enclosed will I hope fully satisfy them; you will deliver it to them and explain at the same time that I thought it by no means adviseable to have a formall paper sent over at this time, for fear of accidents, and that they may look on this as equally authentick. The opening of the English Parliament seems rather to denotte a cessation' of persecution for the loyall party at this time, which I earnestly wish on all accounts, knowing that nothing will be capable of altering their zeal and affection for me. The best rule I can give you and my other friends for the present, as to corresponding with this side of the sea, is to address directly to my self. They are well acquainted how great my regard is to secrecy, cheifly on their account; it hath hitherto been with success, and shall, if possible, be redoubled for the time to come, being well apprized of the importance of it, so that by this means they may be entirely at ease on that head, as you may be of my continuance of my sincere esteem and friendship for you.

"The family is all in good health; wee have lost a very good friend

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\* Received 12 July 1724.

of our landlord, but his death can have no great influence on the affairs of the family or company. Let my friends whom you converse with find here my kind, compliments.”

The King’s letter to the Bishops.

“March 18th 1724.

“Mr. Lockhart did not fail to inform me in due time of the particulars you were desirous I should be apprised of in relation to the Church of Scotland, and I was equally affected with concern for the want of union and harmony amongst you and your brethren, and with the deepest sense of gratitude and regard for the constant loyalty submission and attachment which you have express’d for me on this, and so many other occasions. My particular esteem for your Body is well known to you, and your present behaviour towards me doeth justly increase it, and with it my concern for your welfare and all that may contribute to your advantage, and to preserve amongst you peace and union which I most earnestly recommend unto you, as equally important both for your selves and the good cause; and therfor to give you a new proof of these my sentiments towards you and of my confidence in you, I hereby approve and authorize your adding to your number the four persons you propose to me for that effect, viz. Mr. John Ouchterlonie, Mr, Robert Norie, Mr. Alexander Duncan, and Mr. James Ross, not doubting but that their principles of loyalty and affection to their country and my family are suitable to those other qualifications, which have made you think them worthy to be the rulers of a Church, the members of which have on so many occasions shewed themselves to be equally good patriots and good subjects. But as I am most tender of any thing that might in the least disturb your peace or give our adversaries any handle to exercise new cruelty towards you, and considering my present distance from you, I leave to your determination to delay the adding to your number the four above named persons, as long as you shall think fitt, to the end that by taking a proper time to make that step, it may be void of all inconvenience, and only tend to your advantage, as I intend and wish it may prove. The present circumstances and my just regard for your safty, would not allow of my writing to you in another form, but it is my intention that you should look on what is herein contain’d as authentick, and as sufficient to justify with me your proceeding in consequence of it. And you may be always assured of my readiness and desire to favour and protect the Church of Scotland, and to show you the personall esteem and value I have for your selves.”

Follows a letter of mine to the King.

“August 18, 1724.

“Sir,—In a few dayes after my dispatching my last of the 10th of September, I received yours of the 20th of August, and about six dayes agoe I received at the same time two other letters from you of very different dates, viz, the 24th of November and 18th of March last.

“I have been so long silent, because in truth I had little or nothing of any moment to communicate to you, and I was unwilling- to trouble you untill I could say something of the effects of your severall letters, exhorting the clergy to peace and unity amongst themselves. And I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that I hope these matters are so adjusted, that you shall have no further trouble from that quarter on that score. The Bishops have acted very prudently, for as they were resolved to maintain their authority, they at the same time shewed a readiness to adjust differences upon reasonable terms, which with your letters, forced Gedderer to submit, ‘tho at the same time he and his bretheren would never have adjusted matters, had not some of your trustees been present at their meetings, and by virtue of your authority interposed betwixt them. And I cannot but reckon it a peice of service done you, in regard the common enemy seem’d mightily pleased at the prospect of a division amongst those who were reckond to have an attachment to you, and propogated a world of false storys, with an intent to blow the coal, and weaken the interest of the common cause. But now I hope theyr disappointed in this particular. Whilst lam on this subject, I cannot but observe and regrave how unaccountable it is for men that are at, under, and in a state of persecution, to be so factious and divided amongst themselves, and yet this hath been and I beleive will be the case thl the end of the world, especially amongst clergymen, whom it is not easie, under any circumstances, to keeep in due bounds. Amongst the small number of our Scots Bishops, there’s abundance of private views and self interest, which in a great measure is kept lurking by the prudence and authority of their *primus* Mr. Fullerton; but on the event of his death (which, as he is of a great age and not very healthy, may happen too soon) it is easie to foresee, it will break out and have very bad consequences, particularly on the occasion of acting as *primus* during the interval of acquainting you of his death and receiving your commands as to the person you design to succeed him. Of the whole number, Mr. Irvine seems to be the most proper person. He’s a gentleman of good sense and experience in bussiness, and by his joyning my Lord Dundee and Lord Kenmure, on which first account he was obliged to retire for several years to France, and lay long in

prison after the unhappy action at Preston, his loyalty and zeal for your service are unexceptionable. The Viscount of Kylsyth and most of those now with you know him well, and will confirm what I say of him. Tho this person is certainly the fittest to succeed Mr. Fullerton, it would not be proper that you should nominate him or any other till the event happen. But it is the humble opinion of several of your trustees that it would tend much for preserving that peace and unity which you so much and on such good grounds doe recommend, if you would send a letter, directed to the Bishops, signifying that wheras you are at a great distance at present and cannot give such speedy directions on several matters, as the importance of the subject often requires, and being sensible that many inconveniencies may arise to the Church of Scotland, if Mr. Fullerton the present *primus* should happen to dye, for want of one of the College duely authorized to supply the vacancie untill you have time and opportunity to name one to succeed him, that therfor you have sent previously this letter to be ready and delivered to the College of Bishops, on the event forsaid, and that you doe therby direct Bishop Irvine to reside at Edinburgh and preside in the College of Bishops, untill you name another to act and officiat as *primus*. Tis proposed that this letter should be kept so very secret, that none of the clergy, nor any other but those by whose directions I write this, should know of it, till the time of its being delivered, and its thought an expedient nay the only one, that will prevent the heats and divisions which will otherwyse infallibly happen, to the no small prejudice of your interest here; for as the Episcopal party, which dayly becomes more numerous, are all entirely devoted to you, and that in some measure you are in the actuall exercise of your regall power, in so far as they willingly follow your directions in what you require of them, it is certainly for your service to keep them entire and at one, in all matters civil or ecclesiastick; and whilst they are in this good temper, T am fond of every occasion that casts up for you to exercise your royall authority over so great a number of loyall subjects willing to receive your commands, least an interruption therof should make them, when they may and should appear for you, forgett their duty to you; it being a certain maxim that a remisness or backwardness therin often proceeds from being unaccustomed to it, and that an authority claimd and exercised, 'tho but in a small degree, is easier maintain'd and even enlarged to its proper extent, than where it has never existed, nor been in the least own'd and submitted to.

“I was pritty much puzzled how to behave from that part of yours dated 18 of March, which directed all letters of bussiness to the other side of the sea to be address'd to your self, in regard it seem'd to be

applyd to that part of mine dated 10th September concerning the Duke of Mar, and that when I communicated it to those few, who knew of my writing to you on that subject, they had the same apprehensions of it, and concluded that you did not approve Mar's conduct, and that he was no longer trusted by you. Nay the few that knew nothing of what I had writt, and to whom I told your directions in general terms (such as the Duke of Hamilton, Henry Straiton, and Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket, because I did not know but they might write, and address these letters after another manner than you directed) these I say did putt the same construction on it. To the first I replyd that your words did not expressly carry that sense, and 'tho it should be true in fact, the method which you took in signifying your sentiments, besides many other obvious reasons, did show how unfitt it was that any suspicions of that person were publick, in regard his falling off would be a prejudice to the reputation of your affairs; and if the suspicion was groundless, the propaleing of it would be an horrid act of injustice to him. They all agreed with me, and resolved to take no manner of notice of having any such jealousy. To the others I answer'd that I knew nothing of the matter, that I had received your orders and apprised them therof, and it was none of our bussiness to draw inferences, especially when they were not founded upon good authority, and were prejudiciall to the common cause. In fine I resolved to communicate your orders even in general terms to very few, and those only such as I imagine may keep a correspondence abroad.

"I have several times of late years inform'd you of Straiton's being very infirm and valetudinary, and the truth ont is, these seven years bypast, I would not have bought his life at as many months purchase, and it is more uncertain now than ever, having within these six months been cutt sixteen times of a fistula, the root wherof I hear is nevertheless still remaining, by which he is reduced to be a meer skeleton, and confined altogether to his bed, so that there is no humane probability of his lasting long. Some of your trustees mett lately to consider of a fitt person to recommend to you to succeed him in what bussiness you committ to him here, and they unanimously agreeing upon John Corsar, directed me to signify so much to you. His zeal, integrity and capacity are known to all your friends with you and here, and Glenbucket concurr'd in approving of him, as one that would be acceptable to himself and the Highlanders; and what makes him appear more fitt for that trust, he resides closs at Edinburgh, and hath been of late years much employ'd by Straiton to decypher his letters and convey his dispatches, and is therby in a great measure acquainted

with his correspondents and the canal of conveying and receiving his intelligence. If you pitch upon this person or any other, tis submitted how far you think it expedient to advertise Straiton therof, and desire him to give that person such insight in your affairs, that in the event of his death or sickness, there may be no loss of time, or mistakes committed in the mahajjeing of them. I beleive such an advertisement would come best from your self to the good old man.

“Your friends in all corners long impatiently for good news, being heartily tyred of the present situation of affairs. I am with the utmost respect and deference Your &c.

“P.S. Since writing of this letter Bishop Irvin was sent to me by a good number of his bretheren, to acquaint me that notwithstanding what they had done for establishing peace and unity, they were informed some gentlemen in Angus were going about asking subscriptions to an address to the College, desireing they would consecrate and appoint Mr. Ratray of Craighall to be their Bishop; that as this gentleman (one indeed of a good family and estate, of great piety and learning and lately ordaind a priest) was the main supporter of Gedderer and his party, they understood that the cheif promottors of this address were of the same stamp, and had the advanceing of his schemes in view, by this promotion, for which reason these Bishops were of opinion that he was most unfitt to be made a Bishop, least the peace and unity of the Church be further disturbed, and they resolved to unswer the address after the following manner; That as there is< at present a sett of Bishops sufficient for the service of the Church, the encreasing of the number would rather doe harm than good; and that besides they neither can nor will proceed to consecrate him or any other person, but by your direction and under your authority. And having reason to apprehend that these addressers design’d to apply to you, they desired me to acquaint you, they were humbly of opinion there was not the least occasion for adding any more to their number, and were it otherwyse,. this gentleman is by no means a fitt person to be promotted, in regard it could not fail to introduce divisions and discord, to which they know you doe not incline to give the least encouragement and may easiely on this occasion avoid, by letting them know that in such matters you act by the advice of the College of Bishops.”

When Gadderer perceived the Bishops were determined to proceed against him, and that some of the laity who had hitherto supported him, and most of those who seem’d indifferent in the contraversy were moved with the King’s letters on that subject and began to discountenance him, he thought fitt to come to Edinburgh and submitt

to the authority of the College, which mett upon that occasion, and where the Earls of Wigton, Penmure and Kincardine and my self were desired to be present to give our opinions and advice. Gadderer insisted much that the usages he introduced were practised by the primative Fathers, and tho he would not averr they were essentiall, yet he reckon'd them as integrals in the worship of God, and thought himself indispensably obliged to use the mixture of water with wine in his administration of the holy eucharist, yet for peace sake he would bring himself to communicate with others, tho there was no such mixture. The other Bishops replyd that they lookt upon these usages as matters indifferent in themselves, but that their enemies made a bad use of their being introduced, for which reason they could not approve of them, and he (Gedderer) as being a son of the Church, should submitt to the authority of the College in all such matters as extended no further than to rites and cerer monies, and the external government of the Church. However, to indulge his scrupulous conscience, they would make such concessions as they judged consistant with the interest of the Church, and ought to satisfy him. Accordingly articles of agreement were drawn up and signd by the whole College, the sum wherof was, that Gadderer therby engaged to introduce propogate or allow of no usages and ceremonies within his district that were u<A couform to the cannons and practice of the Church of Scotland, excepting that of the mixture of the cup, which they (the other Bishops) were willing to connive at in him, provyded he perform'd it only to those that demanded it and with such privacy and prudence, as not to give offence to others who startled at such innovations; and that he (Gedderer) did submitt himself to the power of the College in all matters, from whom alone he did acknowledge that he derived his authority to exercise the episcopal function and powers in his diocess. So that here he gave up his friend and patron Mr. Campbell, who was not a little nettled at it and pretended still to have the only legall tittle to be Bishop of Aberdeen. I cannot express the disorder that was at this meeting, for there was little reasoning on the matter; most of the discourses being invectives and unmannerly reflections against Gadderer, who being on the other hand as obstinate as a mule, nothing to purpose would have attended this conference, had not the noblemenabove mention'd interposed and by their solid reason and authority adjusted matters in the manner I have breifly related., Wee were now in hopes that matters were so settled, the Bishops would have lived like bretheren not only of one Church but of affliction; but wee soon saw tis one thing to smother a flame, and another to extinguish a fire. Some time after this transaction happened, the College proceeded to consecrate Mr. Duncan and Mr.

Norrie, and they appointed the former to have the inspection of the diocess of Glasgow, and spoke of committing the care of the shires of Angus and Mearns ta the other. As this was expected to be the consequence of his promotion, some, who had no good will to him, engaged Bishop Fullerton to promise not to consent therto, unless he was approven of by a majority of the prysbyters of those bounds and was found to be agreeable to the people, particularly those of interest and power; and therfor when these appointments were first intended, he proposed that previous therto they should apprise the prysbyters therof, and know their sentiments therein. This being agreed to, letters were accordingly writ by Fullerton in name of the Colledge. Duncan being unammously accepted, he was immediatly settled, but as the snare was laid for Norrie, preparations were made to oppose him. Tho Mr. Gadderer had compounded matters for liimself, yet Mr. Rattray of Craighall, and some few gentlemen his neighbours whom he had intoxicated with his notions about the usages, did by no means desire Mr. Norrie, because they knew he would not give way to their endeavours to propogate the same, and their hearts were sett upon having Rattray to be consecrated and appointed their Bishop, designing to apply to the King for his consent therto. In order therfor to stave off Norrie, they prevaild with a small majority of one or two of the prysbyters to signify their dissatisfaction with Mr. Norrie, and they carried about an address in the same strain, to which they procured a good many considerable heretors hands, most of whom were perfectly indifferent in the matter, and only complyd on the importunity of their friends and neighbours and without duely reflecting on the consequences therof. At the same time a considerable number of the clergy signifyd their entire satisfaction with Norrie, and the Lords Strathmore and Gray wrot to the same purpose to the Colledge, assuring them he was most agreeable to a great and considerable body of that country, and that the opposition he mett with was from secret views no ways suitable to the interest of the Church. When the Colledge mett in the begining of winter 1724 to determine this affair, Mr. Rattray appear'd as representing the Clergy, and my Lord Panmure in name of the Heretors Remonstrators, (which name they assumed) and I was sent for to be present at the debate. Panmure (who appeared in it either out of some private picque against Mr. Norrie, or to render himself popular with these remonstrators) presented the address from the Heretors, and Mr. Rattray the remonstrance by the Clergy. In opposition to which, the letters from the two noble Lords, and the approbation of the Clergy were produced and all read. And here I must observe, that tho the latter were full of the praises of Mr. Norrie, the other did not mention or insist on any

one accusation against him, except that he was hott in his temper. The College proceeded immediatly to canvass the claims of the several prysbyters, how far they were severally entitled to give their consents. As I saw whither this was driving, I told them I was very ignorant in the affairs of the Church, and, for my instruction, I beg'd to know in whom they thought the power of electing a Bishop was lodged, and that I beleived this was a matter necessary to be adjusted befor they proceeded to such a scrutiny. Panmure, with some warmth, replyd, that by the legall establishment of the Church of Scotland, the right belong'd to the Dean and Chapter, but as that could not in the present situation of affairs be obtain'd, the next best method to be followed was that of the primative Church, when no Bishop could be appointed to any diocess without the concurrence of the majority of the Clergy and approbation of the people; and in this he was seconded by Fullerton, Gadderer and Rattray. I answer'd that I highly approved of the method, in so far as a due regard should be had to the inclinations and sentiments of both clergy and people; but I did not find that this method of electing a Bishop to a particular diocess was either an essentiall point or an integral, that I revered those ancient fathers of the Church, but I did not think they were infallible and that future ages were blindly to follow their examples; that circumstances render'd a method proper at one time very improper at another; and since it was evident in these our days, from a review of what dayly occur'd in the popular calls of Prysbyterian ministers and the occasion of the present meeting, that lodging such a power in the inferiour clergy and the people, occasion'd divisions and animosities, I thought it ought to be avoided, especially seeing it was not agreeable to the legall constitution of the Church of Scotland, which did not leave the election to the Dean and Chapter, for the King was authorized by law to make the nomination, which he did by a *conge de lire* sent to the Chapter, who again were obliged to elect the very person the King named; so that the power of appointing Bishops to particular diocesses was properly in the King, and I thought it would be necessary for him to assume that power, since it was plain to what a bad use some were like to turn the liberty he left them; but that in the present case, which, after the noise that had been made about it, could not in justice to Mr. Norries character and with the credit of the College be delayd, I offered it as my opinion that: fche College should cheifly consider the objections and not the numbers of the objectors to Mr. Norrie, and if they appear'd frivolous and humourous, or if they suspected there was more design'd than pretended, they should immediatly setle Mr. Norrie, and in this I was backd by all the other Bishops. Panmure presst a delay, in hopes matters would be

accomodated; I replyd that no delay was to be admitted, the Prysbyters pretended to encroach on the power, which, in the present case, none could claim by any legal tittle but the College; that the heats and divisions were already gone to a great lenth and would encrease by a delay, and that there was no way to settle peace and order in these countrys, but for the College to assert and maintain their authority. Panmure and I after this came away, and after several meetings and much wrangling, the Bishops did cast several of the prysbyters that were against Norrie, as having no good tittle, and so the majority turn'd on his side, and he was appointed to inspect and exercise the episcopal jurisdiction in these shyres, by the consent of all the Bishops, except Fullerton and Gedderer, who, finding they were outvoted, claim'd a negative power vested in Fullerton as *primus*; but being obliged to give up that point, Fullerton was prevail'd with to refuse signing the minuts, 'tho he was urged and presst to doe it as incumbent on him, being *preses* of the meeting. He obstinately refused, imagining that if it was known that he had not consented, his character was so universally approv'd of, that it would lessen that of Norrie and even give grounds to those that would not submitt to him, to urge the invalidity of his tittle, in regard that he wanted the metropolitan authority belonging to the *primus*, which was necessary in this case. However the other Bishops caused the clerk of the meeting sign the minutes of their proceedings, and give an extract therof to Mr. Norrie, as being sufficient to warrant and authorize him to act in the terms therof. This conduct of Fullerton lessend his character very much, and Rattray exposed himself exceedingly, having been so willfull as to enter, in name of the prysbyters, a protestation against Mr. Norrie, and so rash or vain as to print and disperse it thro this and other kingdoms, to the great satisfaction of the Prysbyterians who laughed and rejoyced at these divisions. As soon as the College adjourned, Mr. Norrie went home and was kindly received by his friends and adherents, but his opposers continued in their bad humour and would not submitt to him nor own him as their Bishop, and the malice of the two partys encreased dayly, and came at lenth to a great bight. And as the King's trustees perceived that discord and division amongst his friends would be the consequence of leaving his subjects, especially the clergy, to act with such full powers, directed me to write the following letter to him.

“December 8th 1724.

“Sir,—Since my writing a letter a few weeks agoe, and which I beleive will come at the same time with this to your hands, I received directions from your trustees to acquaint you, that the College of

Bishops, in virtue of the power you gave them, did immediately proceed to consecrate Norrie and Duncan, Bishops at large, and some little time thereafter, they appointed the last to inspect and have the charge of the diocese of Glasgow, and proposed to commit the like in the shires of Angus and Mearns to the other. But in this last they divided and run into the utmost height of party rage, in which they were severally supported by the noblemen and gentlemen of these bounds. However the majority of the Bishops, seconded by the Earl of Strathmore and several other persons of note that are for Norrie, settled him there in opposition to Fullerton and Gedderer who have opposed it and protested against it and are seconded by a great number of gentlemen. In short not only are the Bishops broke in pieces amongst themselves, but the divisions and heats amongst the laity is also very great, and has occasional such a breach and misunderstanding as will not, I fear, be easily or soon accommodated, to the prejudice of the common interest in these loyal shires.

“Your trustees, in order to prevent the like disputes for the future, humbly offer as their advice that you’d be pleased to write to the Bishop of Edinburgh, signifying that tho you had allowed them to consecrate a certain number of Bishops that the order may be continued, yet you desired the College should not for the future proceed to settle any to the charge and inspection of any particular diocese or province, until they have acquainted your trustees of the person’s name; that they may enquire how far he’ll be acceptable to your faithful subjects, and may be in other respects fitt for that part of the country, and after making a report thereof to you> you signify your pleasure therein. Your trustees conceive this method will prevent such divisions and discord as have arisen on this late occasion, and will at the same time support and maintain the power lodged in and practised by the Crown in the nomination and appointment of Bishops, and withall be mighty agreeable to the subjects, when they see your care and concern for them. This I am directed to lay before you, as what your trustees think for your own, as well as the Church and the country’s service. I wrote so fully in my last that I have nothing more to add but that I am your

Whilst the affair I have narrated was in agitation, I received the following letter\* from the King.

“August 31, 1724.

“Since what I wrote to you of the 18th March, I have not heard

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\* Received 18 November 1724.

from you, which I expect with impatience to doe, and in the mean time shall delay no longer informing you of some particulars which it is fitt on many accounts you and some of my principal Scots friends should be informed of.—The present situation of Europe, as it appears to the publick, is sufficiently known to you. It is scarce possible that it should continue long as it is, and I cannot easiely imagine a change which may not be more or less favourable to the good cause. My constant endeavours and application to forreign princes in behalf of it, neither is nor shall be discontinued, and I cannot but say that forreign affairs never appeared to me with so favourable an aspect as at present. I doe not indeed see any immediate hopes of success in my negotiations with forreign Courts, but the present system of politicks is such, that they may alter when wee least expect it, and therfor my faithfull Scots subjects should always have it in their view to be in a readiness of acting in a proper manner, whenever a favourable occasion offers. In the interim I shall be glad to hear from them as often as prudence will allow, and the more directly they are adrest to my self, the better. They see by experience how cautious I am in all that relates to their safty, and will I'm sure be glad to know how entirely I can depend on the prudence and fidelity of John Hay, of whose good qualitys I have had a long experience; and as I have entrusted him with my most secret affairs for many years past, and actually now employ him as secretary, so I shall soon give him the name of it, to enable him the better to serve me and the cause.

“I have been always unwilling to mention Marr, but I find my self indispensably engaged at present to let my Scots friends know that I have withdrawn my confidence entirely from him, as I shall be obliged to doe from all who may be any ways influenced by him. This conduct is founded on the strongest and most urging necessity, in which my regard to my faithfull subjects and servants have the greatest share. What is here said of Marr, is not with a view of its being made publick, there being no occasion for that, since many years agoe he putt himself under such engagements that he could not serve me in a publick manner, neither has he been publickly employ'd by me.

“After this what I most earnestly recommend to my friends, is to arm themselves against the artifices and contrivances of our enemies, who aje by all manner of means endeavouring to sow divisions and discord amongst them, as the only means they have left to support themselves by; but all their endeavours will be in vain, if they find they are dispised and that nothing can shake my Scots friends in their union amongst themselves and their submission and attachment to me. I

have had too many proofs of it ever to doubt of their continuing in those their fixt principles, and I can say with truth I deserve this conduct from them on all accounts, since the tender affection I bear to them was born with me, and will ever induce me to doe all in my power for their happiness and welfare. I am unwilling to trouble my friends with particular letters which might at this time expose them to danger, and which I am sure they doe not need, to be convinced of my kindness for them, of which you will assure them, and I have nothing further to add at present, but let you know the continuance of the good health of my family. My confidence in your endeavours to serve me and the cause is great, and my sincere esteem and friendship for you will ever be the same.”

A letter to the King’ in answer to his last, wherin I acquainted him at lenth of a long conversation I had with the Duke of Wharton, which is needless to insert in this cobby, so I only sett down what it further contain’d.

“November 28th 1744.

“Sir,—You have long ere this I hope gott mine of the 18th of August, being in answer to yours of the 18th of March. The contents of yours which I had the honour lately to receive shall as you directed be communicated only to such for whom you design’d it, and that with all imaginable caution.

“It is some time agoe since your friends here had doubts of the Duke of Marr, and thence it was that I was directed to mention him in the manner I did in my last two letters, it being a matter of no small moment to us, to know in whom wee might confide thorowly, and of whom beware, especially when a person of his figure was the object.

“As your friends here have the utmost deference for your judgement, Mr. Hay no doubt will be very acceptable in the station you have thought him fitt to serVe in. I wish his lady a happy deliverance (for I am told they design to carry the law to the utmost rigour against her) and that his brother Kinnoul had not, by deserting his old friends and accepting of a scrub pension, given himself up to the direction of the present powers, contrary to what one might reasonably have expected from a gentleman of his birth, estate, sense and by past professions and actions. I am told that they have some apprehensions that Lord Bathurst is on the same way, at least that he is prevaild with to retire and lye by.

“The account you are pleased to give of your affairs abroad must needs be joyfully received by all who wish you well, and are sensible

of their countrys unhappy state, which I think cannot long subsist under its present hardships. Tho the effects of these your forreign negotiations may be remote, yet any thing that appears like the dawning of more happy days, gives great pleasure, and supports our spirits. Were but forreign princes once sensible that your restoration will sute with their own particular interests, I think it very easie to convince them to a demonstration that it is practicable without much charge or hazard, for no very great power would be sufficient to give such life to your affairs in this island as would soon terminate in the overthrow of your enemies.

“Wee were terribly alarm’d with some late accounts of the Queens indisposition, but our fears are now removed. That God may preserve your sacred persons and with success crown all your endeavours to redress all your own injuries and releive your oppresd people, is the earnest desire of Your &c.

“P. S. Since writing this letter and a review of your last, a difficulty hath occur’d to me, which I presume to lay befor you, because you alone can solve it. You are pleased to intimate that your confidence is withdrawn from Marr, and all who may be influenced by him: there are in the number of your trustees here, two persons, who, tho I beleive them very honest gentlemen, tis presumeable may be under his influence, at least they have a great attachment to him, and these are Lord Dun and Sir John Erskine. Now I want to know your pleasure whither or not wee should continue to act in concert with them in your affairs. I have mention’d nothing of your last to them, and till I have your directions, I can manage matters well enough so as to keep fair with them, for as there are but three or four of us that meet together (of which number these two are not) and that I goe betwixt them and the other trustees, I can easiely prevent giving these two persons any just grounds of exception, and at the same time keep them in the dark, untill I have your directions.

“By a letter last post from the Duke of Wharton I am told that Kinnoul seems to act the part of a true convert, by being very zealous, for he had not only delivered to the Secretary of State the letters he received lately from abroad, particularly those from Mrs. Hay, but had likwyse discoverd that Mr. Weems the apothecary used to receive and convey his correspondence with his friends on the other side of the water.”

About the latter end of the year 1724 a resolution past the House of Commons wherby instead of the malt tax, six pence per barrell of ale was laid of additional duty on Scotland (and not extended to England)

and the premiums on grain exported from thence was taken off. As this was a plain breach of the Union, in so far as it is expressly stipulated that there shall be an equality of taxes and premiums on trade, every Scots man was highly enraged at it, for as it was evident that the want of the premiums would effectually stop the exportation of grain, which would thereby become a meer drugg, nobody could foresee to what night this precedent of taxing Scotland separately from England might afterwards be extended. 'Tis impossible to express the resentment of the nation at this measure, all parties seem'd reconciled and to unite in opposing what was so pernicious to the country in general and at the same time touched every particular mans copyhold. The King's friends laid hold upon this occasion, and privately, underhand, fomented the bad humour, it not being fitt, as indeed there was no need of their distinguishing their zeal at this time. A meeting of the heretors of the shyre of Edinburgh was called, where I presented an address to the House of Commons, which being heartiely approved of, was signed and next day sent up by an express to London. There were also at this and a subsequent meeting two letters, the first drawn by my self, and the other by Sir John Dalrymple, to our representative in Parliament, containing directions and instructions how he was to behave in this matter; and because these were the standard by which the convention of Royall burrows and most of the burrows and shyres fram'd the addresses and instructions which from thence were likewise sent up, I shall here insert a copy of the address and first letter of instructions from the shyre of Edinburgh. I could not procure a copy of the second letter, and the want thereof is of no great moment, seeing the main scope and purport of it was rigorously to enforce the first, with this addition, That in case the applications made against these resolutions had not their due weight, that then he their representative should protest against the measure as a violation of the •Union, and thereupon leave the House. Tho it is certain and was told that by the forms of the House of Commons no protestation could be entered or would be admitted, yet people in this and most other shyres and burrows were fond of the expression and insisted on that direction, to shew thereby more strongly what were their sentiments and inclinations.

“To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

“The Petition of the Barrons and Freeholders in the Shyre of Edinburgh

“Humbly sheweth,

“That being inform’d of a motion made and agreed to in the House of Commons for imposing an additional duty of six pence per barrell of all ale vended and sold in Scotland, and for taking away the bountys allow’d by law for exportation of the grain that is of the growth and produce of Scotland as an equivalent for Scotlands being exempted from paying the same dutys on malt, that are to be imposed on England—Wee beg leave to remonstrate against the same, not that wee apprehend this expedient will be of it self a greater burden than the malt tax, but because it would be expressly contrary to the Articles of the Union, and would prove a dangerous precedent for introducing further innovations, and would invalidate the security of the present Constitution which is established and depends upon the Contract of Union betwixt the two kingdoms. By the seventh article of the said Union it is agreed that all parts of the united kingdom be for ever, from and after the Union, lyable to the same excise upon exciseable liquors, excepting only that ale in Scotland, sold and retaild for two pence the Scots pint, be not after the Union lyable, on account of the present excise upon exciseable liquors in England, to any higher imposition than two shillings sterling upon twelve gallons of Scots measure, so that if any further excise is imposed upon Scotland, without being at the same time extended to England, the equality stipulated by the forsaid article would be infringed. By the sixth article of the Union, it is stipulated and agreed that all parts of the united kingdoms for ever from and after the Union shall have the same allowance encouragements and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions restrictions and regulations of trade, and lyable to the same dutys and customs on export and import; from which it appears the grain of the growth and produce of Scotland is equally entituled to praemiums on exportation with that of the growth and produce of England; and debarring the Scots grain so exported from being entituled to praemiums allowed and continued to the grain of England, wee conceive would be a plain and manifest violation of the said article. As the said two articles stand evidently in opposition to the forsaid motion, wee beg leave to represent that they seem to us to be fundamental, and not subject to any alteration whatsoever, so long as the Union of the two kingdoms does subsist; for it is evident that they were intended, as it is expressly declared, that they should remain for ever, and consequently, wee humbly conceive, are not subject even to the legislature, whose power and authority being founded upon the Union of the two kingdoms, must, by the law of nations and the very nature of the Union, be regulated and determined by the contract of agreement between the formerly independent but now united nations, an infringement of any part wherof would be a

violation of the faith on which the Union was founded and without which it cannot subsist. Wee therfor earnestly pray Your Honours will reject the foresaid proposalls of an additional excise upon the ale in Scotland and for debarring the grain and produce of Scotland from having the same bountys on export as is allowed to the grain in England; as being contrary to the Articles of Union, upon the faith wherof the two kingdoms were and remain unitted, which wee hope and are persuaded that you the protectors of the libertys of Great Britain will ever inviolably maintain.”

Follows a letter from the Heretors of the shyre of Edinburgh to Robert Dundass of Arniston, Lord Advocate, their Representative in Parliament.

“Edinburgh, December 17th 1724.

“My Lord,—The accounts wee have lately had of a motion made and approved of in the Committee of ways and means for an additionall excise upon ale vended in Scotland, and depriving us of the benefitt of the bountys continued to England on the exportation of their grain, hath allarm’d us exceedingly, not only as it discourages our industry at home, increases the burdens which wee were formerly scarce able to bear, and tends to destroy our trade, but likewyse and cheifly as it is a plain and manifest violation of the articles of the Union, seeing if such a precedent be laid down for altering or rather subverting these articles that are expressly stipulated to remain for ever, the same may be extended to every other branch and all the priviledges and advantages that are stipulated for the benefit and security of the two nations, with respect either to their civill or religious interests.

“The foundation of a Government is so tender a point, as not to admitt of any infringement, even in the most minute particular, without endangering the whole fabrick, and wee have the greater reason to be alarm’d at such a design, because wee are united with a nation much more powerfull than ours, and that wee have not an equall number of voices in the two houses of Parliament, to support and maintain our rights, nor is there any umpire to whom wee can apply, and who is entituled to interpose and enforce the due observation of the articles and conditions, on which the Union of the two kingdoms is founded. As these dismall effects seem to us the naturall consequences of the forsaid motion, wee doe not doubt but Your Lordship will exert your self in opposing it. Wee were in hopes that the same reasons which moved our neighbours in England to connive at the duty on malt not being exacted in Scotland for the time

bypast, would have still prevaild with them to ease us of that heavy burden; but seeing the publick service doeth require a fiirther demand of supplys upon this part of the kingdom, wee would much rather have the dutys upon malt imposed and exacted at the same rate and in the same manner as in England, than have a precedent laid down for unhingeing of the Union, which is a necessary consequence of that motion.

“My Lord wee are extreamply pleased to hear of the opposition Your Lordship made to the bill; there never was an occasion more pressing than the present to exert your parts in defence of your country; wee doubt not but you will be vigorously seconded by all our countrymen in Parliament, and wee hope you will all joyn and concurr in shewing your utmost resentment against the instruments and promotters of a design attended with such fatal consequences, and wee cannot imagine there is any person or body of men so powerfull as to despise the effects therof, when they are sensible it proceeds from a conviction of the injury intended to the country, and a fixed resolution of uniting together to maintain her just rights.—Wee have heard what good effects such a hearty coalition of the Scots members did produce on a former occasion, when the malt tax was first extended to Scotland, towards inducing the then powerfull enough Ministry to superceed the execution therof; and as wee are persuaded the present representatives of Scotland are as sincere and resolute in their country’s cause, wee may expect the same good effects will follow the like just resentment and vigorous resolutions following upon it; but in case wee be disappointed therin, as wee cannot but reckon such proceeding a plain downright violation of the articles of Union, wee doe require and expect that you will in the dost solemn manner signify these our sentiments to the House of Commons, after which wee are of opinion there is no furdur use for any representation of the Scots in Parliament.

“Wee have transmitted to Your Lordship a petition to be presented if you see proper, and wee are informed that the like will be sent from most if not all the shyres and towns of Scotland, by which it will appear how uniform their sentiments are with respect to the subject against which they remonstrate. Befor wee conclude, wee must acquaint Your Lordship, never was there any thing that seem’d so much to affect the minds of people of all ranks and degrees in this country, and how far the same may be carried is very hard to tell, but in all appearance it will occasion a great discontent that will not easiely be removed and may be attended with bad consequences. This by direction and in name of the gentlemen who signd the petition, is

signifyd to Your Lordship by my Lord Your &c.”

These warm addresses and instructions did not a little startle the Scots members of Parliament, and even the Ministry; and there were likewise many private letters written to them by their friends, assuring them of the highest resentment if they did not perform what was desired and expected of them. Had these members been endued with a publick spirit and resolution, such applications would have been needless; but as they consisted of a parcell of people of low fortunes that could not subsist without their board-wages (which at ten guineas a week during each session was duely paid them) or meer tools and dependents, it was not to be expected they would act the part which became them for their countrys service, and therfor these representations were judged necessary to spurr them up to their duty and withall show the Ministry that the people would not behave so tamely as did their mean spirited mercenary representatives, who, perceiving they would loss all their interest and scarce dare venture to return home if they did not follow the instructions given them, made most humble applications to the Ministry, who on the other hand being apprehensive the resentment might be carried to some hight, and unwilling, as matters stood in Europe, to embroil themselves at home, thought it expedient to drop the resolutions above mention'd, (which they at first preferr'd, because they judged it would be no easie matter to levy the malt tax in Scotland) and agreed with the Scots members to impose threepence per busshell on malt, being but the half of what was ley'd in England; and a bill was accordingly passt as fast as the forms could possibly allow of, least their constituents should have time to remonstrate against it.

In this affair, the old stanch English Whiggs (that is the Common Wealth party) and also the Torrys appeard violently against the Scots; the first, because they beleived that country so much wedded to the King's interest, the others out of revenge, because the Scots members supported the Ministry in all even their grossest measures, and particularly as they had threaten'd them at the time because of their scandalous behaviour in the swearing act. These partys thus uniting compelld .the Ministry to come in to the measure, who were likewise of themselves very desireous to have the malt tax or something in lieu therof out of Scotland, because the revenues arriseing from that country did no more than pay the civil list, and maintain a suitable number of troops; and the charges of subsisting the Scots members of Par-; liament became a burden upon the Government, and they wanted either to have an equivalent or be eased therof. So that Walpole plainly and frankly told these gentlemen when they applyd to

him, that they knew what money was raised and how applyd in Scotland, and they must lay their account with taying up their stokins with their own garters. Thus for supporting a parcell of corrupt locusts, the country must be oppressed, which at the same time indeed deserved no less for electing such a sett of whom no better could be expected.

Whilst this affair was in agitation the Kings friends were not idle; they brought about that delegates from most shires were chosen and appointed to meet and correspond together for con-, sulting and giving information of what occur'd, that so measures might be taken speedily and prosecuted uniformly as occasions offer'd. And as it was plain that all these grudges and discontents made for the King, some methods were thought of to be followed out, in case the Ministry had insisted on their first scheme, particularly that such shy re and burrow shoud recall the right and power they had given their several representatives to sitt in the British Parliament, and appoint new ones to. meet and determine what course was to be taken for settling the nation, now that the articles of the Union were so openly violated and consequently dissolved. The effects of which step were very obvious to make for the King, and I have good reasons to think, from the tempers and inclinations of the people at that juncture, this measure might have been pursued, had not the Ministry changed theirs; but 'tho the malt tax was a burden too heavy to bear, it was not however illegall, and so did not afford an handle to work on as the first scheme. Nevertheless it left the people in a bad enough temper towards the Government, which afterwards displayd it self more fully.

Of this affair I gave the King a particular account in a letter dated the 27th of March 1725, which it is needless here to inr sert, being much to the same purpose with what is above narrated. In this letter I took notice that the Ministry still reckon'd themselves in hazard whilst the Highlanders were in being, and that wee were told they design'd this very session to pass a law making it death for any of that gang to have any sort of arms, or wear the Highland dress, having at the same time schemes for suppressing the language, with intention of dissipating that body of people, and that it was beleived, that with some such view as this, General Wade was sent down on pretence of reviewing the troops last summer, for he traversed all the Highlands, and it was observed he made remarks of all the passes and narrowly enquired after the characters of persons, of all which and the like he took notts.

I likewise acquainted the King that there were letters sent hither from France, in severall peoples hands, accuseing Mar of such base

treacherous practices discovered by the Bishop of Rochester, that the like had scarce been heard of, and seem-d to be what no man endued with common sense or the least drop of noble blood could perpetrate; and that the King's freinds were at a loss, in not knowing what credit to give to such reports, 'tho they apprehended the worst from the directions he had lately given of having no correspondence with Mar or his adherents, from whom he had withdrawn all confidence.

Soon after the dispatch of this letter, I received the following letters from the King and Collonel Hay, and made the following returns.

Letter from the King\* .

“October 27th 1724.

“Yours of the 18th of August came safe to me a few days agoe> and I was not a little pleased to find by it, the good effects which my letter and your and my other freinds zeal and vigilance have produced in ecclesiasticall affairs, which I hope will goe on for the time to come in a peaceable and becomeing manner, and you will lett the Bishops know how sensible I am of the submission and regard they have shewn to me on this occasion, and of my constant desire to favour and protect them, being very sensible how much they are attached to my person and interest.

“I have not heard in relation.to Mr. Rattray of Craighall, but what you say of him, if ever I doe, I shall make the proper use of the light you give me, and the Bishops may be very well assured of my having allwyse all possible regard for their advice and opinion in such matters. You will find inclosed a letter for them, not to be delivered unto them, but in the event of Bishop Fullerton's death, 'tho in the mean time you will communicate it to such of my freinds as advised the writing of it.

“I also now write to Straiton in relation to Corsar, but in such a manner, as that the first cannot be in the least shockd at it, and that the last, by being in the entire confidence of Straiton will allwyse be able to supply his place, either in case of sickness or death. You will see by all this the particular regard I have for your advice, and that of those whom you have confidence with on these matters, and whose names I should be glad to know.

“What I wrote to you about two months agoe leaves me nothing particular here to say on other matters. Forreign affairs are much in the same posture, and I cannot but be still of opinion that wee never

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\* Received 3 April 1725.

had more reason than now to hope well from them and for some favourable change at last in my favours. The best and most certain news I can send you at present is that of the Queen's being about three months gone with child, which I am sure will be a very acceptable account to you and my other freinds whom you converse with. You know how acceptable your letters and advice will allwys be, and so I hope you will not deprive me of them, when you have any thing particular to impart to me, whom you will ever find full of the sincerest value and freindship for you.

“P.S. When you see Duke Hamilton, you will let him know the share I take in his late loss, and how much I count on his attachement to me.”

Follows the foresaid letter from the King to the Bishops.

“October 27th 1724.

“The many instances I have had of your loyalty zeal and submission to me, cannot but make me with reason solicitous to provyde as much as in me lyes for your welfare and advantage; and wheras Bishop Fullerton's great age and tender constitution makes it but too probable that he cannot live long, and wheras in the event of his death, both your Body and my service may suffer much if there be not some person ready to preside amongst you in the same manner that that worthy Bishop has and does still doe, I have found it necessary by this letter, which will be delivered unto you upon the event of his death, to desire and direct that Bishop Irvin, whom I think in all respects fit for such a charge, should, in the event above mentioned, reside at Edinburgh and preside amongst you as Fullerton does, for the interim till I may be able to send furder directions to you in that respect. I hope it will be long befor this letter be delivered to you; and when it is, I donbt not of your receiving it with becomeing submission towards me, and as a mark of the particular regard I have for your Body and the welfare of the Church of Scotland.”

A letter from Collonel Hay\*.

“February 10th 1725.

“The King being under some concern least the letter which he wrote to you dated the 31st of August may not have come safe, has order'd me to send you here a copy of it. He has heard nothing from you since a letter he received in October and answer'd the same month, but does not doubt you are still continuing to doe every thing

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\* Received 3 April 1725.

in your power for advanceing of his interest.

The King employs all his diligence and art to forward matters in these parts, and I am hopefull he shall soon succeed in obtainmg what may be necessary for putting his subjects in the way of serving him and themselves. Forreign princes are rather more divided amongst themselves than ever; the so much talk'd of reconciliation betwixt the Czar and Hanover is not yet concluded, and if it ever is, it will in all appearance create differences of greater consequence to the King's interest, than the Czar's misunderstanding with Hanover has produced for these several years past. There are many events, which according to the course of nature must soon happen, any one of which must give a fair opportunity to the King to act to some purpose. He is doing every thing in his power to prepare himself to profitt of a favourable conjunction, and does not doubt but his freinds at home will be ready to joyn with him when he shall call for their assistance, which, when it does happen, will in all appearance be a surprize upon them. The present posture of affairs makes it easie for one to foretell this without being a conjurer. I hope this shall find you in perfect good health, I cannot wish it more so than this family enjoys; we expect soon to see it increased, which will be wellcome news to you and all freinds."

A letter to the King.

"April 8th 1725.

"Last week I received at the same time one from you bearing date the 27th of October last, and one from Mr. Hay dated February 10th. Having no method of addressing to him, and withallyour orders to correspond directly with your self, I shall mention in this what I have to say to both these letters. By this time I hope you have got a former letter of mine, which had it come sooner would have prevented your ordering a copy of yours of the 31st of August being sent to me, seeing I therin told you I had communicated the contents of that letter with the caution and in the manner you directed. I gave you not long agoe an account of unparallel'd crimes and weaknes's laid to Mar's charge by various and sundry letters from France, England and Holland. I was within these few days inform'd, that Lord Dun had received a letter lately from him, wherin he positively denys one and all the articles laid to his charge, affirming they are all the produce of the Bishop of Rochester's malice, and that his innocence in due time will fully appear, as will ever his fidelity to you. He says the Bishop has sent over Major Walkenshaw to Scotland, and given him two hundred pound to defray his expences, and that his bussiness is to

aspers his character and gain credit with the King's friends to the malicious lies the Bishop has invented, but he hopes he will not be regarded. I did not see this letter, but Lord Eglington brought me an account of it from Dun; neither have I as yet seen the Major nor any that has conversed with him, so that I cannot tell whether or not he acts the part Mar affirms was his design of coming here. Whatever may be in Mar's conduct, I wish your friends abroad had written less on that subject, for the blazoning of such reports true or false is by no means a service to your interest.

"I am now to beg your pardon that I omitted to set down the names of those, in concert with whom I mention'd what you have thought fit to do with respect to Bishop Irvin: The truth on't is, as it is a subject necessary to be kept very secret, least the divulging it should occasion that flame suddenly which it was design'd to prevent afterwards, I did not mention it to any but Wigton and Kincardine by whose advice I wrote of it to you, and to whom only I will communicate your letter, till the event happen for using it, and then others may be acquainted therof, and the measure executed or not as they see proper and most for your service. I mentioned in a former letter the division that hath arisen in Angus and other neighbouring shires with respect to Bishop Norrie; his opposers have not the confidence to lay any thing to his charge, yet they obstinately refuse to submit to him, and to such a height is the enmity come, that I am very much affraid some mischief will happen, for when any of the two parties meet they seldom fail to quarrell, and on all occasions manifest the utmost malice to one another. But as the Lords Strathmore and Gray, and Fotheringham of Pourie have a fixed interest in that country, and are justifyd and supported by all impartial men of sense in the kingdom, I hope in time matters may be settled, and peace and unity be reestablished, 'tho I cannot but in the interim regrate that I see these mutineers supported and encouraged by some who think thereby to ingratiate themselves with them, with a view, I imagine, of being popular and leaders of that party, and to lessen the interest of the Lords above mentioned; and its remarkable that the ring-leaders in this fray are some of the very persons whose factious humours appeared so conspicuous at Perth. And indeed what thus daily happens, shews the reasonableness or rather the necessity of the Bishops being settled in their several districts, and most other matters being determined by your direction and authority; seeing some and not a few there are who will not submit to any subordinate power in many cases. Of this, by the direction of almost all your trustees, I wrote to you some time ago, and they with the Bishops long for your

return therto, being what is so necessary for the peace of the country and the interest of the common cause, which ever did and will suffer by such unseasonable divisions.

“I have little or nothing to add of this country to what was contain’d in a letter I did my self the honour to write to you not long agoe. I must sincerely congratulate you upon the prospect of the encrease of your family. As this news is joyfull to some, it is a visible mortification to others. I have some thoughts in a little time of going to London about some private affairs, and I shall be instructed by your trustees here to see if it is possible to settle a correspondence with your freinds there, that on fitt occasions they may understand one another and act joyntly for your service.”

A letter from Collonel Hay\* .

“March 10th 1725.

“Your letters to the King, of the 28th November and 8 December are come safe only two or three days agoe, and it is a great satisfaction to find that the sending the cobby of that writt by the King to you the last of August was useless. My letter to you which accompnyied it was dated 10 of February. Mr. Stevenson’s going to Scotland gives the King a great deal of uneasiness, since he was the person that convey’d letters to you in Will Dundass’s absence, ‘tho tis hoped he was not acquainted with your address. But it may be convenient for the time to come that you send a new one.

“This serves cheifly to acquaint you that about eleven a clock Tuesday the sixt of this month, the Queen was safely delivered of a son, who has been named Henry Duke of York. The mother and child are as well as can be wisht, and great appearance of my being able to send you frequent news of this kind. You’ll easiely beleive that upon this occasion it is not possible for the King to make particular answers to your letters, the necessary notifications &c. taking up his whole time, so I must referr you to another occasion, and shall only say as to forreign transactions that since my last matters have a much better appearance for the King’s interest than they had then.

“A match is treating betwixt the King of France and Hanover’s grand-daughter, in prejudice of the Infanta of Spain now of France; and the Duke of Bourbon will meet with the greatest difficulty in finishing an affair of that kind, since Spain insists upon the espousals being made in the month of April, according to former agreements,

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\* Received 17 May 1725.

and in all appearance a rupture 'twixt Spain and the King of France will follow upon it, and in that case Cardinal Alberoni's return to Spain is likely. The endeavours of the Court of France for making up the difference betwixt the Czar and Hanover will in all appearance come to nothing, and I dont say this without good grounds: so that all putt together the prospect is not bad, since it cannot be imagin'd the Duke of Bourbon, who is certainly personally a freind to the King, would ever oppose what ever another Prince might doe for his service.

“The King approves of your cultivating a freindship with the Duke of Wharton, and I make you my compliments upon the freindship he shews to you and your son.

“Last Munday the Kitig was pleased to declare me his secretary and Earl of Inverness; I wish that step may prove for the advantage of his service; I protest I have no other view in accepting of it! since both the confidence and the honour can serve only to embarass me; however I shall endeavour to keep a strict eye upon the rocks where others have split. After this you wont disapprove of my saying nothing of the Duke of Mar who has declared himself my mortall enemie, only because I spoke truth to him, and could not in my conscience enter into his measures nor approve his conduct, 'tho I always shun'd saying any thing to his disadvantage but to the King alone, from whom I thought I was obliged to conceal nothing. An idle superficial appearance of love to his own country, was to have laid the foundation to the utter ruin of the King's cause, and by this means he imposed upon several people; but the bottom of all was self interest, and had he not ruin'd the cause entirely, at least his scheme was so ordered that he should always have it in his power to putt a stop to the King's restoration when he pleased, and had it happen'd in his time, it certainly must have been by a miracle. Here is more than I design'd or thought I should have been able to say to you by this post, and wishing you and other friends may be heartiely mirry together upon the subject of curs here these days past, I desire you'l doe me the justice to beleive me Yours &c.

“P. S. The King makes you his compliments on this occasion, and to your partners. I never transmitted a letter by Mr. Weems, nor never wrote nor received a letter from the Earl of Kinnoul since the year 1715.”

A letter\* from the King.

“March 21 1725.

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\* Received 17 May 1725.

“The letter which Lord Inverness wrote to you last week, will I’m sure have been not a little acceptable to you, and I thank God I can now add to it, that the Queen and the new born are in as prosperous a way as one can wish, of which you’ll acquaint those friends whom you see, with many kind compliments to them. Your letters of the 28th November and 8th December were the more welcome that I was impatient to hear from you, and in pain for my letter of the 31st of August to you, which I am glad arrived safe.

“It is but too manifest in this conjuncture nothing but a foreign force can do the work effectually, and to begin it by halves would be ruining all. It is my friends business to lie quiet, and to preserve themselves in a condition of being useful on a proper occasion, ‘tho that ought not to hinder them from using their utmost endeavours to thwart and oppose the measures of the Government in as far as that can be done without exposing themselves to the lash of the law; and indeed so far it is necessary they should exert themselves, since there is no other way left at present to keep up the spirit of the nation, and support the credit of the cause, which requires vigour as well as prudence in those concerned in it. And in the mean time from several informations I have had of late, I cannot but hope more than ever that the time of our deliverance is not far off, ‘tho I fear scarcely to be expected this summer.

“I am daily more and more confirm’d in my former resolution of withdrawing my confidence from Mar and all who may be influenced by him; and there is more caution to be used with the last, that the other is at this time pretending a great zeal for my cause, by which he may still impose on some well meaning people. I am persuaded the two persons you ask me about are perfectly honest, but it is impossible for me to give you any particular directions in relation to them, since your conduct towards them can only be regulated by the disposition you find in them, and what I have said above. You will have seen by Inverness’s letter, that I have declared him at last Secretary of State and a Peer of Scotland. I am persuaded I shall never have cause to repent of that step, nor my faithful subjects to complain of it, for he is one who hath no other view in politicks, but to obey me in all things, and serve them where he can; and the usage his Lady hath lately mett with, shews me the value even my enemies think I ought to putt upon him; she was not charged with the least commission from me when she went over, and by the accounts I have, she has behaved her self with a great dale of firmity and courage. Kinnouls conduct has indeed been unaccountable; I am ignorant what his correspondence might ever have been on this side of the sea, or

thro whose hands it past, but I never had any with him my self, neither had his brother since they parted; and even befor his late ill usage, and when he was lookt upon to be a stanch freind, I have heard Inverness complain of his excessive caution in never writing to him.

“You will deliver the inclosed to the Bishop of Edinburgh; which I hope will have the desired effect, and which answers that part of your letter which relates to Church matters. I have nothing furdur to add at present but that your informations antj advices will be always most agreeable to me, and that I sball ever have for you and your freinds all the value and friendship imaginable.”

A letter from the King to the Bishop of Edenburgh.

“March 21st 1725.

“I have been extreamly concern’d to hear of the \arianees and differences amongst you. You know how often I have recommended peace and unity to you, and how necessary it is, particularly at this time, and therfor I cannot but repeat with all the earnestness imaginable my former instances in that respect. I remark that the present cause of disturbance has arisen from difference of opinions as to the destination of those lately added to your number, and therfor, to prevent the like for the future, I shall expect from you, that befor you allote any particular diocets or province to any new Bishop, that you should acquaint my trustees with you of it, and inform me at the same time of the matter, and of your motives for so doing. I think this a most necessary precaution for the good of your Body, and in general for that of the good cause, both which must greatly suffer, should your present heats and divisions continue. I doubt not of your doing your best to quiet them, and I think I cannot give you and your bretheren a greater mark of my regard and esteem, than in acting this my part towards it, as I shall always doe in what may contribute to the welfare of the Church of Scotland, and to convince you in particular, of my particular value and consideration.”

Letter to the King.

“24 May 1725.

“This is in the first place to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 21st March, as also one from Lord Inverness dated 10th March, to whom I can make no particular reply as I have no address to him. What is recommended shall be punctually executed, and I may venture to assure you, that as your freinds have the same way of thinking with you concerning the present state of affairs and the necessity of both prudence and vigour on all proper occasions towards

improving the good cause, they do not fail in doing all that possible for them, and not allways without success. I wish heartily what you have in veiw may take effect, botli for your and many poor unhappy peoples sake.

“When I read your letter to Wigtoun, he told me that he was perfectlie well assured, that some years ago, when Kinnoul resided at Duplin and made great court to the honest party in Perthshire, he used frequently to read coppys of what he calld your letters to him, therby to appear a man of consequence and gain credit with them, in which he came good speed, being then as much liked as he is now despised.

“What I mentiond formerlie concerning a letter from the Duke of Man\* to Lord Dun was a mistake; the letter was to Balmerinloch, and not signd, but by the contents (of which I gave you ane account) it appears to be from a wellwisher of his, who seems likewise to be privy to his affairs and therfore presumable to have writ by his direction. Since my last, Eglinton has been with Major Walkinshaw, who came over at that Lords desire, because his estate which held of him having falln to him the superior, by the late forfeiting act, his Lordship took possession therof for the others behoof and woud not dispose of it for paying the debts affecting it, but with the Majors concent and by his warrand: as he thus had ane errand which those in France did not know of, it occasiond, I suppose, the suspicion of what was in that letter alledged to be his business. Eglinton tells me he talkd very fully with him and is very confident he had no such commission nor any business but his own. I perceive some of Mars freinds were disappointed when they found this out, for they were at great pains to discover the nature of his commission, in hopes it woud appear not to be authorised by nor in terms agreeable to you, on which a formall complaint was to’ve been made to you. I met lately Lord Dun who told me he was sorry to hear that his cheif was in disgrace with you, that he hoped in time his innocence woud appear, otherwayes he shoud be as far as any man from defending him, and in the mean time he thought the leas noise that was made of it the better: he askd me if I had heard lately from you: I therupon mentiond what directions you had givn about the Bishops and some such generall points, endeavouring to give him as litle reason as possible to think I was more cautious than formerlie with him, which I take to be suitable to the directions you gave in regulating our conduct with such as he.

“Twill take some time to know what is truely designd against the Highlanders; thers a formidable appearance making against them, with what intent God knows: I understand they design to give up a quantity of their old arms, but at all hazards will keep as many of the

best as will be needmll when a fair occasion offers.

“I gave you a few dayes ago one account of H. Stratons death, my letter dated the 8th instant went by the common post to Mr. Dundass, because I had no occasion of a ship from Leith and did not incline to lose any time in acquainting you of it: however it was so writ as to be of no consequence if intercepted. In it I told you all his papers were secured; but I am now to inform you that last week his wife, by the advice of Balmerinoch, burnt all that had any relation to you or your freinds affairs. This, Ime affraid, was too precipitant a step; for beside that some letters may come from you which no body now can tell what they contain, it will take a considerable time before you can adjust the method of corresponding with those that went thorow Stratons hands, but in so far as I can supply that defect in the interim, your commands shall be very welcome and punctually ‘obeyd by me, in case you have orders to transmit and I can be of use in executing them. In my last I mentiond your directing for the future to Corsar instead of Straton and giving orders to Dundass to forward them to him, but since my writing, severall of your trustees met and thought it more adviseable that your address shoud continue as formerlie, because the canall by which your letters came was well laid, and Mrs. Straton is directed and hath undertaken to receive the dispatches and give them to Corsar, and as she is a worthy sensible woman, she’ll perform it very exactlie and with great caution, and Corsar has writ so to Dundass. These trustees had also under consideration that tho Corsar is a very proper person to receive and convey your letters, yet they did not think he had such experience and address in business as were necessary in your immediate correspondent here for negotiating affairs, perhaps of intricacy, that you might have occasion to committ to him, and for that reason they turned their thoughts to find out one that they coud recommend to you, as capable to discharge the trust, and whose circumstances woud allow him to do it, because at the distance you are you coud not but from hence be apprized of these particulars, and at last they unanimouslie pitched upon Captain Simon Frazer. If you have forgot the name, youl probably remember him when your acquainted that having made his escape after being made prisoner at Preston, he came to France wher he remaind till you allowd him to attend my son in his travails and was with him at Rome. He’s a gentelman of ane untainted charactar, of good sense, has seen much of the world and capable to manage affairs of the greatest importance, and as he’s by birth ane Highlander and speaks their language, tis probable he’ll be acceptable to the people of that country: wee have got him into a litle business that will afford him a

confortable subsistance till times turn better, and his residence will be close at Edenburgh, so that he'l be alwayes at hand to receive your orders. I have writ of this subject to Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket, who's now in the north, and as soon as I get his return and have seen the Duke of Hamilton and some more of your trustees, I shall acquaint you of their opinions with their severall names and then youl be able to judge and determine as you think proper. I spoke of it to Frazer; he seemd out of modestie to decline it, but withall declared, he reckond it his duty to obey you in all things, tho he was conscious of his incapacity to do you the service you might possibly expect and which he woud perform were it in his powr.

“I know of ane occasion in a short time after this, and by it I shall acquaint you of what I may be funder directed to lay before you for your service, and at this time I have only to add that I am with the most profound respect and greatest sincerity— Yours.”

For these severall years by past the Ministry had kept the two opposite partys of Argyle and the Squadron pritty equall in power, so that both concurrd heartily with the measures of the Court, in hopes sooner or latter to get the betler of their rivalls; but about the end of May 1725 a great many of the Squadron were turnd out of their employments, and Argyle carried all before him. Amongst those laid aside were Mr. Dundass the Kings advocat and the two solicitors, Mr. Duncan Forbes succeeding the first, and Mr. Charles Areskine the others. This change was talked of sometime before it hapned, but Dundass did not credit it and therefore did not oppose the Court as he might and shoud have done, a.nd when he left London he had King Georges promise to continue in his post; but he was not long in Scotland ere he found that a minors promise, without the concent of his guardians, is of no value. On his fall he pretended it was occasiond by his not being hearty for the malt tax and because his freinds in the shire of Edinburgh had concurrd in the measures against it: and tho I belive ther was very litle in this pretence, yet people were content to let it pass in order to draw him on, being a very cliver fellow and full of ambition and revenge. Great endeavours were used to have the Duke of Roxbrugh laid aside from being secretary of state, but King George stood obstinately for him and it was reported that he desired Mr. Walpole to let the Duke continue and hed engage he shoud do what was desired of him. At the same time they slighted him in all matters, advising and informing him of nothing that was done, but he dissappointed them and woud not show his resentment so far as to demitt; however in some months therafter, they carried their point and got him removed from his office. I cannot assign a reason for bringing

this turn about, but it was generally belived that Walpole, who governd all at St. James's, either fearing some storm from the Lord Carteret supported by King Georges favourite mistress, or designing some bold stroke, judged it necessary to tye down Argyle to his interest, by gratifying him with the suppression of the other party; and he on the oihier hand undertook for himself and his party that the malt tax shoud be submitted to and paid in Scotland, towards accomplishing wherof they left no means unattempted. Thus the English Ministry playd the 2 partys upon one another at the expence of the poor countrie; for the Squadrone were introduced into the powr from whence they were now dismissd, by undertaking to support the commissioners of inquiry into the forfeited estates.

About this time Mr. P. Haldane presented a letter nominating him a Lord of the Session. This gentleman had been one and indeed the most violent of the commissioners of inquiry into the forfeited estates, in the prosecution wherof he had acted with the utmost virulencie, had spoke most disrespectfully of the Lords of Session and aimed at nothing less than demolishing that court; by which he was odious to the whole nation. When his letter was presented, the Dean and Facultie of Advocate offerd a remonstrance to the Lords of Session against receiving him, because he had not served as a lawer at the bar such a number of years as was directed by the law, praevious to any lawers being in a capacity to be made a judge. For tho the number of years was elapsed since he first enterd advbcat, yet he had not served Bo long at the bar (and consequently coud not attain the knowledge and experience necessary in a judge and designd frofn the service required by the law) having deserted the same when he enterd into the publick service and continued altogether theriu for severall years.

Mr. Haldane replyd that he had almost every session appeard at the bar and that the law did not require close and constant attendance, besides, his absence being *reipublicæ causa*, ought not to be applyed to his prejudice.

This question was strenouslie debated by the Kings lawers for the making good the rights of the Crown in naming Haldane, and by the Facultie in opposition to him, and it was carried on with great zeall, the Lords favouring the Facultie very much. Before it was determined, another question arose, whether or not the extraordinary Lords coud vote in judging of the qualifications and capacity of ane ordinary Lord. Being affraid to determine this point, they remited it to the King and Parliament (a new unprecedented sentence) and on it the whole depended; for in the vote that was stated on the main question, Haldane lost it by one amongst the ordinary Lords, but carried it by

one, if the extraordinary Lords votes were sustained.

This put off the affair that session and kept out Haldane till it was determined above by the House of Lords in favours of the extraordinary Lords, on an appeal lodged against the delay by the Kings advocat in name of the Crown. Haldane having thereupon insisted on his being admitted, addresses were procured with great secrecy from severall hundreds of persons of all ranks in all parts of the kingdom, against admitting him, being a person of a bad character and vile practices, which they offered to prove; and as the Lords of Session are vested with a power to judge into the character and capacity of such as are presented to that office, they received the addresses and admitted the proofs to be heard against him, when severall persons appeared and laid severall things to his charge (and amongst others his drinking King James's health, and sundry other things incident to youth, from which perhaps few of the Judges were free, were their lives as narrowly expiscated) which took up so much time as to spin out that other session, and some time thereafter the Ministry considering that the forcing in a judge over the bellies of the country was very unpopular, dropt him, and in his stead presented Mr. Fletcher of Salton jun.

Soon after the Parliament had finished the malt tax bill, another was moved and brought in for disarming of the Highlanders. In summer 1724 General Wade came to Scotland and, under the pretence of reviewing the troops and garisons, made a progress throughout almost the whole kingdom; and as it was remarked that he was at great pains to view and observe narrowly all the passes, especially in the Highlands, and to get exact characters of all persons of rank and distinction, every body apprehended there was some design against this country, which was then concealed, and tis probable it was forwarded by the opposition made last winter to the malt tax; for in the spring 1725 this bill for disarming the Highlanders was brought into the House of Commons, containing severall clauses that, if duly executed, would bring these people under the greatest hardships, contrary to all law reason or equity. Severall of the English members opposed it and got some of the clauses, such as the prohibition of wearing the Highland garb, to be dropt; but not so much as one Scotsman had the honesty and courage to appear in behalf of their oppressed countrymen; nay the bill was brought in by Duncan Forbes (for which and other meritorious jobs he was soon after made Lord Advocate) and supported by the Duke of Argyle and all his dependants, so it past both Houses and was made a law. The English Ministry having no hopes of ever bringing the Highlanders over to their

measures, looked upon them as a considerable body of brave fellows, innured to arms, that would probably join any enemy foreign- or domestick that should happen to aim at subverting the present settlement of the Government, and therefore resolved either to extirpate them, or at least, by disarming them, bring them in time to forget the use of arms and to be of a less warlike disposition, and with such views pushed this bill and concerted the measures that followed upon it. But whatever considerations moved the English, it was odd that the Duke of Argyle- should enter into such projects; the many powers, priviledges, jurisdictions and enlargement of lands (such as no other family enjoyd) were bestowed by the Crown as rewards, or more effectually to enable his predecessors to curb the power of the Highland clans, who under the direction of their cheiftans in old times' committed great devastations in the Low Countrys and even entered into leagues with the kings of England against their native prince; and he, as well as all other men, could not but see that if this formidable power of the Highlanders was removed, he was of less consequence to the Government, as there was less use for his service; and tho King George, by this act, was empow'ed to exempt such as he pleased from being comprehended under it, and that consequentlie His Grace was in no hazard of having his people disarmed, yet what was now done to others would stand as a precedent for using him and his in the same manner, as it was an English measure, or might be retalliate on him upon an alteration of the Ministry, when it might be thought proper to gratifye those that coped with him and his family and grudged that he and his followers should be in a better state than others. But the truth on't is, this Duke hath in all matters acted as if he only considered the present time and had no regard or concern for futurity.

In consequence of this law, Wade was made Commander in cheif of all the forces and garisons in Scotland, and all ships of war that came upon the coast thereof were to obey his orders, and he had a power to build forts wher he pleased. In short his commission was of such a nature, that none so extensive had before been heard of in Scotland or, I believe, in England since the grand rebellion. Under him were appointed severall generall officers, and troops sent from England, which, with those before in Scotland, were marchd north to form a camp at Inverness, and rrigots were appointed to have their stations on the coasts and wait the Generalls orders; and matters in generall were carried on as if an open enemy had been in the feilds and ready to oppose them. These formidable preparations (at a great charge) were made about the month of June 1725, for putting in execution this act

against the Highlanders, the only remains of the true old Scots blood and spirit:—But when all things were prepared and readie for executing the Governments designs, a delay was occasiond by the mob which hapned at Glasgow.

Some litle time before the 23d of June (on which day the malt tax commenced) delegates were sent from most of the considerable touns, to meet and confer with the brewars at Edinburgh, where many proposalls were made for eluding the law, to be, as occasions offerd, put in practice: the first thing to be guarded against was the dutys of malt stock in hand; and to avoid the heavie penaltie of not entering the same, it was resolved to obey the law in that respect, but at the same time not to make payment of the duty thereon, and if the Commissioners of excise sued them, to give over brewing and consequently sink the revenue of excise, which was indeed cheiflie aimd at by those who bestirrd themselves at this time in behalf of the country, that the Government might perceive theyd lose more of the excise than they could gain by the malt tax: but what allarumd people most was the unreasonable article of surcharge, to be levyed proportionally off of such as entered and paid the duly of what was malted after 23d of June, in so far as the clear produce (after deducing the charges of .collecting) fell short of 20000*l.* sterling, wherby those who submitted to the Government and paid the malt tax ran the hazard of making up the deticiencie arising from those who did otherwise, which so startled all the considerable brewars, who generally speaking are also maltsters, that they found it absolutely necessary to malt none after the commencement of this duty.

On the 23d of June, when the duty took place, the excise officers were obliged to fly out of most of the towns in the western shires, but in Glasgow the resentment ran higher. Daniell Campbell of Shawfeild, who represented that borrow in Parliament, having incurrd the hatred of the inhabitants thereof, because he was belived, on too good grounds, to have had the cheif hand in giving the Government such informations of the way and manner of trading there, as occasiond a few years ago ane act of Parliament, that lay heavie on their tobacco trade, was likewayes said and belived to have encouraged the Ministry to hope ther was no difficultie in raising the malt tax; and these joint together rendered him detestable overall the kingdom, especially at Glasgow, wher they threatned to pull down his new built house, wherof he sent notice to Wade at Edinburgh on 21st of June, who thempon ordered a detachment of foot to march forthwith thither, wher they arrived on the 24th at night, but the guard room being unprepared, they put off taking possession of it till next

day, the souldiers being dismist to their severall private quarters. During the night time a report went about that Daniell Campbell had brought these souldiers to enslave them, wherupon the mob got up and destroyd his house, and had he himself been in town, they had certainly dewitted him. Whilst this was in hand the commanding officer got his men together, took possession of the guard room and drew up before it, and tho he met with no insult but from some boyes and women, who threw a few stones at his men, without having previouslie read the proclamation, as directed by the law on such occasions, he fired allongst the streets, which being full of innocent people that came out of curiosity to know what the matter was, and the windows at the same time crowded with spectators, about 20 men and women were killd dead and many more wounded, some wherof in the streets and others in their houses: the citizens being therby enraged did ring the fire bell and brake up the magazine, from whence they armed about 400 men. In the mean time the magistrates advised the officer to march off his party, for they could not be protected within the city; on which he made the best of his way to Dumbarton, but not thinking himself safe in that town he retired into the castle. The Glasgow mob pursued him a few miles but could not overtake him. This story made a mighty noise, and Wade sent ane expre&s with ane account to the Lords Justices (King George being then in Germany) and they orderd him to march troops to take possession of the town and secure the peace. At the same time they wrot a letter of condoleance to Campbell, assuring him they woud resent what had befalln him as in effect done to King George himself. Wade, according to his orders, sent a good body of foot, some troops of dragoons and a train of ordinance and made preparations as if ane enemy was to oppose him in the feilds or the town to stand a seige: alongst with the General went the Lord Advocat to take a precognition (that is ane examination of witnesses but not upon oath) of what had hapned, and they enterd the town without any opposition. By the precognition it appeard plainly that the magistrates had done their duty, by endeavouring all in their powr to disperse the mob, but severall persons were takn up on suspicion and sent prisoners to Edinburgh, in all about of the meanest rank. Tho the magistrates had fully justifyd their conduct, and the Generall and Lord Advocat seemd satisfyed and on good terms with them, whilst they were enquiring into what had past and were taking up others, yet no sooner was that work over, than they committed the Provost and other magistrates to the town prison, and from thence next day conveyd them under a strong guard to Edinburgh Tol booth, attended by a great number of the cheif citizens of Glasgow. This set of magistrates had at the proceeding Michelmass

election undermined and turned out Campbells friends, who had enhanced the Government for many years, and being some of them, particularly Provost Aird, under pay, were mere tools to him; and this was thought a proper occasion to squeeze them and if possible to replace Campbells set. The Glasgow magistrates having applied by a petition were quickly by the Lords of Justiciary admitted to bail. This commitment was in all respects arbitrary and illegal, in regard the Lord Advocate, as such, is not since the Union vested with the power of commitment any more than the Attorney General of England? and tho he qualified himself as a justice of the peace in the shire of Lanark, it was thought a little too presuming and a bad precedent that so inferior a judge should claim and exercise an authority over such considerable persons as the magistrates of Glasgow within the limits of their own jurisdiction, and that only upon suspicion or presumptions and when they offered to find bail to appear when and where they should be required: beside, as a justice of the peace in that shire his warrant could go no further than the bounds thereof, whereas these prisoners were carried through the shires of Stirling, Linlithgow and Edinburgh, and in the Tolbooth of that town confined. These proceedings opened the eyes of most people and enraged the good folks of Glasgow to the greatest degree; they had manifested an extravagant zeal for the Revolution principles and party ever and on all occasions since 1688, and particularly had been at great charges in levying providing and subsisting two regiments of foot which they sent to Stirling in 1715, and they little expected to be thus handled by the party they had so zealously served and who formerly encouraged and protected them in their mobbish outrages upon the Episcopal clergy &c.

Some short time before these matters happened the President of the Session showed a more than ordinary concern to bring the malt tax to bear, being, as was said, very desirous to serve and oblige the Ministry, that he might be allowed to demit his office and obtain a yearly pension of 1000*l.* sterling during his life and his second son to succeed Lord Grange who by this scheme was to be President: whatever was his motive he overruled the other Lords so much, that tho many of them were of a different mind, he procured an act of sederunt to be made and published, by which all brewers and retailers of ale in Edinburgh and suburbs were required to sell the same at a certain higher price than formerly, with a view of gratifying the brewers, who, getting thus a larger profit, might have wherewithal to pay the duties on malt and make no difficulties in carrying on their business. This step was justified and pretended to be legal, from a

power vested in the Lords of Session to regulate the prices of victualls and liquors in Edinburgh; but as that was only to prevent their being sold too dear, it was the first instance and by all reckond ridiculous in them to pretend that they could even raise the prices. Tho the brewars knew this contrivance was to favour them, they were at the same time sensible it tended to rivett the malt tax and consequentlie to ruin the countrie, and therefore gave no obedience to this act; and being calld together by the Lord Advocat, they told him theyd continue to brew whilst their malt stock in hand lasted, but if they were sued for the dutys therof theyd shut up their breweries and rather go to prison than comply; and having by this time vastly diminished the weeklie quantity they used to brew, this occasiond so great a decrease of the revenues arising from the excise to the Government and town of Edinburgh, that the advocat and magistrates were highlie enraged, and the first laid a complaint before the Lords of Session (or rather the trustie president) against the brewars as combining and resolving to put a stop to brewing for the future; and their Lordships thought fit to make ane other act, as irregular as the former, declairing it was inconsistent with the publick welfare and therefore illegall for the brewars alltogether to quit and forbear the exercise of their occupations, and requiring them to continue and carry on their trade in the manner and to the extent they had done for the space of one month preceeding the date viz 29th July, untill the 1st of November, and that for the space of three months thereafter none of them should leave of brewing untill 15 dayes after having intimated the design to the magistrates of Edinburgh by a publick nottary, and lastly ordaining a certain number of brewars, containd in a list signd by the president (which indeed comprehended the whole in and about Edinburgh) to be cited to appear next day and each enact himself by a bond in the terms aforesaid under the penaltie of 100*l.* sterling, threatning withall severly to punish such as did not comply. Next day the brewars presented a petition, shewing that to require and compell private persons to enter into bonds under penalties, was by the claim of right declared to be a grivance, and to oblige them to follow ane employment to their loss and the ruin of their familys was authorised by no law and justified by no precedent; for which and severall other reasons set forth in the petition they desired to be excused that they refused to perform what was required by that act. As this petition was conceived in pritty smart terms and exposed the proceedings of the Lords as illegall arbitrary and unwarrantable, they were highlie provoked and orriaind the petition to be burnt by the common hangman; after which the brewars being calld to the bar, they all refused, except one Baily Simpson, to sign the bond required of them,

wherupon the Lords by another act ordaind that such of the brewars containd in the aforesaid list as did not enact themselves in the terms of the aforesaid act of sederunt in presence of the magistrates of Edinburgh betwixt and the 10th of August next, si loud be committed to prison and there remain till the first of November or in the interim enacted in the terms required. For the space of about three weeks after this, matters were in suspence, but the Earl of Hay (sent by the Ministry to give directions in this affair) no sooner arrived at Edinburgh, than most of the brewars were cited before the justices of the peace, at the instance of the commissioners of excise, to make payment of the dutys of malt stock in hand, on which they all left off brewing, and immediatly thereafter four of these vize Cave, Lindsay, Scot and Cleghorn were, by virtue of the last act of sederunt, thrown into prison. Here it is to be observed that new commissions of the peace were about this time sent to all the shires in Scotland, which were cramm'd full of people that the Ministry knew woud be usefull tools; and wheras the town and shire of Edinburgh woud prove a leading example to others, the magistrates got severall who depended on them, some wherof were not heretors, to be put into the commission for that shire; the Lords of Session, Barons of Exchequer, the Advocat and Solicitor were also appointed, *virtute officij*, to be justices in all shires, and a great many officers of the army were named in the commissions on the north side of the river of (for the better executing of the dissarming act as well as levying the malt tax); and indeed had not the Ministry foreseen and thus provided against what was probably to happen, it woud have been no easie matter to have levyed the dutys on malt, for very few of the countrygentlemen accepted of the office: nevertheless those few in the shire of Edinburgh who undertook this servile task (being supported by Carpenters dragoons, brought on purpose from England and quarterd in the suburbs and neighbourhead of Edinburgh, in which place they patrolled for sevrall nights and made frequent parades thorow the streets to intimidate the people) proceeded against the brewars, and on the 25 of August decernd them in double dutys, on their craving a delay till next session of Parliament and refusing to pay or give bonds. At the same time no pains nor means were ommitted to perswade them to comply, being cajoled and threatned by the President and those in concert with him. Amongst other devices, Mr. Wightman, one of the city magistrates, commonly calld Nosie Wightman, conveend some few of them together, and proposing to call upon God in prayer for direction in so weightie ane affair, he fell to work and launched out into raptures, as if inspired to denounce judgements on those that contributed or were accessory in disturbing the peace of this

mild and gracious government; which, with the powerfull influence of a purse of gold (as was confidently affirmd and credited) had such irresistable effects, that they agreed to enact themselves, as required by the Lords of Session, and give bills for the duty of malt stock in hand, provided the Lord Hay engaged the payment shoud be superseded till the Parliament met. When these few broke off, those who were in prison and the rest who stood it out thought it needless for them to expose themselves when the concert was broke, so they complyd likewise. It was a great pity that this hapned, for the whole nation was following their example of not brewing, which woud have intirely sunk the flourishing revenue of excise; and I was credibly informed that if the brewars had stood their ground a very few dayes longer, Hay, according to his instructions, rather than drive matters to extremitys, woud have produced orders for superseding the execution of the malt tax act. But after all it was scarce to be expected that the brewars of Edinburgh, a company of private men, shoud dare or be in a condition to stand out against the united efforts of the Ministry and their creatures, when they were so far from being supported in a cause that was truely nationall, that they met with all manner of discouragements from the vigourous assaults of some and the remiss negligence and unbecoming indifference of others.

Soon after the peace of Glasgow was secured, Wade went north to Inverness, wher he found a camp formd, and quicklie after his arrivall he summond in the Highland clans: of his conduct and what hapned there the following letters to the King contain ane account; but before I proceed to them I must insert a letter\* which I received from him.

“June 23d 1725.

“I was very impatient to hear from you, when I received your 2 letters of the 27 of March and 8 of Aprile; and the long account you give me of the methods you take to advance my interest-are new proofs to me of your diligent application as well as your skill in cultivating the minds of my: subjects and giving them a true sence of their reall interest and the good of their country. The dispositions you inform me that the malt tax, proposed by the English Government, left them in, I am perswaded is not diminished by the design it seems to have against my faithfull subjects in the Highlands, and I am perswaded even those in the Low Countries will be sensible of the dissadvanlage it will be to them, shoud the Highlanders be disabled and rendered useless to my antient kingdom. I find they are of opinion that nothing less than utter ruin is designd for them, and those on this

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\* Received 13 July 1725.

side are perswaded that the English Government will meet with the greatest difficulties in executing their projects and that the clans will unanimously agree to oppose them to the last, and if thereby circumstances will allow them to do nothing for my service, that they will still, by a capitulation, be able to procure better terms to themselves than they can propose by leaving themselves at the Government's mercy and delivering up their arms: and if so, I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them, to do all in my power to support them, and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly, and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the Government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves, tho at the same time I must inform you, that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which perhaps you may hear of even before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the Highlanders together without a certainty of their being supported, but the great probability there is of it, makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves and not delivering up their arms, which would have rendered them in a great measure useless to their country; and as the designs of the Government are represented to me, the laying down of their arms is only to be the forerunner of other methods that are to be taken to extirpate their race for ever. They are certainly in the right to make the Government buy their slavery at as dear a rate as they can. The distance I am at and the imperfect accounts I have had of this law have been very unlucky: however, the orders I have sent to France I hope will not come too late, and I can answer for the diligence in the execution of them, which is all I can say to you at present from hence.

“You may be sure I had good reason for the directions I sent you about Mar; as to the letter you inform me he has wrote to a certain person, I have reason to believe that what he represents is not all fact; there are some articles laid to his charge that could not be hid and that are no ways the produce of malice; I wish it may be, as he says, that his innocence will appear in due time as well as his fidelity to me; at least he has committed the greatest mistakes. It is almost impossible to hinder people from writing: I thought it was sufficient to remove my confidence from him and to direct my friends to do the same, without forming any accusation or the like. I am far from thinking that the Bishop of Rochester sent Major Walkinshaw to Scotland; I do not believe he ever saw him or has any acquaintance with him, and I can be positive neither he nor any belonging to me gave him money for his

journey: He askd my leave to go over about his own private affairs, and tho I have a very good opinion of him, yet his situation at home made me not think it safe to employ him in my affairs. Inverness gave him a commission to enquire about a particular affair transacted formerlie, of which I doubt not youl be informed, if you had any concern in it. It was industriously spread about that he was seized by the Government, but since you say nothing of it Ime hopefull its not so.

“Ime hopefull you have received long ere now mine of the 21 March, wher I sent you enclosed such a letter for the Bishop of Edinburgh as you desired. I have ane account from Paris that Harry Straton is dead, which I am heartily sorry for, since I shall have lost ane old and faithfull servant; I shall not give intire credite to it untill it be confirmd from Scotland. I pray God that some lucky event may happen to dissipate all the divisions that are amongst you, and that my faithfull subjects may be diverted from them by ane hearty union amongst themselves in the service of their country. I send this by your new address, and you may be assured that my constant kindness shall ever attend you.”

Letter to the King.

“July 13, 1725.

“Sir,—About the midle of last month a large packet was brought by the master of a ship from France to Leith, directed and delivered to Lord Balmerinoch: It containd a narrative of the grounds of difference betwixt the Duke of Mar and the Bishop of Rochester and Mr. Hay, in which is a large vindication of the Dukes conduct; and thereto are annexed coppys of severall letters to and from him (as vouchers for what is asserted in the narrative) and likewise of the scheme laid before the Regent of France by the said Duke, and his letter accompanying it. In this packet Iher was also a letter unsgnd directed to the Lord Bak merinoch, signifying that this narrative was sent for the Dukey vindication and therefore desiring him to shew it to such persons as he thought proper, but withall expresslie restraining him from giving any coppys therof. His Lordship having shown it to Lords Panmure and Kincardine and myself, wee thought it very proper to transmit ane account therof to you, that you might judge how far the facts he affirms are true, the vouchers he produces genuin, and the constructions he puts upon them candid. The said narrative &c. being a few hours in our hands, wee perused them very seriouslie, took such notes, and made such observations as enabled us to make ane abstract therof containing the sum and substance of what was most materiall therm, which I was directed to send to you in a seperate packet; when

it comes to your hands you will find it signed with the name of Butterfly. "I am directed to let you know that some of your friends have a jealousy that a sum of money raised here (about 20000*l*. I believe) and remitted to France, anno 1722 or thereby, has not been communicated to you or was not applied as you intended. The ground of their jealousy arises, from the extraordinary method taken in managing the collection here; for Captain Straton, who received the instructions about it from abroad, did not acquaint any of your trustees here of the matter (except Eglington who contributed 500*l*. sterling) which not only prevented their own contributions, but also what they might have collected from Others. In short, Straton kept the affair a mighty secret from all such as he imagined would be inquisitive to know how or to whom it was to be remitted or had no particular attachment to Mar, to whom he himself seemed to be very much wedded even in these latter days, notwithstanding your letters about him. In the next place, though it was afterwards said this fund was to be employed in buying arms &c. in Holland, yet it seems neither Mr. Dundass, who did provide some there about that time, (as is reported here) nor Thomas Sinclair, who laid out his little stock that way and has a fitted account signed by Mar, have either of them got a farthing, the want of which has entirely broke the credit of the first, at least prevented his re-establishing it, and the other, with his numerous family, is reduced to great wants. This your friends thought fit to lay before you, seeing the least jealousy of misapplications of such subjects is a great discouragement to those who can and are willing to serve you on proper occasions.

"As I was so far advanced yesterday in this letter I received yours of the 23d of June, and what I, before that, was designing to write to you will in some measure suffice for an answer to it. What in my former letters I told you would probably be the event of the malt tax has come to pass, [what followed was an account of the Glasgow affair which I have formerly related and need not here repeat] I cannot express the general discontent; this western affair must tend to good, for if the Government pass it over, it will encourage others to do the like or more, and if they resent it and take any lives, that, with the blood already spilt, will leave a sting behind, and I look on Argyle's interest in that his favourite town and the west to be sunk, as he and his party are blamed for being too instrumental in imposing this odious tax, which has already so soured and altered people's minds, that I do verily believe, were the affairs of Europe in such a situation as it were proper to make the experiment, it would be a very easy matter at this juncture to drive our oppressors out of the country and regain our

liberties. I can appeal to you that I do not use to exagurate matters, and therefore I may be the more credited, when I say so much, which I mention in hopes it may be a further incitement to secure and hasten the assistance you seem so hopeful I speedily to obtain. Thus western affair will I hope have another good effect, which I am sure will be exceeding pleasing to you, viz. that it will save the Highlanders for this time; for the sending 3 regiments to Glasgow and the Generalls being detain'd will so retard his expedition, and the weather withall is so rainie, that in all probability the season will pass before any thing to purpose can be done against these poor people. It is indeed probable that the Governments designs were very pernicious, tho I cant tell but the whole cheiflie may be a contrivance to make a money job of it to some favourites, for this expedition is to cost the Government a good round sum to very litle purpose I hope. Tho the preparations are formidable as if they knew of ane enemy to meet them in the feilds, yet I know very well that Wade is taking all the pains he can to accommodate matters, having for that purpose sent for most of those about Edinburgh that had any interest with the Highlanders, particularly the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies, and represented to them, that if their freinds woud submit to the Government they shoud be used with the greatest tenderness, and in due time all their cheifs be pardond and restored, having a sign'd manuall from King George to that effect. These gentlemen having therupon sent such ane advice to the Highlanders, they refused to comply, particularly the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies, who answered theyd receive orders from none but the Marquis of Seaforth; but within these few dayes tis confidently reported that matters are adjusted with His Lordship, and, what makes it the more probable, a servant of his came lately from France with the Governments pass, kept private, and was with the new Lord Advocat (Duncan Forbes) at Edinburgh, and from thence went north; of this you may be assured; but that there any treatie of accommodation or what may be the articles I cant pretend to tell; tho I imagine theyl consist of a promise, that the rents of the forfeited estates shall be paid henceforwards to the Government and their arms be delivered, which will be only such as are old and useless and will nevertheless be takn of their hands as a proof of their obedience to the law. What conditions Seaforth gets to himself time must show; and indeed wee must wait a litle for the unriddling and confirmation of these and many other things. In the mean time, the situation of affairs in this countrie are just as youd wish them, if you can bring matters so to bear that ane attempt will in a litle time be made to restore you and releive your poor people from bondage.

“I forget to say that I am assured by my honest old freind Sir James Sinclair (who’s come lately from the furthest nothern parts and is trusted by severall of the chei flans) that the clans were never so united, have made and laid up provisions, and resolved to stand it out to the last, if so be the accommodation spoke of prove not true.

“I ommitted to tell you, that wee made a few remarks on the margine of the narrative.

“I will keep this unseald till the ships just readie to sail, that if any thing happens I may add it, and you shall be sure to have accounts as matters cast up. I am with great deference &c.”

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#### Abstract of a Narrative in justification of the Duke of Mar.

The first part of the narrative, by way of introduction, mentions the great freindship that was established twixt Mar and Mr. Hay (now Lord Inverness), that the first showd a great regard for him and took particular notice of him on all occasions: that to his good offices he owd the favour which the King shewd towajds him: that he placed a great deall of confidence in him and did communicate and advise with him in most of his affairs, and designs, and amongst others, the articles to be proposed to and which afterwards were approved of by the King in favours of Scotland, with respect to the constitution and goverment of that kingdom after his restoration, on which foundation their was afterwards, by Mar, formed and laid before the Regent of France a scheme which has since made a great deall of noise; which articles Hay did approve of.—Hay having in proces of time lost much of his interest with and falln under the displcauSre of the King, did apply to Mar for his assistance and advice, and at the same time gave it as his own opinion that he shoud withdraw with his family from the Court: Marin return assured him of all the good offices in his powr, and with the approbation of Generall Dillon advised him to follow out the proposall he himself had made, being hopeful I that in time, by the mediation of freindsj he might be restored to the Kings favour, and that the Queen woud drop her resentments’ against his wife Mvs. Hay. But Hay it seems expected Mars freindship woud have exerted itself more in his favours than a bare approving his own proposall, which it woud appear he had no design shoud be followd out; from hence Hays first grudge against Mar had its rise.—Hay came to Paris in September 1723, when dissembling any secret disgust at Mar, he made the utmost professions of freindship and regard for him: and Mar received him with all the kindness and tenderness imaginable; but Hay in the mean time was privately doing all in his powr to

aspersed him and ruin his character. Mar challenged him upon it and he positively refused it: but Mar finding that he continued to act that part, resolved and did actually break up all correspondence with him.—When the Bishop of Rochester came to Paris, Mar waited on him and shewed him all the respect and civility in his power, desiring to live in perfect friendship and confidence with him. He found the Bishop very ignorant of transactions and the state of the Kings affairs on that side of the water, and was therefore at the pains to draw up a narrative containing a full account of these matters, which he put into the Bishops hands and with it a letter dated 29th May 1724<sup>\*</sup>, mentioning-, amongst other things, that he had sent him 12 bundles of papers, and not doubting but that from these lights the Bishop would see how unjustly he had been accused by some malicious people, and would approve of his conduct. The Bishop returned a letter to Mar dated June 5 1724<sup>†</sup>, wherein he mentions, that he had sent back all the papers and had communicated them to no soul living. This letter is writ in such ambiguous terms, as if he did not incline at that time to declare his opinion and delay directly approving or condemning Mars conduct till he met and conferred with him: nevertheless in the narrative such a construction is put on this letter as to infer a justification in regard of Mars having the Kings approbation. Here tis to be observed the Bishop only mentions Mars having a praevious, at least a subsequent approbation of these on that side of the water, without making any particular mention of the King. The narrative, in the remarks on these words of the Bishops letter, “*a previous at least a subsequent approbation*” takes notice that they refer to Mars having received the loan of a sum of money from his old friend the Earl of Stairs, who understood he was in great straits sometime after his confinement at Geneva; tho this loan proceeded merely from Stairs personal friendship to Mar, yet hapning without the Kings praevious knowledge occasioned the Bishops taking notice that the approbation was only subsequent to some of the transactions.—Mar and the Bishop had after this severall interviews alone, but the Bishop never entered upon nor talked with him on these matters, but to others he did, to Mars prejudice, particularly insisting against a scheme which Mar had laid before the Regent.—Mar having sometime after this a conference with the Bishop, he found him much altered from the temper he had reason to expect from what was contained in his first and

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\* This letter is amongst the vouchers.

† This letter is amongst the vouchers.

2d letters<sup>\*</sup>, and tho he soon perceived that the Bishop was resolved at any rate to brake with him, yet he continued to visit him, and tried by all means to keep well with him; but being informed that the Bishops malice proceeded even so far that he affirmed that his (Mars) laying these papers before him was a crime, he resolved to have no further doings with him, and so their corrispondence ended about June 1724.—From this time forwards the Bishop accused Mar openlie of the greatest of crimes, and brought the Lord Launsdon as concurring with Mar in these measures.—The pretended reason of the Bishops displeasure at Mar is founded on a letter writ by him to the Bishop, about the time he was sent prisoner to the Tower, that was by chance seized at the posthouse and produced as evidence against the Bishop, tho it containd nothing but expressions of kindness and civility. But the Bishops reall design is to seclude all but himself and Mr. Hay from the Kings favour and any concern in the management of his affairs.—The Bishop accuses Mar and Launsdon of betraying the Kings secrets to the British Goverment, on which account they from thence received pensions; and the proof which he brings against Mar is founded on the application which he made to his freinds to get free of his confinement at Geneve: of this transaction the narrative gives the following account. That Mar after 13 months confinement found himself in so bad a state of health, that it was necessary he shoud go to the waters of Bourbon for the recovery therof, and having accordingly applyd did obtain an enlargement and permission from the states of Geheve, on this express condition, That he shoud not act or be concerned in any thing against the Goverment of Britain during his abode in France, and shoud return when required to Geneve, if he did not procure the said Govenments allowance to remain in France. Being thus dissmisse'd from Geneve, he made further application that he might continue in France, which the said Goverment was willing to allow on his renewing the former engagement of not acting against it; and at the same time the said Goverment did funder offer, that the estate of his family shoud be restored to his son, and that in the interim, untill ane act of Parliament was procured for that effect, he himself should yearlie receive a pension of 2000*l.* sterling, over and above 1000*l.* of jointure paid to his Lady, his estate being valued at 3000*l.* per annum. Mar being accustomed to advise with General Dillon in all matters of importance, did communicate this affair to him, who advised him to accept of it, because if he refused such advantageous terms, they woud stop his Ladys jointure, and his estate woud be sold and lost for ever to his family, and they woud send

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\* This 2d letter is not amongst the vouchers.

himself back to Geneve wher he might starve and dye in prison: all which considerations Dillon did belive woud move the King to approve of his accepting the proposall made by the Government. Mar wrot to the King ane account of this proposall, in a letter dated the 3d of February 1721<sup>\*</sup>, to which the King returnd ane answer dated 22d of February, wherin having givn his approbation and .concent, Mar did conclude the agreement with the Government. As this letter is what Mar insists on as sufficient to justifie him from the bad constructions put upon this agreement, it will be proper to insert it at large, from the cobby amongst the vouchers of the narrative, that it may appear how far it is genuine. The Letter is as follows.

“Yours of the 3d of this month came safe to me, and what it contains appears so clear to me that I did not need to take up much time to consider on the matter, for since you think you cannot upon any account undergo the fatigue of your former post, it woud be most unreasonable for me who employed you to obstruct what may so much tend to your interest without prejudicing mine; nay, I go further, which is, that this step you propose to make will enable you to be of more service to me whom you love, than you coud be otherwise in the way you are; so that all things considered, I have not on my own account any objection to the matter, and heartily wish you may not be dissappointed in your expectations, which is all I can say on the subject; for being as thorowlie convinced as I am of your zeall and attachment for me, I can assure you nothing can make me take any umbrage on that head. I have not nor shall not mention this matter to any body but John, whom I did conclude you did not design to exclude from your secret. I am glad Lady Mar is come safe to you: I belive the Queen will scarce be able to write to her this post, because of the Carnavall. As for other matters I refer to Mr. Dillon, assuring you that nothing can alter my sentiments towards you, and that my confidence of your doing your best, on all occasions, to serve me, is certain.”

The narrative proceeds to mention ane other transaction (which the Bishop adduces to prove Mars treasonable corrispondence with the Governemt) and gives this account of the matter. That in May 1722, when the Government was hunting for a plot, a gentelman<sup>†</sup> was sent from England with a letter<sup>‡</sup> to Mar from Lord Carteret, in name of

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\* This letter is not amongst the vouchers.

† Supposed to be Colonel Churchill.

‡ This letter is not amongst the vouchers.

Tounshend and Walpole, by orders of King George, to try if they could procure any light into the plot they apprehended then in hand, from what Mar would say upon the subject. This person so soon as he arrived at Paris wrote to Mar desiring he would meet him privately: Dillon was by chance with him when he got that letter, which he shewed to him, and he agreed to stay still at his house till he should go and return from that person, which he did, and then he told him the subject of their conversation and shewed him Carterets letter. Mar and Dillon consulted together and thought it a lucky accident, since Mar had thereby an opportunity of doing the Kings affairs a good service, by leading the Government off the true scent and thereby prevent their further enquiries; whereupon Mar wrote a letter\* in the terms Dillon and he concerted with that view, and having shewed it to another of the Kings friends† who approved of it, he sent it to the person who brought Carterets letter, to be by him delivered to His Lordship. Mar immediately gave the King and the Duke of Ormond, by 2 letters‡, an account of this affair, to which the King returned an answer dated 8 June 1722; and because this letter is also produced to stop the mouths of those who asperse Mar on account of what he did in that affair, it will be fit to transcribe it from the copy amongst the vouchers.

Follows the letter.

“I have perused with attention the account you sent me of what had lately past twixt you and a certain emissary, and can never enough express to you how intirely satisfied I am with it and sensible of your behaviour on that occasion. I heartily wish it may prove of no inconvenience hereafter to yourself, for as you have managed the matter, it will I hope turn even of advantage to me: my only apprehension is from those lights and informations which may have caused this message; but if your answer puts them upon another scent, it will prove no small service and be a very providential accident in the present conjuncture.”

There is amongst the vouchers the copy of another letter from the King, said to be wrote to one of his doers at Paris without mentioning his name, dated 13 August 1722, wherein the King justifies and approves of Mars conduct, and regrates the aspersions cast on him about the plot, and is much concerned on account of the divisions amongst the loyal party his friends, fomented and encouraged by

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\* This letter is not amongst the vouchers.

† Supposed to be Lord Lawnsdon.

‡ These letters are not amongst the vouchers.

their common enimys, as the surest method to undoe them.

The narrative mentions that the Bishop does also charge Mar with having advised the King to resign his right to the crown, for a pension. This accusation is said to be so ridiculous, that it requires no other answer than transcribing two letters\* writ from Geneve by Mar to the King and Dillon, on which the Bishop founds his alledgence. Both these letters are dated the 20 of January 1720. In that to the King he represents that if application was made to the Courts of Spain and France, tis probable they might, at the treatie of Cambray, procure a sum of mony to be paid yearlie by England for his behoof, which woud help him in his straits and might be so contrived as to carry allongst with it no reflection on his honour nor do any prejudice to his interest, by the interposition of other princes who woud not refuse their names to cover His Majesties being concerned in it. The letter to Dillon is in the same strain, with this addition, that because it woud take some space to have the Kings opinion and approbation, and that time is likewise precious, it woud be proper that he (Dillon) shoud mention this proposall to the Regent.—The narrative mentions another charge against Mar; That his scheme, which he laid before the Regent, was with a design to ruin the King. This scheme<sup>†</sup> is by the narrative said to have been calculated to remove the objections which France might have to the Kings restoration, particularly that as England woud be more powrfull under a legal setled goverment than under the present distracted condition, whilst at the same time the English antipathy and jealousie of the French woud be continued and the King under a necessity of gratifying his people therin, woud therby be a more formidable obstruction to the powr and designs of France. For removing of this objection it was proposed, that after the Kings restoration his 2 kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland shoud be restored to their antient state of independence on England, and be protected in their trade, and therby enabled and inclined to support the King in such a manner as he d be under no necessity of entering into measures, contrary to his inclinations, to gratifye the caprices and allay the factions of his English subjects. And it was also proposed that certain number of French forces shoud remain, after the King was restored, in Britain, till he had modelld and established the Government on this footing, and that 5000 Scots and as many Irish troops shoud be lent to the French King and by him kept in pay for a certain number

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\* These 2 letters are amongst the vouchers.

<sup>†</sup> A cobby of this scheme and Mars letter with it to the Regent is amongst the vouchers.

of years. The narrative affirms that this scheme was founded on certain articles which the King had granted in favours of Scotland (and now lodged in the hands of a certain community at Paris by the King's express Commands) and woud no doubt have granted the like in favours of Ireland had application been made to him for that purpose. Altho what was proposed by this scheme tended to facilitate the King's restoration and render his administration easie when restored, by doing justice to 2 of his kingdoms and at the same time making no encroachment on the rights and libertys of the 3d, yet was it absolutely necessary that the moving of this scheme shoud be with great address and secresie, least it come to the knowlege of some persons who might make a bad use of it; and therefore tho Mar had long ago formed it, he woud make no steps therin during the life of Cardinall du Bois, whom he knew to be particularly attatched to the Government of Britain: but that obstacle being removed he thought it proper to lay it before the Regent, who he has reason to belive received it with approbation, seing he thought fit to seall it up, with ane address to the Duke of Burbon, and recommended it to his care, so that it is probable had the Regent lived, or the secret not been propaled, it might have been executed at a proper season. But least this scheme shoud have hapned to be discovered, to prevent the Kings being blamed by those who for particular reasons woud be displeased at it, he laid it before the Regent without the Kings knowledge, but immediatly thereafter acquainted him therof and sent him a .copy of it, and at the same time represented how absolutely necessary it was to keep the scheme a secret<sup>\*</sup>; nevertheless Mr. Hay thought fit to send the Bishop of Rochester a copy of it; and he again is so enraged at any proposall tending to the advantage and interest of Scotland, that he cannot forbear venting iiis malice against the author, and drawing a number of false conclusions from the nature and tendencie of it.

'The remaining part of the narrative contains many assurances of Mars fidelity to the King, and to shew how improbable it is, that he should ever engage himself in any measures contrary to His Majesties

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\* Whatever secresie was designd, the publick newspapers in January 1724 mentioned a schemes being laid before the Regent, by a certain Lord then at Paris: and as it is more than probable that the person who discovered the scheme woud not conceall the author, it seems the Government of England did not resent this obvious breach of the neutrality that was stipulated, seing they performed what they had promised, having since the discovery of the scheme, under the cover of a sham tale suflerd the estate of Mar lo fall to that family again.

interest, having for his service done and suffered as much as any of his subjects, and having no prospect of any way left him to recover his family, but by and thorrow the Kings restoration.

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Here it may not be improper to remark that Mars enimys complained loudlie against him on account of this scheme. They said the article in favours of Scotland and Ireland and the keeping such a body of French troops in England and such another body of British troops readie on a call from France, was contrived to irritate the English nation against the King: That it was delivered to the Regent under a shew of the Kings service, that coming from a person attachd to him, it might appear with more credit and more effectually answer what was designd by it; and that it was not to be doubted but the Regent woud discover the design (nay perhaps was on the plot) to his dear ally King George.—Others again affirmed that the foundation of the scheme was very right laid, it being very certain that the necessity the King woud probably be under of gratifying his people by siding against France, was alwayes esteemd the cheif reason why Lewis 14 chose rather to keep Britain divided than, by restoring the royall family, establish peace and harmony and therby put Britain in a better capacity to thwart his designs; and the setling the King on stich a sure bottom as he needed not depend on and submit to the humours of his Parliaments, was one way to remove these apprehensions from the French Ministry. And it is as evident that a King of England has no such effectuall method to curb and overawe his people of that kingdom, than by playing his subjects of Scotland against them, and in order therto to cherish and enable that nation to support him. But on what veiw the Irish were to be on the same footing does not appear, the consequences of the Irish nation's being independent of England, being of a quite different nature from those of Scotland; as Ireland is a seperate island and a great part of it the propertie of English subjects. With what intention Mar subjoind these articles relating to the bodys of French, Scots and Irish troops (which seem to be a dangerous expedient) or even presented the scheme in generall to the Regent, will be more or less favourably received, according to the good or bad opinion formed of his right intentions to the King and his service: but be that as it will, Lord Invernesses indulging his private malice so far against Mar, as to send a cobby of this scheme to tbe Bishop of Rochester, was most imprudent, as it made the scheme more publick and the whisper of its being offerd to the Regent certain, and affbored a handle for the Kings enimys to stirr up the English against him and his cause. It is scarcely credible that Stairs, at that time the

British ambassador at the court of France, woud venture to advance a sum of mony to one in Mars circumstances without praeviouslie acquainting and having the allowance of his master, and if that be the case, tis probable ther was a secret corrispondence twixt Mar and Stairs, for tis not to be imagined the British Goverment woud confer gifts on Mar unless he undertook some service or other. With whatever intention Mar accepted of the pension in leiw of his estate, till it was restored to his family (which by the bye was a favour which the Goverment offerd of themselves to him, being more than is pretended he demanded, and which is not commonly practiced) yet it woud appear the Goverment expected some returns, otherwise they woud not have applyd to him for a discovery of the designs they conceived were then in agitation.

Letter to the King.

“July 25, 1725.

“Sir,—When I received yours of the 23d of June I coud not possibly write fully and directlie in answer to it in mine of the 13th instant. The ship saild nixt day, and I had not time to meet and talk with your freinds on the important subject containdin it; but I went immediatlíe to Edinburgh, wherl found no more of your trustees, except Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Kincardine, that I inclined to be free with, because of your directions in relation to Mar. To these two I shewd your letter, and having likewise talked with some persons of good sense and great integrity (without particularly communicating to them what was containd in yours) I thought it my duty to lay their sentiments before you.

“They are humblíe of opinion that if the Highlanders pretend to stand it out against the Goverment, it will be a rash and fatall attempt: That it is not to be imagined they can by resistance get better terms, unless they were able to defeat the Goverment, and if they faild therin, the utter extirpation of their race woud be the certain consequence; and therefore your freinds here are unanimouslie of opinion that as the Highlanders are a body of men of such valuable consideration both to your interest and that of the countrie, it is by no means reasonable to hazard them at ane uncertainty, for tho they shoud give up their arms (which will not be the case) it will be easier to provide them therwith afterwards than to repair the loss of their persons when your service calls for their assistance: and here give me leave to add that the near prospect you have of forreigne assistance (which I take to be such as is not sufficient to conquer but to assist and enable your freinds in England to make good their intentions to serve you) Is ane argument

rather against than for the Highlanders breaking out singly by themselves. For as I have often observed, both from publick transactions and private conversations, that the bulk of the English, nay even such of them as are most in your interest, having a nationall antipathy to the Scots, are in a particular manner jealous of their having the honour of being too active and instrumentall in your restoration, any measure for that end which has its rise from Scotland will not, I fear, be so Well seconded as if undertaken by Englishmen. In the next place, tho over a bottle or even in their most serious consultations they are sensible enuff of their unhappy circumstances and seem willing to enter into measures for their deliverance, yet great numbers of them are so intoxicated with the love of ease and plentie, that theyr backward to enter interaction and woud willingly cast the brunt of the first attempt on the Scots, and wait to declare and take a part, till they see how matters are like to go; and thus betwixt the different veivs of these two set of men, the game has been and may again be lost; for which reason it appears absolutely necessary that the English shoud know they ve no staff to lean on but their own. If they once engage and are heartily dipt, they know the Scots will soon follow after them, and consequently the Scots not opening the scheme is no cause of discouragement and shoud not retard the English from doing what their duty and interest calls for from them. This doctrine is in my opinion (with all deference however to yours) so essential to be advanced in the laying down a scheme for your being effectually supported in England, that the reverse therof woud, Ime affraid, have, as it has had, very dismall effects.

“But laying aside this way of reasoning, your freinds are of opinion, that as the Highlanders are situated and exposed to the hatred of the Government, it is by no means adviseable to hazard them on the prospect you have and mention of speedie assistance from forreign Powers: These undertakings are lyable to so many accidents, that the best formd designs may prove abortive, in which case any praevious declaration for you, woud terminate in the utter ruin of your freinds and party: If such forreign Powers as can and are willing to aid you are at pains to enquire into the true state of affairs and charactars of persons, they cannot doubt of your Scots subjects readiness to declare for you whenever a probable attempt is made, which will contribute as much to the desired issue of it, as if they shoud begin sooner, whilst at the same time it secures your interest in the countrie in case of unluckie interveening accidents and dissappointments.

“As these are the sentiments of your freinds here (which they lay before you with all submission) so likewise do they seem to be the

opinions and resolutions of the Highlanders themselves both at home and abroad. That the first are so inclined and resolved I know certainly, and I have reason to believe the same of the others, for I saw lately a letter from one of the clans, now at Paris, giving an account of severall conferences they had with the Bishop of Rochester, and of their being so much against resisting the Government at this juncture that they refused to obey his directions to come over and take up arms, tho supported by a signd manuell from you to that effect.

“These then being the sentiments of your freinds here and the intentions of the Highlanders, Kincardine and I turned our thoughts, how we could best answer your designs and views in this situation of affairs; and having been informed that a person; of distinction was just come *in cog* to Edinburgh, sent by the Highland cheiftans to get intelligence and advice, Kincardine went to him; and being informed that the Highlanders were determined to submit in so far as to pretend a great readiness to comply and give up part of their arms (but withall to keep and secure the best and even so many as would be almost sufficient when a fair occasion offered to use them) Kincardine told him he would give no contrary advice, but since he had good reason to believe, that an attempt for restoring of you by foreign assistance was designed and that so speedily that he did not know how soon he might hear of it, he could not but think it expedient that they should spin the time out as long as possible, to see if that relief would come; and seeing the method prescribed by the disarming act would at least take up 4 or 5 weeks before the forms, therein directed could be executed, he wished they delay giving up their arms to the very last. The gentleman was in a rapture at this suggestion, took the hint, assuring the rule should be exactly followed, and went away early next morning to acquaint his freinds and constituents of the measure. We took the same method to influence the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies, who act as a body by themselves, so that I am pretty positive the surrendry, such as is designed it should be, will be put off for some time; and if the views you have been executed in the time your letter insinuates, all things here, I hope, will be as you wish them, with respect to the Highlanders; but I cant say so much for other parts of the country, for the people of all ranks are extremely enraged and that this certainly is as proper a season as ever was to make an attempt for you, yet many inconveniencies will arise that cannot suddenly be evited. There are no directions given by you nor no person clothed with authority to give orders how to act and behave, no concert amongst your freinds, no designs laid down, no preparations made; and as we know not how, when, or when this attempt, which is perfectly new to us, is to be

made, tis not possible to lay down the necessary and proper praevious measures suddenlie; and altho these and the like obstacles might be orecome in a competent time, yet that, Ime affraid, will be very much obstructed by the Goverments seizing on such of your freinds as are most capable to advance your service at such a juncture; for how theyl evite this confinement is more than I can see thorow, the Goverments troops being numerous and betwixt them and the Highlands, so that I can propose no shelter for them but in the western shires, which will at the same time be very uncertain, as their are in all shires some senseless knavish justices of the peace, whol too probably committ them; and if these be under restraint it will do irreparable prejudice to the cause, as by and thorow them, many projects might be concerted and executed, that without them, Ime aflies, will be intirely ommitted, to the very great loss of both your and the countries service.

“Since my last I have for the first time seen Major Walkinshaw, and his explanation of a paragraph in your last wherin his name is mentiond, serves for ane answer to what I wrot to you about a certain sum of mony, and Ime glad to know by him that Dundas was relived. He tells me that Mars unwarrantable jealousie of him excited his malice so far, that besides the letter which he wrot to Balmerinoch, he and his adherents writ severall other letters, by the common post, without any cypher, wherin mention was made of the Majors name and that he was sent by the Bishop of Rochester to play his game for him: As this, without a stretch, may bear the construction of being intended to discover him, the prospect of succeeding might perhaps have givn rise to the story you heard of his being actually seized. [The account of some other particulars than formerlie in another letter mentiond of the Glasgow riot, being next insert, I ommitt that part of this letter, because the whole affair is already narrated.]

“By improving these and the like occurrences wee hope to advance your interest, and for that end Kincardine and I stay close in Edinburgh, to watch all opportunity’s, and tis not a small satisfaction to see severall, who were shy enuff to be so much as seen with us formerlie, converse now very freelie and ask our advices, of which wee make all the advantage wee can: at the same time weer obliged to be very cautious, the Government suspecting our designs and keeping a strict eye over us.

“Since I began some 2 or 3 dayes ago to transcribe this into cypher, I hear that Wade goes north on Monday, and Ime very certain he does not think of calling in the arms for 5 or 6 weeks; and as he was much against the Advocats manner of proceeding at Glasgow, Ime assured hed fain have matters go smoothlie in the Highlands; whither this

proceeds from his naturall disposition (for he's a well enuff temperd man) or that hes so instructed I cant tell.

"I have heard lately from Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket (who has been very active in traversing the Highlands and putting them on right measures as to the concealment of their best arms) in answer to a letter I wrot to him (as I told you before) and he tells me that Captain Frazer will be a most acceptable person to him and all his Highland freinds; and therefore the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Wigtoun, Panmure, Kincardine, Eglintpn and Lord Balmerinloch do all concurr in recommending Frazer as the most proper person in this countrie to receive and execute your orders, whilst at the same time Corsar continues to take care of your letters to and fro.

"My son being lately in the north saw Earl of Findlater, who told him it consisted with his knowledge that this last spring application was made for a pardon to Mar and that he belived it woud be obtaind nixt winter.

"I did not fail timouslie to acquaint you of Harry Stratons death, but it seems my letter was not come to hand at writing of your last, and wee long to have your sentiments on what I wrot on that subject. I shoud make ane appology for so tedious a letter, but as I imagined youd be curious to have a full account of what past here at this juncture, Ime hopefull youl excuse me and be so good as to belive I cannot be any thing more than I am Yours."

Abstract of a Letter from one of the Highland cheiftans at Paris, to Mr. John Mccleod advocat dated the end of June 1725.

Upon the motions being made in the House of Commons to bring in a bill for dissarming the Highlanders, a gentleman was sent to London by Lord Sea forth and the other clans, to know the result of that motion, who, on the bills passing into a law, returnd back to Paris, and having acquainted them of what had been done, they immediatly dispatchd ane account therof to the King, desiring immediate directions if or not they were to comply with the newlaw. The King returnd for answer that they were to comply rather than ruin their follo wers; but as this answer came under the Bishop of Rochester cover, he thought fit to keep up the letter. However they were otherwise apprized of theKing's sentiments, because a freiml of theirs (Allan Cameron) at Rome had signified .the same to them by a missive which came not within the Bishops clutches. The Bishop in the interim had sent off ane express to the King, the return to which

orderd these gentlemen to arms: on the arrivall of this 2d letter, the Bishop was pleased to call them together at Paris and did communicate the contents therof to them. They finding this last letter differrd so much from the account their freind at Rome had givn them of the Kings sentiments containd in his first letter kept up by the Bishop, desired to see that first letter, directed to them, which being again and again pressd, was possitively refused, *on* which they reasond fully on the obvious bad consequences which woud probably attend so rash a step. The Bishop still insisting upon their complying, they desired to know what assistance they were to have of men mony and arms towards ther being supported, to which they got no other answer than that they woud be assisted by a certain forreign Powr, whose name he did not find himself at libertie to discover. After which the gentlemen retired, being nowayes of the Bishops sentiments, trusting more to the first letter from the King, of which their freind had transmitted to them the substance, than to this 2d letter, which the Bishops conduct with respect to the first inclined them to belive was by him impetrate from the King; nor did these gentlemen rest here, for they immcdiatly dispatchd to General Gordon, the same person they had imployd at London, who hearing the particulars of the conversation with the Bishop, approved of what had been done on the part of the clans. This transaction was about the midle of May.

Here I may remark that the account I had of this affair, from Cameron himself, jumpd pritty near with this letter, except as to that part wher the Bishop refused to tell them how they were to be supported. For, as Cameron told me, when they insisted to know how and from whence they were to be supported, the Bishop replyd, if they woud once resolve to go to Scotland and rise iq arms, then hed open all to them, but if they refused, twas needless to discover the Kings correspondence and intrigues.

Letter to the King.

“2d September 1725.

“Sir,—The ship in which this is to go being to saill to morrow morning, I am obliged to sit up all night that I may get it readie in time, so I hope youl excuse what errors I may commit in transcribing it into cyphers, so hastily, and that I cannot write so fully as I woud, had I more time.

“Such of your freinds as knew of the contents of yours of the 23d of June have been ever since under the utmost impatience, and are extremly vexed and surprised that they have heard no furdre from

you, and that nothing of what was insinuated to be soon expected, nay not so much as the arrivall of these Highland cheiftans that were on your side of the water, hath hapned: had your measures succeeded, never was this countrie in such a disposition. The Duke of Hamilton came yesterday from the west, and tells me he had messages sent him from the magistrates of Glasgow and from leading people in other parts of the west, that they were willing to venture all for you and woud follow him; and indeed the people in all parts are thus disposed, so that with a small forreign force, or even without it, your bussiness could be effectually done here in a short time, if so be you could bring such forreign assistance to England as could make a stand, till your freinds in that country were thereby encouraged and enabled to get together. The greatest loss here is the want of persons of figure and capacity to manage your affairs: some mind nothing but diversions, and others are unactive and lazy, so that these 8 or 9 months by past (during which severall oppertunitys to be improvd for your service have cast up) the whole burthen has layn on Kincardine and myself, which has tyed us down to almost a close residence in Edinburgh. I can answer for both our zeall and readiness to serve you, but the concurrance of persons of more weight and capacity is necessary, and the want therof does much harm.

“If my former letters are come safe to your hands, youl have pritty full accounts of all that has past here, the sequell wherof youl find in mine to Inverness, which I write not in cypher, as being ane account of what is publickly current here, the truth wherof you may relye upon. No doubt the Goverment will be at pains to magnifye and spread abroad their success in dissarming the Highlanders, but depend ont tis all a jest; for few or no swords or pistols are or will be surrendred, and only such of their firelocks as are of no value, so that a small recruit of good arms will put them in a better state than before. I mention this so expresslie that you may contradict reports to the contrary, least they discourage those from whom you expect forreign aid. I now plainlie see that this Highland expedition (what ever might be at first pretended or intended) is now at the bottom a money job; the Generall has got a great sum of mony to pass thorow his hands for it, and his scheme is to be mighty civill to the Highlanders and under the coll our of his having perswaded them! to give up their arms (which the trash they give him will enable him to represent) to make himself pass as ane usefull man and fit to be continued in Scotland with a good salary. But at the same time I know likewise their are some of the Goverment heartily vexed that the Highlanders have made no opposition, hoping, if they had, that in this time of

tranquillity they might have extirpated them, whereas, as matters have been managed, they will still remain and be in a capacity to serve you when a fair occasion offers. Give me leave to mention to you how far it would be proper that there was a correspondence established twixt your trustees here and your friends in France, in case of emergencies that may happen. If you think proper, you'd be pleased to appoint the 2 persons that are to be entrusted with it and how far it is to extend.

“Wee long to have your directions on the contents of severall letters I have wrot to you since Captain Stratons death and with respect to the packet I sent you about Mar.

“Daniell Murdochson (Seaforths servant) is come to Edinburgh in his way to France. He’s been in quest of me, and I of him, these 2 dayes and mist each other, but in a day or 2 he’s to be at my countrie house, when I’ll get time to talk full with him. In the mean time I know from one that saw him, that he has taken up and secured all the arms of value in Seaforths estate, which he thought better than to trust them to the care and prudence of the severall owners; and the other cheiftans, I hear, have done the same. Your friends think that when you have an attempt in view it would be much for your service that you’d let them timely know with what number of men it is to be made and at what place, that they may know how to steer. I am in the most respectfull dutifull manner Yours.”

Letter to Earl of Inverness.

“2d September 1725.

“By yours of the                    to John Corsar I perceive the King has acquainted you of the reason why I made no return to the 2 letters I had the honour to receive from you; and having now a direction how to write I take the first opportunity to assure you of my utmost respect. Notwithstanding all that has hapned since I last drank a bottle with you, I shall never give over hopes of being once again merry with you; and towards bringing matters to such a posture shall be as earnestly my endeavour as it is my sincere wish. I’m so straitned in time I cannot write so fully as I ought and would.

“By my former letters to the King you’d find that Stratons papers were very rashly destroyed, by which there’s an entire stop put to all correspondence thorow his canall at home and abroad, and it will be pritty difficult and take some time to reestablish it: for want of these, Corsair cant write fully to you, nay he could not understand yours, but as I guessd, by remembering some of the names in Stratons cypher, however wee made a shift to know your meaning by your mumping.

“Youl be curious, I suppose, to know what is adoin in this country; About 20 of the Glasgow rioters were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh and are soon to be tryd for felony on a new law past within these few years, the penaltie wherof is the loss of life goods and chattells. If the jury consist of those weer told the justiciary clerk hath prickd out, their must be very clear proofs to condemn them. [I ommitt what followd nixt, being much the same with the account I have given elsewher of the brewars of Edinburgh.]

“On the 12 of August their came to Inverness about 150 gentelmen of the M<sup>c</sup>kinzies headed by the Lord Tarbat, Sir Colin M<sup>c</sup>lcinzie of Coul and Sir Kenneth M<sup>c</sup>kenzie of Cromartie. This last spoke in name of the rest to the Generall, the purport wherof was, that they were come as representing and in name of the vassals and tennants of Seafoifth; that these woud not come in themselves untill they knew how theyd be received; that their rents had for sevrall years been uplifted by my Lords servant Daniell Murdochson and they were not able to pay them overagain, but if they were discharged therof, they for the future woud pay their Tents to the Goverment, deliver up their arms and live peaceably. The Generall told them he took their visit very kindly and desired them to acquaint ther freinds, what they demanded shornI be granted, and if they performed as they promised he woud endeavour, and he had reason to hope not without success,’ that when nixt session of Parliament did meet, a pardon shoud be granted to Seaforth and all his freinds. Then they eat and drank heartily for 2 or 3 dayes; after which the Generall, attended by these gentlemen and a small body of dragoons, went to Castlebran to receive the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies arms. At the same time came the Lairds of Glengary and Keppoch and delegates from the M<sup>c</sup>donalds of Sky and the M<sup>c</sup>kintoche, who made the like submission. So soon as the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies arms are received, the Generall is to break up his camp at Inverness and with a small body of troops to go to Killywhyman to receive the arms of the M<sup>c</sup>donalds of Glengary and Keppoch and the Camerons, from thence to Inverlochy to receive the arms of the M<sup>c</sup>donalds of Sky and Glencoe and the Stuarts of Appin: and the castle of Inverness is to be repaired and further fortified.

“To this I have only to add that the Squadrone are intirely at under and seem to be in no good humour. I am Yours.”

Letter from Lord Inverness.\*

“August 4, 1725.

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\* Received 8 September 1725.

“Sir,—The King wrot to you the 23d of June; he had not then received yours of the 8 and 24 of May, tho he had an account another way of Captain Stratons death, and in a letter I wrot to Mr. Corsar 3 weeks ago, I desired him to acknowledge the receipt of that of the 8 of May; I am now to answer yours of the 24; and I shall repeat to you again that notwithstanding what Earl of Kinnoill might have shown as coppies of the Kings letters to him, what the King said to you with relation either to his own or my correspondence with that person is certainly fact, and what he may have pretended must either have been counterfeited or come from some other person who might write in the Kings name without his authority.

“I need say nothing of Major Walkinshaws journey, who had the Kings leave to go over and settle some private affairs with Lord Eglinton, as that Lord informed you. I was in some pain about him for a long while, for it was industriously reported at Paris that he was taken up, and Mar made a great deal of noise about his journey, which I was indeed afraid might occasion his being seized; and I am sorry Mar and his friends should be seeking reasons of complaint against others, at the same time that facts that can be proven against him, are rather concealed and not made publick: I am very much of Lord Duns opinion that the less noise is made about Mar the better; I always thought so, but at the same time my motives for thinking so may be different from his, tho he would think as I do were his information as good.

“The King finds now that the Highlanders are resolved to make no resistance, and accordingly has withdrawn the orders for assisting them, on the supposition that they were not to deliver up their arms quickly, and has thought fit to send Allan Cameron over to inform them of his readiness to do all in his power to sustain them, and with a view likewise of bringing him back particular accounts of the situation of that country.

“The King ordered me, in consequence of what had formerly been wrot by you in relation to Corsar, to write to him and settle the correspondence that way, which I accordingly did. Now that you mention Captain Frazer (of whom the King has a very good opinion) and that the trustees seem to think him the properest person for carrying on that business, the King is resolved to make no positive answer to that part of your letter, till you write further on the subject, as you promise to do after you have consulted with the Duke of Hamilton, Glenbucket and others who were not within your reach. The destroying of Stratons cypher will create some uneasiness in correspondence for some time, but as soon as the King is determined

by whose hands that part of his correspondence should go, that loss in a little time can be made up. All the Family are in perfect good health. I am Yours,”:

Letter\* from the King.

“1st September 1725.

“Yours of the 13 July came safe to me some dayes ago, and the accounts you give me of the present situation of Scotland were the more agreeable, that I am sensible you are not capable of flattering or exaggeration on such heads. This situation will make me the more intent and ardent in my solicitations for foreign assistance: I cannot, tis true, hope for any this year, but it is highly probable matters may be so prepared in the winter^ that the ensuing year may not pass in inaction, and if that be the case, I hope that event will find Scotland in the most favourable posture to profite by it. By the return of Cameron, whom I have lately sent to the Highlands, I shall have authentick and sure accounts from that part of the country, and I wish you would speak to the Duke of Hamilton and those worthy persons you name in the beginning of your letter and also some others of my principall freinds, to know their opinions and advice as to proper steps to be taken both by them and me in relation to Scotland, and particularly as to the choise of a generall. I would not have you think from hence that an expedition is immediatly to be undertaken, but the situation of Europe is such as that such a resolution may be taken on a sudden and when I do not expect it, and therefore it is prudent to be prepared for it.

“I have perused the abstract of the narrative designed for Mars justification and received it from those that sent it as a fresh instance of their zeall and attachment to me. I should be glad to see a full copy of it and of the vouchers which accompanied it, tho the remark made on the margine of the last page shews me, that as I have endeavoured to spare Mar hitherto as much as my service would allow, so it is not like to require me to mention him any more; I am perswaded in a very little time I shall not have a sincere well-wisher whose eyes will not be opened in that respect, or who will have any further dealings with him or any of his adherents. The accounts Mar formerly sent with relation to the mony affair you mention were so imperfect, that I cannot satisfye you on that head, but am heartily sorry any body should suffer by mismanagement in that particular, and see but too well the discouragement that must produce in wellwishers to their good will hereafter in such matters: but the truth is, as matters have stood of late

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\* Received 6 October.

years, I was not master of my own affairs in France, nor could not be it, by the mismanagement of those employed by me: I thank God the case is quite altered now, and those entrusted in my affairs have no other views but the common good; and it has been no small satisfaction to me to remark in the Bishop of Rochester a particular affection for your country, which, as occasions may hereafter offer, I am persuaded he will always continue to shew; and as for Inverness, you know already my good opinion of him, which he has never diminished since our first acquaintance. I have given him the abstract in which he has so much mentioned, but I believe he will not think it worth his while to entertain you long upon it.

“I shall conclude this with informing you of the good health of my family and that in some days I shall declare James Murray, in creating him a Scots Earl, governor to my son the prince, who if he follow his instructions and my example will ever look on my ancient kingdom with the greatest affection and tenderness. Let me hear often from you and be assured of my constant kindness.”

Letter\* from Lord Inverness.

“8th September 1725.

“Sir,—The King did me the honour to communicate to me your letter of the 13 July, and at the same time put into my hands a paper transmitted to him at the desire of some of his friends with you, I do suppose with a view of my making some reply to it in as far as it might regard myself or some circumstances in the King's affairs where I have happened to be concerned of late: but as the King is positively resolved to say nothing that can look like an accusation against the author of the above mentioned paper, and that I happen thereby to be tied up, I shall satisfy myself with informing you, in a very few words, of some particulars which are necessary for making you and others understand the true sense in which the paper called A narrative for Mars justification, ought to be read: and to make this letter shorter I must not tie myself to mention the particulars of the abstract in the same order Mars has put them; so I shall begin with informing you, that I always reckon myself obliged to Mars for whatever favour he shewed me whilst he was in the King's service, but that as I pretended to no dependence but upon the King alone, I always reserved to myself the privilege of judging and even contradicting Mars opinion in some particulars, where my judgement led me to do it. I believe Mars knew me too well not to communicate to me what he thought I might

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\* Received 6 October.

construct against the Kings interest as disadvantageous to it or dishonourable to himself, but as late as it was possible. I look upon Mars never mentioning to me the subject of the letter he wrot to the King 3d February 1721, of which I may not allow to bend you a copy, to be an instance of this, tho I cant believe that matter was new to him sometime before; but since he has sent you a copy of the Kings answer to said letter, which is comprehended in the abstract of the narrative and mentiond ther to be dated 22 February 1721, I may safely inform you that Mar owns by that letter of 3d February “to have already accepted of a pension of 2000*l.* from the Government over and above 1500*l.* which his Lady and daughter actually then received by way of jointure and alimnt out of the product of his estate: he mentions that this 3500*l.* made as much as the value of his whole effects, were they put into his hands as he had them formerlie: That ther was a necessity for him to make ane immediate answer to this offer made him by the Government, which he had done, but at the same time that he agreed to the proposall, he had told the Government that he must acquaint the King with it, so that it was still in the Kings power to make him do in it what he had a mind.” These are the very words of the letter, of which he should have sent you a copy at the time he sent the Kings answer. After this you wont be surprized that the Kings serious reflection should have produced such ane answer, when you consider how much he was at that time in the confidence of the Kings affairs, and how many of his freinds at home Mar had then in his power. Neither will you wonder that the King, after he knew of this pension, should be willing to withdraw his confidence from Mar by degrees and in such a manner as could be no wayes prejudiciall to his freinds at home. The King had reason at that time to believe Mar would have declined knowing any of His Majesties secrets, since by the engagements he lay under to the Government he must thereby act ane unfair part either to them or the King: however this did not happen to be the case, for he not only desired it, but by his management of Dillon, who was then intirely trusted by the King and by most of his freinds in England, he not only knew but directed every thing, notwithstanding the repeated diffidence freinds in England shewd Dillon of Mar; so that by Dillons easie temper, Mar had it in his power to oblige the King to keep in good terms with him, to avoid giving him any temptation to prejudice his interest essentially. This was the situation of the Kings affairs for severall years and a melancholly one it was. During that time I had the honour to be employd in many things by the King, but was obliged to a cautious management, so that Mar might not discover from me the Kings having any reserve with him, till such time as His Majestie could lay him aside without

prejudice to his freinds, which he never had in his powr to do till the Bishop of Rochester came over, when the King sent me in 1723 to France and Holland, to execute some particular commissions and at the same time to know from that Bishop the true situation of matters in England, and when it appeard, as well from many letters to the same purpose, that the most thinking people of the Kings freinds belived his affairs woud not succeed, while Mar had it allwayes in his powr to ruin the particular persons engaged in his cause, by making projects and engaging them in it or by discovering any that shoud be made, in as far as he thought convenient, for the procuring of the continuance of his pension, which few people will belive the Goverment gave him for nothing. From this journey that I made and from the conduct I was obliged to keep with Mar, you will easily observe that what he aledges of my having lost the Kings good opinion or any way falln under his displeasure was false, whatever I was obliged to make Mar belive by my answers to his letters, when he pressd as much as possible my leaving the King, founding his reasons upon 50 insignificant stories contrived at Paris, for which he never coud give me any good authority, tho the knowledge I had of his private circumstances might have prompted him to wish my leaving Rome at that time. But when I tell you I never received any letters from Mar, tho they were conveyd to me in a private way, nor never writ any to him but what were communicated to the King, I need say no more to you on this article. I shall only add here that my conduct towards Mar whilst I was at Paris, was so far from dissembling with him, that I then advised him to yeild to the speal that was against him, by removing himself from Paris and writing a submissive letter to the King, informing of it and saying it was not for his interest that he shoud be trusted with any of his secrets whilst so many of his freinds mistrusted him, but that shoud not hinder him from acting a staunch part in his cause when ever ther was any occasion for action. I spoke of Mar personally only to 3 persons at Paris who were his great confidents, and was so far from dissembling with them, that I told them my mind freelie on every particular that concernd Mar, without breaking with them, which I did not think it my business to do; nevertheless when he found I woud not enter blindly into his measures, he declared openlie against me.

“As to what relates to the Bishop of Rochester in the narrative I ought to allow him to answer it himself; he was well acquainted with Mars character when he came out of England, and was fully satisfied, as many others are, that without Mars offices he coud not have been sent out of England as he was: you may remember in the appendix 3

letters, which the Government pretended the Bishop wrote by the same post to -3 different persons, supposed then to be at Paris; the letters indeed contained nothing of consequence, but it was sufficient that it appeared by them that they were written by a person that did not wish well to the Government. About the time these letters were written, Colonel Churchill was sent over to France with a letter from the Secretary of State desiring Mars information about the plot then in hand. The Colonel told Mar these 3 letters had been intercepted copy'd at the posthouse and forwarded, and according to the Colonells information, who had out rid the post, the letters arrived at Paris: one of them under a cypher name was designed for Mar which he received and notwithstanding the Colonells information answered it, addressing his letter by the same cypher name, with which the 3 letters were signed. In Mars answer the Bishops situation at that time, his Ladys death, his illness, his going to his country house ten miles from London &c. were so nicely described, that the Government who intercepted that answer, agreed that this could mean no body but the Bishop, and thereby proved that he was the author of the 3 mentioned letters?, which was declared corresponding against the Government. Mar neither can deny that he wrote such a letter nor that Mr. Churchill informed him of the 3 letters being intercepted, so that I cannot wonder that the Bishop, on whom the Government had a particular eye at that time, should blame Mar for having a share in his banishment, which is all the reflection I shall make on this article, however many may be made upon Churchills mission at that time. And as to the Bishops shunning to confer with Mar, sometime after the first came to Paris, which the narrative seems to affirm, I shall only say that the Bishop acquainted me at that time, that after the 12 bundles of papers had been sent back, that he had sought all opportunities of conferring freely with Mar, but could not find occasion of doing it and that Mar should being obliged to answer any questions the Bishop had to put to him.

“As to Mars confinement at Geneva, it would be accusing him to say that his going there was concerted, tho both the Spanish consull at Leghorn and the Spanish minister at Genua offered to convey him directly from either place into Spain without so much as touching on the coast of France. Neither shall I pretend to judge of the reason of Mars accepting of what he calls a loan of money from Earl of Stairs, only it could not be for want, for the King remitted him considerable supplies to Geneva, tho he was entertained there by the town, where his expence could be but trifling: and as to his being obliged to return to Geneva from France (the fear of which he gives in the narrative as a reason for his treating with the English Government) Dillon and some

other officers in France, who ought to understand matters of that kind, gave it him as their opinion, that he was no wayes obliged to return tho they shoud call for him.

“Now I am come to say something about a memoriall, of which, in the abstract of the narrative it is said a copy is transmitted amongst the vouchers: which memoriall, tho a copy of it was sent to be delivered to the King after it had been presented to the Duke of Orleans, yet the King never acknowledged the receipt of it. Mar does me justice in saying that I approved of certain articles relating to Scotland, tho I did not at the time helire them to be of so great importance as he pretended they were, neither were they represented as the foundation of a scheme, which, had the King enterd into it, must have put a stop to his restoration for ever, without which these articles could be of no use. I disapproved of the memoriall from the beginning, because, as I told Mar when I first saw it, that I thought the scheme impracticable; that England vvas not to be conquered with 6000 foot souldiers or the Kings freinds in England to be led blindly into their own ruin, with sevrall other reasons I need not repeat; and tho Mar pretends that this was contrived for the advantage of Scotland, I reallie cannot see what benefite Irelands being more powerfull than England woud bring to us, and as I could not perceive at the time that Mar could have any reason to belive that Orleans was any wayes disposed to act for the King, I treated the presenting of it by the Kings minister then at Paris as a very imprudent act, since I thought ther was a greater likelihood of Orleans doing a service to his strict ally Hanover by discovering it, than of his entering into it: however my caution in divulging it was very great, and I thought it of such consequence that none entrusted by the King shoud at least be the first to mention it, that I did not open my lips about it to any soul living during my absence from Rome, nor after I returnd, till I knew Mar showd some particular articles in it to some people at Paris, informing them that this memoriall, because it was for the interest of Scotland, was the reason of his disgrace; Then indeed, when I found the memoriall to be no more a secret, I thought it necessary to send a true copy of it, that so were a false one handed about, a true copy might be produced: and it does not consist with the Kings knowledge that the Duke of Orleans seald up the memoriall and recommended it to the Duke of Bourbon, neither does it appear naturall, since Orleans dyed suddenlie, left his papers in the greatest confusion, was not in good terms with his successor at the time of his death, and could nowayes foresee that he was to succeed him in the Ministry.

“Now I must do the Bishop of Rochester justice in telling you, that

tho it is naturall for every man to wish well 'to his countrie, yet I never observed he had any other veiw but the Kings restoration: his whole thoughts are bent that way, he never made any distinction that I could see in his dealings for the Kings service, which of the 3 kingdoms the persons he dealt with were of, and I dare say would be far from obstructing any honour or advantage our countrie might have in bringing about the restoration or after the Kings restored. As to what the narrative mentions about my wife, that is indeed so childish a way of reasoning', that I shant trouble you with any thing on that head, only that Mar has seen the falsity of that assertion under the Queens own hand.

“After you read this you will observe that I was more in the Kings confidence for many years than Mar was; That I never fell under the Kings displeasure in any degree, and consequently that I could not want Mars offices in that respect; That my grudge (as its called) did not proceed from trifles; That my professions of friendship, when I came to Paris, were such as they ought to have been, without dissimulation either as to my opinion of the memoriall or Mars own situation; That Mar could be in no want of money at Geneve; That Mars accepting the money from Stairs was not the only reason why the Bishop of Rochester mentioned in his letter *a previous or at least a subsequent approbation*; That Mar could be under no apprehension of returning to Geneve, and that his dabbling with the Government was even of a longer standing than in appearance; That he does not mention in the narrative the 500*l.* sterling given as an aliment to Lady Fanny; That he makes his estate to be 3000*l.*, whereas he could not, considering the debt that was on it, receive 1500*l.*; That it does not appear what Mar did to bamboozle the Government, which was the design of his interview with Colonel Churchill; That the scheme presented to Orleans was, without the King's previous knowledge, presented by his first minister; That the King is ignorant of its being sealed up by Orleans and recommended to the Duke of Bourbon; and That Mar was the first discover of the scheme himself. I have said nothing of that part of the narrative where it is said that the Bishop of Rochester accuses Mar with advising the King to resign his right to the crown for a pension, since I cannot call to mind what may have given occasion to it; nor do I remember the letter or letters that were writ to the King, advising applications being made to the courts of France and Spain for a pension, if I was informed of that particular at the time.

“Its mentioned upon the margin of the abstract of the narrative, that a scheme being delivered in to Orleans by a certain Peer then at

Paris was mentiond in the news papers of January 1723<sup>\*</sup>; if so, the newsmonger could not mean the memoriall which I have already mentiond, which was only presented in September that year, according to the information Mar gave of it; but if the news paper in January 1724 had mentioned such a memoriall, that would be indeed particular: but however that be, the remark in the main is just, since the Governments information must have been very bad, if they did not know of such a memoriall, before ever they gave Mars estate to him or his family. And all I shall add further is that it had been infinitely better in every respect, that Mar had made use of the advise I gave him and had not gone about accusing of those against whom he had nothing essentiall to say and obliging them, by misrepresenting his own case, to tell the truth, to prevent which a silent behaviour in him was only necessary. I hope you will excuse the confusedness of this letter, which time did not allow me to put in better order. I am Yours.”

Letter from Allan Cameron<sup>†</sup>.

“September 10, 1725.

“Sir,—At my arrivall here I sent express for the bearer in order to acquaint you of my business to this countrie, since that, with other circumstances make my going your length impracticable: therefore as you may entirely trust him, I shall expect to know by him a particular account how matters are stated in your parts and of your sentiments therof, which I shall communicate carefully to those concerned and who employd me. Tie wait a return to this, against which time I hope shall finish what I have to do here at this time: referring you to the bearer for the rest I add only that I am Yours &<sup>c</sup>.”

The bearer of this letter was Mr. Drummond of Bahadie junior, nephew to Mr. Cameron, with whom I sent the following letter to him.

“October 5, 1725.

“Sir,—Before I received yours of the 10th of September, I knew of your being come, having been told therof by the Bishop of Edinburgh about 3 or 4 weeks ago, as I was acquainted of your intention and errand by a letter which I got some litle time before that from Lord Inverness. I have a very great inclination to see you, because thers twentie usefull matters would fall into a conversation, that cannot

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\* If the originall copy of the abstract sent to the King mentiond—1723, it was an error in the transcribing, for it should have been 1724.

† Received 4 October 1725.

occur or be so well handled in a letter: I imagined wee might meet without any inconveniencies at a freinds house of mine about 12 miles to the north of the Cam of Mount, but the bearer of yours to me was affraid youd find it difficult to reach that place; on the other hand for me to pretend to come directlie towards you woud creat some suspicion in our cheif rulers and move them perhaps to severer measures than they ve yet takn, and having thus reasond with the Kings trustees here, they were of opinion such a meeting as they earnestly enuff desired, coud not be obtaind without danger to you or inconveniencies from other peoples jealousy, and therefore I laid aside all thoughts of it.

“Youl be able to give the King a particular account of the state of his affairs in your neighbourhead, and I have sent him of late so full and frequent accounts of them here, that I need not repeat them to you, and the truth on’t is I have nothing of moment to add. That he gains ground every day on the affections of his people and that their hatred to his eniuiys daylle encreaseth is a certain truth, but at the same time his freinds have been so harrassed and squeezed of late years, that theyr by no means in a condition to make so good ane appearance as they once did; and as the world goes, tis no easie matter to recruit them in what they want. I mention this that more may not be expected from this part than can be performed and to show the necessity of securing ane interest in other parts, both at home and abroad, before any thing to purpose can be done. Ther is not any thing so essentially necessary for the King’s service as a perfect good harmony and close concert amongst his freinds, and tis no small misfortune that the reverse has hapned in distant places: In this corner tis quite otherwise, which I take to be much owing to the prudent conduct of his trustees whor at no small pains to keep matters right: how his freinds wher you now are stand in this particular I cant tell, for you must know wee here are perfect strangers to whats a doing there, seing thers no established corrispondence. I had occasion within these few dayes to talk of these matters with your freind and countrieman Mr. John M<sup>c</sup>cleod, and he regrated it extremely and proposed that a corrispondence shoud be establishd for the future betwixt some proper person of credit in the Highlands, to be pitchd on by the principall people there and some one of the Kings trustees here, who might communicate to and advise with ther principals as occasions required, and he was pleased to desire I woud take it on me: I told him I woud decline nothing in my powr that woud be of any service to the Kings interest, but it woud be preeviouslie known how far. your nighbours approvd of the measure in generall, and that it was also necessary that they were pleasd in the

choise of the persons both with themselves and here, to be the managers of the corrispondence. I perswade my self youl easily see a great many good effects woud follow such a corrispondence, as it woud tend directlie to prevent divisions, various resolutions, and giving credite to false intelligence, and woud promote unanimity in affections and actions. If therefore your neighbours approve of this scheme, the setting it on foot before you go off, will, I humblie conceive, be no small service to the King; and if theyl, by a proper person, signify their inclinations to me, I shall acquaint a few of the principall trustees therof, who no doubt will appoint any of their number your freinds pitch on, to be the manager on their side of the corrispondence, and the sooner this is done the better. Youl acquaint the King of this proposall when you have the happiness to see him, and Ime pritty much assured he'I approve of it heartily.

“In this world thers nothing happens that ought to seem strange, else youd be surprised and scarce credit me, when I tell you thers a fair probality of a conjunction in measures betwixt the Highlanders and the Cameronians: these last are a powrfull body, well provided in all necessarys, and in all respects in a capacity to do good service: but as theyr a giddy headed humourous people tis no easie matter to manage them, tho in the main they have good intentions and Ime very hopefull will be brought to do right things: Tis but of late I was let into this secret, and I have not yet so fully adjusted matters as that I have thought it necessary to acquaint the King of it, but I hope in a few months to surprize him with a peice of agreeable news in that particular.

“I have nothing more to trouble you with at present but to desire youd remember me in the kindest manner to all my old acquaintances, particularly to Kilsyth, whose health I drank tother day with severall of his neighbours in the country. Be so kind likewise as to assure the King of my most dutifull and sincere respect and regard for him and his. I wish you with all my soul well back to' the place from whence you came and from thence a speedy and agreeable return and end to all your labours, being with all imaginable sincerity Your &c.

“P. S. Weeve a surmise here of a turn of affairs from whence you came, that the Bishop of Rochester is out of favour, and Jamie Murray and he have had a scolding boot of it, and that the former is gone to Rome to be governour to the Prince and is created Earl of Strathern. This news was brought by one who came very lately from Bulloign, who had it from the Scots club there; what truths in it, I cant say, but I thought it not amiss to tell you of it.”

Letter to the King.

“13 October 1725.

“Sir,—Yours of the 1st of September came safe to me about a week ago: All your trustees but Panmure being in the countrie I do not expect them in toun for 5 or 6 weeks, and till then I cannot communicate to the persons you direct, these points on which you demand their opinions, and I have so litle to say just now that I shoud not have troubled you with this but that perhaps I shall not have the occasion of another ship from Leith for some time, and I was affraid you might think I was remiss in executing what you required of me,

“I shall endeavour to get a full copy of the narrative, but Ime affraid without success, for (as I mentiond formerlie if Ime not mistaken) the person to whom it was sent here was bound up from giving coppys: and indeed the abstract I made (which I can assure you is pritty full and just) was without his knowledge, at least he did not take notice of it, if he suspected that was your freinds design.

“I had *a.* letter and a message by a safe hand last week from Allan Cameron; I woud gladly have met and conversed with him, but found he coud not come towards me with safety, and I coud not go to the Highlands without giving umbrage to the Goverment, which at this eriticall juncture was to be avoided Youl have from him such full and certain accounts of the affairs of the Highlands I will not pretend to entertain you on that subject, further than that theyve gone smoothlie enuff, as I ventured to assure you of in my former letters. I made a proposition to Cameron with respect to your service; how it took with his freinds I cant tell, but I imagine you’l approve of it, when he communicates it to you. All things here are pritty quiet, yet you may depend upon it the resentment is only conceald till a fair occasion casts up, and care will be takn this winter to keep the peoples spirits up as much as possible, which is all can be done till your negotiations elsewhere take effect. The welfare and prosperity of your family is most agreeable news to all your freinds and to none more than

“Yours &c.”

Letter to Lord Inverness:

“13 October 1725.

“Sir,—I received yours of the 8th of September, but most of our freinds being in the countrie during this season, I have not had ane oppertunity of communicating the same to any but Panmure, with whom I perfectlie agree that whither Mar was innocent or guilty in whole or in part, it was his duty and interest to have sat silent as the

world goes: and as the King and his servants abroad have acted the prudent part in endeavouring to make as little noise as possible of such matters and have declined entering upon or communicating particulars, I take it to be an intimation to his friends here to follow the example, except when tis necessary to contradict facts propagated to his prejudice. I had a visite yesterday from Mr. Alexander Seymour, whos lately come from France; he enterd on the subject and insisted much that the Kings friends here shoud suppress all noise of any difference amongst his friends abroad and particularly the stories about Mar; after which he much condemnd the sending a cobby of the memorial to the Bishop of Rochester: I told him I wishd as much as he this last had not been done, but as for the other, Mar alone was to blame, for if any thing more than what was very generall came to light, it was owing to his own conduct in being the first aggressor, by a narrative he had sent over. He replyed that was a private matter for the satisfaction of his friends and to justifye himself in their opinions. I answered these his friends had a friend they valued far beyond him, and His Lordship knew many years ago theyd never put his interest into the ballance with that of the other, to whom, for that reason, they thought it ther duty to send a full account of the narrative. At this he seemd surpris'd and vexed, adding that Mar did not imagine such an use woud have been made of it. I returnd if what it containd was true, ther was no harm done him, if it was false it was but just that the person he level'd at shoud know it. This and much more to the same purpose I spoke, because I cou'd perceive it woud be reported to Mar, and I was willing he shoud know peoples sentiments here.

“David Nairn came here lately from Bullogne and tells that he saw severall letters from Paris giving an account of Jamie Murrays journey and errand to Rome, adding that he and the Bishop of Rochester had a scolding bout of it and that the latter was out of the Kings favour. This last part of the story (after having just received the Kings and your letters and considered the strain in which that prelate was mentioned) I took on me to contradict as being the contrivance of some malicious secret enemy to the King.

“Weeve had a hot tryall in the justiciary court, of the Glasgow rioters: the Earl of Hay and Lord Royston pressd with the outmost zeall to find the libell relevant to infer the pains of death: the other Lords insisted it cou'd go no further than an arbitrary punishment, and carried it, except wher any person was proven guilty of actually pulling down Campbles house, in which they allowd of so many grounds of exculpation, that of the first ten that were tryed, one man and one woman were sentenced to perpetuall banishment, and the

other 8 absolved, and thers no doubt but the remaining set to be tryed will come off easier. I scarce think it very good policy in the Government to show their teeth without biting deeper, but the truth ont is, I do belive they did not expect the Lords of Justiciary woud have dared to behave as they did, and Lord Hay protested against their proceedings and threatned to lay the matter before the Parliament. His Lordship seems to thrist after bloodie proceses and hes like to get work enuff, for ther has been a great mob at Linlithgow in choosing of the magistrates, wher, as in most places, the spel runs high against all inclind to the present Ministry. Even in Edeuburgh (wher no pains threats and bribes were ommitted) the Court magistrates carried it only by the Provosts casting vote. "Mr. Murray by his long silence seems to have forgot most of bis old freinds here, however I wish him much joy and good success in his late preferment. I hope youl do me the justice to beJive I am very sincerelie Yours."

Letter\* from Allan Cameron.

"26 October 1725.

"Sir,—As your accounts and letter by Mr. Drummond, of the 5th give me a great light in sevrall respects of the state of that part of the country, so it came very seasonably concerning the particular you mention in order to setle a solid corrispondence and \_good intelligence betwixt the Kings trustees there and bis principall freinds here, which hitherto has been too much neglected, at least never effectually accomplished. Therefore since I have been obliged to make such a stay in this countrey, much longer than I expected, I think what you propose towards it absolutely necessary to be gone about without delay. Its true I have conform to my instructions and in the Kings name recommended a true union amongst them, as being the only way to serve him and their country, strengthen them and defeat the designs of his and their enimys: and now I shall endeavour to know the sentiments of such as I have not yet been able to see, as well as those I have been with, so as to be in a condition to give as clear accounts of that affair as can be expected, which when I have finished, shall do my utmost to wait of you without giving you more trouble or inconveniencie than your present situation will allow of. As you observe, their are sevrall matters can be handled when toghether, that are not proper to mention at a distance, besides that I have for good reasons dispatchd the ship which brought me to this countrie, so that must be provided for my return I know not where, being alreadie

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\* Received 12 November 1725.

dissappointed of a fair veiw I had to that effect: mean time I beg youl be pleased to have ane eye to get me served in your own discreet way near that place.

“I have sent you inclosed a letter to the King writ in a way he’l understand, tho obscure to any other except One or 2 employd by him: you may likewise mention something of me in your letter to him, so as I may know his further commands your way, in case it shoud happen by any unforeseen accident, that I be obliged to stay in the country untill you have a return.

“This is all I think needfull to write in answer to yours; since I hope to see you, I shall not mention the difficultys I have been and am under in going about what I am charged With at this time: If Mr. Drummond delivers you this, he can inform you of my situation, but as the justness of what Ime about will cheiflie be a means to support me, so I hope the methods I use shall be blameless on my side, for personall danger I value it not, so ai the King nor any of his freinds do not suffer by it, which shall always be my principall veiw.

“As for your news concerning the Bishop, I am loath to give cfedite to it, considering how I left matters, the quarter it came from, and the shortness of time since I parted from that country to produce so sudden and unexpected a change; but as you notice, on another subject, that thers nothing, happens in this world ought to seem strange, I shall not be too possitive in what I am not intirely sure of, only if it is so ther must be very good reason for it. As for James Murrays promotion, that I believe. I add no more but that I am with true esteem and sincerity Yours.

“P. S. I believe you had better suspend any thing as to this countrie, since I design to see you, till meeting.”

Letter from Lord Inverness.\*

“October 27, 1725.

“Sir,—Your letter to the King of the 25 July is come safe: you have seen long before you receive this, by the Kings letter to you of the 1st September, that no forreigne assistance can be expected till winter is over; he is hopefull that the ensuing spring may produce some favourable resolutions in his favours from some of the powers of Europe who seem split amongst themselves; and if the Kings informations be good, opposite allyances are alreadie concluded which must occasion a breach, from, whence advantages not only

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\* Received 9 December 1725.

may be drawn, but are with reason expected, which the King informs you of in the greatest confidence.

“If the Highlanders have preserved the best of their arms, so much the better, but, as you said, if their persons remain untouched, what else happens can be of no bad consequence at least for some time, which makes the King very much approve the advice given by his friends, which was entirely agreeable to his sentiments from the beginning, his orders to assist the Highlanders being only conditional and in case they themselves should resolve to oppose the Government; and if the Bishop of Rochester pressed any of the clans at Paris to go to arms, it was more with a view of discovering a correspondence which he suspected one of them to have independent of the others, and not with any real design to bring them to order their followers to make opposition, for that Mas to have depended upon the clans at home as well as those abroad: however I believe the letter you saw could be from no body but Seaforth, who by the accounts you have formerly sent and the remarks made at Paris, appeared to have sent his orders to his followers to deliver up their arms without consulting the rest or waiting the Kings opinion in the matter; for Locheall and McClean declared themselves ready to follow the directions the King should give them, either by writing or going themselves.

“He expects your answer to his last before he says any thing particular as to a General or in whose hands the chief authority ought to be placed. He is very sensible of the disadvantage it would be to his interest and to the country in general were such of his friends as are most capable of directing and advising either as to the civil or military, seized by the Government at the time of an invasion. You yourselves can only lay down the properest methods for preventing so great an inconvenience: all that depends upon the King is to give you as timely warning as he may be able to do and prudence will allow him: The later certainly one is of stirring from home the better, but that must depend on the intelligence the Government has and their proceedings upon it. I remember what passed upon the summons that were given by the Government, in the 1715, for the Kings chief friends to come into Edinburgh; and you may be assured that when any thing is to be undertaken, the King will have a particular view his preventing as much as can be by his conduct all the steps that may be taken by the Government to disable his friends from being useful to their country. But I need not entertain you any longer on these matters, for we have a long winter before us which will afford time enough for discussions of this kind. He that has now the government of Edinburgh Castle was once looked upon to be well affected; could measures be taken to gain

that place, it would be a noble stroke immediately after a landing.

“The King approves very much the confidence his friends mention and are desirous to have in Captain Frazer; I would gladly send him a cypher, being informed by you sometime ago that Stratons was destroyed, but I dare not think of trusting it to the post, for we have all the reason in the world to be more cautious than ever in conveying of letters even betwixt this and Holland: In the mean time the King desires you would make him his compliments and assure him of the good opinion he always had of him, and which he is confirmed in by so many of his best friends.

“The King is very much obliged to you for the particular accounts you give him of several particulars which I need not touch here, and is persuaded that you will slip no opportunity of improving the wrong steps of the Government to their disadvantage.

“It was a great satisfaction to the King to hear that Major Walkinshaw was safe; he did not think when he went home to have stayed there so long and I think indeed he tempts his enemies too much. I am yours.”

About the latter end of this year 1725 the publick accounts brought the news of the Queens having deserted the King and retired into a convent, and it was soon confirmed from all quarters, tho no direct account came for a considerable time from the King, the letters which he writ on that subject being detained in Holland for want of a safe occasion of conveying them to Scotland. I cannot pretend to narrate the true cause and history of this separation, but I will mention what was at that time reported, the truth of which will probably in time be determined, when the secret history is known. Mars partizans did affirm (and the account they gave was generally credited) that the Queen was jealous of an amour twixt the King and Lady Inverness, who at the same time, with her husband who was the Kings favourite and premier minister, treated the Queen so insolently that she could not bear it and was obliged to retire: and Mar pretended that having foreseen long before, that the Queen would be uneasy, and to prevent a rupture endeavoured to have Inverness and his Lady enrieved, it gave the first rise to their malice, and was the occasion of the fall of his interest with the King. On the other side it was represented that Mrs. Sheldon (to Dillon and governess to the prince) had gained an absolute ascendance over the Queen, and being intinely at Mars devotion was his spy in the family, and by his instigation blew the coall and incensed Her Majestie against Lord Inverness and kept the whole family in hot water: That for these reasons the King, being resolved to

have her removed, began by taking the prince out of her hands and delivering him to the care of Mr. Murray then created Earl of Dunbar: That the Queen violently opposed this, chiefly out of regard to Mrs. Sheldon but appearingly because Dunbar was a Protestant, proposing thereby to gain the Popish interest to give ear to her articles of accusation against Inverness and Dunbar who was brother to the Lady Inverness. The Kings trustees and friends in Scotland were for a long time at a stand what to think, say or do for his service in this particular: There were so many instances given by persons well affected to the King, from their proper knowledge of the triumvirates insolence to the Queen and others about the Court, that the same was scarcely to be doubted; but at the same time they endeavoured to suppress such reports, because it was a terrible reflection on the Kings honour and judgement not only to allow thereof, but even break with the Queen rather than part with these favourites, when she complained of them.

Whilst people were under an uneasiness to learn the true state of this affair, Allan Cameron came from the Highlands to Edinburgh about the beginning of January 1726, and had frequent conferences with Kincardine and my self, after which we brought him and the Duke of Hamilton together. We soon perceived that Cameron was wholly in Invernesses interest, and we concluded that besides what the King mentioned as his design in sending him to the Highlands, he had the particular service of Inverness in charge, by endeavouring to remove any discontent amongst the Highlanders on account of Mars disgrace, who had established a pretty good interest amongst them by Campbells of Glenderowells means, and to fix in them a favourable opinion of Inverness and his ministry. We examined him narrowly on what he thought might be the true ground and occasion of the quarrell twixt the King and Queen, but he pretended absolute ignorance thereof: and having discoursed fully with him on the subject of the disarming act and the measures the King had once in view to take, the account he gave agreed, as I observed before, very near with the letter from one of the clans at Paris, with this addition, that the orders and instructions the King sent to Paris concerning opposing the Government and supporting the Highlanders were conditionally, in case it appeared that the act was to be rigorously put in execution; from which we could not but conclude, that the Kings letter to me concerning that affair was too general and peremptory and that it was an unaccountable omission in his minister to suffer so long a space to pass without sending any other orders and advice to his trustees in Scotland, and lastly that the turn which Inverness gives in his letter to that affair was not matter of fact, as at first sight it did not seem

suitable to the Bishop of Rochesters capacity and experience in business.

Some litle time before Cameron came to Edinburgh I dispatchd the following letters.

Letter to the King.

“December 18, 1725.

“Sir,—In my former I acquainted you of the reason why I could not give ane immediat return to yours of the 1st of September, and tho I have by this time seen most of those with whom you intended I should talk on the subject therin containd, yet some obstacles stand in my way that prevent my giving you the satisfaction you demanded and expected, at least as to the way and manner, for the truth on’t is their are severall whor reckond your freinds, to whom I do not think it proper to communicate what you wrot to me, in which I have the concurrance of Kincardine and Captain Frazer: Amongst these is principally the Duke of Hamilton; for as I know that he aims at and expects to be at the head of your affairs, it was by no means expedient to mention to him the choise of a generall, untill you was apprized of some particulars relating to him and formd your judgement upon them: and as Lord Eglinton is absolutely under his influence, it was also necessary to keep him in the dark, and likewise Panmure, for a reason to be hereto subjoind; so that Lord Wigtoun and Mr. Paterson being out of toun, and Lord Balmerinloch, Dun, and Sir John Erskine too much, Ime affraid, attatchd to Mar, and Bishop Fullarton almost quite dozed, ther were none I could freeilie discourse with on the points you mention save Kincardine and Frazer, too small a number to offer ane advice on a matter of such importance; however least our opinions might be of any use to you, wee resolved to transmitt them with all due deference.

“Taking it then for granted that in any attempt you’r to make, youl be supported with a forreign force such as may promise probable hopes of success, tis thought your grand effort will be in England and the nearer to London so much the better, in which case all you will need or expect from Scotland will be a diversion to the standing forces there, so as to prevent their being calld into England, or to embarrass them in their march so as to hinder their conjunction with the other troops. If the forces you send with that veiw into Scotland are able to make a stand against the regular forces, then sure the best place they can land at is the south side of Forth, because they may be joind by your freinds in the south and a communication be secured with England, wheras if they land on the north side of that river, these

advantages will be prevented, whilst your freinds in the north need no help: But if the troops you send are not so numerous, then they had best land in the Highlands, so as they may be quicklie joind by the clans. Which ever way you take, arms, ammunitiō, horse furniture, mony are all wanting here and must be supplyd elsewher, for your freinds are far from being in the condition they were in Anno 1715: and tis necessary to send over a good number of officers, that is a few of rank and charactar and as many subalterns, Serjeants and corporalls as possible. As the aversion to the Union daylie increases, that is the handle by which Scotsmen will be incited to make a generall and zealous appearance: this your enemys know so well, that on former occasions all manner of pains were taken to buz in the peoples ears, that theyd be disappointed in what they expected from you, for that to gratifye your subjects of England, you was to uphold the Union. Now as I am morrally certain that the better part of England are far from thinking the Union beneficiall to either cōtrie, I cannot see but it is expedient to gratifye your Scots subjects and therby advance your own service, and in order therto, that so soon as your forces land, a manifesto shoud be publishd, as you designd formerlie, with respect to religion, laws &c. and containing ane ample plain assurance of your design to setle and mantain the 2 kingdoms in their respective antient seperate independent state, by dissolving the Union which is pernicious to both; and tis tlwught it woud be of vast service if, in this manifesto, you recommended to the electors in shires and brngths to have their thoughts on proper persons to be by them chosen to represent them in a Scots Parliament, which it is your royaR intention shoud meet as soon as the state of affairs will allow, wher they may consult and make such laws as shall be judged needful! for securing the religion, laws and liberties of your aintient kingdoms: were some coppys thcrof printed and sent over praeviouslie «o a» to be readieto be dispersed immediatly on a landing, it woud answer the design to better purpose, but that must be done with the utmost caution and care to prevent a discovery and seizure.

“These are some of the cheif matters that pccurrd to us in, generall, and to be more particular was what wee coud not pretend to, unless wee knew the time and nature of your design more particularly. The choise of a generall is a matter of the utmost importance: coud one get his wish, he d be a native of a; good rank and charactar and well versed in both civill and military affairs; but one with these endowments is not Ime aflraid to be got, and therefore it woud appear that this defect must be supplyd by branching out these severall powers into diverse hands, that is, that the management of the military

be placed in a bred souldier (which none of your side of the question now in this country can pretend to be) who should correspond and live in perfect good terms with him or them where the supreme power in other matters is lodged, or be perhaps in some degree of subordination to him, who nevertheless should be expressly instructed and required to move entirely by the advice and direction of the general in all military concerns: could such an harmony be effectually maintained amongst such people, this or some \* \*’ such in the present situation would seem the most probable scheme, and of all others the Duke of Hamilton appears to be the most proper person in whom this supreme power should be reposed, as his being the first Peer would give no occasion for emulation and grudges in others, and that his family being known over all Europe, his being at the head would give a reputation to the affair. But then he is young and hath no experience in business of any kind, nay notwithstanding all that your and his own friends have said to him, his bypast life hath been entirely devoted to diversions idleness and a bottle amongst a set of people no wayes fit companions for one of his rank, by which conduct he hath entirely lost his character and run himself over head and ears in debt. On these accounts it was that we would not mention this particular to him, till we had informed you of his conduct and behaviour, whereby you might regulate your resolutions as to him. But at the same time we must do him the justice to own he’s a young man of excellent good sense and capacity and in all appearance unviolably attached to your cause, and we cannot but hope that if he were once dipped and in a tract of business, he would alter his wayes and in that case be the most significant person for your service: and if you have any views towards him, it would be very necessary that you writ or instructed some person to acquaint him, that as it was probable you would ere long have an occasion<sup>1</sup> to employ him in an eminent station, you could not but recommend to him, to be careful in cultivating a good understanding with your friends and rendering himself capable to answer the trust you reposed in him and do you the service you expected from him. We submit how far it would be expedient that you named a Council by whose advice and concurrence all matters were to be transacted. This is the sum of what we judged proper to lay before you on this important subject, without presuming to offer any judgement of our own in it.

“I had almost forgot to add that after whatever manner you place the chief authority in the civil or military, there would be an officer appointed to have the immediate command of the clans, and we know of none so fit as General Gordon, tho at the same time we

strangers to his behaviour for severall years bypast, which may indeed give rise for changing measures as to him.

“As I have for a course of many years been in a state of intimacie and freindship with Panmure, I was sensible enuff of some singularities in his temper and that it required some litle management to keep well with him, and as he’s a person of good parts and ane establishd character, I thought it my duty to succomb and humour him in things not very materiall. For some 18 or 20 months bypast I was much surpris’d at his conduct, for it very evidently appear’d that he underhand fomented and supported the malecontents of Angus in the noise and buzle they made and make in opposition to the Colledge of Bishops, and I took the libertie not long ago to tell him he was highly blamdable, when by the trust you reposed in him he ought rather to have prevented than contributed to raise divisions amongst your freinds: wee both turnd warm, and he dropt some expressions in regard to your rights and interest that I could not pass by; however as I reckon’d they proceeded from too much heat and passion, I resolv’d to take no further notice of them till totherday, when in presence of my other two freinds wee discours’d at a distance on the subjects contain’d in your letter to which this is a reply, he turnd all into a jest, and fell soon into a passion, swearing that it was madness to propose any thing to be done for you, and that none but madmen woud engage in such ane affair. In short he went on at such a rate, that after leaving him, wee all 3 concluded, that tho he’s well enuff pleas’d to be reckon’d a Jacobite during the present situation of affairs, he has resolv’d not to venture further or medle, if any thing in earnest comes upon the carpet, and woud therefore wish that matters stand as they are; how far this conjecture is just, I shant possitively say, \*\*but it woud appear to be too well founded, especially seing it is certain he’s absolutely govern’d by his eldest son, who makes no scruple of owning a great resentment at the loss of the family estate and the cause that occasion’d it; nay when I spok of this tother day to the Duke of Hamilton, he told me that being a young man he was unwilling to say any thing to the prejudice of ane establishd reputation such as Panmures, but he had good reasons to believe the son had made advances last winter to the Government and woud stand at nothing- to get back the estate and honours of the family. Twas thought proper I shoud acquaint you of this, and you know best what use to make of it; and till wee have your directions, wee resolve to act very cautiouslie in trusting him with particulars of moment and yet keep as well as can be with him, so as to avoid giving him any cause of complaint.

“By what is represented in this letter, you’ll see your trustees are

reduced to a small number, and tho' formerly on very good grounds you declined making any addition, yet now perhaps when time hath made such alterations in the sentiments and behaviour of so many persons, you'll think it proper to change your mind, and in that case the Earl of Strathmore and Mr. James Graham are by the Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Kincardine thought proper persons to serve you; the one is a man of interest and the other a good lawyer and fit to give advice, and both are perfectly well affected towards you.

"The enclosed is from Thomas S'clare, the contents I do not know, tho' I fancy tis with respect to his own circumstances or his negotiations with the Cameronians, for which he shewed me a sign'd manuell from you. As I know him to be a faithfull zealous servant of yours, I could not refuse his earnest pressing entreaties to forward the enclosed to you under my cover. In mine to Inverness is enclosed to you a letter from Cameron, concerning whom I refer to what I have mentioned in that letter. We're just now upon setting some measures afoot that will tend, I hope, to keep up the peoples spirit of resentment against the Government.

"I pray God you may be enabled to lay hold of this and every fair opportunity of doing yourself right and relieving your oppressed people. I am, &c."

Letter to Lord Inverness.

"18 December 1725.

"Sir,—In my former letters I acquainted both the King and you why I could not give immediatly a distinct return to some of the cheif particulars mention'd in his of the 1st of September and uow again touched in yours of the 27 of October, which I had

the honour to receive a few dayes ago; and having now writ pritty fully to the King himself on these heads, I need not repeat the same and will only add that wee will do our best to have things right Ordered here, when the long-lookd-for hour comes; and that it may be soon and quicklie (being the English of *suum cuique*) is the earnest desire of all possesst with a sense of ther duty to the King and of the unhappy circumstances of this cuntrye.

"Till 'tother day that I received a letter from Allan Cameron, I bel<sup>^</sup>pij he was gone a considerable time ago, but it seems he has been detain'd longer in the Highlands than he expected and design'd, and being obliged to dispatch the ship he had provided in the north for his return, he writes to me that he'l sometime after this be here with me, and desires me to look out for a ship to carry him from this part of the

country either to France or Holland, which I shall take care of: how long it may be ere I see him I cant tell, but it woud appear it wont be soon, because he desires me to forward the enclosed to the King and to acquaint you of these his measures, that in case the King has any commands that may reach him ere he goes off, they may be transmitted thorow my canal. I am well assured that Wade knew of his being in Scotland, being likewise informed (true or false I know not) that ther was a ship that under pretence of fishing hovered on the coast to carry him backhand as tis probable that Wade has laid traps to catch him, that I fancy is the reason of his resolution of coming to Edinburgh, wher, especially in the winter time, with any tollerable degree of caution, he may be safe enuff.

“You need be under no apprehension for Walkinshaw; his being in Scotland is no secret, and he’s every night in the taverns at Glasgow or Edinburgh under the favourite name of Campbell, but as tis known that he came over purely to setle his private affairs and he has no personall enimys, no notice is takn of him.

“Coud what you propose as to Edinburgh Castle be brought about, it woud, no doubt ont, be a very grand point gaind, but I can form no hopes therof. When the attempt was made in 1715, the garison was very weak, being a few infirm creatures and the very best of them were well disposed, of which I was so very well assured by the dealings I had with them (being then a prisoner) that when the design was notified to me, I pressd that they shoud rather make the attempt at the very principall gate, and I woud engage Charles Stuart the porter to leave it unlockd; but my proposall did not relish. The case is now very djfferent; the garison has been purged again and again, and ther marches thither every day 40 men from the Canongate guard, and most of the principall officers are English: what you say of Brigadeer Preston was true enuff whilst his cusen Ormond and patron Mar (as he then staled them) were in prosperity; then, indeed I believe, had the stroke been made, he d have acted a part in it, but the minute that the face of affairs turnd, so did he, and from being a well bred good natured gentleman, became the very reverse, which all (especially such of us as had been his best freinds before) that were prisoners under his command perceived many different wayes. In short he’s a poor weak biggotted creature, intirely under the influence of the Justice Clerk, and Us in vain to expect any thing from him.

“Lord Airlie, after having a conference at Bannockburn with Wade, is now in toun in cog, waiting till the generall, whos lately gone to London, send down the remission he promised to obtain for him. Wade made no secret of his being instructed to promise pardons to all

(except a few such as Ormond, Mar, Marshall) that were attainted and applyd to him, and he has accordingly given assurances to most of the M<sup>c</sup>kenzies, Stuart of Appin and several others.

“You are certainly in the right to be exceeding cautious in your dispatches, for no pains are omitted to make discoveries. The Government of this country is entirely in Argyles or rather Hayes bands, and the Campbells are very uppish and insolent. Their merit consists in undertaking to carry thorough the malt tax, as the Squadroned was formerly in supporting the commissioners of enquiry into the forfeited estates; so that each party raise themselves by alternate hardships on their native country: we were in hopes the Squadron would have kicked out, but they are a meanspirited dastardly set, and will come into no measures that may irritate their good masters in England so as to cutt them off from hopes of being again taken into favour.

“There is a new scheme soon (as its expected) to take place, viz. the President of the Session is to demitt and to have a pension of 1000*l.*, and his second son is to succeed Lord Grange who is to be made president. This last promotion seems to have some connection with the conduct of his brother, and most people, who even know nothing of private particulars, conclude Mar must be in no bad terms with the Government, when his brother and confidant is advanced to the post of greatest influence in this country.

“We are just now on a project of settling a correspondence directly twixt the chiefs of the clans and the Kings trustees, which hath hitherto been much wanted and may be of use to keep an uniformity in measures and prevent the snares laid by some from taking effect.

“I find great pains are taken by Mars friends to represent the Bishop of Rochester as an enemy to this kingdom, to counter which I have made no secret of what the King and you wrote formerly of his inclinations and behaviour in that particular, which hath had good effects with several especially of the Highlands.

“Mr. Frazer returns his most humble service to you, and desires you should assure the King of his inviolable attachment to him and his cause. I have now without any order mentioned whatever occurred to me as proper to be communicated to you, and I have only to add that I am in the most respectful manner Yours.

“P. S. The King has to day lost a faithful useful servant, by the death of Bishop Irvine, and it will be no easie matter to supply his place, as he was the only one of all the present Bishops fit to succeed

Fullarton whos quite dozed and cant last long. Some propose Mr. Ratary of Craighall, and woud he lay his whims aside till a more proper juncture, he's a very fit person, as he's a man of good sense and learning and has ane estate to support his rank. Others propose your and my old freind John Gillane, who's been in orders for some years, and is in as great esteem as any of the Episcopall clergy in Edinburgh. You know him to be ane excellent man in all respects. You shall hear from me fully on this subject when I have got the sentiments of the Kings freinds collected, and something must be done soon to prevent factions and divisions amongst men honestlie inclined."

About the begining of February 1726 Allan Cameron saild from Leith in a ship bound for Holland wher he safely arrived; with him I sent the following letters to the King.

"January 18, 1726.

"Sir,—I wrot both to you and Inverness on the 18th ult<sup>o</sup>, these letters I know lay a long time at Leith waiting for a ship, and being in the countrie whilst I write this, I cannot tell whither they gone or not; if not, tis probable they'l come to you alongst with the bearer hereof with whom I have so fully conversed on all your affairs, that I need not mention any thing in this, but remitt all to the report he will make to you.

"I cannot however ommitt acquainting you thai your freinds are under the greatest consternation at the storys publicly handed about here, to the great delight of your enimys, concerning you and your family, of which having no particular accounts from you they do not well know what to say or how to behave, and are even affraid to corrispond till they are-sure matlers are so adjusted, and regulated as their may .be .no hazard in it: various are the reports of various peoples conduct and the resolutions youve thought fit to lake-; and what to make or even think of them your best freinds are at a loss, and will be at a stand till they hear more of them. The unanimity you so earnestlie recommend to your freinds here is as necessary elsewher<sup>-^</sup> as divisions give your enimys fresh hopes and new handles to work on, and mightily discourage even those that are most zealous in your service. Tis a hard case that people suffering for one and the same good cause and having no prospect of releife but by and thorow one events coming to pass, shoud by jarrs or immoderate unseasonable selfish veiws act diametrically opposite therto; and if these are the unevitable consequences of ministers of the first rank, it woud appear more your interest to lay all such aside, and carry on your business by

your own proper directions thorow some other more subaltern canals whol be more observant of your orders and not so high minded: Pardon my using the libertie to mention matters with such libertie; what I say proceeds from a disinterested concern for your prosperity and is the opinion of all your freindti, founded on the reports they have of what has lately past in your family, the welfare wherof they have much at heart.

“I shoud injure both you and my self, if I did not let you know that accounts are sent here of some particulars mentiond in my letters of late to you, and which Ime sure you did not designe no more than I did expect they shoud be so publickly and so particularly talkd of. I have not yet got so far to the bottom of the story as to discover whence the intelligence comes, but Ime too well convinced that some people about you have acted a part neither fair nor prudent; otherwise tis utterlie impossible that some here shoud have notice of some particulars which they tell me I writ to you: with what intent such intelligences are sent, I know not, but this I know that they in the hands of such as make no right use of them. Having the occasion of this bearer I have sent a new cypher, which in some respects is better adapted to our correspondence than the last, which by the bye has likewayes been long enuff in the feild.

“I have only to add that your freinds here, from what seems to be brewing in Europe, were in full hopes of seing ere long something cast up for your interest, but are at present in the utmost concern and almost despair till they hear directlie and distinctly from you. I am &c.”

Letter to the King.

“January 25, 1726.

“Sir,—Since my last, a few dayes ago, a wel wisher of yours put into my hands the enclosed paper concerning the state of Britain as to some particulars of trade and the prospect of the war that is expected to brake out, with what intention I know not, but I having this good occasion thought ther coud be no harm in sending it to you. There seems to be a generall expectation that something ere long will be attempted for you, which gives your freinds occasion to think on such measures as may seem expedient for you prasviouslie to take, and I was directed to transmitt the enclosed 2 clauses, as what to them appear proper to be part of your manifesto and indemnity and are by them submitted to your judgement. I am &c.”

The memoriall concerning trade and war mentioned in the above

letter was calculated for 2 purposes. First to convince the King and forreigne Princes that tho the Ostend Company was prejudiciall to the immediat profit and benefite of some particular private persons or societys, it did not interfere with any branch of trade that was realy beneficiall to Britain or-esteemd as such, and therfor a war commenced or pretended to be commenced principally to force ane abolition of tiat Company, woud not be reckond a nationall cause and engage the hearts of the people to contribute chearfully towards it, nay it woud rather provoke them to grudge and repine at the taxes and loss of trade that woud follow upon such a war, which might be improved to good purpose, if any thing particularly for the King was attempted.

The other part was from a consideration that the powerfull fleet of England was a bar on all attempts of sending over a body of troops to encourage and assist the Kings subjects at home. It was therfore proposed that the King woud prevail with the Emperor to set him at the head of ane army (having good generall officers under him) with which he shoud attack the dukedome of Hanover and seize on the same, as what he had right to retain untill the Prince therof restored him to the possession of "what he detaind from him. A vigorous push on this quarter woud have the same effects as ane attempt on Britain, at least facilitate such an attempt if judged necessary and practicable, and woud encourage and enable the Kings freinds at home when a diversion was given that woud be of the utmost consequence; for as King Georges affection and regard to his German dominions lay nearest his heart, he woud bend his greatest care and cheif efforts to defend them, and rather than run the hazard of losing them or even seeing them ruind by being the seat of a bloodie war, woud think of making up terms with the King, especially when tis well enuff known how litle concern he has for the person calld his son and successor; and altho a considerable part of the British shoud stand by the Prince with a design to set him on the throne, tis not to be doubted but in such a strange jumble of affairs and interests, others woud think of applying to the King, when they perceived the Revolution party split into peices and the King at the head of a powerfull army abroad and his freinds declaring for him at home. This scheme was fully laid open to shew how practicable it was in its self and how beneficiall it might prove not only to facilitate the Kings restoration, but also to procure what the Emperor and his allys aimd at with respect to the present state of Europe.

The clause designd for the manifesto was in the terms mentiond in my letter to the King 18 December 1725, and that for the indemnity was with a particular veiw to exclude those that had cheiflie been

instrumentall in carrying on and accomplishing the Union, which at the same time was to be so couched and expressd, as not to be observed in the generall pardon it woud be necessary for the King to grant: In order therto, a clause was so conceived as to leave a door open to get in upon those perfidious instruments of that unparalelld treacherie to their country, if ever Scotland was so happy as to have a Parliament within herself, that woud do justice to the honour of the nation, by redressing wherin it was so scandalouslie violatē, and providing against the like for the future; for procuring wherof nothing could be more effectuell than a publick brand of infamy on those who had the cheif hand therin. Tho this was the aim of the few that concerted this clause, they did not think it expedient to let the King iuto the secret, because some about him, particularly Inverness, were either themselves, or had near relations as deep dipt as most others, and twas to be feard they might divert the King from approving it, if so be they knew what was secretly intended by itLetter to the King.

“31 January, 1726.

“Sir,—Having since the date of my last, a few dayes ago, ane occasion to converse with some of the Episcopal Clergy and others well affected to Church and State, I judged it my duty to give you this further trouble on a subject wherin I humblie conceive your interest is concerned. I have in some of my former letters mentiond Bishop Fullartons being very much decayd, and as he becomes daylie more and more so, tis plain he cannot long subsist, at least will be, if he is not alreadie in a great measure, uncapable of business. I take it to be a matter of very great moment in your service to preserve the face and authority of the Church of Scotland, and therefore the same reasons that moved you to provide formerlie for the event of Bishop Fullartons death by your directions in favours of Bishop Irvine, do still subsist and re. quire your interposing in the same manner, now Irvine is dead. I do confess tis no easie matter to supply the room of that worthy person, who had nothing so much at heart as your and the Churches interest, and wanted not courage to go thorow with what he thought his duty; and amongst the present number of Bishops ther is not one lit to be placed at the head of the Church, and it will require your most serious consideration to determine yourself in that particular. In the mean time it appears necessary to take such precautions as may prevent divisions and confusions. If Bishop Cant was not by reason of his old age become very infirm, he’s a person qualifed in all respects to be at the head of any Church in Christendome, being a man of great learning and integrity; however he may be able to officiat for some time, till you come to a finall

resolution. Thers another, Bishop Duncan, tho not a man of such parts and learning as the other, yet eminently distinguished and esteeuul for his great probity and zeall for your and the Churches interest. I am therfore of opinion that it woud be for your service that with the very first occasion, you write a letter to the Colledge of Bishops signifying that wheras you'r informed Bishop Fullarton is become so infirm that it is not •\*o be expected he can subsist long, at least that it is probable he may be obliged to retire to the countrie for his health, and being desirous in either of these cases to provide for the peace and welfare of the Church, it is your pleasure that either Bishop Cant or Bishop Duncan, as shall appear most convenient, do in either of these events reside at Edinburgh, to preside in the Coledge of Bishops aud take care of the affairs of the Church in your capitall of Edinburgh and diocesse therof, untill you determine yourself in the choise of a person duelie qualifeyed and agreeable to your people to be setled in a post of such consequence with respect to the interest of both Church and State. I have mentioned the alternative of these 2 persons, least sickness &c. may impede any one of them from answering the end you propose by this letter, and that of the Colledge ther is not another fit for the post. If Fullarton dye before your commands in this particular does come, I shall attend the Colledge and let them know what your pleasure was in case Bishop Irvine had been alive, and I doubt not but they will therupon delay all further proceedings till your pleasure is known. What I here offer is only my own opinion, none of your trustees that I incline to speak to on the subject being in town, but at the same time I am very positive it woud be approved by such of them whose opinion you d most relye on, otherwayes I woud not have presumed to offer what was only supported by my own private judgement. It will be absolutely necessary that you have your thoughts and come as soon as possible to a resolution in the choise of a person to succeed Fullarton and be at the head of the Church, and in truth tis a matter of such moment and thers so few fit for it to choise upon, that I will not take on me to give you any advice, but I shall as fast as possible know the sentiments of your best freinds and most proper judges, and report faithfully to you: One thing Ime sure of, that (considering the age and infirmitys of the 2 persons I have named for the present job) none of the present Bishops will be thought proper, and that therefore your freinds endeavour will be to find out some person with endowments suitable to the charge, and at the same time in such a state of health and of each ane age as that thers some probability he may continue in the office for some time, ther being many inconveniencies that happen from changes, especially at the distance you are and under the present circumstances, which I pray

God may be soon altered to the better.

“Since sealing up my former packet I unexpectedly had an opportunity of talking very fully with Mr. Cameron on several subjects, by which he may explain several points not clearly enough perhaps expressed in what I have wrote, and mention some things wholly omitted, particularly concerning a correspondence being established betwixt your friends here and those you trust with your affairs at Paris and London, for at present we are under a total state of ignorance. I desired him also to mention to you a certain particular that related only to myself: whatever may be my motives and inclinations therein, I submit myself intirely to your pleasure, being resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall come into the scales with the duty I owe you and the zeal I have for your interest and service, tho at the same time I am sure neither will sustain any prejudice from what I aim at, their being no want of those who can in all respects perform what hath been for some years past my province and wholly undertake it very cheerfully and more agreeably, I imagine, to some that I dare say wish you very well.

“I have been afraid overacted my part in the number and length of my letters of late, but at the same time I know you have goodness enough to forgive what is done with a good intention by Yours.”

Before the Parliament met it was judged proper to set some national measures afoot, and accordingly an address was signed by a great body of the barons &c. of the shire of Edinburgh, setting forth the inability of the Scots to pay the malt tax: and to Mr. Dundas their representative was given a signed instruction to complain of the abuse in naming persons to be justices of the peace in shires where they had no estates, and particularly that officers of the army should be named in so many shires, and to move for a bill limiting the qualifications of all justices of the peace, so as none should exercise that office who had not 200*l.* Scots of valued rent within the shire where he was named. Other shires quickly followed the example of the shire of Edinburgh, by addressing and giving instructions in the like manner, and these addresses were presented at the proper seasons without any good effects; for the malt tax was again imposed, and otherways indeed could not well happen, when some of the Scots members spoke against reducing the duty to 3 halfpence per bushell, affirming the Scots were able and willing to pay 3 pence, since by a new clause the surplus, that is in so far as the duty should raise above 20000*l.* sterling, was to be employed for improving the manufactures of Scotland, and not one of the other members appeared for reducing it to 3 halfpennies except Mr. Dundas, which the Ministry represented was more out of disgust for

the loss of his place, than any new light he had got this that he wanted last session. This bait of the application of the surplus was a mere bite, as it lasted only for a year and tended to draw the Scots in to submit and be accustomed to this odious tax, after which it was at any time in the Ministrys power to drop it and apply the whole to the publick.

It wont be out of the way here to take notice that Daniell Campbell had the assurance to apply by a petition to the House of Commons setting forth what had hapned to him at Glasgow and craving redress: In this he was strenously supported by the Ministry and all Argyles faction, and a bill was brought in and past both Houses enabling King George to give him 6000 and odd pounds starling towards making up his loss, and that the King shoud have right to the duty on ale vended in Glasgow (which by a late law was granted to the magistracy as an additional revenue to the said toun) untill he was refounded of that sum. How Campbell pretended to make up his loss to such a sum I cant tell, but thers all the reason imaginable to belive it could not possibly amount to the 6th part of it: for as he was threatned and did expect what happend, it is not to be imagined, that when he retired into the countrie with his wife and family, but he woud likewise take the mony, Jewells, bank notes and plate which he pretended to lose; and tho the house and furniture had all been utterlie destroyed, it was not worth half the sum; wheatas the outward fabrick (as the law directs in such rases) was repaired at the publick expence of the toun, and a great part of the furniture was saved or recovered, so that the wainscotting of the house and a few scrub figures called statues in the court were only destroyd. But the Ministry were resolved to do sometrlng to purpose towards gratifying their creature, and tis probable, some trustie fellow tool went snips with him. Before I leave this subject I must remark that the magistrates of Glasgow raised a criminall process against Captain Bushell, who commanded the souldiers in Glasgow, before the Lords of Justiciary; but the Solicitor, in the Advocats absence, refused his concurrence, and before that could be supplied according to the forms usuall in such cases, the Captain, who was retired from Scotland, obtaind KingGeorges remission, .and as that was not a sufficient gratification for his having murdered so many innocent persons, a troop of dragoons was also conferred upon him, he being formerlie in the foot service.

Letter from Lord Inverness.\*

“November 17, 1725.”

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\* Received 26 February 1726.

“Tho the Kings ordering me to give you a particular account of ane unluckie and unfortunate schene that has appeared here these dayes by past be a mark of His Majesties confidence in you, yet that wont in the least diminish your concern for the resolution the Queen has taken of retiring to a convent. The King thinks it necessary that his faithfull subjects every wher shoud be informed that nothing has been wanting on his part to divert the Queen from so extroordinary a step, and in so far I think I cannot execute His Majesties commands better than by sending you the enclosed memoire, with coppies of 2 letters the King wrot to the Queen at seasonable times before she retired. Pains haslikewise been takn to inform the Queen by proper persons of the consequences of such a step, but all in vain; so, as this matter cannot but make a noise, His Majestie orders that you may let the truth be known to those of his subjects who are in your parts\* It is manifest that this foolish affair is the consequence of ane old project hatched elsewher, but put in execution here without the least prudence or good conduct. Mrs. Sheldons behaviour, and the continuall instances she gave the King of her irritating the Queen on every trifling occasion, obliged the King to discharge her his service, and it is evident that it has been by her means that this affair has been conducted. The King orderd she shoud be furnished with every thing necessary for her journey into France and a gentleman to conduct her, but she took the party to retire into a convent, I suppose not to leave the main veiw unexecuted, which at last has been effected.

“Ime heartily sorry, sir, to have had occasion to write to you on so dissagreeable a subject; however I am thorowlie convinced, as indeed the King is, that youl neglect nothing to set this affair in a true light. The King ordered all the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court to assemble yesterday morning, and then made them a speech in which he informed them fully of all the severall steps he had taken to prevent this extroordinary proceeding of the Queens and of the whole particulars of his conduct upon ane occasion which he found to be equally unfortunate to him and them: His Majesties expressions were so moving, and his subjects were so satisfied with his conduct, that it only served to confirm in them their attachment to his person: His Majestie amongst other things assured them that it shoud be his principall care to educate his 2 sons in such a manner as might enable them one day to make his people happy, which was the thing in the world he had most at heart. I am with great sincerity— Yours,”

Follows a cobby of the memoire.

“Rome, November 13, 1725.

“It has been the constant practice of the King’s enemies to project measures for sowing divisions and misunderstandings amongst those who are thoroughly fixed in their loyalty to His Majesty and are most capable to serve him, and by the means of those who still pretended to adhere to it, to draw him by specious appearances into steps against his honour and the good of his service.

“His Majesty had reason to think that by the prudent measures he had taken, he would not have been much troubled for the future by such contrivances; but these days past have afforded but too strong and too publick an instance of the contrary.

“It is some time since the King suspected that his enemies and pretended friends, finding that they could not impose upon His Majesty, were endeavouring by malicious insinuations to animate the Queen against His Majesty’s most faithful servants, and particularly against him who had the greatest share in his confidence and affairs, in hopes no doubt, by that means to compass what they despair’d of being able to come at by any other; and they so far succeeded that for some time past the Queen could not conceal her dislike to such persons, and the King could easily see that her behaviour towards himself was alter’d, altho’ he could not discover any real ground for either one or t’other. His Majesty was therefor willing to impute them to ill offices and humour, which he hop’d would pass with a little time and patience on his part, and therefore he did not make any change in his conduct towards the Queen, who ever since her marriage had been entirely mistriss of his purse, such as it is in his bad circumstances. His Majesty also continued to her the same liberty she had always enjoy’d, of going out and coming home when she pleased, of seeing what company she liked best, and of corresponding with whom she thought fit, and to encourage her diverting and amusing herself more than had hitherto appear’d agreeable to her inclinations.

“In this state of things the King could not but be astonished to the last degree when he was told by one much in the Queen’s confidence, that if he did not dismiss the Earl of Inverness from his service, she would retire into a convent, altho’ she did not give any reason for so extraordinary a proposal and resolution; and on Friday last the Queen told the King herself that she was resolved to retire, but still without bringing any reasons for it, and has seemd to persist ever since in this resolution, tho’ without coming to the execution, altho’ on the Friday she had actually taken leave of some ladys here on that account.

“The King could not but be sensible of the indignity done him by this publick way of proceeding; but as he was perswaded the Queen

had been misled and might be reclaim'd, he had much more compassion for her having thus exposed herself than resentment against the unjust eclat she had made, and therefor not only continued to live with her as usual, but invited her in the most moving terms to own her error and return to her duty, neither of which she has yet done, but it is to be hoped she soon will, by the prudent and moderate measures the King is taking in order to reclaim her.

“The King really thought all this while that Lord Inverness was the chief object of these designs, for tho' Her Majestys great and publick uneasyness had begun on her first being acquainted with the Princes being to be taken out of Mrs. Sheldon's hands, yet Her Majesty had expressed herself to severall persons favourably of Lord Dunbar, and had never mentiond to the King the least dislike or disapprobation of that Lords being governour to the Prince, which made it appear the more extraordinary to His Majesty, when in a conversation he had on Monday last with a person of great worth and consideration of this place (who he knew had been endeavouring to prevail on Her Majesty not to do both the King and herself the injury of retireing into a convent) he found that she was, if possible, more uneasy on Lord Dunbar's account than on Lord Inverness's, vnder pretence that the Princes religion was in danger while he had the care of them, and that Her Majesty was perswadcd that those two Lords were obnoxious to his English friends and that their being about his person was one of the greatest obstacles to his restoration.

“As Lord Inverness was extremely afflicted at the Queens behaviour on this occasion and to think that he might be re-<sup>pre-</sup>sented as the unfortunate, tho' innocent, occasion of a dissunion betwixt their Majesties, he did most earnestly intreat of the King that he would allow him to retire from business, which nothing but His Majesty's orders to the contrary in the most peremptory manner, could have prevented; His Majesty having at the same time assured both Lord Dunbar and him that their remaining in his service under circumstances so very disagreeable, was the strongest instance they could possibly give him of their inviolable attachment to his person and cause.

“All these facts and circumstances put together, it is very easy to see that in all these matters the Queen must have been originally imposed upon and guided, not by turbulent and factious friends but by real enemies who would have drove the King to that extremity, as either to see his wife abandon him, or by yeilding to her unjust demands, give up the management of his children and his affairs and put himself into the hands, not of the Queen but of those who it was

manifest had in their view the ruin of both.

“The King is sensible how prejudicial to his interest this unfortunate event must be, but he is persuaded that the malice of his enemies on this occasion must turn against themselves when the true state of the question is known.”

Follow copies of the letters.

## I. (Copie.)

“De Rome ce 9 Novembre 1725.

“Votre conduite envers moy, les menaces qui m’ont été faites, et l’outrage public de votre retraite dans un couvent, ne me touchent pas tant que le malheur et la honte auxquelles vous allez vous exposer par une si étrange démarche. Je sens le tout, il est vray, comme je dois; mais jusqu’à présent je n’ai aucun ressentiment contre vous, car je suis à chaque moment plus convaincu que la malice et la finesse de nos ennemis en ont imposée à votre jeunesse et à la foiblesse de votre sexe.

“Vous avez dû être persuadée il y a long tems que je veux être le maître dans mes affaires et dans ma famille; mais il n’est encore trop tard de se reconnoître. Rendez vous donc à la raison, au devoir, à vous-même et à moy, qui n’attend que vos soumissions à bras ouverts, pour vous rendre la paix et le bonheur autant que dépend de moy.

“Que si, malgré ces derniers efforts de ma tendresse, vous persistez dans la résolution dont vous m’avez menacée, il me seroit toujours une consolation de songer que je n’ai rien négligé pour vous en empêcher.

“Je vous conjure encore une fois, ma chère Clémentine, d’y penser sérieusement.

Signé JACQUES R.

## II.

“De Rome ce 11 Novembre 1725.

“Je suis bien aise, Madame, que vous ayez pris le parti de m’écrire en cette occasion, puisque par là j’ai celle de vous expliquer amplement mes sentiments de la même manière, voulant éviter de le faire de bouche, après avoir connu, par une longue expérience que vous étiez tellement prevenue contre tout ce qui venoit de moy, que

vous ne pouviez m'écouter avec patience. Je crains même que mes sentiments ne vous ont pas été bien ni clairement expliqués, et je veux croire que vous n'avez nullement autorisée la manière peu respectueuse et décente avec laquelle on a traité avec moi sur ces sujets.

“Il est certain, Madame, je vous ai toujours uniquement aimé, et que je n'ai jamais rien désiré davantage que de vous complaire en tout, sauve toujours la raison, mon honneur, et le bien de mes affaires.

“Je ne sçay que trop que nous avons souvent essuyé des inquiétudes et des peines, mais aussi je les aurois souffert de ma part avec plus de tranquillité, si je n'avois veü qu'elles étoient moins causées par la vivacité de votre temperament, que par votre trop grande facilité à écouter de petites plaintes et insinuations, et en vous croyant offensée dans les personnes de ceux qui vous les portoient; et vous ne pouvez que vous souvenir avec •quelle patience j'ai souffert vos bouderies depuis plus de deux ans, et que dans le tems où vous vouliez à peine me parler ou me regarder, je n'ai pris autre parti que celui du silence.

“J'espère que vous ferez réflexion que non seulement vous avez toujours possédée mon affection sans partage ou rivalité, mais que autant que ma situation et mon état m'ont permise, je n'ai rien négligé qui pût contribuer à votre satisfaction. En matière de dépense je ne vous ai jamais limité; Vous étiez la maîtresse d'aller où vous vouliez; Vous avez veü qui bon vous sembloit, et vous avez écrite et reçue des lettres sans contrainte; et vous sçavez de plus que loin d'encourager votre vie solitaire et retirée, j'ai fait de mon mieux pour vous engager à prendre plus d'amusement, ce qui aurait encore contribué au mien; mais après cela en tout et partout je vous ai laissé une entière liberté de suivre votre propre goût et inclination, me réservant uniquement d'être le maître de ma famille et de mes affaires.

“Je ne scaurois, Madame, revenir de l'estonnement où m'a mis l'idée injuste et extravagante que l'on voua a inspirée contre Milord et Madame Inverness, puisque ni vous ni aucune autre personne ne m'ont jamais dit un seul mot sur lequel elle pouvoit être fondée, et je me crois obligé de déclarer que Milord Inverness loin de vous avoir rendu de mauvaises offices auprès de moi (ce que personne jusqu'icy n'a eu la hardiesse de faire) s'étoit principalement attaché à profiter de la liberté que je lui donne de me parler avec franchise, pour m'exhorter à la patience et à la douceur, quand il voyoit que je n'étois pas entièrement content de vous; et pour ce qui est de la Comtesse, et

vous et tout le monde a veii avec quel zele et même affection elle vous a servie pendant plusieurs années; et jusqu'a cette heure ni l'un ni l'autre ne scavent en quoy elle auroit pu manquer au respect qui vous est due, ce qui auroit été en manquer à moy même.

“Vous ne pouvez oublier qu'il y a trois ans que voyant Milord Inverness vous estoit desagréable, quoique je ne pouvois penetrer ni comment ni pourquoy, je lui ostai à sa priere, uniquement pour vous complaire, le detail de la maison, de sorte que depuis ce tems là, il ne luy a pas été possible de vous donner aucun sujet de plainte; et depuis ce même tems, sa femme ne vous a approchée que quand vous l'avez demandée; tellement que les preventions où vous etes à present sur leur chapitre est la chose du monde la plus inconcevable.

“J'étois certainement incapable de vous conseiller aucune bassesse; mais ce n'est pas avoir une veritable idée de la grandeur que de croire qu'elle puisse être blessée par une maniere ou une parole gracieuse envers des personnes qui pourroient être choquées de quelque petit mouvement d'impatience ou de colere.

“Tel étant l'état des choses, je n'ai pu qu'être également surpris et offensé, lorsque l'on m'a annoncé une menace, que si je ne chassois un ministre capable, fidel et laborieux, que vous iriez dans un couvent; car quand même j'aurois été disposé à mettre une autre à sa place, après une pareille demarche mon honneur se trouveroit engagé à le continuer; mais sans avoir fer cours à ce motif dans les circonstances presentes, je ne pourrois le deplacer sans ruiner mes interets et mettre la dernière confusion dans mes affaires. Cependarit ennuyé et affligé d'être continuellement en butte à votre injuste colere, comme il a été depuis si long tems à celle de mes ennemis, il a demandé son conge, et rien moins que mes ordres positifs le retient auprès de moy. Voyez, Madame, les embaras ou vous me mettez, et qui est l'honnête homme qui ne craindra de me servir après les scenes que vous donnez au monde; et ne vous etonnez pas si je m'attends que vous me temoigniez votre douleur pour le peu de respect que vous m'avez montré et pour l'injure que vous avez faite et à vous même et à moy par un éclat aussi inoui, et qu'après cela vous m'ouvriez votre occur sans reserve; moyennant quoy j'oublierai le passé et ne songerai à l'avenir qu'à vous rendre content et heureuse.

“Pour ce qui est de votre fils aîné, il est vray que j'ai donné un ordre general que son gouverneur et sous gouverneur ne le quitteront jamais d'un pas, et en effet ils entrent toujours avec luy dans ma chambre, quoiqu'ils ne l'ont pas toujours fait chez vous quand vous étiez à vous habiller. La raison de cette ordre étoit principalement pour empêcher

qu'il ne s'échapat seul parmi les domestiques, ou les enfans n'apprennent rien de bon, et je n'ai jamais imagine que vous en eussiez pii etre offensee et le prendre d'une telle maniere; mais puisque vous en faites une matiere de consequence, certainement il n'est pas mon intention de vous empecher de voir l'enfant seul quand vous le voudriez.

“A l'egard de Mademoiselle Sheldon, il y a du tems qu'elle a demande son conge, et je n'ai pas ete trop content d'elle depuis. J'ai eu mes raisons pour l'eloigner, et cela ne doit pas vous offenser, etant le maitre de ma famille et de mes enfans; mais tout le monde aura pii remarquer que vos exces d'inquietude n'ont commences et ne sont arrives au comble, que depuis que j'ai oste mon fils de ses mains, et de celles des femmes, quoique vous ne m'ayiez jamais rien dit contre les personnes a qui je Pai confie et pour lesquels je scavois que vous aviez d'estime, particulièrement pour celuy qui avoit traitté et conclu notre mariage.

“Je vous proteste, Madame, que je ne connois aucun juste sujet que vous avez de vous plaindre de moy, car si je le scavois, certainement j'y remedierois; et je suis persuadé que si vous vous donnez le loisir de reflechir sans prevention, vous serez touchée de tout ce que je viens à vous escrire, et de la douceur et de la bonté de ma conduite envers vous, que vous vous repentirez du passé, et que vous ne pousserez pas les choses à l'extremité, ce qu'à la verité vous ne pouvez faire sans vous precipiter dans un dernier malheur et sans en etre responsable devant Dieu et devant les hommes.

“Je suis etonné et mortifié que vous ayez prise une si importante resolution sans la participation du prince votre pere; car je suis persuadé qu'il auroit fait son possible pour vous calmer, et pour vous empecher de suivre le conseil de ceux qui ne craignent pas de sacrifier votre reputation et votre repos à des veies et considerations personnelles ou mauvaises.

“Voicy, ma chere Clementine, tout ce que je puis dire sur ce triste et deplorable sujet; Faites en, je vous conjure, la matiere d'une profonde meditation; songez qu'il est glorieux d'avouer son erreur, et que ce n'est qu'en le corrigeant que vous pouvez vous rendre heureuse; et ne resistez plus aux derniers efforts de nia tendresse qui n'attend que votre retour pour se reveiller et ne jamais plus rallentir ou finir.

“Signé JACQUES R.”

17 November 1725.

“Notwithstanding the Kings wise and prudent endeavours to

prevent the Queen's executing the extraordinary resolution mentfon'd in the above memoire, Her Majesty, on Thursday morning the fifteenth current, geing abroad as usual in the King's coaches, orderd them to go to the convent of Saint Cecilia, into which she retired, without sending any answer or taking the least notice of the letter the King had written to her on the eleventh."

Tho the packet with the aforsaid letter and memoire was late in coming to my hands, (for want of a safe occasion of sending it from Holland to Scotland) coppys their of were printed and publickly sold at London and other places severall weeks before, for it seems, it was the draught of a generall letter calculated to be sent to other places over Europe, with a veiw of giving ane uniform authentick information of the affair, to the Kings freinds in all places, who generally did not approve of this method of propaling it; and it woud appear his enimys did not think it for his service, otherwise it woud not have been so industriously publishd and dispersed in print: All agreed in taking exception at that part of the letter wher it is calld a foolish affair: such a, term given to a matter of such vast importance, inclined people to think the author of the letter was not equally sensible therof, and that ther was consequently greater reason to belive he might be guilty of what was laid to his charge, and the King byassd in his favours.

Letter\* from Lord Inverness.

"November 24, 1735.

"Sir,—Last post I was obliged to change my method of writing to you, it being impossible for me to send you what I then enclosed in any other form<sup>†</sup>, and it being necessary that you shoud be informed, as soon as possible, of the true state of the matter, which the King is perfectlie easie about, since he sees plainly that the Queen has been artfully drawn into this step and made subservient to a project of Mars, which has been laid these severall years, as must appear plain to those who took the trouble to read a long letter<sup>‡</sup> which Mar wrot to

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\* Received 30 Aprile 1726.

<sup>†</sup> The former letter with the memoir was not writ in cypher, but enclosed within another letter from Lord Inverness (under a borrowd name) pretending to send it as a copy of what was handed about at Rome.

<sup>‡</sup> Meaning the narrative .or ane other letter which I mentioned in mine of the 8th of April and 24 of May to Inverness and the King.

Balmerinoch last year. A Protestant being put about the Prince has been made great use of on this occasion to enflame the people of this country, tho I am perswaded it will be to no purpose, and that that article will rather prove of advantage than dissadvantage to the King elsewher. I doubt not but the Queen will soon be sensible of the snare she has been led into and condemn the instrument of it, by taking the proper measures to reconcile the King to her again, which is what all the Kings good subjects must wish for, and which cannot but happen when she finds that her own relations dissapprove her conduct, as their ministers here have done already.

“I am now to acknowledge your letter to the King, of the 2d of September, and to assure you of the satisfaction I had of receiving one from you of the same date. It is a great satisfaction to the King to know the good turn his affairs have taken at home and to be able to inform you that negotiations abroad look well. The true state of the disarming of the Highlanders hath been represented at proper places, and what the English Government may say to the contrary will meet with no credit. The affairs of Europe have takn a quite different turn, and I hope no dissadvantageous one for the Kings interest, since the disarming was first proposed; and since that time, by the accounts you send, the situation of Scotland seems likewise to be pritty much altered, which the account the Duke of Hamilton gave you of the west of Scotland plainly shews, and perhaps the inactivity you mention in some and the want of application in others of the Kings freinds may rather be ane advantage than otherwayes, while the King has so faithfull a servant as you to watch over what may be necessary; Kincardines application on this occasion adds very much to the Kings assurance that nothing will be neglected wher wholsome and prudent advice takes place.

“In all events, and that the King may be prepared by the best advice that you can send him from your parts, it will be of advantage to him, if you inform him of the proper place for a landing, in the different suppositions of his being able to send over into Scotland either 1, 2, or 3000 men, reckoning always that a sufficient number is at the same time to be sent into England. I shall expect your answer to this as soon as you have ane opportunity.

“You have not mentioned any thing funder of Captain Frazer, and I belive it is better that wee shoud not seek new methods, since the tract wee are in is secure.

“Do me the favour as to return my kind compliments to Kincardine. I did not think it prudent to make your compliments to the gentlemen

you desired, for I dont care that any shoud know of our corrispondence, for the more private it is, the more usefull it will be to the King; and wee have so many spys here about us that the least indiscretion does prejudice. My kind compliments pray to your son. I am yours.”

Letter from the King.

“December 8, 1725.

“I refer you to what Inverness has formerlie writ to you on the subject of the Queen, which tho it be a matter that very much interests my subjects and that in the beginning must have had a bad appearance, yet now I am perswaded that those who have endeavoured to turn this affair to my dissadvantage shall find themselves mistaken, and that I shall draw benifite from it. The Queen continues still in the convent without giving me any mark of repentance or submission. The Court of Rome at first saw clearlie the unreasonableness of the Queens insisting on Invernesses removall, but they are now endeavouring to remove James Murray from my son. The Pope sent to tell me that if he were removed and Mrs. Sheldon takn back into favour, that he hoped matters might be made up betwixt the Queen and me; that what he said of Mrs. Sheldon was only by way of entreaty, but as for Murray, that he could not approve or concent to his being about my son. To which I replyd that I had no occasion for the Popes advice or concent in ane affair which concernd my private family. It has been talkd in Rome as if the Pope might take from me the pension he gives me, but neither threats of this kind, nor any want of regard the Pope may shew me, will induce me to alter my conduct, and will only serve to afford me ane opportunity of shewing my subjects that nothing can make me alter a conduct which I think right and just. My childeren and I are in good health, and my constant kindness doth ever attend you.”

Tho this last letter is of a date prior to the succeeding\* it came not to my hands for severall weeks therafter, the ship having been drove into Norway, and as it containd nothing that required ane answer, I have inserted it as it shoud have come.

Letter\* from Lord Inverness.

“January 19, 1726.

“Sir,—I shant repeat any thing that youl find in the inclosed, therefore I have litle to say in answer to yours of the 13 October, the

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\* Received 10 March 1726.

King approving very much of the conduct you propose to keep with relation to Mar; and on the information you give me of the conversation past twixt you and Mr. Seymour, I shall only remark that Mars conduct seems to be very different from Mr. Seymours to suppress all noise of any difference amongst the Kings freinds abroad, for Mar is leaving no stone unturnd that he thinks can contribute to creat divisions, which will only tend to make those who wish the Kings cause may flourish, to stick the closer together: and as to the narrative, it was necessary to put a stop to Mai's undermining the Kings affairs, by shewing some of his servants the wayes that he was taking to get at his ends by aspersing privately those who had the honour to serve the King, and throwing dirt on his cause, and as it tended nowayes to his vindication, coud only be designd to discredit a cause he had sacraficed to his private interest. David Nairn was wrong in the information he brought, that the Bishop of Rochester was out of the Kings favour; his health does not allow him to stir abroad, which, added to some differences he has with his councillmen, wont allow him to be so active as otherwise he might be: but the Kings confidence in him is no wayes changed. It is true Dunbar and he had some differences together, but that nowayes interested the Kings affairs, and what was represented to you on that head must certainly have proceeded from some of the Kings secret malicious enimys, as you judge it did, for he has the misfortune to have severall of those who lye in wait and are readie to improve every circumstance they can lay hold on to the disadvantage of the common interest. God grant the King may soon have an opportunity of profiting of the good disposition our country is in.

“I made your compliments to Dunbar as you desired: when he left Rome last, it was with a resolution not to write any thing, either to Scotland or England, of the reasons that were givn then for his removall, and ever since he has continued the same conduct and has corresponded with no body, otherwayes you might be assured that his former freindship with you woud not allow his being so long silent: he desires youl accept of his humble service, and thanks you for the compliments you make him on his late charge, which tho m its self very agreeable yet has produced a good deal of uneasiness both to him and me, and I may say more to the King than either of us. Wee are now persecuted in matters of religion, and instances are made to make us give over our prayers in the family, as wee have practiced them ever since the King has been in Rome; but he has declared possitively that he will not forbid them, and I have told the Popes secretary (after using all the arguments I coud to disswade him from entering into that

affair, as to which he is convinced the Pope is in the wrong) that nevertheless if the Pope insist on it, wee will of ourselves desist, providing he give it me in writing that he will positively have it so, which I find they do not care to do, least it might be brought as an example and applyd to the Papists at home and give a pretence to the putting the laws in execution against them. Here the matter stands, and perhaps on this account they may be prevaild upon not to give us any more trouble. However that be, those who put this matter in the Popes mind, on purpose, I suppose, to draw out of it some prejudice to the King, shall find themselves mistaken, for he by his conduct in this as well as in other matters, will find no difficultie in fencing against those wicked designs.

“On the last day of the last year the King was pleased to make a promotion of the St. Andrew in favour of Marishall, Nithsdale, Dunbar and my self. I am yours.”

Letter\* from the King.

“January 19, 1726.

“I have received your letter of the 13 of October, and have litle to say in answer to it. Cameron is not yet come over that I hear of, so that I cannot judge of the proposall you made to him for my interest, not being informed of it.

“I am now indifferent about receiving a full cobby of the narrative: The author of it has made me forget that particular, by setting on footing matters of another nature, of which you have been already informed. The Queen is still in the convent, and her advisers continue still, under a false pretence of religion, to procure my uneasiness from the Pope to such a degree that I wish my self out of his country, and I wont fail to do my endeavours to be able to leave it, which Ime perswaded will tend to the advantage of my affairs. I pity the Queens situation with all my heart, and wish she soon may give me an opportunity of shewing her how much preferable my love and tenderness for her ought to be to the advice of her pernicious councillours.

“I expect with impatience your answer to a letter writ to you sometime ago about politick affairs, which is all I shall say at present but that my sincere kindness shall ever attend you.”

Letter to the King.

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\* Received 10 March 1726.

“March 12, 1726.

“Sir,—I had givn you the trouble of so many letters committed to the care of Mr. Cameron, and in the enclosed writ so fully to Lord Inverness in return to his of the 17 and 24 of November, that I did not think it necessary to say any thing particularly to yourself at this time, but having, about ane hour or two after I had finished the enclosed to Inverness, received the honour of yours and his of the 19 of January, I judgd it proper by this to acquaint you therof. What I have wrot to you and him by Cameron and at this time will I hope answer what you required and expected with respect to those points wherin you demanded the opinions of your freinds here, and I pray God yon may soon have ane occasion to put them in execution.

“I am deeplie affected with the trouble it is easie to perceive you are under, from what hath hapned in your family: by the enclosed youl see what turn is givn to it, and I cannot but take notice that these and the like reports gaind credit (during our state of totall ignorance) pritty universally and therby occasiond a good many severe reflections on Inverness and Dunbar. Differences twixt man and wife, even in a private family, is so delicate a point, that a 3d person, without a very particular call and immediat concern, cannot well venture to interpose, and much less woud I presume to say any thing on so nice and tender a subject, were it not attended with consequences wherin so many thousands are affected and doth therby become a publick nationall concern. Consider, Sir, I beseech you, the many advantages which the enimys of you and your family draw from what has hapned, by inventing and propogating many storys which tend to lessen your charactar in the world, and which, tho ever so false and improbable, are credited by some and at least creat fears and doubts in others, and by blasting the hopes of your leaving a numerous issue behind you. This very article is of the last consequence, for it is a truth naturall to imagine and consists with my particular knowledge, by the opportunitys I had of conversing often and knowing the sentiments of my unkle the late Lord Wharton and his intimates, that the enimys of your family were by nothing more encouraged to drive on and persist in their rebellious schemes, than that in you alone existed the royal race of Stuart, and were in hopes that with you it woud expire; wheras a numerous issue subsisting is one of the most powrfull arguments in behalf of your just cause, as it draws alongst with it a disputable succession, whilst the present settlement continues, the many miserys wherof England has by dear bought experience been taught. I acknowledge ther are many whos right is prior to that of the German, but your enimys know as a certain truth, that the particular regard and

attachment to your person and family will produce stronger efforts than in favours of any other person and family, tho equally supported by ane hereditary right to the crown; and on these considerations every thing that retards the hopes and expectations of the encrease of your royall offspring is a plain visible prejudice to your just cause, which, even for the sake of your faithfull subjects, cannot fail to make a due impression on you. A king no doubt has a higher right and title to be absolute master of his own particular family, than a priyate person; but at the same time as his personall cannot be separated from bis regall capacity on which such numbers depend, prudence calls upon him more strongly to cover, and by all lawfull and honourable means to repair, such breaches as are naturally attended with irreparable bad effects towards himself and his people. Forgive my entering so far upon this melancholy subject: it proceeds from no other cause whatsoever than the disinterested regard I have for yourself and your family and that I am certain these are the sentiments of all that wish you well, whose earnest prayers and longing desires are to hear that matters are amicably adjusted twixt you and the Queen; and in order therto, Hamilton, Eglinton, Wigtoun and Kincardine have had under consideration how far it woud be expedient, shoud they write a dutifull letter to Her Majestie, exhorting and beseeching her, in the name and for the sake of her faithfull subjects, to think of returning to the duty she ows you and being in such a state as will admitt of the effects of your passion and regard for a lady represented here of so great merit and for whom all your subjects have so great a respect, as being the mother of that offspring, by whom tis hoped wee and ours shall be governd whilst the world does last. If this measure is by them persued, the letter, tis designd, shall be sent directly to you, to be delivered or not as you are pleased to direct.

“If what I have advanced on this subject is in the least displeasing to you, I ask your pardon in the most submissive manner, being withall hopefull to obtain it, as youl have the goodness to belive tis ane error of judgement rather than any motive culpable in Yours.”

Letter to Lord Inverness.

“March 12, 1726.

“Sir,—Some few days after Mr. Cameron saild from Leith, yours of the 17 of November (with a large packet) and another of the 24th came to my hands. Cameron will tell you how much the Kings freinds were at a loss, by being so long in the dark concerning the unluckie breach twixt the King and Queen: a thousand stories were reported

with respect to the cause and way and manner of it, which the common enemy improved to what they thought beneficiall to them, to whom the Kings freinds, particularly those known to be most trusted by him, could make no reply, as they were perfectly ignorant of the story and circumstances attending it, except in so far as they collected from the publick news papers: tho some indeed were not wanting, who made no bonds of affirming that the Queen had received great provocations, and in a particular manner, from yourself and some few more of your freinds, and in this they gaind universall credit, altho others were at pains to suppress such reports, as being a reflection on the Kings judgement and honour to imagine he would suffer it, had the fact been as these gentlemen represented.

“Long before I received yours, what was therein containd was printed and hauked about the streets of London and Edinburgh, which seems to have been by order of the Government, for a scurrilous senseless introduction was therto annexed, and the magistrates of Edinburgh compelld the cadis to cry it thorow the streets; and as wee had no intimation from what hands the memoire and letters came, this conduct of the Government induced many to believe they were not genuine, so that after receiving of yours I had litle left me to do, but let it be known that what they had before seen in print, was the account which the King designd to impart to his subjects, of that unlucky affair. I cannot express how much all who have any concern for the King were affected with that breach: they regrated a division in his family and the fatall consequences of various kinds attending it with respect to his interest at home: they were affraid it might occasion a dryness twixt the King and the Queens freinds, who can and tis hoped in the present conjuncture will be serviceable to him; but since you say their ministers disapprove of her conduct, wee are hopefull their principalis will prevail with her to insist no longer in a measure, that all the world does see is so pernicious to that interest in which she herself, her children and so many thousands of others have so near a concern; and on the other hand, whoever endeavours to prevent a thorow reconciliation on the Kings part, has no more pretensions to be reckoned amongst the number of his freinds, than those who directlie or indirectlie contributed or were accessory any manner of way to the breach, whom all judicious persons, that have any regard for the King and his interest, do and will esteem his greatest and most dangerous as being his most malicious enemys. Wee shall never here be at ease till wee hear this matter is finally comprimised, and weer surprised that all this time wee have heard of nothing more than what past at the very begining. Tis a matter of the utmost consequence to the King, as it

highly discourages his friends: this I know assuredly, both from those who make an open profession of their zeal for him, and others who appear outwardly with another countenance but secretly wish for an occasion to pull off the mask in his service, and therefore it is fit they should be duly apprized how this matter is likely to terminate: I'm sure I've been asked the question a thousand times, and being able to give no satisfaction was a great disappointment.

“By what I wrote formerly to the King himself (tho then we were altogether in the dark) if he has communicated the contents to you, and by what I have said in this, you may see that the blame is in a great measure laid on you: forgive my using the freedom plainly to tell you so: It is consistent with the rules I have laid down of acquainting the King or his ministers, fairly and without fear or favour, of every thing that I think for his service to know, and I presume after due reflection you will think it no disservice done yourself, since by knowing what's laid to your charge, you may have an opportunity of vindicating yourself, and at the same time of doing justice to our common master. I thank God for it I never was, and I believe I never will be of any party: whatever person the King thinks fit to employ at the head of his affairs, him will I honour, his directions follow, and do him all the services within the narrow compass of my power; and from these principles it is, that I write so freely on this subject, which I persuade my self you'll take as well as it is designed, and make a right use of it.

“I come now to some other points of your last letter to which you demand a particular answer, tho what I have represented in some former letters might suffice. If, as you lay down, a sufficient force be sent to England, 'tis a matter of less consequence wher the landing place be in Scotland: however to be somewhat more particular with respect to your severall suppositions, If the armament for Scotland consist of 1000 men, then I conceive some such place for landing must be chosen as will allow of an easy and speedy conjunction with the Highlanders, without whom such a body will not be able to make head against the regular troops now here. And in case it consist of 2000 men, it would be so contrived that they might have it in their power to join the Highlanders in case it were found necessary, and with this view I reckon the Firth of Clyde (wher are the ports of Irvine, Greenock, Newport, Glasgow, &c. any of which may be chosen as seems most expedient at the time) a proper situation. The adjacent country, if right measures with respect to the Union and a Scots Parliament, as I mentioned in a former letter to the King, be followed, will I believe be found favourably inclined, and from Glasgow that number can force their way into the Highlands or wait there till the

clans force their way to them, if so be a speedie conjunction is found necessary: how far a landing in the western coasts will corrispond with the place of embarkation, wee here cant pretend to judge, as wee know nothing of that particular. But if their come 3000 men, the Firths of Forth or Clide are equally convenient, as tis ane easie march to the capitall and seat of Government; for I reckon that body of men, with those that will quicklie join, especially if the Highlanders get out at the same time and follow on the heels of the troops quarterd in the north, if they move southwards, will be a sufficient force against any opposition can be dreaded in this country, unless England be entirely abandoned and all the troops sent to Scotland, which I wish may happen, as it woud render the game very sure there. On this subject I must caution you to neglect no means of timouslie preparing the Highlanders for such ane affair, for much depends on them and their earlie appearance. Cameron will, I belive very justly, give a fair representation of these peoples attachment to the King; but as it is naturall for mankind to mention their own councitriemen with some favour, tis to be supposed he'l set the affairs of that country in the best light he can, and which perhaps will hold good; But at the same time I think my self bound to tell you, that I can on very good grounds assure you, these people, tho perfectly well affected to the King, will act with more caution than formerlie. Theyr a cunning subtle race, and will not move till they be well assured of being supported, and it will require a good deall of prudence and address to satisfye them in this necessary article, so as they may resolve and prepare for it and not run the hazard of discovering the design too soon. This I judged proper to mention, as being a matter that deserves to be maturely considered and prudentlie determined and executed.

“The questions that have of late been put to us about the choise of a generall, landing places, &c., give us great hopes that something for our releif is on the anvill, which was never more wanted and woud never I belive be more joyfully received.

“It often happens that the want of ships going to Holland occasions a delay in transmitting letters from hence, which might in a great measure be supplyd, if Robert Gordon or some such person at Burdeaux was directed to receive and coud safely and conveniently forward letters to you. You can best judge how far this is practicable and accordingly give directions in it.

“I made no further mention of Captain Frazer to you, because in one of your former letters you mentiond the Kings good opinion of him, and that you wanted only a safe canal of conveying a cypher to him.

“About a 4th night after Cameron left us, a gentleman (with a very good intention I believe) came and with great concern told me that Cameron had betrayed the King, at least acted a part quite different from what was intended by his journey, having been gained by Mar at Paris and accordingly used his endeavours to support that Duke's personal interest in the Highlands, and even attempted (but without success) to procure an address in his favours: I replied that I did not believe one word of it, for altho I should suppose Cameron might be capable of such an action, I was sure he was not such a fool as to attempt it at this juncture: However I have been at some pains to trace the story back, and I'm far mistaken if it had not its rise from a certain person\* whose private affairs have obliged him to retire from Edinburgh to the Highlands, and who is strongly attached to Mar and devised this story to sow a jealousy amongst those that have no dependence that way. I mention this particular, that you may give no credit to it, if so be you've accounts of it from other hands, it being probable that it may be whispered about in other countries as well as this.

“I have sufficient authority to assure you that Seaforth gave no directions to his followers last summer, but what were consistent with his duty to the King; he ordered them to have no regard to his own personal interest in competition with that of the clan in general, but withal to preserve their arms so as to be in a condition to serve the King when he required: and I know his people exactly followed the directions they got from hence upon my receiving the King's letter dated 23d of June last: so that by all I can learn there's no reason to have any suspicion of Seaforth.

“You're much in the right to be very cautious in letting any know with whom you correspond, and I must recommend the same in communicating what intelligences are sent, for it is a great discouragement to find what is transmitted should be returned back here, as has to my great surprize happened not long ago.

“Nothing since my last has occurred to be communicated to you. I beg leave to tender my duty in the most respectful manner to the King, and that you'll believe I am Yours.”

Whilst we must wait some time for answers to these letters, it will not be *male propos* to insert a letter printed in the news papers as from the Queen to her sister the . I'm,

assured tis genuine, and if so, it will at least serve to shew the

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\* Meaning Colen McKenzie, goldsmith in Edinburgh,

Queens sentiments and what she and her freinds did incline the world shoud belive was the occasion of her retirement: Tis probable that the aforsaid memoire and letters dispersed by the Kings orders gave rise to this of the Queens, which met generally with credit.

“Dear Sister,—I received yours of the 3d of November; I was so much in hast when I wrote to you last, that I had not time to inform you of a peice of news which I doubt not has very much surprised you. Mr. Hay and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returnd you ane answer, only to do you a pleasure and to oblige the King, but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my freinds, all the civilitys I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such ane extremity, and I am in such a cruell situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the Kings palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatall a separation betwixt the King and me, are continually teasing him every day to part with his best freinds and his most faithfull subjects. This at length determind me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my dayes in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignitys and affronts that can be imagined. I desire you to make my compliments to the Bishop of Ambrun, and to tell him from me that as I take him to be my freind I doubt not but he will do me justice on this occasion: He is very sensible that they were strong and pressing reasons that determind me to take so strange a resolution, and he has been a witness of the retired life I alwayes led: And you, my dear sister, ought to have the same charity for me. But whatever happens, I assure you that I shoud rather chuse to be silent under censure, than to offer at the least thing which may pre\* judice either the person or affairs of the King, for whom I alWayes had, notwithstanding my unhappy situation, and for whom I shall retain as long as I live, a sincere and respectfull affection.”

Letter from the King.\*

“February 2d, 1725.

“The confidence I have in you and the prospect of my affairs abroad taking a right turn wont allow of my delaying to inform you that I have had for some time reason to hope the best from my applications to the Court of Vienna, wher I find the Emperors interest

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\* Received 2d Aprile, 1726.

as well as his inclinations may soon lead him to espouse my restoration in a very particular manner. You'll allow 'tis no easie matter to perswade a forreign prince, who is not thorowlie acquainted with the dispositions of my people, of the facility's he woud find in succeeding in ane attempt for my restoration; therefore I proposed to the Emperor to send a minister privately to England, to take information there of the good disposition of my subjects, and I having reason to belive that he will send one soon, and it being necessary that that minister shoud return wellinstructed as to the loyaltie and abilitys of my Scots as well as my English subjects in case of ane invasion, I hope, if your circumstances will allow, you wont grudge the trouble of a journey to London for that effect.

“I have no method of writing to the Duke of Hamilton with safety, therefore I desire you woud communicate to him the contents of this letter, which tho short is of the greatest importance, since if such a minister comes, all will depend upon the information he will carry back: It is therefore that I propose to Hamilton to make that journey likeways; tho as you may belive, this affair must be managed with the greatest secresie, I must leave it to himself to decide in the matter. I woud not have either him or you to stirr till you hear from the Earl of Strafford, whom I have directed to inform you as soon as such a person arrives, and if your coming to London be necessary.

“I wont mix any other subject with this, but referring every thing to Hamiltons prudence and yours, and recommending to you both the greatest secresie imaginable, I desire you'll assure him of my particular esteem and be perswaded yourself that my kindness shall ever attend you.”

Letter to the King.

“April 3d, 1728.

“Sir,—Yours of the 2d of February I received yesterday with unexpressable joy as it contains some comfortable hopes of seing what I have so long and so earnestlie wishd for, and I pray” God to direct and conduct you and all your freinds, forreign and domestick, in such a manner that their united endeavours to serve you and your just cause may have the desired issue. I never did nor will make the least scruple in undertaking any task for your service, and shall lose no time in performing what you require of me when I am calld upon, and the secresie you recommend shall be so unviolably observed that no soul living shall know less or •more of what is committed to me: for I think I am so fully apprized of the sentiments of your freinds and evry thing thats to be represented with respect either to the

inclinations or capacitys of your people in this countrie and the methods to be laid down and prosecuted, that I stand in no need of any fresh or particular instructions from your trustees on this occasion, and consequentlie no reason for imparting the secret to any of them except the Duke of Hamilton who will keep it, I dare say, with the same strictness. My greatest difficultie will be how to contrive a plausible pretext for the journey, so as to avoid giving suspicion to the Government, who I know keep a strict eye over me; and in order therto I have directed some of my freinds to talk publickly that my wife and I design to go to the Bath, under which cloack she and I shall set out as soon as Ime calld for by Lord Strafford. The Duke of Hamilton has been at London some 4 or 5 weeks, attending the issue of the grand affair twixt him and the Earl of Dundonald now depending before the House of Lords, but I know of a sure hand going soon to London, with whom I shall write fully to His Grace.

“I hope long ere now what was sent by Cameron will have reachd your hands, seing what you may collect from thence and from his accounts may be of use to you at this juncture. I have nothing of moment to add to my last of the 13th of March, and I will not trouble you further at this time but to renew my profession, in the most solemn sincere manner, of being with all imaginable fidelity and zeall Yours.”

Letter to the Duke of Hamilton.

“April 2d, 1726.

“Sir,—Some time after you went from Scotland I received letters from the King and Lord Inverness: they containd a further justification of themselves with respect to the state of affairs with the Queen, (on which subject I had before and did again write fully in the plain honest stile I was directed) and advice was asked as to the proper places for landing in Scotland, on the severall suppositions of 1, 2, or 3000 men being sent thither and at the same time a sufficient force to England, to which, with the advice and concurrance of Kincardine, I sent distinct answers. A few dayes ago I received another letter from the King, upon which I sent you by the last post some necessary\* instructions for reading of this. Before I proceed further be pleased to read the enclosed, which is a copy, word for word, of the last letter from the King.

“As the King in this letter reposes a good deall of confidence in

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\* The copy of a cypher by which I was to write and he read this letter.

you, I doubt nothing of your answering his expectations to a title; and this step of his is, I hope, but a preliminary of the trust he'll lodge in you and the honour he'll conferr on you. I have writ to him that you was at London, but that I de soon fall on a safe way to communicate his pleasure to you. The first thing I humblie conceive to be under your consideration is, whither or not you shoud speak of this subject to Strafford: If I may offer my opinion, I think you shoud not; but at the same time give him an opportunity to speak to you of it, if he pleases: for you'll observe in the Kings letter that it is left to that Lord to call on us or not as he thinks proper", and as hes a person of some singularitys in his temper, and that wee know not if the King has acquainted h.im of his name being mentiond to us, perhaps he'l not be well pleased to find it so, and therefore I do leave his broaching it first to himself. If he intends to follow out the Kings scheme, instead of writing to me I doubt not but he'l speak to you. As .for my own part, I shall not decline the journey whensoever I am calld upon, but at the same time I'me under great straits to find out a pretext for it, and tis ten to one but our statesmen may suspect something more than ordinary from it, and set them on the search more earnestly; and therefore since you are (on another account) already upon the spot, can give all the informations and directions necessary, and does not need me to gain greater credite to what you say, I reallie think it will do no good and may do harm if I make the journey, and so much I desire you'd represent to Strafford if so be he enters upon the subject with you: but after all if either you or he desire I shoud come up, I will on your call perform it at all hazards. I have not nor will not communicate this affair to any soul living, for the caution of secrecie recommended is, for the publick as well as our own sakes, essentially necessary. I am Yours."

To this letter I have no return, in regard the measure was soon dropt and the Duke designd to return quicklie to Scotland.

Letter to Lord Inverness.

"Aprile 30, 1726.

"Sir,—Since my last of the 3d instant to the King I have had occasion to converse with Earl of Wigtoun and Kincardine and severall others of good sense and zeall for him, concerning the present state of the Church in this country, who could not but regrave the very many inconveniencies arising daylie from the Bishop of Edinburgh his being so faild of late that he has lost his memorie and judgement to a great degree, and is troubled with a certain infirmity which in all probability will soon end his dayes: but the greatest misfortune of all is from the charactars and conduct of the Colledge of Bishops. It

consists of a parcell of honest enuffmcn, but withall of no great reach, and splitt and divided into parties and factions, so that nothing is done or to be expected from them for the reall interest of the cause; and as they are all, especially the best of them, very old and infirm, they must drop fast off. The Kings freinds then are of opinion he d have in his thoughts whom he d appoint to succeed Fullarton, and that in the mean time he'd innmediatlíe send his directions to the Colledge to Consecrate Mr. John Gillane a Bishop of the Church of, Scotland. I have not immediate directions from all his trustees, in this matter, but it consists with my knowledge that what is here proposed with respect to Mr. Gillane will be much approved of by Hamilton, Eglinton, Balmcrinoch and John Paterson, and also by severall of the Bishops who have talked with me on this subject. I need not with you enter upon his charactar, you know it as well as I can tell you: all I shall say is, his nomination by the King will without all doubt be approvd of by all that wish well to Church and State, as hes a person of excellent sense and learning, and withall has zeall and firmness to go thorow with what he thinks for the good of the cause, and his authority woud go far towards keeping the rest in due bounds, and therfore I cannot but recommend to you to lay this matter before the King with all the earnestness imaginable,—being what is truely and reallie necessary for the peace and welfare of that interest he has so much at heart; and if he's pleasd to approve of it to dispatch the directions as soon as possible, for every day shews the want of such a man to direct and influence the rest to act prudentlie and calmly. I will not take on me to propose any particular person to succeed Fullarton, but were I to give my opinion, it is possitivly that amongst the whole clergy (bishops or presbiters) thers none near so well qualified for it as Gillane, and Ime apt to belive he'l be recommended to the King by his freinds. At first it woud appear naturall to advance one of the Colledge, but theyr a parcell of either weak or hotheaded men or so very infirm that not one of them (now that poor Irvinesdead) is fit for the post; besides, as so many of them aim at it themselves, the best way to prevent envy woud be to advance a prisbiter or one such as Gillane (if he's previouslie consecrated) that is not dipt in their caballs. Your being convinced that this is for the Kings service will I know be enuff to engage you in it; but allow me to tell you as ane additionall motive, that as much of Gillanes advancement will be ascribed to you, it will infalibly tend to give the Kings and Churches freinds ane opinion of your prudence and integrity in the exercise of the trust His Majesty reposes in you.

“Weer told here of the great confidence the King has in the Duke of Wharton: I hope he shall answer his expectations, but at the same time

a great deall of caution is necessary, for hes frequently very rash and over-zealous, and in his cups too apt to blab out with matters that require the greatest secresie.

“Weer in hopes of having soon the confirmation of the agreeable news of differences being made up betwixt the King and Queen. This morning I received the Kings letter of the 8th of December last; wher it has lain so long by the way, when others of a fresher date came long ere now to my hands, I cant tell: but it required no answer, and so tis no great matter.

“The King will be pleased to know that Strathmore has made up peace and freindship amongst his neighbours in Angus who differed about Bishop Norrie; some of the clergy still stand out, but I reckon they will now soon submitt likewise. I have nothing of consequence more than is containd in my last to the King, so for the present I take my leave of you by assuring you that I am Yours.”

The following, which was a cover to those that are therin mentiond, was signd by the King himself with his cypher, name: the first part therof was not writ in cypher, (but contrived as if writ by a 3d person who sent the enclosed letters to satisfye his freinds curiosity) because the therin enclosed letter from the King was likewise not writ in cyphers, being a letter calculated, and accordingly sent to most courts and places, for the Kings Airther vindication, as I was since informed.

“March 2d, 1726.\*

“I have procured coppys of 2 letters writ by the Pretender, one to his wife and another to a freind of his, which I reckon youl be glad to see, since you converse sometimes with people who are desirous to be informed of what passes in that family.—I wrot to you sometime ago that your presence at London might happen to be of great use. The person I then mentiond I was desirous you shoud meet with there hath put off his journey for some time, and perhaps it, may not be at all thought necessary, so I woud not have either Duke of Hamilton or you think of stirring till you hear further of the matter. I am yours.”

Copy of the Kings letter to ——

“March 2d 1726.

“I had lately sent me,from a subject of mine whom I very much esteem and who is no less esteemed by my freinds at home, some propositions made to me in relation to the Queen’s reconciliation with

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\* Received 10 May 1726.

me: it was represented as necessary to give her some sort of satisfaction, and for that end it was proposed that the Duke of Onnond should be made governor to the prince my son in Lord Dunbars room, and that Lady Inverness should go out of the house till the Queen recalled her, it being at the same time looked upon as essentiall for my service that Lord Inverness should continue in his place. I was glad of an opportunity to engage the Queen to open her heart freely to me, but as she had already refused to hear Cardinall Gualterio, tho charged with a general compliment from the Queen of France in return to a letter the Queen had writ to her on her retreat, I desired the Princess Piombino, who went frequently to see the Queen in the convent and for whom the Queen expressed a particular regard these many years, to ask the Queen from me what was her opinion of the proposalls of reconciliation sent to me (which proposalls I knew were also sent to her) and if there was any thing in them acceptable to her. The Queen told Princess Piombino that she had then the head ach and could not enter into these matters, but the next day she wrote her word that she was much surprized at the message she brought her the day before, and that if she did not know her she would have thought she had been imposing on her; adding severall obscure expressions by which, without mentioning the memoriall or the name of any particular person, it appeared to me that the propositions therein mentioned were not agreeable to her; and as a further mark of it, the next time the Princess came to see her, she desired her to meddle no more in these matters, and it seemed the Queen doubted if the propositions made to her were authentick: It behoved no doubt her advisers to perswade her they were not, since by them it was visible how far Lord Inverness was from being disagreeable to my English friends, as she had been made believe. Nevertheless to leave nothing undone that was any wayes reasonable and decent for me to do to enlighten and reclaim the Queen, I writ her a letter, of which you have here a copy, and sent Foster to deliver it to her; she told him she had the headach and would answer it as soon as she could, and 2 dayes after, I received a very long letter from her, which tho writ all in her hand, I can plainly discover to be in Cardinal Alberoni's stile, and it is contrived in terms no wayes becoming either a wife or a Queen: she takes no notice of the memoriall, but rails extremely against Lord Inverness, without accusing him of any particular fact or giving any reason; she declares she will not come back to me as long as *ces gens la* are about me, without naming Lady Inverness, but leaving the door open to include or exclude Lord Dunbar by that expression, as she shall think fit afterwards. By the whole strain of her letter I see very plainly that if I yeild to her, I must expect to receive the law from her,

and according to her way of thinking not keep a Protestant about my person, since in answer to what I say of Lord Invernesses fidelity, she puts me the question, *Sil est infidel a Dieu sera t il fidel a son maitre?* so that as long as the Queen continues in these sentiments, there is no hopes of a reconciliation, and as little appearance of her altering her maxims, as long as she is in the hands of those who now govern her and who neglect nothing to keep at a distance from her, whoever could open her eyes and show her her duty. I have been the more particular on these matters to put them once for all in their true light to you and friends with you; for my own part, I have taken my party, and tho I shall be always ready to forgive the Queen when ever she will live with me as a wife ought to do, yet I would not purchase even my restoration at the price of being her slave; and therefore in this situation I doubt not but those who are sincerely attached to me and the good cause, will show me they are so by their behaviour. It is a great satisfaction to me to have left nothing undone that could depend on me to heal this breach, but as matters stand, I have nothing left to do but lay aside all passion and resentment and be ready to receive the Queen's submissions when she is inclined to make them and retract in some shape or other those libels to which she hath lent both her hand and name, tho they are plainly dictated by Cardinall Alberoni, who was tother day six hours and a half at the convent of St. Cecilia; till then I cannot in honour nor upon any account see the Queens face, and in the mean time I am not so blind as not to see the meaning of the Queens whole conduct, in all its extent and in all its consequences: it is such as will engage me to mention her no more, and I shall content myself with remembering what I am and what I ought to be, which will not be forgot on this occasion by those who know the duty of a subject."

The letter mentioned writ by the King to the Queen was in French, but I translated it into English for the use of those who did not understand that language, of which follows a copy.

Letter from the King to the Queen.

"February 20, 1726.

"It is now 3 months since you have been in the convent of St. Cecilia, and I am of opinion both you and I have had time to consider in cool blood how far your retreat is contrary not only to our mutual satisfaction but prejudicial to our interest and that of our children. As I was always disposed for my own part to please you in every thing that was not directly contrary to my honour and our common interests, I with pleasure laid hold of the hopes the last propositions,

made to you by so good a friend, gave me of engaging you to discover to me your sentiments without reserve, and to let me know what would most contribute to your satisfaction, which I am so eager to procure to you in as far as it is possible for me, that altho you would not explain your self in your letter to the Princess Piombino on these heads, I could not forbear another attempt under my own hand, Mattering my self (and not without reason I hope) it may be to better purpose. I confess, Madam, your retreat seemd to me so inconsistent with that fondness and affection I perswade my self you have for me, and so contrary to the ordinary rules of prudence, that I could not conceive how you could contrive and execute such a resolution, especially at such a juncture, if you had not been spirited up to it by some factious and ill designing people, in which I am confirmed by a great number of circumstances: but whatever has been the true cause of it, whither it has proceeded merely from yourself or the artifices of others, contrived to foment the differences it has since produced, the consequences are equally pernicious, which I foresaw clearly, and therefore, without mentioning my fondness for you, every thing concurrd to make me endeavour to prevent such an event: But as to your motives you know very well that you never insisted on any thing with me but the removall of the Earl of Inverness, and that you never told me in what particular he faild in his duty to you. The affairs of Europe were then and are still in the most critical situation; he would be master of all my correspondence, and I had not nor have I any capable to supply his place, so that being perfectly well assured of his capacity, fidelity and discretion, I could not remove him, tho I had been my self displeas'd with him, without ruining my own affairs. Do not yourself as well as me the injury to imagine I can prefer any to you; but I must be served, and as I told you, before you went to the convent, the difficultie I was under in that respect, if you truly had sufficient reasons to insist on his removall, you should have told them and suggested some other expedient to provide otherways for my service, for I cannot believe that you would at once deprive me of all help and thereby put me under an impossibility of carrying on my affairs: besides, Madam, it is not only allowable but commendable in a wife to represent to her husband what she thinks will be for his service. I am far from being headstrong in this matter, and I am ready to hear what you have to propose to me, and, as far as it is possible for me, to determine my self to your satisfaction; but if you believe that I can easily in my present situation find a minister of capacity and whose fidelity will be proof against the temptations- the Duke of Hanover will not fail to put in the way of all I may employ, you are much mistaken. As to my son, my design, Madam, in the generall was to appoint him a governour personally

known to my self and depending solely on me, who would take care of him and remain with him every where, and I fixed on the Earl of Dunbar so much the more willingly that I saw he was agreeable to you, by your constant way of speaking of him to me: in a word the choice was intirely my own without his being recommended by any person, and he was so far from desiring that employment, that he did not accept of it but throw the obedience he thought due to my commands, at a time when the affairs of his family made it not convenient for him to engage further in my service. I thought fit to tell you this, because I have reason now to believe he is not agreeable to you in his present employment; however I am of opinion that a proposal of putting in his place a person so much in my esteem and so dear to the best of my subjects deserved so much attention, as to let me know your thoughts of it, and I must injustice tell you that Lord Dunbar spoke of it to me as a matter highly advantageous at all times and in the present situation of affairs necessary. Madam, the Lord Inverness is so concerned to find himself accused of being the cause of our separation, that notwithstanding of his innocence (of which I am thoroughly convinced) nothing but my express orders doth keep him from retiring; for in a conjuncture so extraordinary and when my affairs would suffer so much did he leave me destitute, I have required him to conform himself to them. I remember you wrote that beyond your displeasure in general at Inverness, you would enter into no detail of the grounds of your complaint against him, out of respect to me. I confess, Madam, it is impossible for me to imagine what it is you hide under this extraordinary insinuation, but if any thing sticks in your breast, I conjure you to speak, out for other ways it will be in vain for me to attempt to please you; so long as you conceal the grounds of your uneasiness, I can never succeed in it: In fine, Madam, throw off all passion and prejudice, as you see I have done on my part; Let us be directed altogether by reason, by a tender regard to one another and by what we owe to ourselves and our children: Do not sacrifice, to a capricious humour, your own honour and our common interests, and think seriously of not only living happily with me, but by your present conduct of securing your happiness after my death: Time is precious; hearken to the dictates of your own breast and my counsels on this occasion, and be assured you will never have reason to repent it.”

Letter to the King.

“22 May 1726.

“Sir,—As soon as I received yours of the 2d of March I went to town, where meeting several of your friends I showed them what I had

got from you: After thinking seriously upon the contents thereof they directed me to acquaint you, that their being in all the late publick news papers positive accounts that affairs would soon be made up twixt you and the Queen, they judged it better to wait a little for the confirmation of that event, before what was contained in yours should be dispersed: That in the next place it was not adviseable to make any thing of that kind publick at this time, because some little time before yours came to me we had accounts from London and Paris, that such a proposal as you take notice of had been made to you, nay copies of the same, with the authors name affixed thereto, were said to be in severall peoples hands: we at first imagined it was a forged contrivance of the Government, because we could not comprehend how such a story should break out and so many particular circumstances be discovered that required absolute secrecy, but what's contained in your last puts the veracity out of the question and increases the admiration how it became publick, seeing tis certain neither you nor the author could have any such intention. The author, we are told, denies the fact, but were it known that your friends had intimation that such a proposal had been made, it might open a way to enable the Government to bear hard on the author, since legal proofs are not now always absolutely necessary to condemn a person that's under suspicion, and therefore tis thought proper to deal very tenderly with that point least it do harm.

“I was ready on a dayes warning to have gone up post to London, having contrived a plausible pretext for the journey,; I hope the stop to it proceeds rather from your friends abroad being convinced that there's no need of such a nice enquiry into facts that are notorious, than that they've laid aside their intentions to act for you, and I wish we may soon hear some good news. I have of late writ so fully on most particulars that I have at this time nothing further to add but that I am with the greatest respect and devotion Yours.”

Here twill not be amiss to remark, that about the time I got the letter from the King to which the last is an answer, we were assured by Mr. William Moncreife (who was lately come from Paris) that it was writ from Rome that a certain foreigner, having obtained access to the King, told him he had a letter from the Earl of Orrerrey to him, which he was directed to read but not to part with it to His Majesty: That the letter contained severall proposals concerning the making up matters with the Queen, and withall that his friends in England were perfectly well pleased with Inverness and judged it expedient he should remain in his service. 'This was the substance of the letter, whereof Mr. Moncreife said he knew of 4 or 5 copies being sent to Paris bearing

the name of the author of the proposall. How far the fact stands in all its circumstances wee could not depend on, but taking it as true, when wee considered the odd method of communicating it to the King, and its being after that propaled, some were apt to conclude it was forged to do Inverness service, and not put into the Kings hands, to prevent his discovering the trick, for which reason I was directed to touch a litle of the story, least the King did not know it was publick, it being probable that the proposall mentioned in his letter might be this very letter, and if ther reallie was such a letter sent to the King, -wee judged Inverness had propaled because it mentiond him favorably. Some litle time after this, wee were told that these copies came to Paris from the Queens party, and by the Kings letter it appears the proposall was likewise put into her hands and that she had some doubts of its being genuine, and in that case tis probable copys were dispersed to expose Inverness and the methods he took to make the King believe he was necessary to be about him and provil of by his subjects at home. But after all, these and the like conjectures must remain in suspence, till time and future discoverys unravell them.

Letter\* from Lord Inverness.

“1st May 1726.

“Sir,—Youl find here enclosed a bill for 50*l.* sterling payable to Mr. Thomas S<sup>t</sup>clare, which I choose to transmit to you, not knowing if he be still in town. Mr. Cameron is your humble servant and I am Yours.”

Mr. S<sup>t</sup>clare having, in the letter I formerlie sent under my cover, represented his straitned circumstances to the King, he was graciouslie pleased to remitt the above sum for his use, which I received and paid to him, having got a receipt therof, in part payment of what by a fitted account signd by Mar, it appeared he had advanced for the Kings service in powder, flints, &c. anno 1715.

Letter to Lord Inverness.

“June 9th 1726.

“Sir,—I have so very litle to say at this time that I shoud scarcely give you the trouble of this were it not to own the receipt of yours with a bill therein enclosed, the mony wherof I got upon ane endorsation, and paid as directed to Mr. Thomas S<sup>t</sup>clare. I believe it came so very seasonably as to prevent his ruin and put him in such a way as he'l support his credit, so as to keep his farm and mantain his family till a

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\* Received June 8, 1726.

generall reliefe come; and I dare venture to say ther is not in this country a man in his station more capable and readie to serve his master, being in all respects fit to execute a commission which requires prudence and resolution: I have takn his receipt for the mony, which I shall keep or transmitt as lme directed. I have also charged him to let none know of this mark of favour, least it raise envy in some and prompt others to trouble the King in expectation of the like.

“I understand Wades to be again in this country to finish the dissarming of the Highlanders, and is to make a tour thorow the west Highlands and Isles; but these people (privately) make a jest of all he has done or will do in that affair. Wades powers are pritty much curtaild this year from what they were last year, being expresslie restrained from treating with or giving assurances of pardons to any under sentence: and this, lme told, has its rise from a representation of Argiles, that as it was expected he shoud be of use in keeping this countrie in due subjection to the Government, he coud not pretend to have so much interest and weight, if such materiall powrs were vested in another independent on him. Now whither this proceeds from his ambition to grasp at all and to allow as litle as he can to pass thorow other peoples hands, or that his hatred to the suffering party prompts him to suppress all designs of easing of them, or that he aims at meriting the thanks of whats done for them and therby make himself more agreeable to them, I cant determine, tho I incline to be of the last opinion, because tie certain he has been extremely favourable or rather kind to the Clanronald family and most of the other Highland gentlemen that had any dependance on him.

“Your last came from Holland by the post (which I suppose was by particular directions) and I fancy ther may be other letters there waiting for a ship to convey them safe hither, and wee long for them in hopes of good tidings.

“lme glad Camerons got safe to you; when he tells you how he past his time in old Reekie, youl think he was a pritty impudent spark that presumed to frequent the most publick taverns; and indeed all his caution consisted in outsitting all other companys, so that he was- safe going home.

“William Dundas came here lately from Holland and is soon to return: in the mean time his son takes care of whats directed to his father.

“The Duke of Hamilton has been dangerouslie ill of a fever at London, but is now pritty well recovered and will be soon here: after I have conversed with him, He probably have occasion to write again.

“I left Edinburgh yesterday, and I dont hear of any disturbances that hapned, tho it woud appear the Goverment expected or appeared to fear some disorders, having doubled the guards in Toun and Canongate and given orders to the souldiers in their quarters to be readie on the first beat of the drum. Such ridiculous precautions make them the jest of every body.

“Allow me by this to offer my most humble duty to the King, and do me the justice to belive I am very much Yours.”

Letter from the King.

“1st May 1726.

“Allan Cameron has delivered to me your letters of December 18, January 18, 25 and 31, with the papers that accomanyd them. The lights I have received from them and the discourse I have had with him will be of great use to me: Tho I was for some time in great pain about him, not knowing well what was become of him, yet I am far from repenting now of my having sent him to Scotland. Your unwearied endeavours to serve me, of which he has informed me of many particulars, tho I have not yet heard all he has to say, has givn me the greatest satisfaction and your prudence in executing the commissions I give you, confirms in me the good opinion I long have had of you. I am sensible of the difficulties you may lye under for the present, and the caution you must be obliged to use with some persons on whom Mar (who I look upon to have detatchd himself from my interest) may as yet have influence, but a litle more time will make business easier in that respect.

“I remark and shall make the best use of what you say as to the place of landing and the manifesto proper to be then published, upon which you send me some materialls, which I approve very much of.

“In the present disposition you inform me Panmure is in, you ought certainly to be cautious with him, which need not hinder you or my other trustees from keeping fair with him, since that does not oblige you to enter into particulars with him.

“I ought not to doubt but Hamilton will profite of the good advice you are capable to give him, which will enable him to make the greatest figure in his countrie: my veiw is to furnish him with opportunitys of doing it, and I shant be wanting in recommending to him proper methods for increasing his interest, that he may therby be capable of executing employments of the greatest trust: I have already writ to him in this veiw.

“I had the best accounts of Strathmore, and can never forget the

sufferings of his family: the fall of his brother in the feild was a great loss to me, but it is a satisfaction to me to find that his family continues to be so well represented, and I think I cannot, in my present circumstances, give him a greater mark of my esteem than by ordering you to acquaint him that it is my pleasure that he shoud be added to the number of those to whom I entrust the management of my affairs in Scotland, of which I desire you may acquaint such of that number as at present may be convenient shoud know it. And at the same time let them know that the services Mr. James Graham and Mr. Alexander Hay have rendered me and those who suffer for my cause, joind to their personall merite, has engaged me likeways to name them to be of that number, of which I desire you will acquaint them, in assuring them of the particular esteem I have for them.

“Cameron has informed me of the project you have laid for keeping a regular corrispondence betwixt you and my freinds further north, which will be usefull at all times, but absolutely necessary before ane attempt is made; as it woud likeways be of the greatest use if a safe method coud be found of sending letters to you by way of London, which woud make my corrispondence with my freinds in Scotland more usefull and regular than is at present, that it is retarded by the long sea passage.

“As to what you say of accounts coming to your parts, of some particulars mentioned in your letters to me, I wish you had mentioned what they were, then I coud have made you a distincter answer: Cameron tells me it was something containd in your letter of the 13 July last year and that he thinks you told him that it related to Eglinton; I have lookd over that letter and find that you ther mention Eglintons having contributed 500*l.* of the mony that was sent to Mar for my use. If it be that particular, you may depend on it that neither I nor any one about me ever mentiond it to any one. I think Mar mentioned the same thing to me soon after the mony was paid. May not this be a trick of Mars, and maynt he or some of his agents have been informed or suspecting that you writ this to me, give it out as discovered from Rome, on purpose to thro dirt on those I employ? If it be any thing relating to the memoriall sent by Mar to Scotland, of which you acquainted me in the same letter, that paper was so publick every wher in France and particularly at Bullogne, wher copies of it were lodged on purpose to be shown, that I shoud have been informd of it as I actually was, tho you had not sent me the abstract: Tho I am pritty sure your name was never mentioned as one of those who sent me these accounts: If it relates to what you then informed of Seaforth and others of his name, I sent some of these particulars to the Bishop

of Rochester, it being at that time necessary for me to do it, tho I never mentiond to him your name: However it be, I am perswaded that when you come to the bottom of it, you'l find that your suspicions in that respect are groundless. "As to the unluckie affair hapned in my family, the concern of my freinds is very just, but I apprehend no prejudice to my publick affairs from it. I have done every thing that prudence coud allow of to bring the Queen back and draw her out of the hands of her malicious councellours: were I to have yeilded to the Queen. I shoud have laid a foundation for continuall uneasiness to myself, and brought down destruction to my affairs; discontented people woud still have had recourse to the same game, and the like behaviour woud have been sufficient to have created a publick rebellion in my kingdoms, had I been upon my throne. As I have conducted my self in it, I furnish my freinds opportunitys of turning this misfortune to my advantage, which I hope they will profit by, and by a publick approbation of my conduct good may be drawn out of evill, till the Queens eyes are open and She return to me on a right footing, which is the only thing can make her and me easie while Wee live together. In the mean time my freinds need be under no apprehension as to their cor» rispohdence, my affairs are in good hands and shall continue so, for were I to change I am sensible of the discredite that must give to my affairs both at home and abroad and particularly at Vienna, wher the Emperor approves intirely my conduct and is scandalized at his relations. The various and scandalous falsehoods that have been reported by those who have fomented this division in my family ought to make no other impression on my true freinds than to awake their aeal and attachment to my interest, while my conduct as well as that of those who I employ in my affairs shall remain irreproachable: my freinds do injustice to the last in believing that by their behaviour they have contributed in the least to this uhluckie schene: their conduct in my family has been what it ought, and the opinion you mention of my freinds, as it is founded on groundless reports, must soon change, since they may belive that those I employ can have no veiw of present advantage in serving me in my present situation, and remain in my family only in obedience to my commands and to prevent the bad consequences that woud attend their leaving me.

"Youl find here enclosed a letter for the Colledge of Bishops, such as you desire, which I woud lose no time in sending to you, tho I cant at present enlarge further on that article and shall only now recommend to you and my other freinds to use your utmost endeavours to preserve union in that Society.

“It woud be a great mortification to me if the good of my service, which I am sensible you preferr to evry thing else, shoud hinder your making the journey which Cameron tells me your health requires; but in the present uncertainty affairs are in, I cannot but wish that you woud putt off the thought of it at least for this season, being perswaded that my service wont suffer a litle at any time by your absence, but much more were matters to take sncli a turn as to encourage my making ane attempt for my restoration, which in the situation the affairs of Europe are in, I nor my freinds cannot be too well prepared for it. You may assure my freinds that my cheif aim is so to cultivate the freindship of forreigne princes as to enable me soon to make you a visite, which nothing can encourage so much as a strict union amongst them.

“I shall finish this long letter by telling you my 2 sons enjoy very good health; the Prince of Wales answers even my best wishes, and Prince Henry promises as much as a child of his age can do. My own health was never better and I hope this shall find yours perfectly confirmed. My constant kindness doth still attend you.”

Letter from Lord Inverness.

“May 1st 1726.

“Sir,—I belive I need not trouble you with a long letter in answer to yours of the 18 December which I received by Mr. Cameron: you will be sufficiently tyred before you have finished reading the enclosed from the King.

“Wee are at so great a distance from you that falsehoods and storys sent to Scotland may subsist a long while before their can be opportunitys of contradicting them, and as such things abound as I find they have done with you for some time past, freinds ought not to be too readie in giving ear to them. What vexes some people is that they are intirely in the dark as to the Kings affairs, and yet it woud appear they are using ther endeavours to perswade others that imprudencies are committed in point of secresie. A freind of mine writes to me from Spain that it had been transmitted thither from Paris that our Doctors had refused to give my wife the sacrament, which is absolutely false: I suppose this is designd for the confirmation of another falsity industriously reported as to jealousie, which the Queen herself has contradicted. I mention only this particular as one of many sent to Scotland of which I may not be informed, and the authors of these things shall be dissappointed if by them they expect to irritate me to say or do what can in the least degree be construed disrespectfull to the Queen, which they woud not fail to make good

use of. I know my duty too well to give room for such handles, and I am hopefull the Queen, by discovering how tender the King and those he employs have been in every thing that could touch her charactar, shall find that they are not her faithfulest servants whose advice she follows at present. On the whole youl find that the separation twixt the King and her has been occasiond by a desire of having the entire management of his affairs, which not being to come at by any other way was at last attempted to be brought about by the Queens means. If the Kings interest had any share in any such veiws, I wish so dangerous ane experiment had not been made to bring it about. I shall send by the Kings directions a bill for 50*l.* of this date payable to Mr. Thomas Sardi, which he designs for Thomas S'clare: it shall be under cover to you and addressd to John Corsar and sent to William Dundass with orders to forward it by the post, and I me hopefull youl have received the bill before this comes to your hands.

“I shall say nothing to you in answer to the article of your letter upon Bishop Irvines death, since I find in one of a posterior date to the King you promise to write more fully your opinion and that of the trustees with relation to a successor to the Bishop of Edinburgh whose state of health does not promise long life: In the mean time what the King sends will I hope prevent any disorders hapning till he can determine himself in that important choise.

“Be so kind as to present my humble service to Lord Kincardine and Captain Frazer, and belive me with the greatest freind. ship Yours.”

Letter from the King addressd to the Colledge of Bishops of the  
Church of Scotland.

“May 1, 1726.

“The many instances I have had of your loyaltie, zeall and submission to me cannot fail to make me with reason very solicitous to provide as much as in me lyes for your welfare and advantage; and wheras being informed that the Bishop of Edinburgh is become so infirm that it is not expected that he can live long, at least that it is probable he may be obliged to retire to the countrie for his health, and being desirous, either in the case of the death of that worthy prelate or his going to the countrie, to provide for the welfare and advantage of the Church of Scotland, I have found it necessary by this letter to desire and direct that Bishop Cant, and failing of him by decease or his being rendered incapable by infirmitys, that Bishop Duncan shoud

in the events above mentioned for the interim reside at Edinburgh and preside amongst you and take care of the affairs of the Church in my capitall of Scotland and diocess therof, untill I be able to determine myself in the choise of a person duellie qualifed and agreeable to my people, to be settled in a post of such consequence with respect to the interest of both Church and State. I doubt not of your receiving this with becoming sentiments towards me and as a mark of the particular regard I have for your Body and for the welfare of the Church of Scotland.”

Letter to the King.

“July 7, 1728.

[The first part of this letter and a large postscript relate only to some mistake in the cypher which renderd the last letters from him extremely difficult to be explaind, and is not here inserted.]——”I have litle else to trouble you with at present. Wade is come to Edinburgh to proceed towards the further execution of the dissarming act, which will be of no further consequence than what hapned last year. The Duke of Argyle is also come, he’s going in a day or 2 to the Highlands, but hes to return hither in a few dayes and soon to go back to England. He try to have ane hours chat with him and let you know if anything of importance passes in it.

“A lawsuit at the Earl of Aboyns instance against the Duke of Gordon for a great many 1000*l.* was like to creat a feud in that clan: some mutuall freinds having represented to me the bad effects such a division woud have, in regard it was concerted that on the next occasion of appearing for you, that the Duke shoud stay at home, and the Earl, as the nixt man of the family, be at the head of the following, I used all the interest I had with the Earl to have this affair adjusted amicably; and others having applyd at the same time to the Duke, they both came into the proposall and have submitted to the Earl of Aberdeen and me, and wee r determined to give it a finishing stroke if possible, and therby I hope prevent all those inconveniencies that might happen from this difference if it subsisted.

“Marquis of Seaforths pardon is passing the sealls; this, weer told, is in consequence of what was stipulated last year when his people made their surrendry, such as it was.

“Your trustees have recommended to the Colledge of Bishops to consecrate Mr. Ross, now that Irvines dead, but theyl appoint him no district till they acquaint you: they have some thoughts of consecrating Mr. Ochterlony likeways, and of applying to have your

libertie of setting him over the shires of Ross and Murray wher the party encreases, and a Bishop is much wanted.

“I have spun out the length of a letter tho what it contains is of litle moment. As soon as I can execute your severall orders containd in your last letters, I shall give you a full account of my diligence, which I reckon will be in a few dayes, and at present will trouble you no further, but to assure you that I will ever remain Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“July 23d, 1799.

“Sir,—In my last of the 7th instant I intimated that I expected in a few dayes to be able to write fully in answer to yours of the first of May that was then come to my hands, which Ime now to perform having since that time seen conversed and received instructions from a good number of your trustees.

“And to begin with that which is of the greatest moment, I mean what you very justly term the unlucky affair in your family, your trustees cannot pretend to add to what they alreadie have represented to you on that article; but they direct me to renew their most earnest intreaties, that as you have any value for your personall your familys and your peoples prosperity, you woud do what is possible to have that affair accommodated: for tho theyr glad to hear from so good authority as yourself (without which theyd scarce have credited it) that it is not likely to produce any bad effects on your affairs abroad, tis with the greatest concern that they see the quite contrary at home and therefore are obliged, by the duty they owe you in the faithfull discharge of the trust you repose in them, in plain words to tell you that, so far as their observations and intelligence reaches, tljey apprehend it is the severest stroke your affairs have got these many years and will be such ane impediment to them, that theyve much reason to think no circumstance of time, no situation of the affairs of Europe can make amends, which thought affects them the more that they perceive you have expectations that something will soon cast up in your favours, and tis a very mortifying reflection that such ane opportunity shoud be frustrated by so unlucky a malheur. They do not presume to prescribe what methods you are to take for obtaining the desired issue, but they humblie conceive that you in your great wisdom may fall on some way or other that may prove successfull, and they beg leave, with the greatest respect and submission, to represent that they belive this point to be of such consequence to you, that in good policy and prudence you shoud rather pass by some failings in and make some condescentions to the Queen, than not

repair a breach that in all appearance will prove fatall. They have seriouslie considered how to put such a face upon it as may be most for your service, and which you seem to point out by some particulars in your letters of late, but cannot find any expedient so probable as not to revive and bring the matter upon the carpet; for your people here of all kinds have got such an impression of the Queens great merit and are so prepossessed with the reports of her being ill used by some about you, that tis in vain to attempt dispossessing them of that notion, especially considering that your trustees dare not venture to produce and appeal to your authority for a voucher of what they affirm; and therefore they unanmously resolved to keep as much as possible on the reserve, and rather endeavour to bury the matter in oblivion, than by reviving it open a way for your enimys to carry on their game with more success against you. This is the sum of what I am instructed by a set of noblemen and gentlemen, who have nothing before their eyes but your honour and welfare and the duty they owe to you and your family, to lay before you, and it only remains that I, in their names, obtest you once more to weigh the dismall effects of this fatall breach, and take such resolutions as the safety interest and welfare of your family and faithfull people call for; and that God Almighty may direct you in this, perhaps, the most criticall step of your life, is the serious prayer of all your dutifull disinterested subjects.

“It was with concern that I read that part of your letter wherein you intimate that you take the Duke of Mar to have detatched himself from your interest: I am far from pretending to justifie or even excuse severall parts of that noble Lords conduct, but the truth ont is, I had the charity to belive they proceeded from .wrong notions of things and some imprudent selfish veivs, and that at the bottom he still remained dutifully inclined to you, and I was pleased with this imagination, because it must be ownd that in many respects he was capable if at the same time willing to serve you, and I had some reason to hope he was thus inclined, in regard I had seen some and heard of other letters from him to his freinds here, wherein he professd the greatest loyaltie, and recommended submission to you in all points, and that I observed these his freinds did on all occasions regulate ther conduct accordingly; but it woud appear you have made some new discoverys, in that you mention him in a manner more possitive than formerlie. For my part I have no attachment to him, I never had any dependance on him, nor did I ever receive more than common civilitys from him; nevertheless I shoud be sory if he, who once made such a figure in your service, shoud fall oft’, as it woud bring some kind of discredite to the good cause, being hopefull that a conviction of the steps he had

made to deserve the loss of your favour might in time push him on to regain it by a more vigorous application, in doing something to render him worthy of it.

“Here it comes in my mind to acquaint you that in a conversation lately with Mr. Carnagy of Boisack, he expressd a prodigious concern at being informd (by whom I know not) that he was represented at Rome as one that attached himself to Mar in opposition to your present measures, and he protested to me that it was the greatest injury that could be done him, and begd I would represent it so to you. What obligations Mar conferrd on him on t’other side of the water I know not, but sure I am he owed him none in dayes of yore, and I must do him the justice to say that since he came home, when I spoke to him of your a Hairs, as one that I knew was very capable to give a good advice, I ever found him act such a part as to me seemd right, and I cannot but think any freindship he may have for Mar is subservient to the duty and regard he has for you. I the more readily undertook what he desired of me, in that I think it is for your service to remove evry thing that tends towards raising doubts and jealousies of those whor well affected to you and your interest.

“I wish the project for a more regular correspondence which you so much approve of was once well established: Cameron told me he had spoke of it to several of his freinds, and I think he added that I would soon hear from some of them about it, but that has not yet hapned, and so the affair stands. William Dundass is now at Edinburgh; and I shall consider with him how far, what you propose of sending the letters, which come to his hands from you, to Scotland by way of London, is practicable, and advise you of what wee conclude upon.

“Earl of Wigtoun and Kincardine and I deliverd your commission seperately to Earl of Strathmore and Messieurs Hay and Grahame. They all 3 received it as a mark of the greatest honour could be conferrd upon them, and desired me to assure you that they most chearfully embraced this as they will do every occasion of doing you all the services in their power; and the truth on’t is, each of them is very capable in their several stations, and they did heartily join in the representation containd in the first part of this letter.

“What Cameron mentioned to you as the particular of my letter of July 13, wherof ane account was sent here, was very right, and indeed its so very distinct and jumped so very well with the time that I had your return to that letter, that I could put no other construction upon it but that it had been brought into conversation at Rome, especially when it was positively affirmed that it came from thence, and that no

mortall here, but Kincardine and Wigtoun (who swear they never mentioned it to any soul living) knew of my having writ to you of either the uiony or Eglinton.

“I have now gone thorow most of the heads of yours to me, and having nothing thats new and of any consequence to impart to you funder at this time, it only remains that I express the great sense I have of the favourable construction you’r pleased to put on my poor endeavours to serve you, aijd I shoud be too much elevated, did I not know it was more owing to your goodness than any suitable merit of mine; however as obedience is better than sacrifice, such as they are, they’r intirely at your devotion; and since you are pleased to command my continuing in the tract of business I have for some years followd, I shall not decline it, and if my conduct therin be judged according to the sincerity of my intentions, I shall not, I perswade myself, incurr your displeasure: The desire I had of going abroad was not so much on account of my health (which I thank God has been and is in a perfect good state) but to be free of the vexations that arose daylie to me from the deplorable state of my countrie and no prospect of any releife, and as it never was my intention to be absent if I Could in the least be usefull to you or my country (which I may reckon one and the same thing under different appellations) it is with more than ordinary pleasure that in obedience to your commands I lay my journey aside, at least for this season, in hopes you may have somewhat in veiw that will afford your freinds ane opportunity to shew their zealous attachment to your interest and person.

“The account you give of your own, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Albanys health is most agreeable to all your faithfull subjects, but who at the same time will never think themselves secure and be satisfyed in this article, untill it please God to bless you with a more numerous extensive offspring, and that every obstacle towards it be removed: This is what your freindj\* in the present juncture long of all things to hear, as it woud be matter of great joy to them, and mortification to your enemyes; and that God may bring it happily and speedily to pass is the earnest petition of all who have a due regard for your interest, and amongst that number, of Yours.”

Letter to Lord Inverness.

“July 24, 1726.

“Sir,—No task perhaps ever puzzled me so much as how to make a proper return to yours of the 1st of May, which I received some few dayes ago; and were it not that I conceive the publick as well as your private interest calls upon me to say something to you, I woud remain

altogether silent. What you affirm with respect to your conduct and behaviour towards the Queen is no more than what one would expect from a man of honour and prudence, and the truth is, I cannot entertain in my breast any other notion of it, especially when 'tis impossible to imagine the King would protect you or write so much in your justification, were it otherwise: but at the same time you lye under the very great misfortune, of the far greater part of this and the neighbouring kingdom giving intire credite to what in this particular your enimys charge you with. I took the libertie to mention this to you in a former letter bearing date 12 March, and I'me sory to tell you that the spit continues against you, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Kings trustees to suppress such reports, and that therby the Kings interest in this inland receives a very considerable shocke. That the repairing the fatall breach in the Kings family is a matter of the last consequence to him and his affairs, is a truth not to be contested, and he that can propose a method to accomplish it in a prudent \vafnourable way will merit the greatest of rewards. As to your part therin, 'tis no easie matter to give you councell: But I humblie conceive you should leave no stone unturned to be restored to the Queens favour, in case the pretended disobligations sh<sup>e</sup> has received from you be, as 'tis said and belived here, assignd by her (on good or bad grounds 'tis all one) as the reason of the separation. I am very sensible that an harder task cannot be laid on a man of honour than making submission when hes conscious of his innocence; but the high dignity of the party on 'tother side of the question and the vast importance of the affair, will admitt of some exceptions from generall rules in the like cases: To enter further into particulars I cant pretend: your conduct must be regulated by your own prudence and discretion; but as your freind and welwisher I tell you that what I suggest is absolutely necessary for your own as well as the Kings service, and the sooner 'tis done twill be the more usefull to these interests, and the greater disappointment to the common enemy. Tho you have been most tinluckie in that the representations against you have gaind so much credite, 'tis still in your power to regain the good opinion of this country by a hearty application and endeavour to set matters right; and that you may sitt about it speedily and with success is the best advice can be given you and the best wish to attend you. I have by the direction of a good number of the Kings trustees writ to him once more on this subject, and I have also their orders to signifye to you what I have here represented, and they hope you'll hearken to their advice, that therby their esteem of you may be raised and they have it more in their power to do you justice.

“Strowan Robertson came lately to Edinburgh wher he kept in cog and went home a few dayes ago; and I hear Sir Hugh Paterson is likewise come; I understand they have both got assurances of not being troubled, but whither theyr to apply for a pardon I cant tell.

“I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to desire you to do me the justice to belive that what part I act is with a disinterested veiwo to the Kings interest and at the same time a particular regard to yourself, as I am very sincerely Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“July 29, 1726.

“Sir,—Since my last of the 23d instant the Duke of Hamilton, came home, and having immediatly calld for me, I went to toun, to wait on him and was overjoyd to hear from him that before he left London it was belived that the breach in your family woud soon be made up: I wish to God the news may hold, for the account he gives of peoples sentiments therofin England is a confirmation of what has been represented to you from hence, t did communicate to him the contents of your last to me, as he did of yours to himself, and I used all the arguments I coud think of to engage him to make all the severall necessary preparations, for rendering him capable to answer the trust you repose in him and execute what you may in time committ to him, and he gave me all the assurances I coud desire, of which he shall not be suffered to pass unminded. At a meeting of severall of your trustees he was acquainted of what had past during his absence, and he gave a full account of the state of affairs in England, and amongst others that your late promotions to the knighthood of St. Andrew was made ane handle of to your disservice, being adduced as ane argument to prove your designing to overturn all grants, honours &c. conferrd upon private persons since the Revolution: for as that order isfilld up and compleat by those here who are installd, those advanced by you must supplant the others. It seems very essentiall for your service, that such as have raised themselves since the Revolution, shoud from a veiw of securing their acquisitions be encouraged to contribute to your restoration, and therefore every thing that may have contrary effects is to be avoided: This consideration your trustees desired me to lay be. fore you with all submission.

“In the establishing a corrispondence with the Highlanders, great care must be taken to avoid giving ground of offence and jealousy, by showing too much favour to or trust in any one of these independent powers, and therefore wee think some person that does not belong to any of the clans woud be fittest to carry on the intelligence twixt them

and your trustees at Edinburgh. Mr. Murray of Stanhope has (the cause wherof Allan Cameron can inform you) his residence in the Highlands: the affair he's intent upon (and which I hear lately is likely to answer prodigiouslie) leads him to traverse and trudge thorow the whole countrie without suspicion. He's a person of great worth and honour and eminently zealous for your service: These severall considerations incline some of your trustees to think him a proper person to be employd in that matter, and if you'r pleased to approve therof, it will be necessary that you write a letter desiring him to undertake and perform that service to you, because you think him, in his present situation, the most proper person to be employd in it; and another lettet directed to the cheiftans of the clans, shewing how necessary the establishing of such a corrispondence is for your and their service, and that you have pitched on Murray as being a person that can carry it on with less suspicion and more safety than any of themselves: and that they may know the occasion and nature of the corrispondence, twill be fit you let them know that thers a certain number of persons, that (because of the conveniencie of the place) meet at Edinburgh, whom you have appointed to look after your affairs, with whom you directlie corrispond and to whom you send your orders, wherby they are capable and entituled to give advice and directions to your freinds for preserving unity in affections and measures, on which the success of your projects depends.

“Mr. Walkinshaw of Barrowfeild tells me his brother in law Sir Hugh Paterson has no thoughts of obtaining a pardon and is soon to leave this country. Mr. Stuart of Invernity came lately from France, but hes obliged to keep very close, having no assurance of safety, except some sort of a verball promise which the Duke of Gordon says he got last winter from Walpole, on which Stuart ventured to come over, but hes likely to meet with great opposition from the 2 brothers his cusens that are betwixt him and Gairntillys estate till he's pardond, whor supported by the Argyle faction out of favour to their freind Lord Royston, who capitulated last year to vote for hanging the Glasgow rioters, on Condition Invernity was not pardond. In a councill held not long ago, the granting pardons to Seaforth and Invernity was proposed, the first wherof was violently opposed by Argyle and the other by Hay, wherupon Wade was calld in to give his opinion; he told them he had nothing to say as to Invernity, for he had not applyd to him, but the freinds of the other had and came in to the surrendry on the faith of his having, according to the powrs then vested in him, promisd a pardon to that Lord, and if it was not performd, he bcgd leave to give up his commission, for after that he

coud serve no longer. He added that he jutlgd it for the service of the Goverment to restore that Lord; for the strength and interest of the Highlands were in the hands of 4 great men, Argyle, A thole, Gordon and Seaforth, and that they were equally to be supported, because the suppressing one or more and not all, raisd the power of those that remaind so high that they might be dangerous to the Goverment. What Wade said had such weight that Seaforths pardon was ordered, and as tis plain he levelld cheiflie at Argyle, Ime not a litle pleasd they think it necessary to curtail his powr, which is the only way to make him hearken to proposalls of another nature; and Kincardine and I design to get a memoriall put into Walpoles hands, setting forth some discoverys wee have mad of Argyles secret designs for enlarging his power in the Highlands, and if wee can by this means cast a bar in his way, twill put him mad.

“I have troubled you too much at once, so will only add that I am with the utmost regard Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“August 8, 1726.

“Sir,—Mr. Strahan tells me the ship with my last will not sail from Leith for 2 or 3 dayes after this, and therefore I judgd it proper by giving you this further trouble to inform you of what past in a conversation I had 2 days ago with Mr. Murray of Stanhope. Being informd he was just come to toun from the Highlands, I went a-purpose to have a private chat with him. I began to ask him a great many questions about the tempers and sentiments of particular persons in the Highlands and of the Highlanders in generall, their intentions as to your service when a proper occasion offerd, and of the best methods for keeping them in a good disposition and putting them on right wayes. Whilst I was thus paving the way to make a closer proposition to him, he interrupted me by asking, with some sort of emotion, If I was drawing him in? I answered I did not well understand the import of these words, but if they meant, to engage him to serve you and the cause of his countrie, he had been drawn or rather gone voluntarily in sooner and further than I had done, and that I was perswaded he had acted upon principles of duty and honour and woud alwayes continue so; to which he replyd “My dear Lockhart, you do me justice in believing the litle I coud ever do was from such motives, but Ime now a new man; I like the King and my country as well as ever I did, and I will draw my sword when ever thers to be a general effort for restoring the King and kingdom of Scotland, but in the interim my head and heart are set on improving the Highland

estate I have acquired and bringing the mines to perfection (which will be a service to my country) and I will think upon and undertake no other business of any kind: besides when I got my life after the last affair, I entered into engagements that will not allow me to be active in contriving or carrying on measures against the Government, tho when thers a push to be made, as I said before, I'le venture all with the first." From his way of behaving I can easily see he cannot be entrusted in the particular proposed in my last, and wher to find another I cant tell. I offer to your consideration how far the main design may be accomplishd after the following manner: That you write a letter addressd to the cheiftans of the clans, much in the terms of the proposall in my last, shewing the benefite of their corrisponding with your trustees at Edinburgh, and desiring them to cultivate it and have a due regard to the advices and directions they may jointly and seperately receive from your trustees. Had your trustees such a letter, many wayes may be got of communicating its contents to the proper persons, and in a litle time and by degrees, many particulars relating to the corrispondence and reaping profite from thence may be adjusted and improvd to very good advantage.

"Our news papers relate 2 peices of news which are very contradictory, viz, that the Prince of Wales is become a Protestant, and the Duke of Wharton a Papist: The first every body laughs at; as to the other, your enimys say it is, and your freinds fear it may be, true, and if so Tle venture to say he has done you more disservice than ever it was or will be in his powr to repair. I shoud be glad he were truely become a Christian of any Church, but if, as most people belive, thers nothing of religion in it, nay supposing it were otherwise, yet he has timed it very ill, for such steps in any about you or declaring for you, under the present situation of affairs, does you and your cause no small prejudice.

"Wades still in Edinburgh and docs all he can to gain ane interest with the Jacobites: A frcind of his and mine (a very honest English gentleman in the army) told me tother day the generall wondered I never came to see him, and that tho he knew my charactar well enuff no body woud be welcomer. I replyd that as he never came to see me when I was in use to be at London, I woud not wait upon him at Edinburgh; that I had no favours to ask or receive, and I woud endeavour to preserve that charactar for which it seemd the generall did not think the worse of me, and when wee occasionally met, which had not yet hapned,. our civilitys woud be reciprocall. Some of my freinds blame the part I acted, but I can well enuff forsee some inconveniencies that might happen if I did not keep myself abstract

from those kind of people, and I'm sure no benefite can access from any dealings I could have with them. 'Tis plain his design is to draw your friends off from you, by lulling them asleep with his civilities and expectations of more than common protection from him, and for that reason the allurements should be avoided by all who are not in circumstances that requires fawning upon him.

“I have only to add that I am with great truth and respect Yours.”

Letter\* from Lord Inverness.

“20 July 1726.

“Sir,—As the first part of your letter of the 12 of March (which I received with one of the 3d of April) relates to a disagreeable affair, upon which I have said already what I thought prudent or becoming me to write, I shall be pretty short in my answer to it, and begin with my thanking you for the freedom with which you write to me on that subject, and particularly in as far as relates to myself personally. The principles that induce you to it cannot but be approved by every faithful servant of the Kings, tho at the same time I flatter myself that your friendship for me has had some share in it. I won't contradict the Queen, by saying that my behaviour towards her, which upon reflection I can't think ever was otherways than it ought to have been, was not the occasion of her retreat into the convent or her stay there since: whatever the notions may have been which she may have been inspired with relating to me and many others, and whatever the views of those may have been who engaged the Queen to insist upon my removal from about the King, what can be said against me can be of no deep dye, since it is evident my crime would immediately cease upon my removal from the Kings service, tho that would noway remove the uneasinesses in the royal family. But I may safely say that nothing that has been pretended against me, by those who think fit to declare themselves my greatest enemies, appears worthy even of the Queens notice. This very circumstance serves in one great respect for a vindication to me; and the past conduct of those who are now supporting the Queen in her separation from the King, added to her giving nothing but the triflingest reasons why she desired of the King my removal from his service, shews pretty plainly that the desire of my removal does not proceed from any crime that I have committed, but perhaps because I have contributed to unriddle those of others and might be of use in preventing the like for the future, of which I am persuaded the Queen herself is not aware. But however easy I am in

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\* Received 31 August 1726.

my own innocence, it cant but be very much my inclination to be removed from the Kings service and from having my name mentioned in this disagreeable affair, which I do wish for the more that I woud want no vindication of my past conduct, which is commonly the case of those from whom a prince retires his confidence, because that step is seldom taken without suspicion arising from it dissadvantagious to the charactar of him who is dismissed: and I hope both the Kings freinds and those who have any regard for me will do me the justice to belive, that I am uncapable of putting any veiws of mine in competition with the peace of the royall family, or of beliving that any services I am capable of doing the King are to be put in the ballance with it. I think however that at the same time that I inform you of my sincere opinion with relation to myself, I ought not to ommitt mentioning, that in the light I and others see and have seen that affair, either my removall or the Queens being satisfyed in her demands woud be far from having the effect proposed by it, nay on the contrary woud lay the foundation for ane eternall division, which is evident to judicious people here, if the articles hidden under the demands made were not likewayes complyd with, which if they were must creat utter destruction to all the Kings concerns without exception, and make the memory of those who are the authors of them cursed for ever, to the bringing about of whose designs the Queen is a most innocent instrument. This being a subject of so nice a nature I shall not mix any thing else with it, but referr you to another letter of the same date as to what relates to oihier matters. I am &c.”

Letter from Lord Inverness,

“July20, 1726.

“Sir,—I had the honour to lay before the King what you mention in your letter of the 12 of March, which lights he will make the best use of when ther is occasion for it, which I pray God may be soon. The favourable aspect his interest had and which in no wayes diminished by the late changes in the Government of France and Spain, made him desirous to be furnishd with the advices that his freinds coud give him, that he might not be to seek and be undetermined when the time of executing comea. This leads me to tell you that ther appears no liklihood that Riperdas fall will in any degree lessen the strict freindship betwixt the Courts of Madrid and Vienna, whatever effect Bourbons removall from the Ministry of France may in time produce towards reconciling that Court and Spain; wee have at present no reason to apprehend that the Emperor will forgive Hanover the personall hatred the first has contracted against the last, as well as the Emperors private interest wont allow of it. France is no waves in a

condition to make war, and it is belived the present Ministry there wont be fond of supporting, *a la rigure*, the treaties lately made with the English Goverment. Engagements likewayes lately enterd into in the north seem to run contrary to Hannovers interest and veiws, and tho he shoud agree to make a sacrafice of Denmark, yet that will not satisfye the Emperor nor hinder the Czarina from fulfilling her engagements to him, after he has fulfilld his by satisfying the Czarina as to the D. of Holstein. Many other favourable reflections may be made; but after what I have said, youl easily perceive the fine prospect the King must have from these circumstances, when it appears that the interest of the cheif Powers in this part of Europe ought to engage them to restore the King, I mean the Emperor, France and Spain, who have every one of them a seperate interest in contributing to divide the power of England from any other forreign state and particularly from ane election in the empire; and whilst the settling affairs in the north cannot bring any hinderance to it, you may easily belive that the King is not idle nor wanting in his endeavours to improve this favourable conjuncture.

“Seaforth, as the King is informed, has accepted and actually received his pardon, upon what terms I cannot tell. He is said to be resolved to go soon home, and the King desires you to inform him as to Seaforths behaviour after he comes home, by which the King can best judge what his future conduct may be.

“Cameron is no wayes to be suspected in any dealings with Mar; he knows him too well for that, and his honestie is entirely to be depended on. Mars corrispondence in Scotland must be brought very low, if, to support his credit wher he lives, he does not conceal who his corrispondents are. I hope what I have formerlie writ to you as to the secresie of what you write here will have satisfied you; but it will not be amiss for you to reflect, to whom you communicated these particulars which you suspect were publishd here and whither they or those they communicated them to might not have writ of them to Mar; it looks like it, for he woud be glad to publish things of that kind, to be able to throw the blame on another, and you may depend on the secret of what you write hither without communicating it to any \vher you are. Captain Frazers being thought to corrispond with Mar or to be in intimacy with those that do, was a reason that a stop was put to the cypher that was to be sent him, which I wish he woud clear up by writing hither directly himself and mentioning the thing as it is and his resolutions for the future; for tho the King has a very good opinion of Frazer, yet he will not have a confidence in any one he suspects to have a confidence in Mar, and this founded on a beleife he knows him

better than any other.

“The character that the King has of the Earl of Dundonald makes him hear with pleasure every thing that may be for his advantage.

“Any letters sent to Mr. Robert Gordon of Bourdeaux, addressd to Mr. William Williamson, will be sent to me as well as those sent to Mr. Alexander Andrews merchant in Rotterdam with the same address; so I leave it to you to chuse whom you employ for delivering your letters to the masters of the ships that carry them, and till you advise me otherways I shall send my letters as I do these, to Strachan at Leith, who I find is well acquainted with all those who correspond this way, tho if he does not know your last address he shall remain ignorant for me, I mean for whom letters addressd as this shall be are designd, that so according to the season of the year we may profite of ships coming or going from either place. I am Yours.”

Letter\* from the King.

“20 July, 1726.

“Your letters of the 12 of March and 3d of Aprile came at the same time, to which I have little answer to make, the last being only in answer to mine, and the first relating to an affair which has taken such a turn that I see no appearance of an end being put to it. If such a letter as you mention you and some of my other friends were thinking to write to the Queen comes to my hands, I shall, according to the circumstance of that affair, deliver it or not; but I am sorry to tell you, that really I fear it will not prevail with her, as long as she is in the hands of those now about her and who are working her utter ruin; and hitherto the more pains has been taken to soften and enlighten her, the more she seems to be confirmed in her obstinacy, so that all I can do at present is to leave that affair to Providence, and pray that God may soon open her eyes and bring her back to her duty. I take very kindly all that you say on that disagreeable subject: the reflections you make and many others have thrown my whole conduct in that affair present to me: my inclinations even led me to humour the Queen as much as possible, but I can never think of sacrificing my reputation and abandoning my affairs, the education of my children, and every thing that is dear to me, to the Queens caprice, which is clearly the true state of the question; and I think I cannot do better service to my subjects, and even to the Queen herself, than by resisting the attempts that have been made upon me in that respect; at the same time you, may assure my friends with you that my conduct in that affair shall be

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\* Received 31 August 1726.

what will tend most to the good of my subjects, and I have reason to believe that what in a great measure now prevents her return, is her being supported in her demands by some people at Paris, with a view of forcing themselves by her means into the management of my affairs.

“Mar’s conduct is now so publick, that those who were before his friends, cant, I should think, but have lost the good opinion they had of him; therefore I would have you to assure such of them, where you think it safe, that my good opinion of them wont be lessened on his account provided they forsake him, and that as soon as I am convinced that they have no more confidence in him, that mine in them shall be the same as formerly. I think I owe it to my faithful subjects to use my endeavours that they may not be carried away by misrepresentations and mistakes: I have too good an opinion of Lord Dun to think he is of that number, and therefore I would have you speak to him as well as Sir John Ereskine and others, who I need not name, on this head, I hear Mr. Carnagy of Boisack is a publick agent for Mar; as the last has contrived it, who agent for him are against me, which I suppose the first is not aware of. The greatest service that can be done the cause is by uniting as much as possible those who wish well to it, and as I am persuaded this will be your constant care, you may be assured that my kindness and acknowledgements for your services shall never fail you.

“I refer you to Inverness, as to what relates to my letters to the Colledge of Bishops in Mr. Gillanes favours, which he’ll write to you in answer to your letters to him..”

Letter from Lord Inverness.

“July 20, 1726.

“Sir,—You will find here 2 letters from the King to the Colledge of Bishops, which he thought necessary to be sent; The one, not doubting but that Mr. Gillanes merit, whose character is so well known, will add to the respect and veneration due to that assembly, and the other, in consideration of the inconveniencies that attend certain steps being taken as Church government without the due authority, which the King thinks will be prevented by the method therein directed. I have informed Lord Balmerinoch, and desired him to acquaint Lord Panmure, of said letters which the King thinks necessary you should have communicated to them and his other trustees for the better preservation of union in what relates to Church affairs; divisions relating to them being generally attended with the worst consequences. The King expects you I acquaint him with the

Bishops having complyd with his directions, and that as soon as they give their opinion as to the different articles proposed by the King to them, that you'l in forwarding it endeavour to send amongst with it the advice or advices of his different trustees in as ample manner as you can; which is all the King has directed me to say on the subject. I am”

Letter from the King addressd to the Colledge of Bishops.

“July 20, 1726.

“The particular regard and care I have, for the Colledge of Bishops and Church of Scotland makes me very solicitous to contribute in every thing I think may tend to your advantage and prosperity, and I having a very good opinion of the loyal tie, piety, capacity and other qualifications of Mr. John Gillane, I do desire and authorise you to consecrate him one of your number, and him to take his place as such amongst you accordingly. My present situation and my just regard for your safety woud not allow of my writing to you in another form, but it is my intention that you shoud look on what is herein containd as authentick and as sufficient to justifie with me your proceedings in consequence to it. I am very sensible of your constant loyaltie and attachment to me, and upon all occasions shall be readie to show the particular value and esteem I have for you.”

A 2d letter addressd as the last.

“July 20, 1726.

“I have thought it proper for the preserving peace and unity in the Church and as a mark of my particular vigilance and care in every thing that tends towards it, to require and direct that when ther shall be any vacancies in the Colledge of Bishops, or when you shall think proper that others be added to your number, you give in to my trustees a list of such persons as you may think every way qualified for discharging the office of a Bishop in the Church, which my trustees are to send to me, with ther opinion upon it, that therby I may be the better enabled to give the proper and necessary directions in that respect. And further it is my will and pleasure that no Bishop amongst you shall be appointed to have the care and inspection of any particular district, without my praevious authority, and that when you think ane appointment necessary, that you give your opinion in writing to my trustees to be transmitted to me as above. I expect your readie compliance with these my directions, and desire that every one of you in particular, as well as the whole body of the Episcopall clergy may be assured of my constant endeavours to contribute as much as in me lyes to your happiness and prosperity.”

Letter to the King.

“September 9, 1726.

“Sir,—Tis but a few dayes ago that a packet came to my hands, containing severall letters from yourself and Lord Inverness to my self and the Colledge of Bishops, all bearing date the 20 of July. I went immediatly to toun, wher I found very few of your trustees, most people being during this season in the countrie; yet I met with more than I expected, viz, Kincardine, Balmerinoch, Mr. Graham and Mr. Hay; having calld them togather I laid the severall letters before them, and after having talked fully on the severall subjects, they directed me in the first place to return their most dutifull acknowledgements of the gracious reception youve been pleased to give to what they presumed to lay before you, in relation to the unhappy division in your family, and of your extroardinary goodness in condescending to communicate to them the reasons and motives by which you have directed your measures from first to last in that affair. They have an absolute confidence that your conduct will be consistent with what prudence with respect to yourself and your people does call for, and theyl be amongst the last of your subjects that will advise or wish you to take any steps, even in this material article, derogatory to your charactar or contradictory to the honour and interest of your royall family; and therefore they have nothing more to say on this subject but to join issue with you in praying that God may dispose the Queen to hearken to good advice and to take such resolutions as may tend to your and her mutuall comfort and advantage.

“They were not a litle concerned at the severall paragraphs in your and Invernesscs letters in relation to Mar: They are very much perswaded that none of your trustees have corrisponded with him on publick business since the time that you intimated your having withdrawn your confidence from him: Some of them perhaps have corrisponded about private affairs and others to expostulate with him on his having incurred your displeasure, being curious, as his freinds and relations, to know what he had to say for himself, and in such dealings with him they had no notion of incurring your displeasure, especially seeing in most of your directions with respect to him and your freinds behaviour towards him and his partners, you seemd to wish as litle noise as possible to be made of this affair, and in consequence therof you shunnd entering into the particulars of what he was charged with. However, the aforesaid gentlemen desired me to assure you that if so be you require and expect a totall forbearance of corrisponding with him on any subject for the future, they will exactly and readily obey your directions therin and have no doubt but your

other trustees will do the like.

“I know not if what I mentiond in a former letter concerning Mr. Carnagy will clear him in your sight: he’s at present in Fife, but I have sent for him to come over the water to me, when I shall communicate what your information is concerning his behaviour, and leave him to justifie himself.

“Give me leave now to acquaint you that I hav£ falln likeways into the error you complain of; I call it by that name, because I am conscious I had no bad design, no more than others that may have done the same, and I presume to mention the fact at some length, because I hope it will at the same time clear the charactar t)f a gentleman of whom I and evry body here have a very particular esteem, who seems by a paragraph in Inverneses letter to be under some suspicion. Some years ago, application was made to Mar, then primier minister, by Captain Frazer, in fovours of one Mr. Frazer heir of line to the late Lord Frazer, whose title did extinguish thorow the default of heirs male; and on Mars representing the case and merit of the family, you was pleased to give orders for a new patents being expedé in favours of this gentleman. Fraser having left the country before this was done, the patent remaind with Mar till last winter that Fraser writ to him to send it over, which being done did produce a letter of thanks, and that a return therto. These letters I saw, and they containd nothing but generall compliments, except that Mar regrated his having falln under your displeasure, and declared nevertheless his firm adherence to your interest whenever ane occasion offerd, according to which he desired his friends to judge of him. This Ime pritty possitive is the utmost length of Frazers dealings, and that he knows well enuffto distinguish betwixt the duty he ows you and any personall regard he may have for any benefactor or interest on earth. Hes now at some distance from hence, and indeed were he present, I woud be shy of communicating the contents of Inverneses letter, as I know it woud deeplie affect the upright man. In the last of these letters which he received, Mar desires him to make his compliments to his fellow traveller (meaning my son) but sayes he will not charge him with the like commission to the father, least it be ill taken off his (Trazers) hands, being informed that I expressd myself in the most ill natured terms concerning him and profesd myself his mortall personall enemy. As I did by no means desire to be so represented to any man that had never done me any personall injury, and that I did not think it for your service that I or any you trust in your affairs shoud be in such terms with any person that was, and for what was known here, might be yet employd in your service, I did by the advice of

some freinds write to him to this effect: That I was much surpris'd at a part of a letter from him to Frazer, wherein I was named; that tho' it was no new thing for him and me to be on opposite sides, we had always lived in terms of civility and without personall grudges and bad offices; that his informer, whoever he was, knew little of my behaviour, for that whilst he was in your service I had strenuously stood up for him against those who even then attack'd him, and since you laid him aside, I had rather endeavour'd to suppress than propagate the occasion of it; that I should be glad he regain'd your favour, by either vindicating himself of what occasion'd the loss<sup>d</sup> of it or doing such services as might make amends for any wrong steps he had takn, on either of which events he should find me as much as I ever was or any man could be his faithfull freind. To this he gave me a return full of compliments upon the value he put on my freindship, and withall protesting in the most sollemn manner his constant adherence to your interest, regretting much the unhappy discord in your family; and recommending to your freinds to endeavour the bringing about a happy adjustment therof, as the best service could be done you. 'Tis I think about 2 months or more since I got this letter, to which I have made no reply nor will I till I have a permission in your return to this, tho' by the bye, if you can venture on my integrity and address in keeping on this correspondence, I know not but I may thereby sometime or other do you service by it: but that's a point I shall be intirely determin'd in by your will and pleasure. What I have said will I hope give you satisfaction as to the conduct of your trustees and the particular persons I have mention'd as to this article, in which if any offence has been givn, I am very possitive it proceeded from ignorance of your sentiments and intentions and no wilfull design of doing any thing disagreeable to you.

“Lord Dun and Sir John Erskine are at a good distance; and as what you direct me to signifye to them is not a subject so proper for a letter as a conference twill be 2 or 3 months before I can execute it. In mine to Inverness that goes alongst with this I have mention'd what further, I have to say of your concerns, and I will not trouble you with a repetition.

“Allow me only to add a sollemn assurance of my ever remaining to the utmost of my power Yours.

“P. S. Lord Erskine has been here some little time, and behaving with great prudence and discretion, he's much respected by the Jacobites: He's now at Alloa, and Lord Dun with him; and he made a visite to Balmerinoch, and I do not know that any more of your trustees have seen him as yet, but they desire to know your pleasure, if

without giving offence they may pay him common civilitys as others do or keep altogether abstractly from him.”

Letter to Lord Inverness.

“September 10, 1726.

“Sir,—The packet with severall letters bearing date 20 July I received on the 31 ult<sup>o</sup>. Severall of the particulars containd in yours having a near connection to that from the King, my return to him (which I suppose hel communicate to you) will serve for ane answer to you in a great measure as to these points.

“The subject of the unhappy “division seems to be wholly exhausted, as well as your share in it, by what has been writ to and fro upon them. Allow me only to add, that as their are in this country who pretend to have corrispontlence with and intelligence from the very best hands at Rome, and who affirm that letters from Mar to the Queen have been intercepted, exciting and encouraging her to stand out against the King, (wherof coppys are expected) If I say this fact is true, a better service cant be done the King, than to send his trustees a full account therof, that they may depend upon; for then and therby theyd be sufficiently enabled to contradict those who set up to vindicate the Queen and credit Mars solemn protestations of his being nowayes accessory therto: This at once woud knock him down in the opinion of all mankind, and leave him no credite whatsoever.

“When Mr. Frazer was so largely recommended, it was from a conviction of his being a perfectly honest loyall subject fit for the business he was proposed to manage, and I apprehend the informers of the charge against him must have too narrow a way of thinking, that reckon it a crime to be perhaps seen walking in the streets with people of all compactions. A man of fixed principle (such as I suppose his and many others may be stiled after the testimonys they have given) may retain a personall regard for a freind, and nowayes concurr with him in dissagreeable measures; and the raising jealousies and suspicions of people on matters of no moment and grounds not well founded, is far from being a service to the King, and woud appear to arise more from personall picques and veivs of those who observe and report such triffls than a sincere weldigested design to advance the service of the common cause. One of the good effects proposed by the Kings naming a set of trustees was that such titlctatlers woud be discouraged, and I am perswaded Lord Inverness has too much good sense and experience of the world to allow such any credit with him.

“I thank you heartily for the caution you gave me, in your letter to

John Corsar, concerning my trusting those that by themselves or at least their correspondents may entrap me, but on reflection I cant guess whom you point at; Ime none of these stingy folks that are affraid to speak above their breath but in a corner, but I endeavour withall, to have dealings with none but people of charactar, and hitherto with so much caution that I have escaped all inconveniencies, tho perhaps as many traps have been laid for me as most men these 20 years bypast: and I am as much at a loss to know the reason of your particularly recommending my acquainting 2 noble Lords with certain particulars. If any complaints have been made that I either enhanced or took too much on my self, I wish and woud have expected so much from your freindship as that youd have been more particular in the charge, and I belive I coud very easily justifie myself; but as that matter stands, I need only say I never concealled any advices or directions I received, but I at the same time acquainted the King of my reasons, which he never yet dissapproved of, nor did I ever write as my own opinion but I expresslie stated it as such. I know well enuff' their are some few displeased that I vigorouslie opposed them-in some steps that I and others reckoned highlie prejudiciall to the Kings service, and also that I was not communicative to them in some matters wherin I was well apprized they were byassd by veivs of ther own, and in this I had likewise the approbation of others, and informed the King; and if any of these gentlemen have insinuated any such things, I hope they dont keep in generalls, and I am not in the least affraid of giving a satisfactory answer to every article they charge me with. I mention this, because I see faction and private designs predomine so much in all interests that I have no reason to hope escaping the malice therof more than other people, and that I can imagine no reason for your warning me more on this than former occasions, unless some such thing had been suggested to you, and Ime sure I answered your intentions in the present matter; for after having communicated all I was entrusted with to such of the trustees as were in town, I got a meeting of the Bishops Norrie, Miller, Freebair, and Cant (the rest being all in the country) to whom I delivered the Kings letters, which they received with all the dutifull respect imaginable, heartily approved of the scheme the King had laid down, and promised to consecrate Mr. Gillane with all due expedition, and to give exact conformity to all the severall particulars the King required of them, (which by the bye such of the trustees as I have yet met with much approve of likewise) and I have this day received a letter from these 4 Bishops, desiring me to transmit to His Majestie their great sense of his care and concern for the welfare of the Church and ane assurance of their stedfast loyall adherence to his service and submission to his

orders and directions in all matters. This is the substance of a letter too long to be inserted in this, which they hope you will favourably represent to the King.

“I’m glad you’ve fallen on a way for letters to go by Burdeaux, but I am equally sorry you’ve changed Dundas: what Strachan has writ to you on this subject is without peradventure fact, and as we here will pay the first tune to the piper if matters don’t answer expectation, tis but reasonable we be satisfied in our security, and therefore we can’t but desire that such letters as come by Holland may be directed to Dundas’s care as formerly; for as he has dealt long in that business and understands it perfectly, we look on him here as a very honest trustie man: he’s soon to return from hence to Rotterdam wher he’ll reside more closely than of late years, tho in his absence his son performs his part with great care and equall success. For some months after this we’ll have frequent occasions to Burdeaux, and as matters cast up, you shall hear from Yours.”

Follows a copy of above mentioned letter signed by Bishops Miller, Cant, Freebairn and Norrie.

“Edinburgh, 7 September 1726.

“Much Honoured Sir,—Wee do by this earnestly intreat you be pleased to shew our great patron, that we cannot express how sensible we are of his goodness in giving such assurances of his favour and of his concern for us and our Society, and of the great honour he has put on us in signifying his pleasure to us and laying his commands upon us by his letters of the 20 of July 1726, which, God willing, we shall most punctually obey, and we doubt not but all of our order will do so too. And as we have been carefull hitherto, so we will always be to approve ourselves his most faithfull servants, and we will never cease to pray for all good things to him; and the letting him know this will be a singular obligation put upon Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“2d October 1726.

“Sir,—In the first letter I wrot to you after the Duke of Hamilton returned this last summer to Scotland, I gave you such an account of him as I believe would be agreeable to you, and indeed I said nothing then but what I thought was to be depended on; but very soon thereafter I saw that I was like to be mistaken, for he persisted in his old course of life and shewd no appearance of the least application to any thing that was serious: this your friends regrated, but had no apprehension of his entering into the service or measures of the Government, which

can scarce now be doubted when favours are conferrd upon him. He's made a Knight of St. Andrew, and tis said hes to be a lord of the bedchamber and has assurances of being brought into the House of Lords nixt winter; and I have unquestionable authority that when hes amongst his comrades, he's full of the hopes of getting a regiment of dragoons and has a promise of a troop of horse to Lord William and of a commission in the Guards to. his other brother Lord Ann. I make no question but hel privately assure your freinds that notwithstanding of all these things he'l remain firm to you and be readie to serve you when the stroke's to be struck, and which I will be far from insinuating may not accordngly happen; but at the same time tis plain and certain that he can be of no use in propogating above board severall measures that may be necessary for spiriting up the people and tending in the issue towards your service, which is no small loss, as one of his rank is essentially necessary on such occasions, and is what your freinds expected from him, end no other that I can think of fit for it. Under this state your freinds will be at the greatest loss to know how to behave towards him: On the one hand, they cannot but be shy in being communicative with one that did not impart to them any thing less or more of these measures till they were publicly known; and on the other hand, they woud not give him reason to justifie his abandoning your interest intirely, if so be, notwithstanding this (which I cant but reckon under the best construction a very false step) he pretend that he designd to act otherwayes. In this ticklish delemma wee know not what to think or do, which can only be regulated by your directions; and till wee have them I shall do my best to keep out of his way, for Ime affraid the regard I have for his fathers memory will get the better of my patience and hinder me from dissembling with one that acts so poor a part.

"I have been inquiring pritty narrowlie into Mr. Andrews charactar, and tis such that I cant enuff admire who coud recommend to you a person that has not one qualification fit for the affair hes entrusted with: In short the sooner yoxi withdraw all your business out of his hands the better, and in the interim I wish to God no mischeif happen. I have concerted with William Dundass (who's the bearer of this to Holland) a probable method of conveying letters by way of London, when thcers no immediate occasion of sending them directly hither, but cannot say tis compleated till I get a return to a letter sent to a freind at London, that I design shall have a hand in it.

"I had very lately 2 letters from Allan Cameron, to whom I cant possibly write by this occasion; but it may be for your satisfaction to know that his was the first and only account I heard of ane application

to you from hence against or in favors of any employd by you. I wish Cameron for the future woud write no more by the common post, or he'l certainly bring some of us his freinds into trouble.

"I have only to add that I am in the sincerest most respectfull manner Yours.

Letter\* from the King.

"August 24, 1726.

"I received some posts ago your letter of the 22 of May. If you belived by mine of the 22d of March that what I then sent was designd to be publishd, either you have mistakn me or I have expressd myself wrong, for I only meant its being communicated to those in whose hands it woud be secure.

"Had I not observed the imprudent manner with which the proposall mentioned in your last was treated by some of the Queens advisers, to whom it seems it was communicated, I shoud have been surprised at what you tell me of this papers being handed about with the authors name affixt to it, and tho I coud not prevent the publishing of it, because it *was* sent directly from Paris to the convent, yet it ought to show my freinds how cautious they ought to be in communicating to those who are either uncapable of secresie or prefer their passion and resentment to it; and indeed one might reasonably have expected that the persons name woud have been conceald, tho I certainly never shoud have put it to the tryall.

"Affairs abroad have not much changed their appearance of late; wee are impatient to hear what the behavior of the English fleet may be; if they commit any hostilitys, declarations may soon follow upon it on all sides, and I may draw great advantage from them, for I dont want freinds that are well disposed.

"I design, after the heats are over, to go for a few months to Bologna, and if that journey shoud occasion any refinements, I desire you won't give any credite to them, since you may be sure that before I make a longer journey, which I am very impatient to do, you shall have warning of it.

"Prince Henry has been out of order, but is well again, as I hope this shall find you. I am Yours.",

What is said in this letter does not remove the doubt as to the author of propaling this proposall: for tho it may be true that a copy of it was

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\* Received November 8, 1726.

sent directlie to the Queen, and that she and her freinds woud not encourage or hearken to a proposall which kept Inverness in the Kings service (which no doubt Lord Orrery proposed, to allure the King to come into a thorow reconciliation with the Queen), it is not to be imagined she woud propale it, togethar with the author, because he was too considerable a man of the Torie partie to expose to such hazard, and even a proposall from him, wherin any regard was shown to Inverness, did not make for her, who all alongst appealld to the Kings best freinds and valued her cause in that they were convinced she had been ill used; and therefore it is still probable (as I observed at the close of that letter of mine May 22d to which this is a return) that the discovery came from Inverness, who thought it woud raise his reputation and do him service, which he valued at a higher rate than his masters interest or the safty of the noble Lord, who he knew only favourd him at this juncture, to bring about a matter he (Inverness) was not fond of. I have added these and the forgoing observations on this particular, because I had good reason to suspect Inverness in what afterwards fell out as to myself, and that in this fact the odds lyes against him, that he was the person who made publick this secret transaction and therby exposed a person of the first rank and merite to great danger.

In some of my preceeding letters I mentiond the respectfull reception which 4 of the Bishops, viz, Miller, Cant, Freebairn and Norrie gave to the Kings 2 letters in favors of Mr. Gillane and directing the course they were to follow in the future election of Bishops, and appointing such to have the inspection of any particular district, which was wisely designd by the King to prevent such disputes as had arisen in the shire of Angus: But this good temper did not long subsist, and as this very affair was attended with many extraordinary consequences, it will be expedient to narrate it fully.—In order therto I must call to mind that at this time the peace and harmony of the Church was much obstructed by 2 opposite factions, that of those who endeavoured to restore some antient ussages (as they calld them) such as the mixture in the Holy Eucharist, prayers for the dead &c. who at the same time asserted the right and power of the presbiters with concent of the populace to elect ther Bishops without any dependance on the King or Colledge of Bishops; and that of the Colledge who were against all innovations in the canons and ceremonies of the Church as they were established and practised before the Revolution 1688, and thought it their duty and interest to live in a good understanding with the Crown, by leaving the King (as far as possible) the excercise of those rights, particularly

with respect to the naming of Bishops, that were vested in him by the laws of the land. This diversity of opinions and these different views were carried on to the greatest height and with the greatest heat by both clergy and laity, as they stood severally affected.

At the head of the first was Bishop Gadderer and Dr. Rattary of Craighall, supported by Lord Panmure in so far as he favoured the last out of private picque to Norrie and that he might raise and be at the head of a party opposite to the Earl of Strathmore, whose power and interest in Angus he much envied: To this side also the Lord Dun and Mr. Carnagy of Boisack (notwithstanding his solemn protestations of the contrary in his commissions by me and his letter to the King) and most of the Duke of Mars friends did adhere, some few out of regard to those usages and others to thwart the Kings measures during Inverness ministry: These private passions and party views prevailed so far over men of sense, who pretended great honor and zeal for the King in other matters, as to make steps directly inconsistent with their avowed professions and principles of loyalty, and which in the event proved very prejudicial to the Kings affairs and the general interest.

The Colledge again were supported by most of all the Kings trustees, who plainly saw what bad constructions the common enemy put upon such innovations in the worship &c. of the Church, and judged it highly just and reasonable to maintain the superiority and authority of the Colledge together with the rights of the Crown, as the most effectual way to prevent divisions and preserve peace and unity. On this side of the question, especially against the usages, Miller was the most zealous and violent; he often pressed the Colledge to proceed with ecclesiastick censures against Gadderer, Rattary and all the presbiters that did not submit to Norrie; of these he could not speak with the common rules of decency and good manners, and he bitterly exclaimed against the Bishop of Edinburghs pretending to metropolitanical powers as vicar general of St. Andrews during the vacancy of that see.

He was of a hot turbulent temper, ambitious, proud and positive, and withall was but meanly endowed with learning, prudence or discretion: Of a long time he aimed at having the inspection of the shire of Fife, as a step towards his being promoted to the archepiscopall chair of St. Andrews, in which shire that metropolis is situated: but as the far better as well as more numerous part thereof declared a dislike to him, he at last turned his thoughts on succeeding Fullarton in the see of Edinburgh, who, being mightily decayed both in body and mind, could not hold long out; and with this view Miller was at great pains to gain the favor and friendship of the presbiters of Edinburgh, and

succeeded to his mind with a certain set whose life and conversation rendered them very contemptible: These he skreend, and prevented the censures often design'd against them on account of their marrying people irregularly (to the great scandall and reproach of the order) and indecent practices laid to their charge. Miller having to these communicate what was in agitation about Gillane, they concluded it was with a view of his succeeding Fullarton: Miller could not bear the thoughts of this, and his partisans apprehended Gillane would be too strict in his discipline, and so they resolved to leave no stone unturned to prevent his consecration. In order thereto Miller waited upon Freebairn and told him that his conscience had not been at rest since the time (that was 2 or 3 days ago) that he had given up the rights of the Church by the answer which was made to the Kings desire in favor of Gillane, and he earnestly recommended his concurrence with him in retracting it. Freebairn answered that as he believed the promotion of one of so much merit was a service to the Church, he had done nothing with regard to the King but what was his duty, and he exhorted Miller to lay aside such thoughts, which could not fail to occasion divisions in the Church and give the King and all his good subjects a bad impression of the loyalty of all who advanced such tenets. Miller perceiving he could gain no ground on the other, resolved on a bolder step; he drew or caused another to draw up a remonstrance to the Colledge against consecrating Gillane, which was sign'd by somewhat above 20 of the presbiters of Edinburgh, tho some of them afterwards dilated their names or sign'd a recantation, declaring they had been drawn into it from giving credit to some assertions of Mr. William Cockburn and Mr. Patrick Midelton (2 drunken scandalous presbiters) which on examination they found to be false. The signers of this paper were, the set I formerlie described; to these were added a parcell of hotthead young men, and a few of some charactar, particularly Mr. Robert Keith who secretly grudg'd that Gillane, tho a person of good age, that is above 60, yet but lately admitted into holy orders, should step over them his seniors.

This remonstrance was full of treason, falshootls and ill manners: it began by representing the encroachments made on the powrs and rights of the Church since the Reformation; it earnestly exhorted and required the Colledge to lay hold on this happy occasion for regaining what was lost, now that the Crown was not in a condition to maintain them; (this was a fine specimen of these gentlemens loyal tie and generosity to the King and of their sentiments of the Revolution which gave rise to this happy occasion as they term'd it) it accused the King of having broke the promise they alledged he had made of not

recommending any to the episcopall chair without the praevious advice of the Colledge; it containd their dissatisfaction with Gillanescharacter and qualifications, reserving the particular grounds therof in petto to another occasion.

When they did communicate their design and shewd this paper to Bishop Duncan, he honestly and plainly told them that if they presented it to the Colledge, out of regard to them hed throw it into the fire, that it might not in aftertimes appear in judgement against them: He told them they acted a most seditious unwarrantable part, with respect to their civill and ecclesiastick superiors: that as Gillane was to be consecrated a Bishop at large and not to any particular diocess, they the presbiters of Edinburgh had no immediat concern in it more than those of any other diocess, and that this practice was a precedent for destroying all order and government in the Church and directly inconsistent with that loyaltie which had hitherto been the glory of the Scots Church.

These furiosi, perceiving the Colledge woud give no encouragement to such factious proceedings, did not think it adviseable to present their remonstrance, but being highlie enraged, they dispersed themselves, and in all companys openlie lamented the deplorable state of the Church; and hoping that their publishing the story woud deterr the Colledge from consecrating Gillane least the civill goverment woud resent it, they publickly told that the King had sent a *conge de lire* for electing Gillane, and out of downright malice named me to be the person to whom it was sent and who presented it to the Colledge. Then they endeavoured to move the compassion of the layety, by representing the sad state of the Church when the King, at such a distance, could not be apprized of the characters and qualifications of the persons whom he thus obtruded upon the Church: And what, said they, was to be expected, if he were on the throne, who acted so arbitrarily in his present situation? In short they spoke with the utmost malice and in the most unmannerly terms of the King and all that opposed them: nay one of their ringleaders, Mr. P. Midelton, was heard say that if Gillane was consecrate, he d make some heads hop; and certain it is that he or some of his gang did discover to the Goverment the canall by which the corrispondence twixt the King and his freinds was carried on, which gave rise and paved the way for intercepting the letters I will afterwards mention.

Whilst this affair was thus tossd about, I had a conference with Mr. Keith, one that had the best character of any that concurrd in these measures, and having been once well acquainted with him I took the libertie to tell him I was much surprised to find his name at a paper so

sedition false and unmannerlie: that it containd what was plain treason in the sense of the laws in force before the abolishing of Episcopacy, and he must either abandon his pretended principles or stand guiltie of treason *in foro conscientia*: that the starting such questions and disputes was very unseasonable, as it could not fail to divide the party and at the same time give the King and all mankind a strange impression of an order of men who pretended to suffer for their loyalty and yet acted a part so diametrically opposite thereto, and withall so ungenerous, as was the prosecuting at this juncture measures that none would dare own, were the King on the throne: that they injured the King much in saying he had broke his promise, or that Gillane was only recommended by me, for that Gillane was recommended by so many, both clergy and laity, as justified my making the proposall and His Majesties approving and giving directions in it; and supposing, as they averred, that I alone had recommended him, if they had no personall objection to him, I had the vanity to think I deserved better usage from the Episcopall clergy whose interest I had never forsaken: I concluded with my earnest intreatie that he should use his interest to preserve peace and unity and not fly so unreasonably in the Kings face, and I added that whereas I knew they were jealous of a design to promote Gillane to the see of Edinburgh, as I knew the Kings sentiments in the disposall of that vacancie when it should happen, I could assure him that His Majestie would by no means think of advancing him or any man, but with the previous advice and approbation of the Colledge and the presbiters of that diocese, and he should have what further security he could reasonably demand on that article, and consequently it would be altogether owing to themselves if it did not go as they had a mind. He answered that it was certain the State had made great encroachments on the Church, and he would not say but there were some inconveniencies in attempting to recover them at this juncture, yet they could not in conscience sit altogether silent: and he had authority to make 2 propositions for peace sake, either that the whole affair should be referred to the Lord Dun and Mr. James Graham, or that another (of an unquestionable character) whom his friends would name, should be consecrated alongst with Gillane. I replied with indignation that the King was not reduced quite so low as to make a reference or composition with a parcel of little factious preists in the diocess of Edinburgh, who as they were serving the Covenanted cause should change their black gowns into brown cloaks, and I did not doubt they would be received into the Godly party, unless ecclesiastick had the same fate with state traitors, in being despised by those they served.

During the hurlyburly all the Bishops, except Miller and Gadderer, resolved and prepared to consecrate Gillane, and in order therto they acquainted the Bishop of Edinburgh (then at his countrie house in the Highlands) of what had hapned, and he in a letter signifyd his approbation, out of regard to the Kings will and Gillanes personall merit: but when it came to be put in execution, it was judged proper to delay it, ther being too good grounds to fear the factious clergy woud have the impudence to accuse the Colledge to the Government; and as ther was ane appearance of war and in that case some hopes that something woud be undertakn in favors of the King, it was not thought fit to give the Government any handle to fall upon his freinds. But tho Gillanes consecration was putt off, it was judged expedient to consecrate Masters Ochterlony and Ross, 2 gentlemen that the Colledge had several years ago recommended and the King had approvd of; for Falconer having dyed a year or 2 ago, and Norrie being at this time so ill that his life was despaird, (and he accordingly dyed soon thereafter,) it was necessary<sup>1</sup> that these 2 shoud be promoted and have the inspection of Angus and Fife. Miller had formerly often proposed that these 2 shoud be consecrated, and it was hoped he woud have concurrd, but when spoke of now to him, he possitively refused and plainly shewd that he was now engaged on measures which he reckond these two woud oppose. Ther were at this time in toun only Bishops Duncan and Freebairn and as a 3d (according to the Canons) is necessary, Mr. Paterson of Prestonhall prevaild with Cant to concurr with the other 2, and accordingly Ross and Ochterlony were consecrated; but nixt day, before the diaplooma was got readie, Millar and some of his crew got access to Cant, and prevailing with him to alter his sentiments, he refused to sign it; however as that did not invalidate the consecration, they were ownd and respected as Bishops by all except those of the Faction: and this stratagem only manifested to what extremitys passion and envy will drive even the holy tribe, and that Cant was become perfectly dozed and superannuate. This consecration highly enraged the Faction; it was carryed on so secretly they did not suspect any such thing till it was over, and they saw that the party in the Colledge which opposed their veiws, was so much strengthened, that they had no hopes of making ane interest there.

Whilst this set of the clergy were acting so very odd a part, the Government (tho well enuff apprized of all that past) took no notice therof; and when application was made by some zealous Prisbiterians to the Earl of Hay (then in Scotland) that he woud move the ministers of state to take notice of such bold barefaced exercises of the Episcopall office, he told them that they judged quite wrong, for that

the Episcopall party were in the high way of undoing themselves if let alone and sufferd to go on. But that which cheiflie moved them to overlook this affair, was the hopes of discovering matters of greater moment, now that they knew the persons and canall by which the Kings corrispondence was Carried on; for as at this time ther was a great prospect of war, they did not question but some attempts woud be made for the King, and measures in order therto be proposed and concerted\* and any discovery of such, practices woud be of important ser» vice to the Government. With this veiw they laid down the proper measures for intercepting the corrispondence, and succeeded so well that the first letters Which came to me were, in February 1727, seized at Leith. Mr. William Dundas delivered them at Rotterdam to one Trail, master of a ship bound for Leith; and tho both these affirm that this was done privatly by themselves and kept secret, yet the Government, being some way or other apprized, had, before the ships arrival at her port, sent orders to seize and search her, which being done, a packet was found addressd to John Strahan merchant in Leith, who being therupon apprehended, and the packet sent up by ane express to London, orders came from thence to send him up guarded by a partie of dragoons. Before this was executed, my name was mentiond by evry body as the person to whom that packet was designd, and connecting this with the story formerlie propagated by the Episcopall clergy, it was commonly reported that the packet containd a *conge de lire* to elect Gillane a bishop. Before Strahan set out he was fully instructed how to behave, and made sure, that if he stood his ground with a stiff constant denyall that he knew any thing of the matter, he coud not possibly be reachd in law; the Earls of Kincardine and Dondonald and I supplyd him with mony, assuring him that if he behaved like a man of sense and honestie, his family shoud be supported, as he himself woud also gain great honor and credit; he seemd to understand fully what part he was to act and gave solemn assurances of doing it. During this time, as Mr. Corsars name and mine were in all places mentiond as concernd in this affair, wee had reason to apprehend the storni woud at last light on us; and indeed few dayes past in which some story was not set agoing about me, which put us both on the watch, so that I was instantly informd of the arrivall at Edinburgh of a messenger, who, after examining Strahan, was dispatchd from London with ane order from Lord Tounshend, secretary of state, to apprehend and carry up Corsar and me prisoners to London. At that time Corsar was in Angus, wher beliving himself safe, he was not sufficiently on his guard and was seized by the messenger, who with some assistants came privately to Dundee and found Corsar sitting with company in a publick-hquse at Glames. Tho

I had not known of the messengers arrival at Edinburgh and his errand, his being sent first to apprehend Corsar was enuff to put me on making my escape; and I dont know if this was not done with that very veiw, my Lord Hay having afterwards affirmd to me that he privately sent such directions to Lord Milton, who executed all his orders that is all state affairs in Scotland, with a design it shoud allarum me so as to get out of the way; for tho the Government was extremly desirous to make some discoverys of the Emperors corrisponding and taking measures with the Jacobites, tho he denyd his having any designs in favors of the King and that in such a way as was litle better than publicly, by his ministers manifesto at London, giving the lye to King George, and that therfore they woud have drove matters to the utmost extremity against me, yet some there were my particular good freinds who did not care to see me in my enimys hands; and hence it was that I had advice givn me of every resolution that was takn in this matter, so that I had time and means sufficient to secure and execute my escape, having employd my freind Robert Gordon at Durham to have a ship in his veiw readie to carry me off' from Sunderland, Sheilds or any neighbouring port; and accordingly I sett out disguised from my own house, on Friday 17 March 1727, to Stoba in Tweedale wher I remaind with Mr. George Kinnaird till Sunday, that my house was surrounded by a party of foot soldiers and searchd for me and papers relating to the Government, on which I instantly made the best of my way thro the wild uninhabited moors on the Borders, to Durham, continuing very well and safe in ane honest gentlemans house, some miles distance from thence, till the wind shoud prove fair, which hapning on the 8th of Aprile, I then went aboard and arrived safe at Dort on the 15th. Whilst I was in the bishoprick of Durham, Corsar past by under a strong guard; my freind Gordon saw and spoke to him, and he seemd then very heartie and resolute; how he and Strahan behaved will be afterwards related.

About the boginning of May 1727 dyed Mr. Fullarton bishop of Edinburgh, on which the presbiters (being summond by Mr. Andrew Lumisdane whom the late Bishop had authorized to call a meeting of his presbiters on any emergencie during his absence) did soon meet, and in a noisie disorderly manner made choise of Bishop Miller to fill the vacant chair; he was supported in this by Rattary and his partie, for tho these 2 were formerly at great odds, yet on Ross and Ochterlonys promotion they made up matters, and Miller concurrd in consecrating Rattary a bishop, on condition he shoud have his assistance to be elected to the see of Edinburgh when it shoud be vacant. The other bishops opposed Miller and woud gladly have delayd the election till

they had known the Kings pleasure; but the experience of my fate made them affraid to suggest it publicly, so they were out voted by a small majority. Nevertheless the Colledge refused to confirm the election, and appointed Bishop Freebairn to superintend the diocess in the interim: and thus they continued divided into factions, some owning Miller and some Freebairn. "The factious Bishops (this may appear ane harsh epithet, but when I reflect how litle respect they shewed to the King, and their contempt of the authority of the Coledge of Bishops, I do not know one more proper wherwithall to distinguish them from the other prelates who were henceforth called the Coledge Bishops) these Bishops I say, to strengthen their partie, proceeded to consecrate one Mr. Dunbar (a disciple of Gadderars in the north) and Mr. Keth a presbiter of Edinburgh; but whither these promotions were one or both at or about this time, or not for sometime afterwards when Miller dyed, I dont exactly know, I being then abroad; and the chronology of this circumstance is of no moment, seing, be it sooner or later, they did not think themselves bound to ask after the Kings approbation; The independence of the Church was now in all their mouths, and indeed they shewd no regard for any powers civill or ecclesiastick, but in so far as they were on their side of the question. This was highlie displeasing to a great many nay the far greater part of the layety, many of whom told plainly, that as they had ventured their lives for the King, they could not countenance a set of men who advanced maxims and pursued measures tending directly to lop off several valuable branches of the royall prerogative; and so offended were the managers of the most considerable Episcopall meeting-house in Edinburgh, that they dismisst Bishop Cant and Mr. Patrick Midelton from being pastors therof. The first deserved some pity, in regard he was a person highlie valuable on account of his integrity, learning and zeall, and that the part he acted was only to be ascribed to the decay of his judgement and being easily imposed upon in his advanced age; but as the other was a factious, arrogant creature and guilty of many irregular undecent actions, he richly merited the disgrace he met with. The Colledge of Bishops judged it now proper to proceed to the consecration of Gillane, and it were much to be wishd they had stopt there and not at the same time promoted another presbiter of Edinburgh, Mr. Ranken; for as one of their objections against Rattary &c. was that it was done without the Kings knowledge, it was a firm foundation to stand on, but this step of thers did take it quite off, tho for their justification they offered that it was done by the particular express direction of Mr. Graham and Hay, 2 of the Kings trustees, who believing it for the service of the Church, advised the measure. And the opposite set alledged the authority and

approbation of Lord Panmure (another of the trustees) and that the service of the Church required also what they had done; which, like many texts in Scripture, is often produced to justify contradictions and serve by veils.

In this disorderly state continued the Church from the time of Millers election till that of his death, which hapned a few months thereafter and was far from healing the breach, for the presbitere being immediatly conveend, they by a majority made choice of Mr. Andrew Lumsdane. The Colledge Bishops opposed him likewise, and being overruled, tho they ownd him to be bishop elect, they refused to concur in his consecration or to confirm the election, continuing the superintendencie with Bishop Freebairn, so that the shisism and divisions continued nay encreased daylie. What other reasons moved the Colledge to stand out, besides that they thought it was decent and convenient to have the Kings approbation before the see of Edinburgh was supplyd (for by this time they were sensible of the wrong step they had takn in advancing Ranken) I cannot distinctly tell, and so I wont pretend to assign any; but this I may venture to say of both sides, that the rancor was become so strong, each was inclinable to oppose what the other advanced. Having entered on the affairs of the Church I thought it best to continue a short sketch therof, without interrupting them and other subjects by inserting them according to the times they severally occurrd; and I have only to add that the authors and promoters of this unhappy division have much to answer for, as it stopt the progress of the Church interest; it being certain that whilst unity and harmony continued, it daylie gaind ground, and the general interest of the good cause suflerd not a litle, as it occasiond heats and differences amongst a great many well affected to both Church and State, and gave the first rise to these discoverys which enabled the Goverment to find out and interrupt the course of the Kings correspondence with his freinds, many of whom were exposed at the same time to great danger, as will afterwards appear.

Nixt day after I got to Rotterdam I writ to Lord Inverness a letter, dated 28 Aprile new style (as are all letters after this) desiring him to acquaint the King of my arrivall there and that I waited for his commands ere I took any resolution how to dispose of myself; and hearing a few dayes afterwards that Lord was removed from the Kings person, I writ 2 other letters to the King himself, bearing date the 6th and the 20th of May, least that which I writ to Inverness did not come duely into the Kings hands. In these to the King I repeated what I had said to the other, and gave him likewise a short account of the Episcopall clergys behavior, mentiond something of Strahans

conduct, and of a method I had concerted with Robert Gordon for transmitting letters from Holland by ships to certain persons he pitched on in Stockton, Sunderland and Sheilds (as a surer method than by way of Leith) who d take care to. forward them to him at Durham, as be woud to the persons they were designd for in Scotland. And wheras by my absence and my having laid all the cyphers out of the way, tIver was no body impowerd or in a capacity to corrispond with the King, I proposed the Earl of Dundonald as the fittest I knew to be employd in that station, and that a cypher shoud be accordingly sent to him. Of these letters I kcept no copy, but what I have mentiond is I think the sum of what they containd.

I staid but a few dayes in Rotterdam, and even kept very private whilst there, for I coud have no security against the States delivering me up if required, as I had reason to belive they woud be readie to oblige the British Government at that juncture, in any thing they demanded: on the same consideration my Lord North and Gray was a very litle before advised to retire out the 7 provinces, and I likewise made the best of my way to the Emperors dominions, and came to Antwerp on the 30 of Aprile, wher I remaind till the 12 of May, that I went to Brussells on a message from Lord North and Gray, wher I had the honor of a long conference with him the evening before he set out for Bollognia. The King in a letter to me, which will come in its due place, meutions that praevious to this Lords arrivall at his Court, he had procured him a commission in the King of Spains service; wficther this Lord had before his setting out from Flanders askd this favor from the King with a veiw of having therby a handsome excuse of leaving or rather not entering into His Majesties service in case he did not find matters like to answer his expectations, or that Inverness knowing or but suspecting this Lords errand, put the King on procuring this commission for him as a . good expedient to remove him, which of these I say was truely the case I cant tell; but as His Lordship was my old acquaintance and very free at this time with me in all things but the change of his religion, he plainly told me he was to reside with the King and take upon him the management of his affairs now that Inverness was removed, and he prcssd me to *go* alongst With him, telling me that tho he was well enuffInstructed in what related to England and Englishmen, he was a perfect stranger to the affairs of Scotland and the charactars of Scotsmen, but that if I woud go alongst and take that part on me, he was sure wee woud agree very well, as wee both aimd at the Kings service and had no by veiws. I replyd that I did not think it fit for me to move till I had the Kings orders, and besides, that I saw no need of my presence, for the

affairs of Scotland could be managed without any difficulty, the King himself being so well apprized thereof that he could inform him sufficiently: that I did indeed believe we would not differ, as we had both the same honest designs and I the greatest deference for His Lordship; but as the Kings court had hitherto been miserably divided into factions and that the English complained none but Scotsmen had been employed about him, I was of opinion that His Lordship should alone have the direction of all business under the King; and as this would please his countrymen, I did take on me to affirm he would be very acceptable to mine, who, from a zeal for the Kings service wished heartily to see such as His Lordship at the head of affairs; however if after he conferred with His Majesty my attendance was judged, necessary, I should be ready to set out on the first call: after which I gave him a full account of the state of the Kings affairs in Scotland.

I cannot with any certainty assign the reason of this Lords leaving the King in a few days, though I presume it may be accounted for thus. As His Lordship had no reason to doubt but that he was to have the first direction of all the Kings affairs, he soon after his arrival at JBollognia perceived that Inverness was virtually though not personally present; that as his removal was to gratify the Queens friends and make way for her returning to the King, it was too plain that this Lords interest with His Majesty was as well fixed as ever, and consequently reason to expect that he would recall him ere long, and that during his absence, be it long or short, he would still be entrusted by and have influence with the King, which was not a little confirmed by Mr. Graham (now Sir John) a creature of Inverness being immediately, on the others removal, declared Secretary of State, with a view certainly of being the channel of keeping up and carrying on that Lords interest and correspondence with the King; nay this step looked as if it was so hastily filled up, least Lord North and Gray should, finding it vacant, expect it at his arrival, whereas this was almost as much as to say they had no mind for his company. Lord North and Gray finding affairs in this situation and being unwilling to return back from whence he came, least his enemies should triumph over his disappointment, and the circumstances of his estate not allowing him to live abroad or even I believe at home as formerly according to his rank, he resolved to embrace the opportunity of entering into the King of Spains service; and by this prudent step he did the King good service, as it contributed to conceal the unpolitick maxims and measures which the King pursued, and at the same time answered His Lordships private ends, at least it was the best 2d hand game he could play.

Having mentioned Lord Inverness's removal, it will be fit to take

notice that the accounts therof were heard with universall joy by all who wishd the King well. The particulars how and in what manner this was brought about I cant tell, and in generall tis enuff to know, that he having once attaind a full mastery (if I may use that expression) of the Kings good opinion his will and inclinations, did order and dispose of all matters publick and private in His Majesties family as he and his Lady did think fit, and therin he wanted either the honestie or the sense to know and act for his masters interest. To support and continue this unaccountable ascendance over the King, he too succesfully represented the Queen and every person that did not truckle to him, as factious and undutifull towards His Majestie; and as it is commonly observed that such as are under misfortunes appear more jealous of their authority and more lyable to take exceptions than others of the same rank in a state of prosperity, the King was too readie to give ear to the insinuations that the murmurings against this he and she favourites proceeded from a want of due regard to himself, which by degrees sourd his temper towards the Queen and raised in him suspicions of his best freinds and most faithfull old servants, whilst at the same time the 2 Invernesses, and a few litle creatures who flatterd them, became so exceeding insolent (the particulars out of respect to the King who sufferd them I forbear to mention) that the Queen was forced to retire to a convent; and of his subjects, who had served him long and faithfully and lost their estates in his service, some-did of themselves and others were commanded to leave his Court. This extroordinary conduct was a terrible stroke to the Kings affairs, as it lessend his charactar in the judgement of freinds and foes and highly displeasd a good many princes nearlie related to the Queen.

In the proceeding pages is to be found what the King offerd in his letters for his justification and what was represented to him on this subject; and indeed the proofs of these peoples insolence and folly being so strong and the clamor against the King so, universall, his excuses were litle credited (being in truth founded on false representations that were made to him of facts and articles charged upon Inverness and his associates) and he was at length under a necessity of removing that Lord and his Lady to make way for the Queens returning to his family. How they attaind such credit with the King is hard to be accounted for: the Lady was a mere cocquet tollerably handsome, but withall, prodigiouslie vain and arrogant: it was commonly reported and belived that she was the Kings mistress, and that the Queens jealousie was the cause of the rupture; but I have been often assured by persons on whom I may depend, that whilst

they lived with the King they could observe nothing in him tending that way, and did verily believe there was nothing of that in the matter. Her Lord was a cunning, false, avaricious creature, of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, altogether void of experience in business; and his insolence prevailing often over his little stock of prudence, he did and said many unadvised ridiculous things, that with any other master would soon have stripped him of that credit, which without any merit, at the expense of the King's character and the peace of his family, he maintained in opposition to the remonstrances of several potentates and His Majesty's best friends at home and abroad. The Lord Dunbar, brother to the Lady Inverness, was assumed into a somewhat subaltern share of this ministry, and to say the truth he far surpassed them all in natural and acquired parts, but was withal so prodigiously vain and self-conceited, that there was no bearing his insolence, and he could never have kept in with the other two, but that having formerly gained the ill will of most of the King's friends, he was reduced to the dilemma of either appearing in the 2d or no form at all.

Whilst I remained at Brussels, after the Lord North and Gray's departure, waiting for the King's commands, on the 8th of June I received the following

Letter from the King.

“May 20, 1727.

“I have received and perused your letter of the 28 of April to our friend who, though not here at this time, hath with reason a greater share than ever of my esteem and affection.

“It was a singular satisfaction to me to hear from you, after the concern I had been in on your account of late, though I cannot but be heartily affected when I consider to what difficulties and hardships you are exposed for a reason which will ever engage me, if possible, to increase my sincere friendship for you.

“I send you here enclosed a cypher, and remark what you say as to destroying the former one. I shall be glad to hear particularly from you and how you intend to dispose of yourself: I believe you may be very easy and safe where you design to go, and any letter you send to the Lady to whom I send this will come safe to me: she hath been often employed and trusted in such like matters, and hath behaved with much prudence, and that made me think the safest way to convey this to you was through her canal.

“I have not occasion to say more till I know this is come to your hands. The family here are in good health. I hope you do not doubt my

sincere value and kindness for you.”

A few days after my receiving this letter Mr. Dundas sent me another, of the same date, which came under his cover.

Letter from the King.

“20 May, 1727.

“This is only to inform that I received with great satisfaction the letter to our freind of the 28 Aprile, and that the answer to it ls sent to Brussels to the Lady Mary Rose Howard of Norfolk at the English Dominican Nuns there (addrest for Mr. Brown) who will deliver it to you when ever you call or send for it, by writing to her in your own name, with which you may safely trust her. Postscrip—I was extream glad to hear from you.

You know this hand writing, so I dont sign because it goes by the common post to William Dundas.”

Letter from Lord Dunbar.

“May 20, 1727.

“Sir,—As I have had a most constant and uninterrupted freindship and respect for you ever since the beginning of our old acquaintance to this day, you will I hope easily believe, I remarked the dangers you have been lately exposed to by your zealous labours in the good cause, with anxious concern, and that I rejoice to hear of your arrivall on this side of the sea. I have not written to you for several years having had no call to it in the way of business and judging it improper for roe to trouble and endanger my freinds by a corrispondeuce that coud not be usefittill in proportion to the risque they might run by it; but since this reason subsists no longer as to you, I imbrace with pleasure the first occasion of making ane offer to you of my most humble service in these parts, in the same spirit and with the same sentiments you have formerlie known me for a tract of years, which never can admit of a change: I wish only that the experience I have had in different scenes of life may make me less unwise than you have formerlie known me, but these are tilings are not in our power.

“I shoud be glad to know the situation of your private affairs, of the time you expect to stay abroad and of your scheme for disposing yourself during that while.

“The King and his family are, blissed be God, in most perfect health: his son must be allowd to be every way the finest young gentleman of his age in Europe, which will be I dare eay sufficient to encrease a curiosity which must be Daturall to you on all accounts. I

shall long with impatience to hear from you, and in the mean time be assured that I am Yours.”

I soon perceived that this last freindly letter was writ with a Yeiw of pumping me as to any design or desire I had of repairing to the King, and if I did, to pave the wsty for my entering into measures with the favourites; but as I resolved to take no resolutions till I heard from Lord North and Gray, in my returns to the King and Dunbar, dated 9th of June (of which I kept no cobby) I only in generall terms thanked them both for the concern expressd for me, and gave them such an account of my circumstances that it was easie to be seen I had then no prospect of returning in hast to Britain. I likewise mentioned some things ommitted in my former touching the behavior of the Episcopall’ clergy, and how that His Grace of Hamilton had turnd his cloak to the other shoulder and was so fond of serving King George; that since *he* could not procure any other post in the army, he had solicited and obtaind libertie to serve as a volunteer, or as was confidently reported and I belive truely, as aid de camp to his unkle the Earl of Orkney. As to my being or not being personally with the King, I expressd myself in such a manner, as might show I was not to palm myself on him nor yet to decline it incase he required it, which I belive was agreeable to Dunbar, for he knew me too well, not to forsee I woud not truckle, and for that reason did not secretly wish for my company.

I formerlie mentiond that soon after Invernesses removall Mr. Graham (a young gentleman of good parts and son to Mr. James Graham who was solicer to the late King James, descended from an eminently loyall family) was knighted and declared Secretary of State, and he soon wrote to me the following

Letter from\* Sir John Graham.

“June 4, 1727.

“Sir,—The King does me a very sensible favor in giving me this opportunity of writing to a person for whom I ever had the greatest esteem, and who Ime perswaded very well deserves the good opinion entertaind of him by His Majestie and by all those who are his faithfull freinds.

“His Majestie orders me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th of May and to tell you that having already answered a former letter of yours to Lord Inverness, of the 26 Aprile, he delays

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\* Received 2 July, 1727.

writing to you till he hears from you again.

“Give me leave, sir, to assure you of my respects and to flatter myself of being allowd a share in your freindship, which shall be always highlie valued by him who is with great sincerity Yours.”

To this I writ ane answer, dated 3d July, containing assurance of my regard for Sir John, and hoping that the great freindship ‘twixt our 2 fathers might descend to the sons; and as I wishd him joy of his late preferment, as his freind, I advised him to use his utmost endeavours to bring about a reconciliation of the royal pair, that he could do no better service to his master and the good cause, and it woud likewise be much for his own honor and interest.

Letter\* from the King.

“June 14, 1727.

“Yours of the 20th of May came to me in due time. I hope this will find you easie and unmolested at Aix la Chapple. This goes by Mr. Waters canall, and as long as you are in those parts I think it will be best, and if you shoud remove I suppose you will advertise him how to forward letters to you.

“Our worthy freind Lord North and Gray arrived here last night and will part in a few dayes for Spain, wher at my recommendation he is to be received in the same rank in the army he formerly was. I hope what he will be able to represent of the favorable dispositions will make some impressions there: the good will is certainly not wanting in that Court no more than in that of Vienna, but till the last be engaged in ane open war with the Elector of Hannover, they will not do any thing for me; but you may depend upon it, that they will do evry thing if that happens, and I dont well see how it can be otherwayes at last, for tho they seem desirous of peace, yet the animositys betwixt Hanover and the Emperor have run so high, and it seems so difficult to adjust, in a peaceable manner, the different interests which are now in debate, that a war I think scarce can be at last avoided. This is all I can say at present in relation to publick affairs, and I wish you could find a way of acquainting my Scots freinds with as much, for I dont think it prudent to write ainy thing my self till the storm which drove you abroad is quite over.

“As for my corrispondence with Scotland, the good opinion I already have of Dundonald makes me enter with pleasure into what you mention as to him, and I woud have you as soon as you can with

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\* Received 12 July 1727.

safety send him a copy of the cypher I lately sent you, for the old cyphers must on no account be made any more use of, and by that time you know he has received it, I reckon the Parliament will be up and all will be quiet, and I will then write to him my self, if you find he is willing to enter into a correspondence with me; and in the interim if any thing of importance interveens of which my Scots freinds should be apprized, I shall acquaint you with it that you may transmitt such lights to them in the safest manner. I think the method you propose for corresponding is very good, if you are intirely sure of the prudence and honesty of Gordon at Durham. I have not the least doubt of Dundas, but he is now so noted for being employd in such matters that I dont know if it woud be adviseable to make use of him in them at present; but I leave it to your direction to employ him or any other person you think proper for that purpose. I suppose you will take the proper measures with Gordon that the method in which he sends letters to Scotland may be very sure and unobserved, and I think it woud also be expedient that such letters be delivered to some body appointed by Dundonald rather than to himself, on account of his own safety. As for the expences of such expresses, Gordon has only to send every now and then ane account of them to me and it shall be paid, and the services which he renders in that respect remembered when better dayes come.

“I am heartily sorry ther should be such jars and disputes as you mention amongst those who wish me well in Scotland, and that they should have givn any occasion to the trouble you and others have been brought into. I cant but take very kindly of Mr. Ch. Erskine the regard which you say he shewd to you on this occasion.

“I send you enclosed a paper that has been sent into England and Scotland upon Invernesses leaving this place: I thought it was fit you should see it.

“The family here are in good health. I hope I shall hear often from you wher you are: you know the just value I have for you, and how agreeable it will be to me that you write often and freelie to me.

“P. S. Whatever the originall ground was of the discovery of the letters lately sent to Scotland, it appears to me it must have come from Holland, and it woud be worth the while coming to the bottom of it if possible.”

Coppy of the paper mentiond in the above letter. “Lord Inverness gives himself ane account of the resolution he has takn to absent himself from my person: it is what he has been long pressing me to allow of, but I never woud consent to it, seing how contrary it is to my

honor and interest, tho I have not thought fit at this time to interpose my absolute authority to prevent it. You know the great and good opinion I have long had of that Lord, and it is now with reason augmented by the sacrifice he will make of himself for the good of my family in this conjuncture, which ought to encrease his merit with all honest men, and I hope to have yet soon occasion to show in his person that I am incapable of abandoning my faithfull servants. T-o any no small concern the outward appearance is otherwise at present and will be constantly attended with consequences contrary to the good of my service, but I shall endeavour in so extraordinary a case to manage matters so as that they may be it as Ktle as possible. None of my freinds ought to be under any apprehensions on this occasion as to ther private safety: Lord Inverness fidelity and prudence I can equally depend upon wher ever he is, and I thought it woud be ane ease and satisfaction to them as well as a justice to him to give him, as I have now done, a new and publick mark of my favour, that it might be out of the powr of my enimys to put any wrong construction upon my giving the seals to another. The person I have chose for that is Sir John Grahame, who has served me with much secresie and prudence for a considerable time: He i» alreadie partly in the secret of my affairs, he has no dependance but on my self and will literally execute my orders, which are qualifications which I know will please my true freinds as much as they will undoubtedly make him soon feell the malice of those who will always attack whoever serves me faithfully.”

The contents of this paper did surprize and vex me not a litle; as it was not designd to be a secret, the Queen and her freinds as well as the Kings woud be apprized of it, and I easily foresaw it woud allarum them with the apprehension that the King woud still be influenced by Inverness and probably in time recall him. On enquiry I coud not hear of any to whom it was communicate in Scotland, nor the paper said to be sent by that Lord himself, (perhaps the person entrusted with them, wisely conccald them) but I knew they were sent to James Hamilton at London who carefully publishd them, to His Majesties no small disservice. This litle pert insignificant fellow was the bastard son of ane Irish gentleman, and formerlie, for several years, Strowan Robertsons servant, after which he was employd by the Duke of Hamilton, Mr. Ch. Leslie and others to hand about satires against the Goverment and at last to deliver letters which came from the King under cover to Jo. Meizies, whilst he was his agent at London before 1715. This musroom Inverness pitchd on to be trusted with the Kings affairs at Loudon, and indeed he turnd prodigious vain upon it, even so far as publickly to let it be known; and he pretended to be intirely

trusted by the men of first rank in England, who however were more cautious than to have any dealings with him. As this spark was raised and supported by Inverness, he was very faithful to him; he spread what stories His Lordship directed in his own commendation and to discredit the Queen; nay whilst the King was this summer at Avignon he made a journey thither, pretending he was sent by the heads of his English friends to assure him they so far approved his conduct with regard to the Queen and condemn hers, that if he was on the throne they'd strike off her head, and that severally of the most learned divines of the Church of England were of opinion there was sufficient grounds for a divorce. This bag of lyes and nonsense was nevertheless favorably heard and so far from being a secret, that a person of rank in the Emperors service asked me if it was possible that the King could entertain any such notion as a divorce. Hamilton was much charmed and with a present of 400*l.* sterling sent back to his post at London, whilst at the same time Robert Freebairn the bookseller was raised to the same trust in Scotland. Having once named this Hamilton I thought it best to mention at once all I had to say of him, and I will only observe that the employing such mean rattleheaded persons, gave a great discredit to the Kings affairs and was no small imputation to his ministers that advised him.

For a considerable time by past the posture of affairs in Europe seemed to portend war. A congress was held and lasted some years at Cambray, whither resorted the ambassadors of most of the potentates, but no advance whatsoever was made towards adjusting the claims and differences betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain, nor satisfying the British and Dutch in their complaints against the Ostend company trading to the East Indies; when all of a sudden, to the surprize of all mankind, the Emperor and King of Spain entered into a separate alliance, in consequence whereof the Emperor on certain conditions renounced all pretensions to the Spanish dominions, that is such parts of them as Philip was then possessed of and had not been alienated to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht, and they were mutually to assist and defend each other against all *who* should attack or molest them: to which alliance the Czarina intirely acceded.

This powerful alliance soon produced a counter one twixt the<sup>1</sup> Kings of France and Britain and the States of Holland. The<sup>2</sup> last maintained that the Flemings were bound by former treaties not to carry on a trade to the East Indies, and finding that the Ostend company run away with a great part of that business, insisted to have it dissolved: The British expected that Spain would attempt to recover Gibraltar: and France, that is the Ministers during the Kings minority,

either bribed by British gold or willing to prevent the growing power of the Emperor, entered into measures with the other 2; but as these could make no stand by land against the Vienna alliance, without France, she thereby attained the balance of Europe at her absolute disposal, which Lewis le Grand had long aimed at but could never obtain.

At the forming these alliances, those of Vienna hoped that France would not enter, at least not be heartily, in the quarrel, but when the contrary appeared it stopped there. Nothing at first and for a long time was spoke of but war, and preparations for it were universal: the King of Spain actually laid siege to Gibraltar, the British Parliament raised and hired troops, gave money lavishly and what was more, an unlimited credit to King George, who ordered a good body of foot and dragoons to embark for Flanders; but just when every thing was ready and looked like entering upon action, the ministers of France, Britain, Holland and the Emperor (of whose schemes the death of the Czarina not long before made a vast alteration) agreed at Paris on a congress for settling all claims and disputes, and in order thereto signed certain preliminary articles to which Spain afterwards acceded: in consequence whereof the prosecution of the war ceased.

The particulars of this part of general history and what followed on it being foreign to my purpose I pass over. During these negotiations at several Courts, the King did not omit making proper applications, and there was a general expectation of an attempt in his favors. The King of Spain was bent on the recovery of Gibraltar and personally hated King George, never forgetting how his fleets and projects in Sicily had been destroyed by the British fleet. The Czarina wanted to restore her son in law the Duke of Holstein to his dominions violently possessed by Denmark and supported therein by King George; and the Emperor was uneasy at an Elector and powerful Prince of the Empire being at the same time King of Britain; and in these lights it was manifestly the interest of all these princes to restore the King, if so be it appeared practicable, of which for some time by past he had been endeavouring to convince them, and 'twas said he had good reason to expect something to purpose would have been undertaken for him, had the war gone on. But all these schemes and hopes vanished, at least were suspended, on the signing of the preliminaries, soon after which, King George died at Osnaburg in his way to Hanover on the 2d of June 1727. This death occasioned no alterations of the face of affairs abroad, the several princes going on in the measures concerted before it happened, and his son entered peaceably to the possession of the crown; and indeed his succession could not have fallen out at any time more to his advantage, for the other potentates,

having made such advances towards a peace or at least towards postponing the war, could not in honor, nor had they any scheme prepared to, resist: the British troops were lately much augmented and the Exchequer was full of money, and as there was no view of nor preparations made to oppose his accession to the throne at this time, he was received with universal joy.

The English nation is remarkably fond of novelties; this prince had affected popularity, and being in ill terms with his father and his German ministers, whatever was dissobliging in them, did engratiate him; and the populace formed such notions of his prudent administration, that they seemed quite to forget and drop the bad impression and resentment which they formerly entertained of the unavoidable consequences of being under the dominion of a foreign family. Nay the heads of the Tories, both laity and clergy, seemed to strive with the Whigs in making court, whether only to conceal their other designs, or that they expected to be received into favor, seeing most of those employed in the late reign had used this King George pretty contemptibly, I shant determine, but this step of theirs contributed not a little to raise his character at the commencement of his reign, and their views of being employed soon vanished and then they repented the step they had made.

Before I proceed in my main design, having mentioned King George's death, it will not be reckoned a great digression to give an account of a paper which perhaps is not so well known in Britain as other parts of Europe. About 8 or ten weeks after his death, the copy of a letter was propagated and handed about at most of the Courts of Europe, especially in Germany. An account and copy thereof was, whilst I was at Aix la Chapelle, sent by a gentleman of distinction in Paris to a French officer, and the like from Vienna to General Count Velling governor of Luxemburg, who gave me the copy of it and assured me it was dispersed over all Germany. He added that some people gave no credit to the commission, mentioned in the letter, being either given or executed, believing the whole to be a story forged to vindicate the reputation of the late Electrice of Hannover. However that be, it took with a great many, and be the story true or false, the dispersing it so industriously shewed that the said Electrices friends, some naming her son and others the King of Prussia, carried their resentment high against her husband, by their endeavours to blacken his memory and represent his exit in such a manner.

Follows the Letter in English from the French.

“The circumstances of King George's death are terrible and worth

the knowledge of all our freinds: they are kept as much conceald as possible even in Germany, so probably will be a secret both in England and France. What was told me lately, by a person of superior rank and of great esteem in these parts, I had heard imperfectly before from a Lady of quality. It seems when the late Electress Mas dangerouslie ill of her last sickness she deliverd to a faithfull freind a letter to her husband, upon promise that it shoud be givn into bis own hands. It containd a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard ussage and unjust treatment, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband to appear within the year and day at the Divine tribunall and ther to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter coud not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England or Hannover, it was givn lo him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediatly, sup\* posing it came from Hanover; He was so struck with these unexpected contents and his fatall citation, that his convulsions and appoplexy came fast on him: After being blooded, his mouth turnd awray and they then proposed to drive off to a nearer place than Osnaburg, but he signd twice or thrice with his hand to go on, and that was the only mark of sense he shewed. This is no secret amongst the Catholicks in Germany, but the Protestants hush it up as much they can.”

But now to leave these subjects, I proceed to the answer I sent to the Kings last letter.

Letter to the King.

“28 July 1727.

“Sir,—I had the honor a few dayes ago to receive yours of the 14 of June, and I lost no time in setting about the execution of what you committed to me, for having the occasion of one going to Scotland, on whom I coud depend, I writ to Kincardine to acquaint Dundonald that you had made choise of the latter to be your corrispondent and desired they woud pitch on some proper person to receive such letters as came from you addressd to Mr. Robert Anderson merchant in Dingwall, and give prudent directions to that person about conveying these letters to Dundonald, without letting that person know from or to whom they were, which might be easily enuff contrived: That this being done, they shoud by a sure hand, send ane unsignd letter to William Dundas, acquainting him of the persons name to whose care he shoud transmit such letters as came to his hands addressd as above. If they manage this matter with the caution they may and shoud, and keep the secret to themselves, the inconveniencies that have hapned may be prevented in case of future mistakes. I reckon it will be

convenient that you direct Dundas to send you notice when he receives that letter and the name and address of the person to whom he's to convey the letters, after which you may either send them by his, or Robert Gordon at Burdeaux or any other canall, as you judge proper at any time; for what you observe as to Dundas, with respect to the suspicion he is under, is too true. I can assuredly depend on the prudence and fidelity of Mr. Gordon at Durham; but on 2d thoughts, before any letters pass thorow his canall, I must adjust some things with him as to the charactars of some of the masters of ships that belong to these ports, for I do not think it prudent to act at random in a matter of such weight, and I will write to him very soon on that article. I have sent Mr. Waters notice how to address for me whilst I am in these parts, so that your commands will find me wherever I am. [After this I gave the King a full detail of the manner how the letters were seized, which having already given an account of, I need not transcribe that part of this letter.]

“I wish to God the designd congress may terminate as you expect, but I cant help being affraid that the Emperor is too pacifically inclined, or does not think his present allyances sufficient to enable him to make head against the formidable powrs of the Hanover allyes, which are more united and zealous than he at first expected; and yet at the same time tis scarce possible to imagine that the affairs of Europe can stand long in this posture.

“You have no doubt accounts how matters go in Britain, in which I can give you no light in my present situation, nor do I know what to make of the Tory Lords applying so soon and so much to the new King: if he receives them, I wish it may not cool their zeal for a better cause. I am certainly informed of 2 facts, viz. That Mar complains to some certain persons, of having lately been barbarouslie ill used; (these are his own words, but I cant yet learn the particulars, tho I belive I soon will, and whither he complains particularly of you or of some in your service) and that he has applyed and has hopes of getting liberty to retire home to Alloway, there (as he sayes) to spend the rest of his dayes in privacie: of these particulars I was well assured before King George dyed.

“Tis possitively affirmd by all hands that very soon there will be ane indemnity, and so extensive as to include many hitherto excluded, who probably will take the benefite therof: I reckon it cant fail to comprehend me, and in that case I belive I may return soon home; If I take this resolution I shall timouslie acquaint you therof that you may stop writing further to me, for as I will be narrowlie watchd and the least occasion against me laid hold on, I must act with great caution,

tho at the same time nothing shall deterr me from serving you in any station; but I know you will excuse me, especially seing youl be provided in another corrispondent in all respects more capable to serve you than ever was in my powr. I am.”

The Kings affairs were in the melancholy posture I have represented when he heard of King Georges death. Nixt day thereafter he set out in great hast and privacie for Lorraine, about which very time the Queen, on Invernesses being removed, and by the advice of her freinds, left the convent and was actually on her way from Rome to the King at Bollognia; but the meeting was prevented by his having, before her arrival, set out on that journey which, by all I coud learn of it, was not of such consequence, that for the sake therof, he shoud have delayd the finishing of a reconciliation that was so earnestly desired by all who wishd him well and of such consequence to his charactar and his affairs.

About this time I went from Aix la Chapelle to see my good old freind Colonel Clephan at Leige, not having the least suspicion of the Kings journey, for the news papers mentiond his having set out to meet the Queen, which it seems he gave out as a blind when he departed from Bollognia, and he travelld with such expedition and secresie that for some time no body coud tell wher he was or what he designd. When I came to Leige on the 4 of August, to my great surprise I found Allan Cameron at the inn wher I stopt: on my asking him how the King did, wher he was and what had brought himself there, he told me the King was not very far off, being at that time in Lorraine, that His Majestie had dispatchd couriers to Vienna and Madrid, and himself to Paris, with directions to come nixt to me, and that Mr. Waters told him he enclosed what letters were for me under cover to Dr. Bazin and knew no more of me; so coming to know from the Doctor wher I was, he met with Clephan who told him he expected me in a day or 2 and he judged it better to wait for me there than go on to me at Aix. After which he delivered me this

Letter from the King.

“Nancy, July 22d 1727.

“As soon as I heard of the Elector of Hanovers death I thought it incumbent on me to put myself in a condition of profiting of what might be the consequences of so great ane event, which I was sensible I coud never do at so great a distance as Italy; and that made me take the resolution of leaving that country out of hand and drawing nearer to England, that I might be in a readiness, without loss of time, to profit of any commotion that might ensue in Great Britain or of any

alteration that might happen in the present system of Europe in Hanovers death. At the same time that I left Italy I dispatchd expresses to Vienna, Madrid and Paris, and have already received the return of that to Vienna, by which it is very plain that the Emperor would be very desirous that I could be in a condition of making an attempt without any foreign force, and would not even obstruct my own passing privately thro his dominions for that effect, tho his ministers declare at the same time that since the preliminaries are signed he cannot give me any assistance.

“The answers from France and Spain are not yet come, but when they do, tis to be expected they will not be more favorable, so that for the present no foreign assistance can be expected; but with all that, the present conjuncture appears so favorable in all its circumstances, that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I should certainly out of hand have crossed the seas and seen at any rate what I could do for my own and my subjects delivery; but as on this occasion I act for them as well as myself and cannot hope without their concurrence to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no further steps without their advice.

“Tis true the disadvantages I lie under are great and many; I have but a small stock of money, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. It is sensible that it is next to impossible that a concert should be established amongst my friends at home, such as would be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favor before my arrivall, and, by what is said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorize an undertaking which at first sight might appear rash. Our country is now (whatever the outward appearance may be) in great confusion and disorder, the people have had time to feel the weight of a foreign yoke, and are nowayes favorably inclined towards the present Elector of Hanover. That concert, vigor and unanimity which does not precede my crossing the seas may attend and follow such an event, and if the chief great powers in Europe are not all my declared friends, there is not one that is my enemy and that has not a particular interest to wish me on the throne; and were I in person in Britain at the head of even a small number of my own subjects, it might naturally alter very much the present system of some or other of them during the time of the congress; but should it once meet and affairs be adjusted there on the foundation of the quadruple alliance, foreign affairs will take quite another face and in all probability would long remain so, whilst the present Elector of Hanover and his son might have time to ingratiate

themselves with the English nation: so that all put together, it must be concluded that if the present conjuncture is slipd, it cannot be expected that wee ever can have so favorable a one for acting by ourselves and that wee run the risk of allowing the generall affairs of Europe to take such a turn as will probably incline most of the cheif powrs of Europe to be less favourable to us, than they are at present; so that whatever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertakn and the sooner the better,

“I desire therefore you may think seriouslie on this matter and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not adviseable, whither my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper.

Postscript with the Kings own hand.

“The contents of this will show you the confidence I have in you, and I expect you will let me know by the bearer Allan your advice and opinion particularly on this important occasion.”

This letter surprized me not a litle, and being unwilling to express my sentiments theron singly to Cameron himself, I told him (after he acquainted me that he knew the contents of the Kings letter and his private inclinations and thoughts) that as it was a matter of vast importance, I inclined to communicate and consult with Clephan who was very capable to give advice and whose zeal was unquestionable: He replyd he had no orders to mention the affair to any but me, and on his finding me resolved to advise with the other he added that he was of the Marrian Faction and he woud not have any dealings with him; I answered he was a man of true worth honor and loyaltie, and the reason he assignd against confirmd my resolution of consulting with him; that I knew he was of no side but the Kings, and granting he had a personall kindness for Marr, I did not see that was any reason to seclude him, and that I coud not but think he and his freinds acted a very odd part in keeping up divisions at a juncture of such consequence when all hands were necessary; that as the King commanded me to trausmitt my opinion to him, he certainly allowd me to take such measures as I judgd fit to enable me to give it, and he might for his own vindication acquaint His Majestie that I advised with Clephan, whither he woud or not; and so I sent for him and told him all I knew. Cameron then told us that the King, notwithstanding the certainty he had of no forreing aid, and that ther was no schem nor preparations at home, inclined and seemd resolved to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and make the best stand he coud with such as repaired to him, and this measure was approved of by Lord Inverness

and his other subjects attending him with whom he advised; and upon my enquiring if that Lord was with the King, he shifted giving a direct answer, but being put to it, he said he was not actually present with him, but he kept at a little distance so as His Majesty could send often to him and have him when he pleased. Wee askt him if he belived the Highlanders would rise heartily for or with the King, and if he thought the want of arms ammunition and mony to be transported alongst with the King would not be ane irreparable impediment: He answered that he could not say they would all rise in arms, but some certainly would, and arms &c. might be sent in a little time after the King, and he did not doubt but he might be able to make a stand for some months at least. I told him that I admired how he who knew the state of the Highlands and the generall concert and resolution of not going to the feild untill they saw England actually engaged, could advise the King to throw away his person and expose the countrie and his trustiest freinds to certain destruction: that the King might indeed expect that some would venture all in any undertaking wher His Majesty was personally present, but, as matters stood and as ther was no concert nor preparations, these would not be numerous, so that the bulk of those that joind him would be a parcell of idle fellows in hopes of plunder and who in time would leave him to the mercy of the Goverments troops, which would be poured down upon the Highlands and, under the praetext of the few that joind the King, destroy the countrie and cut off the inhabitants; for doing wherof twas well enuff known they wanted no more than such ane handle: and that I thought these councillors who gave such advice either did not know the true state of the Kings affairs or betrayd him, being wearied of his service, or in corrispondence with his enimys. Cameron replyd the King was of another mind and keen to be at it, and wanted to know if Ide go with him; and on his telling me that Lord Dunbar was in Italy attending the Prince, and Inverness was to remain on the continent to manage affairs with forreign powers, I answered that if the King commanded me to attend him I would obey, tho I thought it a rash destructive undertaking, and that I should have had a much better opinion of the two last named Lords if they had thought fit to run equall hazard with the King in a project they so much approved. Clephan having also expressed his dislike of the measure and givn unanswerable reasons against it, Cameron went off nixt day in his way to the King in Lorrain and with him I sent the following

Letter to the King.

“August 4, 1727.

“Sir,—Nothing could have surprised me more than my accidentall

meeting with the bearer, but the accounts I got from him of you and your late resolutions, being what indeed I did not in the least imagine or expect. Not being provided with my cyphers in this place, twas with some difficultie I read yours, however I made a shift well enuff to understand the purport, and the same reason will prevent my writing so clearlie as otherwise I woud.

“The subject of yours is a matter of the greatest importance, and tho it was very naturall for you to desire to be in a condition to make benefite from any happy circumstance that might occur, yet I am much affraid nothing of that kind is likely to happen at this juncture. I have no intelligence from ‘tother side of the sea, but by the publick letters tis plain that the people of England are intoxicated at present, having forgot their late ailments by the (ill grounded) hopes of a better management; and till they find themselves dissappointed I can form no hopes from them, especially seing you have no prospect of what you and all your advisers judged essentially necessary, even under the fairest veiws, for your support and the encouragement of others. And as for the other part- of the countrie, they cant possibly do any thing without being provided with the many materiall things they want, and ere it can be done, much time and many difficulties must be surmounted, during which, opposite preparations will be made on all hands. I readily grant twere a notable advantage to give the stroke in the beginning least affairs at home and abroad grow worse and be rivetted; but then, even under this consideration, this is not to be attempted without necessary precautions and provisions: for without these, such or indeed any attempt woud be too desperate and without miracles from Heaven prove the utter ruin of all future hopes. I belive the people of Scotland are much as I left them, that is very well disposed; but withall so overrun and oppressed, that tis impracticable for them to do any thing but jointly and in concurrence with their neighbours of England; and I am pritty well assured that notion is so establishd and fixed in their minds, that they will scarce on any event divert from it, so that all depends on the English; and for you to venture over to either Scotland or England without ane absolute assurance of some support, may prove pernicious to yourself and fatall to all that wish you well. “I have with the bearer enterd into the particulars wheron I found these my sentiments, which he’l narrate and explain more fully than I can write. No man living woud be more glad tosee the dawning of a fair day; but when every airth of the compass is black and cloudie, I cannot but dread very bad weather, such as can give no encouragement to a traveller, nay cannot well fail to prove his own and his attendants utter ruin and destruction. What I

have represented is from the very bottom of my heart and soul, which at the same time I submit with the greatest respect to your judgement.”

The King, on a review of the state of his affairs and present prospect, perceiving he could expect no assistance from abroad and finding so little encouragement at home, laid aside his design of going to Scotland; and so retiring from Lorraine, he went straight to Avignon, where he proposed to remain under the Popes protection, which he obtained, though France desired him to withdraw and applied to the Pope that he should be removed. 'Tis certain the King for a long time expected he might continue his residence there, and though he does not in any of the subsequent letters mention the reasons of his sudden removal, 'twas generally believed that the French Court at last resolved it should and must be so, when the British ministers represented that the party in the Parliament who were jealous of the French alliance, would lay hold on the Kings residing in France as a handle to upbraid the Ministry, who being under the direction of the French were not to be exposed. What moved the King to be so desirous to reside there, when no benefit could arise without the good will of the French Court attended it, I cant say, though some there were who affirmed that it was with a view of being at a distance from the Queens friends, which were numerous in Italy, and at liberty to recall Inverness: and I wish I had not too good reason to believe their conjecture was not altogether groundless. For a considerable time after the Kings departure from Lorraine no body knew what was become of him; at last I received the following

Letter\* from Sir John Graeme.

“Avignon, August 25, 1727.

“The King desires me to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4 of August by Allan Cameron and also that of the 28 of July, which came by the post. The King takes very kindly your frank way of communicating your thoughts on his present situation, but is persuaded that on reflection you will approve of the step he took in leaving Italy, upon the Duke of Hanovers death, which was absolutely necessary for his own vindication, and likewise of his resolution to stay here as long as he can, from whence I flatter myself it will not be easy to remove him without the Court of France breaks through the common rules of decorum and show themselves intirely subservient to the English Government in every odious measure they think fit to

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\* Received 6 September.

enjoy them. The King is very well pleased with the method you laydoun for his correspondence with Scotland, but desires you woud learn the name of the person to whom letters are to be conveyd to Scotland after that affair is concerted and then inform him of it, which he thinks preferrable to writing to William Dundas in order to be informd of it from him.

“The King was glad to hear from you that after strict enquiry you find ther was no treachery in the discovery of the packet you mention, tho sory for any accident that might have proved fatall to any of his freinds, especially you of whose attachment to the cause he has had so many authentick proofs; but the King *is* hopefull such accidents will not happen for the future after the precautions you have takn to prevent them, and longs to have his correspondence with Scotland so fixd by your means as letters may go and come more safely and more frequently than they have done for some time past.

“I reckon this, will find you some wher in Flanders.or near to it, since I hear the Parliament has rose without passing ane act of indemnity. I shoud be glad of every event which might prove to your advantage, and as I shall be alwayes fond of serving you, you cannot do me a greater pleasure than by letting me know wherin I can be usefull to you, being alwayes readie to convince you as far as lyes in my powr how much I am Yours.”

Letter to Sir John Graeme.

“Aix, 11th September 1727.

“Sir,—Yours of the 25 of August was the more agreeable that it confirmd ane account I had read in a letter, 3 or 4 dayes before, of the Kings being arrived in good health at Avignon: for in truth I was in pain to know what was become of him, having heard nothing that was probable from the time I parted with Cameron at Leige. No doubt many advantages attend his beingnear his own dominions, and I wish matters may be so adjusted as he may fix wher he is, till he comes nearer and that his family may join him, for I must own that nixt to the main point (that is his restoration) I know nothing more for the interest of the good cause than the encrease of the royall issue, which wee have reason to expect, were the royall pair once again together and in a method of using the lawfull means. That and many other considerations render it extremely desirous that they shoud meet as soon as possible; tis what his people long to have ane account *of*, and twill stop the mouths of his enimys. I woud very gladly have waited on His Majestie whilst he was within so near reach of me, but as I had neither his orders nor allowance, I chused rather to cross my own

inclinations, than do what perhaps he might not have approved of.

“Tknow not how to undertake sending you notice of the persons name pitchd on to receive the Kings letters in Scotland, for at present I have no cyphers nor method of corrispondingthere; and as Ime undetermined how or wher He dispose of myself nixt winter, I cant establish one for some time: what I writ to the Earls of Kincardine and Dnndonald was by a sure hand goin from hence (tho by the bye I find he’l continue some litle time longer at London than I expected) and Ime to send the cypher with another that goes from this about a month hence, so that it will be yet a considerable time before this canall of corrispondence can be opened: but if the King has any scruple of being informd by William Dundas of the name of the person appointed to receive the letters he forwards, when once the corrispondence is set afoot, he may demand it from the person he writes to. I must recommend earnestly, the keeping all the persons names any wayes employ’d in this corrispondence, as secret as possible, which in a great measure depends upon being within the knowlege of very few and that the intermediate persons know not of one another, which, as I have laid down the scheme, may be done, if tis cautiouslie executed, as I belive it will.

“As to myself, I see no probability of ane indemnity, it being put off till the new Parliament sits down, and tis probable it may then meet with a new delay. I expect no particular favors (and as litle will I ask them) having been lately infonnd that my never failing personall freind the Duke of Argile his application was uhsUccessfull, being told by the English Ministry that they had clear proofs of a long tract of treason to charge me with. I was at a loss to know how this could be, for tho I was assured Strahan and Corsar had loaded me to free themselves, yet I imagined theyd go no furdur than to say that the’ packet that was seized was for me,’ which woud never have amounted to a proof of treason; but by a letter which I lately received from my son, I find Corsars the greatest rogue of the 2, and that a certain person in the Government (to whose freindship I owed the intelligence I got so as to escape in time) told my son, they both deserved to be hanged as fools and knaves, having told what they shoud not and were under no necessity of telling: so that I conclude they have givn ane account of a setled corrispondence, and if they have only brought me in and not made discoverys to the prejudice of the cause or of other particular persons, I shall forgive them the sooner. What confirms the suspicion of Corsar is, that he declines letting any of our freinds know what lengths he went, keeping only in generalls and that he was obliged to save himself, since he had not been so wise as I was to keep out of the

Goverments hands.,I have writ to my freinds and relations to show no resentment against them, least finding themselves treated as they richlie deserve, they become desperate and common prostitutes, which may have bad effects, as Captain Stratton kept nothing from them; besides tis commonly observed that these people do not confine themselves to truth, when once they give themselves up to become informers and evidences.

“There has been here,for some months a countryman and neer kinsman of mine, Samuel Forbes of Knapperlie, one of the most execrable villains Nature ever framed. He committed some T or 8 years ago a most barbarous murder at Angiers on the person of Mr. a very worthy young English gentleman, and about 2 years ago as barbarous a robbery of a Dutch gentleman Who had invited and was intertaining him at his house. In short there is no size or kind of wickedness he is not capable of; and tho he’s excluded the Hanover alliance, by being sure to be hangd if hes catchd within the territories of the 3 cheif branches of it, that is France, Holland and Britain, yet his zeall is great for the present English Government (in hopes I suppose to get the remission which has been hitherto refused) and I lately discovered that he is actually in pay, whither to inform, or perform, or both, God knows, but he’s a mettlesome resolute fellow and well qualified for all manner of villanous undertakings. I was mightie uneasie on his sudden setting out from hence about 3 weeks,ago and not going to Spa, as he pretended, however he has again cast up here. If he happens to come wher you are at. any time, for Gods sake cause-secure him: Tis probable some of your company may know him, if not, all the description I can give of him is, that he’s a well set, middle sized genteel man, of a ruddy complexion, broadfaced and about 30 years old, and speaks French currently, and wears good cloaths. I have talkd with some persons of distinction here of him and they are of opinion that if either the States General or the French King would demand him, he d be given up, as a publick enemy to mankind, by any Prince or States in whose dominions he hapned to be; and I have writ to one in Holland to put the gentleman he robbd upon making the tryall with the States, and I have also writ to Captain Frazer (who’s now at Angiers) to acquaint Mr. Cotton (cousen to the gentleman that was murdered, who is also there) that in concurrence with the master of the accademie he may apply to the French Court, and if any of these traps catch him, twill be a service to mankind. In short I dread him more than any body, as I am sure he will stand at nothing, be it ever so hainous, that the Government of England requires of him, and I thought it not amiss to put you on your guard.

“I found poor Clephan in a very bad way at Antwerp, so I got him lip to Leige where I settled him much better, but hes in so very bad a state of health and reduced so low and weak within these three weeks that a short time must end his days, and as he has nothing to subsist himself and supply his childeren, but what the King allows him, I fear hel not leave wherwithall to bury him. Tis very obvious how much it is for the Kings honor and service that the world know that h6 fakes care of such persons, and Ime of opinion twoud be for his interest, thatheorderd Waters to enquire after his condition during his sickness, and to let his son know that His Majestie will continue his pension after his death, so long, as to pay his funeralls. I mention this to you, and you can best judge how far twill be fit to mention this to His Majestie: if any thing is to be done for him, it must be soon, or twill come too late. His son is ane excellent young man and a fine scholar: he has studied medicine 2 years with Boerhaave, but as that bussiness is overstockt at home and the lad has no fund to subsist on, God knows what will become of him when his father dyes: If the King had any litle post about himself or the Prince to bestow on the deserving son of one of the worthiest men ever existed, the extending his care to even the offspring of those that sufferd for him woud be a great encouragement to draw in others, particularly officers, to engage in his service on the nixt proper occasion. I also submit how far you judge it proper to mention this particular to His Majestie.

“Ljhave now takn notice of all (hat occurd to me at this time, which having spun this letter to a good length, I will encroach no furdur on your time, than to assure you of the sincerity with which I am Yours.

“P. S. The Duke of Berwicks to be here nixt week; he knows my story well enuff, and if he speaks to me of the King, I le be at a loss how to behave; however, to be sure I do no harm, J will keep much in generalls.”

Letter to Sir John Graeme.

“18 September 1727.

“Sir,—Since my last of the ijth I have found a countrieman of ours, who at the bottom is a very honest man and not suspected, and designs to be in Edinburgh in a month or therby; with him I will write to Dundonald, desiring him as soon as he has pitchd on a person under whose cover are to be sent letters addressd to that he write a letter to the King acquainting him of the name and address of that person, and that he send it with the first safe occasion to Robert Gordon at Bourdeaux or William Dundas at Rotterdam, and that the letters he sends under their cover be addressd to Monsieur Le Blan marchand a

Paris. It will therefore be expedient that you in due time instruct Gordon and Dundas how to forward such letters addressd for Le Blan, as come under their cover.

“I have been to wait on the Duke of Berwick, he received me with great civility, but as yet Ive had no private chat with him. I have nothing more to trouble you with at this time, but to desire youd tender my duty in the most respectfull manner to His Majesty, and belive that I am Yours.”

Letter \* from Sir John Graeame.

“29 September 1727.

“Sir,—I had the honour to lay before the King yours of the ijth of September, who you may be sure longs more than any of his subjects to be with the Queen, on a great many accounts: but as it is still uncertain whither or not he will be allowd to remain here, it woud be hard to expose her to a long and troublesome journey, when perhaps before her arrivall he may be obliged to retire from hence, tho his intention has been all alongst to send for the Queen to join him as soon as he coud reasonably reckon on his fixing his residence here; to procure which he has left nothing undone either with the Court of France or that of Rome. The step the first of these Courts thought fit to take, was to pray the King to retire from hence, to which he refused to yeild, and having likewise solicited the Pope to interpose his authority, waits a return from him before they proceed, any furdur; but as the King very well foresaw that the French ministers woud apply themselves to the Pope, the first thing he did on his coming here was to employ his credite at the Court to prevent the Pope in his favour, which has accordingly succeeded so well that he has good grounds to hope that the French solicitations will not prevaill, and if they do not, the Court of France I am confident must be hard put to it before they come to violence, it being certain that the article of the triple allyance which regards the King does not oblige them to it, without they make themselves such prostitutes to the English Goverment as to put any sense upon the treatie they think fit to impose on them. Horace Walpole is very assiduous in soliciting the French Court against us, which will probably take decisive measures one way or ‘tother as soon as they have returns from Rome, which they may have in a few dayes, and so I shall end this account of the Kings situation.

“You may be sure the King woud have been very glad of seeing you when he was in your neighbourhead, but thinking it woud be

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\* Received 10 October.

inconvenient for you to make that journey, he rather chose to send Allan Cameron to discourse with you on his affairs.

“As to what you write of the Scots correspondence, if I take your conceit right, it is absolutely necessary that either William Dundas or some body else, thorow whose hands it is to pass on this side of the sea, have ane address from Scotland, under which he is to put what letters he receives for Robert Anderson in Dingwall; and as it is to be wishd that correspondence were set on foot as soon as possible, that they may send that address to Dnndas by the first occasion, wherof I shall take care to be u> formd by him, that so the King may have it in his powr to employ another shoud this channell be thought improper on account of his being too much suspected by the Govcrment. And as to secrecie, the Kings Scots freinds may depend on its being inviolable, and I am confident their own safetv will make them lake all necessary precautions for preserving it at home in the manner the King has proposed to them.

“I am stunn'd with the new accounts you give me of Corsar and Strahans behaviour, who since they have been privy to so long a tract of correspondence, you acted a very prudent part in desiring your freinds to conceall their resentment against them.

“Wee are upon such a footing here that no body can enter the toun without our knowlege; but as Forbes, shoud he take it in his head to come hither with ane ill design, will probably change his name and his country, I wish you had givn us some marks liowto know him: But however I shall be on my guard and thank you heartily for the hint you have givn me about him.

“Collonel Clephans bad state of health is mortifying news to me, and the King who is sensibly touched at it has thought fit to order Mr. Waters to pay as far as 500 livres, which the King desires you to call for to be employd on the honest gentlemans funeralls and for payment of any of his most pressing debts. As to his son, I am sory to tell you that I cannot at present see how he can be employd about the Kings or the Prince of Wales persons, besides that I shoud think his coming to join the King either here or in Italy woud be the way to lose him, since it woud hinder him from pursuing the business he has been bred to; but you may be sure the King will alwayes have a regard for Clephans childeren as far as his circumstances will allow him.

“I can say nothing to you as to the Duke of Berwick, further than that for some years past a few letters of compliment have past betwixt the King and him, but I dont know how far he woud be a thorow freind, were ther any occasion for his services.

“I wish you all health and happiness, and shall be fond to live with you allways in the same freindship which was betwixt our fathers, being with the most sincere and heartie attachment—Yours.”

Letter\* from Sir John Graeme.

“October 6, 1727.

“Sir,—I was glad to find by yours of the 18 September, which I had the honor to read to the King, that a good opportunity has offered for your writing to the Earl of Dundonald, to desire him, as soon as he has pitched upon the proper person for the conveyance of letters, to acquaint the King of the said persons name and address, and I shall write by nixt post to William Dundas and Robert Gordon how they are to forward to the King what letters they receive addressd to Monsieur Le Blan merchant at Paris. You will see, by what I have writ to you on Monday, last, that upon your having mentioned that you had no safe way of writing to Scotland, I found a necessity of using the method you first proposd of being informed by Dundas of the person in question, but it is certainly better to have it directlie from Earl of Dundonald himself.

“I acquainted you in my last of the Kings having ordered Mr. Waters to pay to you as far as 500 livres for poor Collonel Clephans funeralls, but having since had a letter from that honest gentleman wher he begs the Kings permission to go home to breath native air, as what is most likely to prolong his dayes, the King, in consideration of his loyall principles and faithfull services, being unwilling to cross his inclinations, desires youd call for the above mentiond sum, which he is pleased to allow for the expences of his journey to Scotland.

“I shall be glad to have your sentiments of the Duke of Berwick after you have had some private conversation with him.

“I am with great sincerity Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“October 7, 1727.

“Sir,—Before this reaches you, I suppose a letter from the Bishop of Rochester will have come to your hands, acquainting you of the substance of what is herein containd, which I had breiflie communicated to him, because I could not then write at full length to you and judgd it necessary that both you and he should be somewhat apprized of the matter as quicklie as possible.

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\* Received 17 October.

“To proceed then, I received lately information from a particular freind, that he was assured that the Ministry at London were masters of coppys of most if not all the cyphers by which you and such as are employd under you corrispond with your freinds in Britain or elsewher, and that by one of these they uncyphered the letters lately seized in Scotland, and that amongst oler things they containd the following particulars: that after owning the receipt of 2 letters of certain dates, directions are givn with relation to the Scots episcopall clergy; that notice is givn of ane invasion designd, with directions to prepare for it; that a person was or woud he soon sent to a certain place on purpose to give orders, with whom the person for whom the letter was designd was to corrispond, and further he was to act in concert with 2 other persons, which 3 were to give such directions in all matters as they judgd most proper for the good of the cause from time to time, as circumstances hapned and required. My author does not mention the name of the 3 aforesaid persons nor of the aforesaid place, but from what follows, their names, at least of the 2 to be advised with, is known. He says that these cyphers came from the fountain-head abroad; that the Ministry have had them for some time waiting for ane occasion to use them; that they keep this as a secret in the hands of very few, but that his informer had access to know such things and told them to him, as he imagines with a good intention, and that thers scarce any the least reason to doubt the truth of the information. My corrispondent adds that his freind told him that Strahan and Corsar at their secret examinations had told all they knew, (and which they had not the confidence to deny when since being liberate, they were questend on it) particularly that you had for a long time kept a close corrispondence in Scotland, which was carryd on by me who receivd and returnd letters and orders relating therto, and gave severall particular instances therof; that this affair was fully debated in the cabinet councill in presence of the late Elector of Hanover; that some were earnest to proceed against the 2 aforsaid persons (whose names it seems they knew) and endeavour therby to make further discoverys, but that the Elector was possitive against it, saying that since the person cheiflie concernd in the corrispondence was escaped and the danger, by the prospect of peace, over, he d have no more blood nor prosecutions, so that these 2 persons woud not be troubled unless fresh reasons occurrd. My corrispondent adds that after a long discourse with his freind, he was again possitively assured by him of the Ministrys being posesst of every cypher you have writ by these several years past, which they had got from one that knew how to be master of them; and he concludes that tis highlie necessary you be apprized therof as soon as possible, and that if you do not alter

your cyphers but continue to write by the former, the consequences may prove fatal to your own and your friends interest. Thus, sir, you have the main articles contained in my letter, and I'm very sure my friend, in whom I can assuredly confide, would not have transmitted this account in such haste and expressed so much concern if he had not judged it essentially necessary. He does not mention the name of his informer, but from some particular circumstances I guess who it may be, and if so, I imagine the authority is too good: however as we have heard of politicians pretending to know more in such cases than they really do, with a view of creating suspicions and raising jealousies, what is mentioned will not warrant any particular persons being thought culpable though there is more than enough to put you on the search and to lay down measures to prevent the fatal effects of the informations being true: of which I conceive it is in your power to make a pretty good judgment, for if you have copies of the letters that were seized in February last at Leith, and on a review find that they contain all or most of the particulars I have mentioned, (which by the bye is not pretended to be more than the heads and substance of some parts of these letters and not the precise words) then you may reasonably conclude that the informations good; and on the other hand if these letters contained nothing relative to these particulars\* it may as reasonably be concluded that 'tis a contrivance of your enemy's; but such a scrutiny seems to be absolutely necessary towards discovering either the fallacy or the treason, which may pave the way to find out the traitor; matters, all of them of the last consequence to your and the common cause.

“I take it for granted that on this allurum you will not blame me for having stopt the cypher you directed me to send to Scotland, for if this information is true and it has ever been used with other persons on former occasions, 'tis by no means fit to put it in your friends hands. He be impatient to know your sentiments of this matter, and I remain Yours.”

Letter\* from the King.

“October 24, 1727.

“The Bishop of Rochester sent me the letter you lately sent for his information, and I own to you it did not give me much uneasiness, for I was very sure of my secrets while Inverness served me, and I hope I am not now less so, though I have not the same personal knowledge and experience of Sir John Graeme which I had of him. But your letter of

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\* Received 12 November.

the 7th of October puts me intirely at ease as to that matter, since it is supposed to you that in the letters intercepted in Scotland severall particulars shoud have been mentioned which I knew were not, so that your informer either deceives you or is deceived himself. The English Goverment of late has been very solicitous to make people berive that my secrets are betrayd, since they are sensible that such a perswasion must creat great diffidence towards me and by consequence much distress my affairs, and therefore it must alwayes be of use to me to be able to remove such jealousies, as in this one particular is sufficiently done by what I now tell you; but it may be of use to me to know who was the person that gave you these informations, and I wish you could learn from him who was his informer and the way that it is pretended that the English Goverment got my cyphers and what particular ones they pretend to have. In the mean time I see no diflicultie in your forwarding the cypher to Scotland I sent you, since it is a new one, and you may certainly be entirely at ease on all these matters. Tho I desire you woud continue to give me a particular account of what comes to your knowledge of this nature, since one way or other I may be able to make good use of these lights.

“I belive you will be glad to know that I saw so litle appearance of my removing from here [Avignon] that I have sent for the Queen to come here; but I intend to leave my sons wher they are till spring, on account of the season of the year.

“Sir John Graeme left this yesterday; I dont exactly know how long he may be away, but during his absence, what letters you may send here for him will come directly to my hands, and I will take care to answer them. If ever you have occasion to write to his father let him know the good opinion I have of his ^son as well as himself.

“I thank God I keep my health very well in this country, and have no more at present to add but the assurance of my constant kindness.”

Letter to the King.

“November 18, 1727.

“Sir,—Yours of the 24 of October I had the honor to receive some few daycs ago in this place [Rotterdam] whither I came lately from Aix la Chapple with a design to take up my winter quarters till I see what turn affairs at home will take. I Mas lately assured that the Goverment had resolved to pass ane act of indemnity, excluding only such as are attainted, and a litle time will now show what truth is in it.

“I am extremely glad that you have such reasons to belive. the information I had of your being betrayd is not, at least in all its heads,

true, which I own is a very naturall consequence to draw from the letters that were seized not containing the particulars I acquainted you were pretended to be discovered in them: but at the same time I cannot rest fully satisfied when I consider from whence my information came. I will always receive your commands with a dutifull submission, but I hope you will not insist on my mentioning names, after I acquaint you that the account was sent me under strict engagements to the contrary, and because T cant see it will be of any great use, after representing the following particulars. My immediat author is a gentleman whos charactar and profession does not lead him to deall at all in politicks, and he accordingly is reckond one who thinks no furdur of such matters than to submit and live peaceably under the prevailing Government for the time; but nevertheless I know him assuredly to be a very honest man and a sincere well wisher to you and your interest: he happens to be in a state of great intimacie with one who enjoys a considerable post and is much trusted, especially in such matters as concern Scotland, and I can scarcely think any minister woud impose false stories on him, and am very sure he d scorn to propogate and disperse them on any account or veiw whatsoever. The first of these being my very good freind, and the other no wayes a personall enemy to me, I hapned one day to be the subject of their private conversation, which led the last to mention what my freind could not but credite, when he reflected on the charactar of his author and the way and manner he spoke of it to him, Which out of respect first to you and nixt to me he thought himself bound to inform me of, in the manner and under the restrictions I have mentioned in this and my former letter. This person being my sons intimate acquaintance, I shall put him on trying if he can make further discoverys with regard to the sevrall particulars you want to have cleared and what else may be for your service in this matter: what may be the success I cant say, but I shall be sure faithfully to communicate all I learn, and shoud think myself happy in being instrumentall in removing all doubts, on what ever side of the question truth lyes.

“Finding when I came here last week a very safe and proper hand to convey your cypher to Earl of Dundonald, I resolved not to slip so good ane occasion by waiting for your return to my last, so I sent it off with a gentleman who saild yesterday with a fair wind directly for Leith, and Ime in no pain of the trusts being soon and carefully executed.

“Ime pleased the affair of your residence is fixed according to your mind, and with all my soul I wish you and the Queen a mirry meeting and much mutuall lasting comfort, as I will always join with others

your good subjects in detesting those miscreants that have been any way accessory towards promoting and continuing a misunderstanding so fatal and pernicious to yourself, your family and subjects; and I cannot but offer it as my humble advice that all prudent means be taken to prevent the like for the future, it being impossible to express the prejudice it did and would do to your service many many ways.

“I have nothing more to trouble you with at present, but to renew my protestation of being in the most respectful and sincerest manner Yours.”

Letter\* from the King.

“November 16, 1727.

“I have seen for some time past so little appearance of my being molested here this winter, that tho the season of the year was too far advanced to send for my children, yet I sent for the Queen to come here, giving her such lights, directions and encouragements as were sufficient to dissipate any apprehensions she might have in relation to her passage on account of the conduct the French are obliged to hold in publick on this occasion towards me; but all I could say or do could not prevail upon her to come, and by the circumstances which have proceeded and attended that refusal it is easie to see that Cardinal Alberoni and her other directors are resolved never to want a pretence to prevent a solid union betwixt us and to make use of her in the mean time to distress my affairs as much as possible: had she come now, it might have been a great means to have fixed me here, as I much apprehend her remaining in Italy may not a little facilitate the endeavours of those who wish me removed. I desire you will find means to transmit this account of my present situation to my friends in Scotland, and have nothing to add to it but the assurance of my constant kindness. You will let James Clephan know I have received his letter of the 1st to Sir John Graeme and that I am much concerned for the death of his worthy father, whose merit was known to none better than my self, and that I shall be as kind to his family as my circumstances will allow. If I can I will continue the half of his pension to his son James. I am Yours.”

Next day after I received this letter at Rotterdam, the Lady Southesque (who designing to return to Scotland had waited in this place since July for a pass from the British Government, because of her having conversed with the Kings family at Rome) got a letter in its due course from the Queen at Bologna, acquainting her that the King

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\* Received November 28.

had indeed sent to desire she woud forthwith repair to him at Avignon, but that she had declined the journey at this time for the following reasons; 1st, that she did by no means think her childeren in such good hands as she in prudence and kindness coud leave them; 2dly, that the Cardinal Polignac had lately notifyed to the Pope that his master the French King had given orders to seize and stop her if so be she enterd into his dominions with a design of repairing to the King whilst he remaind at Avignon, and her freinds did not approve of her running the hazard of a tryall whither or not the French King was in earnest; Lastly, on a surmise that the Earl of Inverness was as much as ever in the Kings favor and in a litle time woud be recalld, the Cardinal Legate of Bullognia had writ, earnestly desiring His Majestie woud satisfye the Queen in that article, which he declining to do, gave her too good reason to apprehend that it might probably come to pass when they were altogather at such a distance from her freinds in Italy and she had no person to advice with and countenance her. Her Majestie therefore, from the danger to which her person woud be exposed and the badness of the season, desired the King woud excuse her attempting the journey at that time and till it appeard how matters were likely to cast up. Tis observable that the King takes no notice of these reasons which the Queen assignd, but woud have the account of her refusing to join him, dispersed in Britain, with a design, as is too probable, of making it appear with a bad grace in the opinion of his people. I was extremely concerned to find the King so deaf to the advices and intreaties of his freinds and so wedded to his favourites as to continue schasmes so destructive to his interest and honor; and as I had lately advice from London that their were some hopes of my being at libertie to return home, after which I coud corrispond no more, I resolv'd to discharge my duty in laying before His Majestie what occurrd to me, from a reveiw of his by past conduct, to be the cause of many events directly repugnant to the welfare of the good cause and his own private satisfaction, which I fully did in the following

Letter to the King.

“December 6, 1727.

“Sir,—I received yours of the 16 November with infinite sorrow and concern, as it superseded the hopes I had conceived of the fatall differences of your family having been so far adjusted that nothing materiall remaind to obstruct your and the Queens living together in a way and manner which did become your mutuall relation to each other, and so necessary with regard to your other temporall concerns. As to transmitting accounts to your freinds in Scotland of her having

refused to come to you, tho so earnestly desired, and of the reasons which you think have moved her therto, I am humbly of opinion it is by no means for your service to make any publick noise about it, till it be seen what may be brought about this winter; for I beg the liberty to say that the memorialls, letters, &c. that were first and last handed about concerning this unhappy breach, did you no litle disservice, were it for no more than that they gave rise for your enimys to enquire more officiously into the story and occasiond its being too much the subject of common conversation, wherin your enimys vented their malice against you, and in many articles your freinds did not well know how to answer them, especially those by which the Lord and Lady Inverness were accused. The world at present belives that the breach was so far made up, that the Queen left the convent and proceeded to Bollognia to co-habit with you; that your not meeting then was occasioned by your sudden unexpected journey, and that the uncertainty of your residence prevented her joining you last summer, as the coldness of the season does now: and with great submission I conceive you shoud rather suffer it to rest there than assign any other reasons for some litle tract of time: This present footing on which it stands can give rise to no bad inferences, and tis time enuff to propale the secrets of your family when all hopes of bettering them are intirely blasted.

“Having now entered on this subject, indulge me so far as to allow me free lie to lay before you my sentiments with regard to the management of your affairs: in doing wherof I may perhaps differ from what on former occasions you have signified to be your own opinion, and I may condemn some parts of your conduct and offer some expedients which at first veiw may be disagreeable to you, but I hope in none of these will I incurr your displeasure, as I have no veiw whatsoever but your honor and service, and that what mistakes I may commit arise wholly from ane error of judgement rather than wilfull intention; and in this I have the vanity to expect youl be pleased to credite me, as lme sure no part of my behaviour these 25 years bypast, that I enterd into publick affairs, will admit the least shadow of reason to think I postponed your or my countries service to any veiw or interest whatsoever, and that I can propose no benefite to my self from what I may represent, as I have no earthly dependance upon any person or cause but you and yours, and as I cant pretend any particular dissobligation from any person that has been or may be concernd in your affairs. This being premised, I beg libertie to say that in my humble opinion you have been ill served ever since 1716 that you returnd from Scotland, and that much of this is to be imputed to

your lodging too much power and confiding as it were solely in a single person. Mankind are naturally ambitious of power, and when they attain to more than that to which they have an inherent title, they think there is no way to secure the possession, but by grasping at more and keeping their fellow creatures at under; and hence it is that favourites are constantly the bane of those princes by whose authority they are raised and supported, seeing this cannot be done but by suppressing others, who believe and very often have an equal if not a superior claim to their sovereigns confidence and bounty and cannot bear the insolence that fertile most part attends the dominion of these substitute princes. Whilst the Duke of Mar was your first minister, how, as it was said, did he lord it over all the rest of your followers, men, some of them, equal to him in dignity, power, knowledge, and all of them, according to their several stations, in zeal, fidelity and sufferings for the royal cause? No person was to be employed in the highest or lowest station, no favors conferred, in short nothing to be done in any kind of matter but by and through him: hence it came to pass that a parcel of his creatures were preferred to persons of greater rank, and merit, which so sowed their tempers, that there arose a general clamor against his administration, and great numbers of your best and most valuable subjects withdrew from your Court, which gave a handle to your enemies to upbraid your friends for having adhered to a prince who, as they turned it, valued their sufferings for him at so low a rate. The Duke, being sensible that such would be the issue of this kind of management, took care to represent those people as factious and humoursome, and I can remember very well that in your letters about that time in praise and justification of him, you seemed to think that under the pretence of being displeased at his administration they levelled at your own authority, being prompted by the secret cunning artifices of your enemies. No sooner was His Grace of Mar removed, and Lord Inverness established his successor, but, as it is said, he followed the same measures, nay in conjunction with his Lady and her brother the Lord Dunbar, very far out did what was laid to his predecessors charge, in so far as he brought even the Queen herself on the stage: I know very well you did him the honor to vindicate him in a very publick manner, which, had it been practicable, would have cleared him of the charge; but so it is, that when people considered that it was not to be imagined but he had the prudence not to do any thing unbecoming him in your presence and would certainly deny the accusation to you, but that persons of rank and figure, of honor and loyalty, and attachment to your person who were amongst your attendants and others who happened to be in the neighbourhood all joined in the testimony against him and concurred in the particular

facts and circumstances, which they averred consisted within your proper knowledge; when these proofs, I say, were duly weighed, they so prepossessed the minds of the far greater part of your subjects, as well as strangers, that nothing alledged in his behalf had credit with them, and nothing was or is more frequently heard than that your affairs will not prosper whilst he has any concern in them. Now, sir, that your family is miserably divided; that great numbers of those who followed your fortune have withdrawn highly discontented, so that your present retinue is exceedingly reduced with respect both to the number and character of those of whom it does consist; that the prudence and capacity (to say no worse) of many you have employed are much called in question; that your friends all the world over are highly discouraged, are all truths undeniable; and from what source can they proceed but that which is universally assigned, viz. the arbitrary proceedings of those who've had the good fortune to gain your good opinion, so far as to be solely trusted by you? Most of these particulars consist of facts that speak for themselves, within the reach of your own observations and knowledge; and for what remains, whoever takes on him to set them in another light, I will be bold to say he is either some little insignificant creature who knows little of what's doing in the world, or he's a tool to some designing person interested in the scheme. I know you impute the part which the Queen has acted, to the artifices of certain persons, who aim thereby at embroiling your family and embarrassing your affairs: and I think I have seen it under your hand that you did not believe she was apprised of these their secret views and motives, in which I believe every body will concur; for 'tis impossible to imagine that a princess of honor and virtue and endowed with natural bowels of affection (altho she had no personal regard for you) would countenance and support such measures as tend directly to ruin her children; and it is as difficult to conceive that a princess of common sense and discretion could be so much imposed on as in this case must be supposed; for tho these evil counsellors might have such wicked designs, how is it possible they could persuade her that with her eyes and ears she saw and heard these insolencies of which she complains, and which she assigns as the cause of her retirement, if no such had happened? To conclude, 'tis impossible to imagine her immediately or mediately guilty of such pernicious measures, without at the same time supposing her the worst or the weakest of womankind, characters I never yet heard of her and diametrically opposite to what is universally established. I will not take on me to say that what is thus alledged against one or both these persons that have been at the head of your affairs are all or in part true, because I have no personal knowledge thereof, but certain

it is they are generally credited, and I submit to you if it is not possible that you may be misinformed of the conduct and behaviour and be mistaken in the good opinion you intertaind of both as well as one of these ministers? and if it is not difficult to believe that so many persons, in all respects of unblemishd charactars, shoud act so base a part as to affirm notorious falsehoods in ane affair of such moment? On the supposition then that what is above represented are reall matters of fact, arising from the causes assignd, tis naturall to subsume that what has hapned woud have been prevented, had you thought fit to appoint particular provinces to particular persons, confiding and advising with them as they were severally employd, and confining them within there sevrall spheres: by such a distribution of offices of business and posts of honor, without regard to dependance on or attachment to any person but yourself, youd have found yourself better served, peace and harmony preserved in your family, your Court appeard with greater splendor, and the reputation of your councills been on a better footing than I apprehend they are, at present. I own that in the management of your secret dispatches and negotiations tis absolutely necessary to committ them to very few, nay if possible to only one person; but it does not follow that thers any necessity for exalting him in powr and dignity above others.

“If what I have thus, with great submission, offerd to your consideration appear to. you founded on truth and reason, the remedy, in so far as concerns your future ceconomy in appointing by whom and after what manner you’r to be served, is plain and obvious, and I humblie apprehend thers not much greater difficultie in adjusting matters with the Queen, which I take to be the *unum necessarium* at present; for since she is not accesory or even privy to any bad designs against you or your affairs, and that she assigns no other reason for her retirement, but that she could no longer bear what she reckoned insulting injuries from Lord and Lady Invernes, and that to satisfye her in that article you was graciouslie pleased to remove him from attending you personally, nothing remains but that you condescend one step further, in giving her your royall assurance that you have no design of bringing him ever back to your service; and allow me so far to plead her cause, that if she had reason to demand his being removed, she has as good reason to expect you will not call him back: for my part I cannot allow myself to think you have any such design, for sure youl never put the satisfaction of your royall consort, the mother of your childeren, and the peace and tranquillity of your family in the ballance with any subject whatsoever, tho endowed with all the qualities of the greatest minister that ever served a crownd head;

and Jet people say and think what they will of Lord Inverness, I cant but intertain a better opinion of his sense, honor and integrity, than to imagine he has any such veiws. You may with good reason think that your removing him to gratifye the Queen is enuff to satisfye her; but since the world hath takn it into their heads that he's still so much in your favor that in some time youl probably recall him (which imagination I presume has its rise from the publick declarations you emitted in his favors) and that no doubt these reports have reachd the Queen, tis not very strange they shoud allarum one of her sex, who are naturally timorous and credolous; and if her being satisfyd by you on that head will remove all impediments to your living happily together, tis a blissing purchased at too easie a rate to be rejected. I have no immediat authority to say that herein lyes the main obstruction of the

Queens not repairing furthwith to you, but at the same time I have very good reason to belive it, from what I collected last summer from forreigners of note and distinction who wish you very well; and if it is realie so, your further condescension on that head will either have the long wishd for effects or leave her without any sort of excuse, so as the world will assuredly condemn her and justifye you. I can easily conceive that you will think it hard to have terms, such as these, imposed on you: but be pleased to reflect how many princes seated on their thrones have been constrained to dismiss ministers with whom they were well pleased, on less pressing occasions, and to obtain less valuable ends: be pleased likewise to call to mind how much Lewis 13th of France was blamed for supporting even the great Cardinal Richleiu when his insolence towards the Queen Mother obliged her to leave first his Court and then his dominions; and sure thers more to be said in favors of a royall consorts complaints against any minister whatsoever. And after all, what is ther in this Lord that shoud enduce you to be possitive in this matter? you may dismiss him in a way honorable to yourself and him, since you think he merits so much for his fidelity and services, and you will not want others to supply his place whose capacity and experience in business, whose characteras and reputations, whose powr and interest at home and abroad are at least equall to His Lordship and are consequently equally capable to serve you. If you dread his resentment may turn to revenge and lead him to discover your secrets, that is at once to own he never deserved the confidence you ve reposed in him, and the sooner you get rid of him the better, seing in that case ther can be no security of him at any rate: but for my part, I cant allow my self to entertain the least notion that he can possibly be guilty of so much treachery and ungratitude, and I dare say you and all your subjects may be perfectly secure on

that head.

“To sum up all I have said on this article, if the peace of your family can be obtained at so easie a rate, Us expected that injustice to yourself, your posterity and your people, you will be pleased to comply with it and thereby shew yourself a loving husband, a kind parent and a gracious sovereign, evidencing at the same time a notable instance of your goodness, wisdom and prudence.

“Now that I have finished this tedious epistle, I am much at a stand whether or not to forward it, lest I incur your displeasure by presuming to express my sentiments on subjects too high for me, and yet I resolve to venture, as I am conscious of my own honest intentions and certain that your innate goodness is more than enough to pardon the failings of your subjects.

“I have acquainted Mr. Clephan of what you design to do for him, and as it is an act of generosity becoming a great prince, I dare say it will have very good effects, though whilst he remains in the Dutch service it must be kept very secret. I am Yours.”

Letter\* from the King.

“December 19, 1727.

“Yours of the 18 November came safe to me. I need say nothing more in relation to secrets discovered, since I am perfectly easie on that head and ought to be so considering the intelligence I have had on these matters, which have not been fully explained to me.

“I am returning in a few days to Italy, for very good reasons as you may believe. I wish you could find a way of letting the people of Scotland know of my leaving this country [Avignon]. I find you mentioned something to the Bishop of Rochester of employing a person to carry my letters thither, but I should think that method liable to accidents: I wish you would write me your thoughts fully on these matters, that I may be able to take some party for settling a correspondence with that country.

“I desire you will tell General Hamilton that I received his letter of the 20th November. I am impatient to be in a condition to send him some relief, which I certainly shall do as soon as ever I can. Let me hear sometimes from you, and be assured of my constant kindness.”

Letter to the King.

“January 22, 1728.

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\* Received January 5, 1728.

“Sir,—I delayd making a return to yours of the 19 December, which I had the honour to receive, till the arrivall of a ship from Scotland, which I knew was to bring me letters from my freinds and might perhaps afford me matter to write of to yon.

“Ime sorry you r obliged to remove your quarters, seing it is what you did not incline to, altho wee at a distance and ignorant of your secret veiws could not see any great advantage arising from your residing at Avignon, unless it was attended with the concent and further good intentions of the French Court.

“All your freinds will rejoyce to hear of your meeting with the Queen. Since the fatall breach hapned I have fairlie and honestlie represented what effects it had on the minds of your people, and I will take upon me to say nothing ever hapned that did you so much disservice, nor is there any thing more necessary for you, than by all reasonable means to prevent any misunderstanding for the future: such unnaturall divisions afford your enimys (of all kinds) ane handle to represent you in the worst light they can devise, and your freinds are not a litle dejected by them: How much then it imports yourself, your family, the good cause and your faithfull subjects, that you henceforth live together in such a manner as is decent and at the same time necessary, is so very obvious, that it is not to be imagined any consideration will come in competition therewith, and this I am sure is the opinion and earnest wish of all who, being free of passion and self-veiws, have a just and dutifull regard for you; and who ever represents otherwayes (if any such ther be) are either ignorant or something worse.

<sup>a</sup> I dont know how it came about, that in a letter not long ago to the Bishop of Rochester, I gave my opinion against the method of transmitting your letters by masters of ships, and preferrd the having one appointed for that business, wherof it seems he gave you information. As that business is now out of my hands, I dont know what may be the opinion of the person now employd therin, but I have the experience of such dangers as well as uncertaintys attending the old tract, that with great submission to your judgement, were it my own case I woud prefer the other way. Thers no humane device infallible nor no measures absolutely certain, but I think I could contrive a method less lyable to hazards, than what has been hitherto followed. The almost daylie intercourse of ships from some one port or another in Scotland and, wher these fail or may be suspected, in Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham or Yorkshire to and from Holland, renders it very easie, and by changing of ports, very safe for one to pass and repass often and at all times; and if some person was

appointed to make the voyage every 2 months or thereby, to receive and deliver letters to and from your correspondents in Holland and Scotland, you, knowing the time he was to be in Holland, could easily have them ready to be given him. The great nay only difficulty in my opinion is to pitch on a right person, who has the fidelity and address necessary in such a work and whose rambling about would not give suspicion, and I will freely own I know of none but Thomas S\*clare: he is I do believe the cleverest fellow in Europe for such expeditions; he knows all the ports in most countries; he has ways peculiar to himself (of which he gave good proofs at Perth 1715) in going about such errands; he's zealous, honest and as close as a stone, and withal has been rambling about all his life, often merchandizing and pursuing projects which led him in a manner to have no fixed residence, and by dealing in some small parcels of goods, he might easily find a fair pretence for jogging on in that course of life. I mentioned this to him before he returned to Scotland, when he came over with me, and he was willing to undertake it for 50*l.* a year, which he reckoned enough to defray his expences and make up his loss of time, proposing no gain in any matter wherein he could serve you: but after all there was no need of describing him so minutely, since he's now out of the way, having, as I'm told, gone lately to Spain in prosecution of a large sum of money to which he has right by the death of his brother in law Captain Wachup, and which probably may detain him long in that country. Thus in obedience to your commands I have laid my thoughts on this article before you, how far they are reasonable is to you humbly submitted.

"I shall soon now have an occasion from hence to let your journey be known to your friends in Scotland, though without that it will be no longer a secret than commenced.

"I highly applaud your generous intentions in favor of the deserving son of the deserving father Colonel Clephane: It will enable him to qualify himself for serving you some time or other, which is the top of his ambition, and it will be a great encouragement to others of his father's trade, when they know the care you take of his family: Though in this, two points I presume to suggest to you, that he must be ascertained of what you design for him, otherwise I'm afraid his circumstances won't allow him to continue in his present state, and next that it must be kept very secret, for should it come to be but suspected it would undo him.

"I delivered your message to General Hamilton who received it with a dutiful respect.

"By my letters from Scotland I find matters are there *in statu quo*,

tho great pains are taken to give the people a good impression of the gentleman newlie stepped into the throne. The Episcopall clergy are broke and split into partys and discord, one set, headed by Lord Panmure and Mr. Carnagy, seem to have renounced all dependance on both civill and ecclesiastick superiors, so that to all outward appearance theyr in a bad situation, especially since therby the unity, which has hitherto prevailed amongst both clergy and laity of that communion, your freinds, is broke and evanishd.

“On what I wrot to my son in relation to what I mentiond in mine of October 7th, and you again in your answer therto, he has been at a good deall of pains to enquire funder into that storie, and tho he cannot pretend to say whither the particulars said to be discovered from the seized letters their not agreeing with the originalls, doth proceed from design or mistake, yet hes very possitive that the Government is posesst of such papers as I represented to you and that they purchasst them with mony, and he adds that the person from whom the information came did it with a good intention and that the Government are so far from divulging it with ane intention to creat a jealousie amongst your freinds, that they keep it as a mighty secret, and no soul living hears the least surmise therof, further than I acquainted you. Tis my duty to lay this before you, altho you seem to be very positive that theirs nothing in it, and I wish it may be so.

“The cypher is come safe to my son, who will deliver it to Dundonald when he comes to Edinburgh in a litle time, so probably youll hear soon from him. Mr. Dundas told me tother day he had a letter from Sir John Graeme, and tho I guessd it containd some directions about corrispondence, since he kept himself closs to me (which I was glad to find) I took no notice as if I knew any thing of the matter.

“Lord Kincardine writes to me that their seems to be ane universall jealousie and dislike at certain persons who for some time past have been cheifly trusted by you about your person, on what grounds he cant pretend further to say, than that universall credite is given to the many facts theyr charged with, that occasiond the Queens retiring and the removall of sevrall persons of rank and character that had long and faithfully served you and your cause at the expence of their all: These matters, he sayes, so confidently and particularly reported, your enimys lay hold on, to the great mortification of your freinds, and he wishes your affairs were under such management as ther may be no grounds for such surmises after this. For my own share I have no attachment to any but yourself, nor no particular picque against any, but I could not satisfye my mind if I faild to acquaint you of what so

faithfull a freind so earnestly recommended, and what ever use you make of this and the like informations, I hope youll keep them to yourself, as I have no mind to incur the ill will of any person, by being reckond of any party whatsoever but your own.

“By a letter I had lately from London I me assured that tho no body doubts but that nixt session of Parliament will produce a general act of pardon, yet my good old personall freind the Duke of Argyle has of himself renewd his application for me and has good hopes of procuring a *noliprosequi* very soon: If either of these happen, I presume youll not take amiss my reaping the benifite, since I can do you no service on this side of the sea at present, and that my family affairs require my presence at home, if I can do it with safety. In this state of uncertainty it may so fall out that I may be gone from hence, before I can have a return to this, and therefore it will not be expedient that you write again to me till you hear further from me, for I will be sure to acquaint you of my motions. If I get home you may be sure I must live with the utmost caution, because if any thing is discovered against me and I fall into the Goverments hands, I will meet with no quarters; on which account I must be deprived of the honor of corrisponding directly with yourself. Nevertheless, the examples of my predecessors and my own well rooted principles will never allow me to be any thing but a faithfull servant to you and yOur royall family, and I hope in so far as has hitherto past, I have your approbation in every state and circumstance of my life and particularly in the discharge of that trust you committed to me: that being now in the hands of another, who I me sure will answer your expectations and the valuable charactar he has with all good men, I pray God matters may be carried on with secresie and success, and however privately and unactively I must pretend to live for some time at least, no consideration shall ever byass me to neglect any opportunity of convincing you and demonstrating to the world, that I value no charactar so much nor any honor so high as those of being Yours.”

Letter to the King.

“29 January 1728.

“Sir,—Since my last of the 22 instant I have had ane occasion to see and talk with a good many masters of Scots ships that are now here, and I wish to God you had such a loadning to send home with them as they d with heart and soul take aboard: Amongst them thers one that is a very sensible prudent person, the son of a Sterlingshire gentleman who was in his duty 1715: he has a good ship and begun a

business of running constantly backwards and forwards twixt this place and Leith, so as to be here every 2 months or thereby. After advising with William Dundas, we concluded that if he would undertake the care of your letters, his frequent returns would answer your purposes in the present juncture, and this would be a safe enough and much cheaper way than what I mentioned in my last; for by knowing of one whose time was sure and might be depended on, the danger from being obliged to trust people not perfectly well known was avoided and a little gratification would be sufficient. Dundas therefore proposed it to him, and with all imaginable frankness he undertook it, protesting that ship and master were at your devotion, and that he would have no salary for doing what did put him to no charges (except contriving a secret place in case of a search for letters, which would cost but a trifle) and on the other hand was his duty and inclination. Two conditions he expressly required, viz. That no person, not yourself, should know of his name as being employed in this affair, and that he should be charged with letters addressed only to one and the same person, to whom he could have easy access. I desired him to be assured that the secret should be kept in the terms he demanded, unless you positively required otherwise, and that as to the other point, it was I believed regulated already according to his mind; after which we agreed on the measure, if so be you approved of it. It will therefore be expedient that as soon as you receive this, you signify to Dundas that such a project was communicated to you, and transmit your opinion and orders to him upon it, that he may know whether or not to follow it out. Since this man will not accept of a fixed pension, I submit to you how far it would be a satisfaction and encouragement to him, if you directed Dundas to tell him how well you took his readiness to serve you, and withal to make him a small present, in your name, of a sword, a ring, or some such thing, to the value of ten guineas. This at once would be a reward to him for all the days of his life, and engage him to serve you on perhaps more material occasions. He is to sail soon and will be back again by the time you can signify your pleasure to Dundas. I do verily believe this will be a safe and certain way of carrying your dispatches to and fro, which is however humbly submitted to you. I am with the most profound respect Yours."

Tho the new King George could not be persuaded by the advice of his ministers to grant a general indemnity (which great numbers, after the bad usage they had received, would have embraced and given all assurances of living quietly at home) yet as it was but decent to show some disposition towards mercy at the beginning of his reign, he was

so far prevaild upon as graciouslie to pardon a parcell of litle underline malefactors under sentence in the prisons in and about London; and as I was under no sentence, my case was more favorable than most of those who were reckond Statecriminalls, and being as such warmly represented by the Duke of Argile, Earl of Hay, and Duncan Forbes Lord Advocat for Scotland, all 3 my good personall freinds, an allowance was att length procured for my returning and living at home unmolested; this I was expecting for some proceeding months, but it was the midle of Aprile 1728 before I received letters from Lord Hay and Mr. Forbes acquainting me therof. It was my intention to have crossd directly to Scotland, but by these letters my presence at London, and that presently, was possitivly required. As I knew very well that these my freinds were men of too much honor to draw me into any straits, I was nevertheless at a stand how to behave; I knew that ther was proof enuff said to be against me, and as I was not possesd of a remission, I did not care for venturing myself into the hands of a Ministry, for shoud they ask questions at me and I refuse to answer, I had no security for my being at libertie to return back; under this difficultie I writ to my freinds, that tho I was infinitely obliged to them and expected nothing from them but what was fair and honorable, I did not however think it prudent to venture over, untill I had more possitive and particular assurances under the hands of some of the Government, that I was to be askd no questions, nor no further security demanded of me than my bare word of living quietly at home, otherwise I woud remain abroad all the dayes of my life. In answer to which I received a letter from Mr Forbes, by the direction of Sir Robert Walpole, in ample terms to my satisfaction, but still insisting upon my taking London in my way. Judging my self pritty safe under that security, after having writ a letter acquainting the King of the libertie allowd me and the terms on which I had accepted it, I left Rotterdam in the beginning of May and arrived safe at London.

My freinds told me that King George was positive in my returning him personally thanks for that great instance which he thought he had shown of a gracious disposition towards me, and in truth it was the more remarkable in that he coud not be prevaild on to extend it to others, particularly my Lady Southesk, whose case was more favorable than mine; and so to gratifye him by my appearing in his Court, I was obliged to come to London. This was what did not go well down with me and what I woud gladly have avoided, but ther was no eviting it; and as others, whose sincere attachment to the King was never doubted, had often proceeded me on such like occasions, I was under a necessity of bowing my knee to Baal now that I was in the

house of Rim. But before a day was appointed 15 dayes past, during which I was orderd not to appear publicly, and as I did not like nor well understand so long a confinement and delay, I acquainted Sir Robert Walpole, that since what I was made belive woud be my treatment, was not like to happen, I hoped I might have libertie to return from whence I came; wherupon he sent for me nixt day and introduced me to King George in his closet. After a litle speech of thanks, he told me, withsome heat in his looks, that I had been long in a bad way and he d judge how far I deserved the favor he had now shown me, by my future conduct. I made a bow and went off, well determined never to trust in his mercy, which did not seem to abound.

Being now at full libertie to appear in public, I received great civilitys from my old acquaintances the heads of the Torys, who were extremely inquisitive to know from me the true state of the Kings affairs and conduct abroad: but as I found they knew too much alreadie and that I coud not say what woud give them a better opinion of them, I kept as much on generalls as possible. Those of the Goverment, and particularly Sir Robert Walpole, received me with the greatest civility, and severall insinuations were made, that if I woud enter into the service and measures of the Goverment, that I shoud be made very welcome. But I told them I was heartily wearied of daubling in politicks, and wanted only to retire and live privately at home.

In my frequent conversations with my 2 freinds Lord Hay and Mr. Forbes, jointly and seperately, I learnt how that Strahan, on his first and 2d examinations at London, stood his ground manfully, and beliving he d be soon discharged, writ by the common post a letter to Corsar at Edinburgh, in which he was so imprudent as to drop severall expressions which signified his having kept his secret and discovered nothing of what he knew. This was intercepted, and he being therwith confronted was so confounded that he lost both his courage and prudence, by confessing that he had been long employed in conveying letters to and from the King, that the packet seized at Leith might be from him, but he knew nothing particularly, Corsar and I knowing more of such matters than he did: but he possitively refused to give any particular informations, telling them he was ane old man and they might hang him if they pleased, for he woud not save his life by being either ane evidence or informer. This step of his however occasiond the warrand for taking up Corsar and me, and when he (Corsar) came to London he behaved very resolutely at first, but in some time was drawn in by degrees to own so much that they forced him to tell all he knew, from the time he was employd by

Captain Straton, till then, in which he laid open the canalls of the Kings corrispondence and with whom. The Goverment having thus and by other means discovered a great deall too much, it was moved and prest in the Cabinet Councill to prosecute the Earls of Wigtoun, Kincardine and Dondonald, the Lord Balmerinloch and my self for high treason, 'but the late King George opposed it; he said that the preliminaries being signed, there was a prospect of peace and he d have no more blood or forefaulters, especially seing the person most con.cerned (meaning me) had escaped, and in this he was so possitive that his ministers after severall attempts were forced to drop it; yet they painted me out as a very obnoxious person, and proposed that at least they shoud proceed so far against me, as to prevent my returning home after the trienniall prescription, which had probably been followd out, if a certain freind of mine, then present, had not represented, that it was scarce worth the pains to take so much notice of a private gentleman, especially seing what was proposed could not be attained, without prepaling all the story, which he imagined His Majestie did not incline to, since he was against prosecuting the rest, and so I escaped what was designd against me, and Corsar and Strahau were admitted to bail.

On being told these and such like passages, I answered that I did not know how far they might have evidence against me and the other persons, but I was sure neither Corsar nor Strahan could say that these letters seized were from the King, and supposing they had said so, I had not received them and so was guilty of no crime: To this my freinds replyd ther was plenty of evidence of all kinds against us and cheifly me, for besides Corsars informations, they knew every thing that was done at the Pretenders Court and were masters of what papers they pleased: "Nay," said one of them, "your freinds, Lockhart, did not give you fair play, for they writ to you by a cypher of which they knew wee had a copy." I replyd that I did not believe one word of it, for it was ane usuall trick in statesmen to pretend they had intelligence of the most secret doings, with a design of raising jealousies and fears amongst there enimys: Wherupon one of my freinds returnd, that he was determined to convince me, and then produced a paper, which containd the cant names of the aforesaid persons and sevrall others in my cypher, telling me distinctly who was meant by them, adding with ane oath that he read the seized letters, with no other impediment than turning over the leaves of his cypher; after which he told me what was containd in the letter intercepted for me, which I found agreed exactly with my letter of the 2d October, to which it was a return; nay he repeated to me a good deall of the heads

containd in that letter. These I confess surprized me much, and having said that I could not imagine how they had come by these papers, it was answered, "What is proof against the mony of Great Britain?" On my ruminating afterwards on these particulars, I could not but give credit to this confirmation of the accounts I formerlie had of the Kings secrets being discovered, for tho. I knew that their were who pretend to the art of uncyphering any the most intricate cypher that can be devised, yet I question if the Divell himself can know what person is realie meant by a fictitious name, if so be the corrispondents keep their own secrets, and therefore I could not but think their was treachery at the bottom by some about the Kings person, unless the cypher used by the King and me had by him been lodged and used in a corrispondence with some other persons and thorow their fault or some unlucky accident falln into the Goverments hands; but then, tho this might have been the case as to the cypher, it does not likewise account for the knowledge of what was containd in my letter, seing no imaginable way can be assigned for its falling into their hands, as the other. One thing I am sure of, that never mortall saw the cobby lodged with me; and if the King used it in his corrispondence with others, twas highly impolitick, on various accounts, particularly as it exposed it to discoverys and was no longer a cheque on my fidelity. Whom to accuse as the author of this criminall intelligence is more than I can take upon me, further than that in all probability it must proceed from one near the Kings person, who had access to his papers; but as I will conceall nothing that can give light or pave the way for discor vering this villany some time or other, I cant ommitt mentioning that a person of note and distinction (not any of those I formerlie spoke of but whose name Ime under promise to conceall) did at London assure me that Lord Inverness was in the Goverments pay, and that by and thorow him they were masters of what papers they pleased, and knew all the Kings secrets; that the packet which was seized was dispatchd and information therof sent in order to its being seized, for that Lord being apprehensive that the vigorous opposition and warm representations of the Kings trustees in Scotland against him and in favor of the Queen woud at last prevail with His Majestie, thought nothing woud so effectually prevent his fall, as cutting off those who were most active against him, with which veiw he writ, and discovered to the Government, the letters in that packet. If this fact is true, no age ever produced a more monstrous instance of malicious, villanous treacherie and revenge; and tho I am far from asserting it as a truth to be depended on, (tho my author was a person of good credite and knew a great deal of the Court intrigues,) yet some particulars, which my reflections on this passage recalld to my mind, raised in me

a strong suspicion of this Lord. I had formerlie sent over with Allan Cameron to the King a new cypher to be used in our future corrispondence; this I did because I was then of opinion that Lord coud not stand long out, nay I did not know but he was dismissd ere it coud reach the King; and as it might happen that His Lordship had taken coppys of the Kings cyphers, and it was uncertain how far revenge might lead him to deliver them up to His Majesties enimys, I judged it expedient to lay aside the old and use a new method in corresponding, and this new cypher was accordingly used by the King and my self after he received it, except in this letter which was seized; and what account can be given why it was then laid aside and the old one re-assumed, is more than I can imagine. If the aforsaid charge is true, then it naturally occurs that this was done because the Goverment were masters of it and not of the new one. It is likeways remarkable that the packet seized was the very first that was writ after Mr. Andrews (Invernesses creature) was laid aside, on what I writ concerning him in mine of the 10 September and 20 October, and Mr. Dundas again imployd in conveying the Kings dispatches from Holland. Ane objection in favors of Inverness here obviously occurs: since Dundas was not on his side of the question, it is not to be supposed that the Goverment was by the means of that Lord acquainted of the ship in which the packet was sent, so as she shoud be watchd and boarded by the custom house yaught at the mouth of the Firth, in virtue of the orders from Court to search her narrowlie for letters. To this it may be answered, that on supposing this Lord acted in consequence of the criminall corrispondence he's charged with or out of revenge at Dundases being re-imployd, wee may readily imagine he woud acquaint his freind Andrews of a packets being then sent to Dundas, and as at that time no other ship was bound for Leith from Rotterdam, he might fall on many wayes, by generall and unsuspected questions and observing Dundas and Trail (the master of the ship) in company together, to suspect the letters were to be sent by this ship and therupon obey his patrons directions in acquainting the Goverment therof: And indeed whilst I was afterwards at Rotterdam I found Andrews very capable of executing such a part, for he was reckoned a very false cunning fellow, having had his education from Captain Abercromby of Glassoch, a never failing servant to the Ministry; nay it consisted with my certain knowledge that he corrisponded with my Lord Hay and at the same time with Lord Inverness: This I discovered a few dayes before I left Rotterdam, by a very casuall accident, and it seems pritty materiall towards confirming the jealousie of Lord Inverness integrity.

After I staid a few weeks at London, I set out for Scotland, and lived at my countrie house in the most retired private manner, having no corrispondence with the King nor dealings with James Hamilton and Robert Freebairn 2 litle underline tools to Inverness, to whose management all the Kings affairs at London and Edinburgh were now committed, whilst at the same time no person of charactar and prudence woud have any communication with them.

The eheif design of this work being to collect, and perhaps transmit to posterity, coppys of these Letters to and from the King and his trustees in Scotland, I found it necessary to subjoin a short account of sevrall passages which served to illustrate the same and carry on the history of these times; and as it commences from the time I was employd in carrying on this corrispondence, I do not pretend to continue it after another was appointed in my place upon my being obliged to leave the kingdom: and indeed sevrall other circumstances concurr in fixing upon this as a proper time to finish this work. For after signing of the praeliminarys and King Georges death, all the Kings then schemes and projects were at ane end, as the affairs and veivs of almost all the princes of Europe took a quite different turn and their designs in favor of the King were superceded and must so remain whilst the ruling powrs continue in this pacific disposition.

And here if wee look into the state of the Kings affairs, they appear with a more dismall aspect than I ever knew them, as he has no prospect of (at least sudden) assistance from abroad. King George the 2d mounted the British throne with the favor of the populace, whither more from that nationall genius which is constantly pleased with noveltys or out of odium to his father, with whom he was in bad terms and whom they heartily hated, I shant say, but so it is that at first all parties made court to him; and before they began to cool (by discovering the few popular acta he performed were all grimace, as he followd his predecessors measures) he establishd himself by procuring such a Parliament to be elected as consisted of as well disciplin'd members as those of his powerfull army, both which being made up of men pickt out and of known zeall to the revolution interest and truely mercenary, as they were well paid, went thorow stitches to serve him and establish his dominion on the united basis of a military power and legall authority, whilst at the same time the King, Ime affraid, daylie loses ground. He began the world with the generall esteem of mankind; evry person, freind and foe, allowd him to be a wise, sober, just, good natured prince, of great knowlege and application in business; and such as knew him, both forreigners and subjects, concurr'd in portending the happiness of that people over

whom he should rule, and this character he maintained whilst the Duke of Mar was at the head of his affairs after his return from Scotland. 'Tis true he was thought to put too much trust and shew too much favor towards His Grace, so as all matters were directed solely by him, whereby the Duke of Ormond and several other persons of quality thought themselves slighted, and retired, from the Court; yet still affairs were managed with a good decorum and dexterity, and several well laid projects carryd on and prudent negotiations set a foot, and people excused the Kings having a byass towards a person that had made so great an effort for him and who was certainly a very able minister, tho not free of that ambition which overrules the minds of most statesmen, by endeavouring to monopolize all power into their own hands. But soon after Mars removal, His Majesties character and affairs appeared in a quite different light: great blunders were committed in the execution of affairs in Scotland (and the same was alledged and may be reasonably supposed elsewhere) so that people soon saw that they were not carryd on with the dexterity and secrecy as formerly; but that which stung the nail to the head was his allowing these his favorites (which seems to be a curse in a peculiar manner entaild on the royal race of Stewart) to rule under him in so absolute arbitrary a manner, that for their sake and on their account, the prerogatives of a sovereign and a husband are skrewed up to a pitch not tenable by the laws of God or man, or consistent with prudence; in so far as the royall consort, the mother of the royall issue, and subjects of the best quality and merit who had served the King with their blood and fortunes, are trampled upon and abused by a parcel of people who never were nor will be capable to do the King any material service and are contemptible in the sight of all that know them, and at last forced to seek a sanctuary in some other place and on that account deprived of the small pensions they received for supporting themselves, after having lost all for the King. And as all these continued steps of unaccountable proceedings were contrary to the repeated prayers and remonstrances of His Majesties best friends, princes and subjects, they gave the world a very unfavorable opinion of his prudence, justice, honour and gratitude, and highly discouraged such as were inclined and capable to advise and serve him, and created an universall despair of ever seeing a probability of better days.

And thus whilst no party is acting for his interest, no projects formed, nothing done to keep up the spirits of the people, the old race drops off by degrees and a new one sprouts up, who having no particular byass to the King, as knowing little more of him than what

the public news papers bear, enter on the stage with a perfect indifference, at least coolness, towards him and his cause, which consequently must daylie languish and in process of time be tottally forgot. In which melancholy situation of the Kings affairs, I leave them in the year 1728.

**LETTERS,**  
&c.

# LETTERS,

&c.

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The five following articles bear no dates, and it is probable that the last three Letters were not intended for the press; but they contain so many proofs of a well regulated mind and affectionate disposition, such excellent principles and such admirable sense, that it would be unjust to the writer to withhold them from the world.—Editor.

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## SONG

to the tune of "*Old long syne.*"

1.

O CALIDON, O Calidon, how wretched is thy fate,  
I, thy St. Andrew, do lament your poor unhappy state,  
O Calidon, O Calidon, how greivd am I to think  
That your sad story writen is with blood instead of ink.

2.

In days of yore you was renownd, conspicuous was your fame,  
All nations did your valour praise, and loyalty proclaim,  
Your antient rights you did mantain, and libertys defend,  
And soorn'd to have it thought that you on England did depend.

3.

Unto your Kings you did adhere, stood by the royall race,  
With them you honour great did gain, and paths of glory trace,  
With royall Stuart at your head all enemys oppose,  
And like our brave heroic Clans, in peices cut your foes.

4.

Your Kings did justice then dispence and led you on to fight,  
And your stupendous courage was like ther example bright,  
A happy people then you was, with plenty did abound,  
And your untainted loyaltie with blessings great was crown'd.

5.

But oh! alas! the case is changd, you'r wretched and forlorn,  
The hardships now impos'd on you, by slaves are only born,  
Your antient rights which you so long did with your blood mantain,  
Are meanlie sold and givn up, and you dare scarce complain.

6.

Justice now has left the land, with taxes you'r opprest,  
And evry litle pratling wretch may freelie you molest,  
The choisest of your noble blood are banishd far away,

And such as do remain at home must truckle and obey.

7.

Your martial spirit's quite decayd, you'r poor contented slaves,  
You'r kickd and cuffd oppressd harrassd by scoundrels fools and knaves,  
Against your King you did rebell, abjurd the royall race,  
For which just Heaven did punish you with woe contempt disgrace.

8.

This Prince alone the crown shoud wear and royall scepter sway,  
To him alone you shoud submit and your aledgiance pay,  
A Prince endowd with virtues rare, so pious and so great,  
That were it not to punish you, he'd have a better fate.

9.

O Calidon, O Calidon, look back from whence ye fell,  
And from your sufferings learn your crime, and nere again rebell,  
Redeem your antient liberties, regain your rights and laws,  
Restore your injurd lawfull Prince, or perish in the cause.

10.

Your reputation thus you may, thus only can retrieve,  
And till you justice do to him, you need not think to thrive,  
O may th' Almighty King of Kings his sovraign powr extend,  
And his annointeds precious life from perrills all defend.

11.

O may just Heaven assert his right, him to his own restore,  
And may the Scottish nation shine, illustrious as before,  
O Calidon, O Calidon, how joyfull woud I be,  
To see the King upon his throne, and you from chains set free.

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## LETTER

to Mr. Salmon author of the Reveiw of the History of England.

Edenburgh.

Sir,—I lately perused your Reveiw of the History of England, and am extremely well pleased with the performance. The veiws that you give of the sevrall reigns and charactars are just and impartiall. The facts you adduce to illustrate the nature of the English constitution are plain and uncontestable, the inferences you draw are proper and undeniable and the reflections you offer are judicious and instructive. From the scope and spirit of the work, tis no difficult matter to guess at your principles and opinion with respect to Government and the right and title of the present governing powers, tho you have so prudentlie and cautiouslie expressd your sentiments, that however grating the work may be to some, you'r pritty safe, I conceive, against legall prosecutions on that head; but against ane act of Parliament to unridle the most secret thoughts of your heart and lay open what you designd

to conceall, nay perhaps did not enter into your mind, no private man of this generation will adventure, I presume, to ensure you; yet if this should even happen, you have more merite towards gaining of favour (for law and justice have nothing to do in such cases) than I verily believe you intended or perhaps are apprized of, by your large concessions, towards removing the hedge of security, planted in the first ages and thence till of late carefully cultivated and upheld, about the sacred persons of crownd heads.

I will not enter in the question how far one sovereign prince can lawfully, on any account, put to death any other sovereign prince that is altogether independent. A great deal may be said for the negative, and it cannot be asserted but when the sovereigns life and the safety of his people cannot otherwise be preserved; for if on every attempt against a prince and his dominions, the invader that shall happen to fall into his hands, may be put to death, wars would become very cruel and barbarous. Few princes I believe that prove victorious would not push forward their success to the subduing of his adversary with his dominions, and if so, such a prince, especially if he was the aggressor, by a change of fortune, falling into his enemys hands, might be put to death; nay in all wars twixt princes, however justly commenced by the captivated prince, he would be subject to the will of one that is both judge and partie, and an ambitious illdesigning prince would never want excuses or feign pretences to cut off the other. But so far hath this doctrine been disapproved of, that I cant call to mind in profane history, of any judiciall tryall commenced and carried on by one sovereign prince against another, till your Queen Elizabeths reign, on any pretext whatsoever; for when reasons of state rendered it expedient to cut off a captivated prince, the same was done in a private arbitrary manner, which, nay the obliging such an unfortunate prince to yeild and grant high and unreasonable terms, hath been in all ages and by all authors condemnd as unjust and ungenerous, and consequentlie serves to show that the action is illegall and unjustifiable. But I will not insist on such generall propositions, it being plain from the strain and spirit of your book, that you entertain a just and high regard for the person as well as the office of a sovraigne, which indeed are so blended together as to be inseperable. But as you are pleased to assign some reasons (page 259) towards justifying your Queen Elizabeths conduct, in putting our Queen Mary to death, I will, with all submission, examine the same and do my best to convince you they will not stand the test, by any rule of law equity honour or conscience.

I own, that the greatest provocation can be given a prince to carry matters to the highest resentment against another, is when it appears

he has formed treacherous infamous designs against his life, but in the present case, it is pritty evident Queen Mary had no such veivs; what hapned to her was not the first, and is not the latest instance, of a conspiracy hatchd and contrived, with a veiw to entangle and ruin persons wholly innocent, that hapned to stand in the way of a Ministrys base selfish designs, and you seem to acquit our Queen of any such bloody infamous design, in so far as you own *it is possible she might not he concernd in the conspiracy against your Queens life.*—But then you proceed to justifie her death by affirming (as indeed she did not deny) *that she was engaged in such measures, that if they had succeeded must liave ended in the destruction of Queen Elizabeth, and why when the Queen of Scots had armed forreign powers against the Queen of England and invited her own subjects to depose her, she miglU not as well be deemd ane enemy as if she had invaded the kingdom, you'r at a loss to discover, and in that case you say none coud have calld it injustice: To take off ane enemy in Iter just defence reflects no dishonour upon the Queen and her Ministry.*—Now, sir, I humblie differ from you, that every enemy and much more every prince invading a kingdom may be deprived of life. This, as I observed before, is contrary to the maxims and practice of all ages and nations, as it woud prove highlie detrimentall to mankind, by opening a door to introduce bloody revengefull retalliations, perpetuate feuds and nationall quarrells and exclude quarters and mercy amongst discording nations, seing wars and rumours of wars will be existing till the world is more universally reformed, and thence it is that all nations agree, in a more Christian manner of carrying on wars, than you lay down, and consequently your generall proposition will not hold, seing the universall law and practice of nations must be the rule in such cases.—But to come nearer to you, by granting what you positively, tho indeed, I conceive, erroneously affirm, you will also, I suppose, ycild to me, that the first rise and occasion of the invasion and war that followed upon it, must be duely considered, in order to justifie such severe punishments. If the prince whos takn by his enemy was not the first aggressor, but made the invasion to retalliate the like done to him, or as the most probable way to disconcert the enterprises of his enemy against him, I hope youl allow his case is ane exception from your generall rule. Which being granted as highlie agreeable to justice and equity, let us nixt take a reveiw of the affair in question and from thence form a judgement of the contraversie betwixt us.

Mary Queen of Scotland was a sovereign princess (for I perceive you have little regard for your *de facto* kings in England, and the

constitution of Scotland was the same”) independent (if after any pretended right of superiority was yeild up by the King and people of England, prescribed and become obsolete, any scruple remains with you, be pleased to peruse the I a rued Craig on the Sovereignty of Scotland and the judicious Andersons Independency of the Scots Grown) of all other powers under God. Whilst she was cloathd with a husband (the French King) and under his authority in a countrie, forreigne to her as Queen of Scotland, her right and title to the crown of England, was asserted by her said husband, nay he and she assumed, in virtue of her right, the title and carried the arms of England (God have mercy on the Kings of England if they fall into the French Kings hands) but after her husbands death, returning to her own hereditary dominions, she dropd her pretentious, in so far as she laid aside the title and arms and by letters embassys &c. ownd Queen Elizabeths title. For some time she reigned happily and peaceably over her own naturall born subjects, but being at length oppressd, run down and dethroned by a parcell of hypocriticall rebellious subjects, eggd on and supported by Queen Elizabeth, she’s drivn out of her native countrie and compelld to fly for shelter into that of another prince. Instead of being treated with the hospitality due to a stranger in distress; instead of being received with the love and kindness of a near kinswoman and a dear ally; instead of having the assistance, which one woud think was the interest of all crownd heads to give on such occasions, she is seized as a traitor or criminall and kept many, many long years under confinement: during which she frequentlie made the most moving applications, even such as it is amazing did not affect a princess, endowed with so many shining virtues, as are set furth in the character of your Queen Elizabeth. But finding all was in vain, that her subjects were encouraged and assisted to continue undutifull to her, nay to blast and blacken her reputation and character, by horrid aspersions and villanous forgerys, and that there was no prospect of releif from what she coud urge to Queen Elizabeth by the tyes of blood, the common interest of princes and the known rules of equity and justice; being nearlie related to most of the princes of Europe, to them she applys and with them she consults, how thro ther assistance to obtain by force, what could not be accomplished otherways. On which account she was tryed sentenced and executed.

Now, good sir, be pleased to consider, if the case is fairly stated and who appears to be the first aggressor. If according to your way of reasoning, it was lawfull in your Queen to deprive our Queen of her life, sure it was as lawfull for our Queen to oppose and make head against your Queen, being equally independent of each other. For

your Queen had actually executed measures pernicious to our Queen, by exciting her subjects against her, by supporting them in their rebellion, and by restraining her of the libertie of her person, and had even acquired that power by a method inconsistent with all the rules of honour, humanity and correspondence amongst societys. And all this hapned before she is accused of having only *plotted and contrived measures, which might, if executed, have proved pernicious to your Queen*: so that it cannot be denied but Queen Elizabeth began the fray by doing the first injury, and refusing redress, without any provocation or reason, but what arose from state veiwes, which, tho perhaps prudent, are not alwayes just, and consequentlie, as you observe in other cases, not to be defended. And therefore tho our Queen, according to your maxim, might justly have deprived your Queen of her life, had she been in her power, yet the ease widely differs as to your Queen, in regard (as I think cannot be denied) she was the first aggressor, and put the other under an absolute necessity of falling into these measures or otherwise contentedly yeilding herself up to the arbitrary power and unjust persecution of another, to whom she owed no subjection, and was in all respects equall, either as to the dignity or qualifications of her person. In all wars and variances twixt Princes or States the occasion and first rise of them shoud be duely considered, with regard to the manner of carrying them on and ending them, and as matters stood twixt these 2 rivall princesses, Queen Elizabeth could not in conscience or honour push her revenge to the utmost extremity; nay had the tables changed and she fallen under Queen Marys power, after so many repeated injuries and provocations, tho by your maxim she might justly have cut her off, yet such I confess is my reverence for the regall office and person, that I shoud never have approved and much less been at pains to justifie it, by maxims especially, so detrimentall to mankind and contrary to the laws and practice of nations. That sovereign princes may be opposed nay killd in fair batle, by even a private person, or if made prisoners be detaind till they agree to such terms and give such security as will render the prince and state they assaulted safe, I do not contravert; but I cannot bear the thoughts of their being subjected to the judiciaall tryalls and penall sentences of other forreign powers, more than of their own subjects, and I am afraid if a door be opened and a precedent laid down, in one case, for divesting princes of the security of their persons, arising from the sacred character of the office, the King killing doctrine (which you seem sufficiently to abhor) will take too deep root and be too much encouraged; and it is observeable that not many years after this first instance of such a tragicall case existed, it served as a precedent in England, to the Kings being judged,

condemned and put to death by a power and authority proceeding from the Majesty of the people. A prince's power and jurisdiction is limited as to persons as well as bounds, and as all sovereigns are accountable only to God, they are independent of one another, and being of a rank and degree above the rest of mankind are; to be used more tenderly; but as, notwithstanding of all their immunities and dignities, they are the sons and subjects of the Supreme Governour of the world, they are liable to a share of humane calamities, and when it pleases God, in the wise dispensations of his providence, to stir up another prince against them, who is likely to prevail over them, they may resist by all lawful prudent ways, but leave the issue to God, who sooner or later will judge betwixt princes as well as people of an inferior rank. And I can by no means think, that the laws of self defence can be so far extended, as to allow of practices so diametrically opposite to the interest of mankind, as unhooking the safety and security of Crown heads, by bringing them upon a level with the most abject of the people, and thereby lessening the reverence and regard due to their persons and office.

That no sovereign prince hath a right of superiority or jurisdiction over another is a maxim laid down and asserted by all lawyers, and from this principle it is that a publick minister is exempted from the jurisdiction of the place where he resides, because as he represents the person of a sovereign, over whom another sovereign hath no superiority or jurisdiction, it cannot be extended to his ambassador, whereof we have a very remarkable instance and very apropos to the present subject in the case of Leslie Bishop of Ross: He was in the year 1571 accused and convicted of the same practices in favour of Queen Mary against Queen Elizabeth for which the former was condemned, and was threatened with death, but he boldly asserted that he was the ambassador of a sovereign princess and by that character without the reach of the English laws and judicatories. And the English civilians who gave their opinions in that case, did affirm that tho a prince might refuse to admit the ambassador of another or order him to depart his dominions, yet whilst he continued he ought to enjoy the privileges of his character. To the objection that Queen Mary was deposed the Bishop replied that the abdication on which the deposition proceeded was not voluntary, but forced from her whilst a captive in the hands of her rebellious subjects, that this was so notorious and so much disapproved that in the year 1568 he was received and acknowledged in quality of her ambassador tho the pretended abdication preceded that time. Thus we find the independence of a sovereign princess did save her ambassador, but in a short period of

time could not save herself, which serves to let us see how grosslie politicians will contradict precedents laid down by themselves, consistent to the laws and practice of nations, when it serves to answer their present designs.

You represent Queen Elizabeth as very unwilling to execute the sentence against Queen Mary and in so doing you follow the jog trot of the writers of these times, who, give me leave to say, seem in their accounts of that Queen, to be as much on the partiall flattering lay, as any of the authors you so frequentlie charge, during other reigns. I readily acknowledge, she was a princess adorned with many charming virtues, but I cannot assent to her being perfect, as her countrymen represent her, and I wish you had informed, wither this reluctance proceeded from a tender compassion of our Queens hard fate, or from the wranglings of her conscience arising from a conviction of the iniquity of the sentence or from a just dread of the consequences attending so unprecedented a measure. The truth ont is, I am perswaded any concern she truly had or affected, proceeded from the last of these motives, and what confirms this opinion, is her avoiding to bring the unfortunate Queen to a publick scaffold and endeavouring, after the manner of other Princes on the like bloody occasions, to have her taken off in a private clandestine manner, of which you have a pritty clear proof in Dr. M'kinzies 3d volume of the Lives of Scots Authors, lately published, in that part of it wher he treats of Queen Mary; to which I refer you, and after having examined the story he relates, judge impartially if .your heroines charactar is so universally glorious and perfect as her countrymen are at pains to draw it.

Allow me likewise to tell you that I am not perfectlie well pleased with your justification of King Charles 2ds schemes, after his restoration: I am far from thinking that such persons as acted moderately under the usurpation and seemd rather to be carryed away by the violent torrent of iniquity which then prevaild, than by ane innate principle of aversion to the King and monarchy, or that even such who acted more violently and zealouslie, upon their submission (proceeding from ane appearance of a sense and sorrow of their crimes)—I am far I say from thinking these were to be totally discountenanced and discouraged, by being, altogether deprived of the royall favour and confidence, tho withall, seme marks of a just remembrance of the parts they acted, was absolutely necessary: neither do I conceive that the Cavaliers had just grounds to demand and expect that they should monopolize all the Kings bountie and all places of profite and power, nor a compleat reimbursement of all they

had lost or expended on account of and during the civill war, for as the quarrell was not solely the Kings, but equally the peoples, in so far as the constitution was invaded and subverted, every member of the society were obliged in duty and interest to contribute in a matter that was nationall and so essentially affected the vitalls of the commonwealth. And therfove wher the estates of the Cavaliers were confiscated and fines exacted from them,—when these I say were applyd to the then publick tho illegall service, or wher they voluntarily raised many and applyd it to the Kings and ther countries service, I conceive no reparation couod be made to them, but either by a nationall tax or the Crowns care to conferr on them as many and as great instances of royall trust and favour, as the then and succeeding state of affairs couod allow of; to which and no more the Cavaliers had a just claim, and in the dispencing therof, justice and gratitude, as well as good policy, required a very impartiall application. But that the King and the politicall maxims and veivs of that period faild therin, is lme affraid too certain, for besides the generall tradition therof handed doun wlthout much contradictlon, a great many particular instances may be adduced, of which I will only mention one in this countrie. The Earl of Nithsdale (predecessour of him whos now deprived of all his estate, and narrowlie escaped with his life, on account of his adherence to the interest of that person, who he belives hath the only just title to the crown of these realms) sold a barrony of land or lordship, for which he received from the Earl of Buccleugh 50,000*l.* sterling, which sum he gave to King Charles 2d to support him in his straits and attempt to recover his crowns: and yet this noble and loyall family received no share of the royall bountie, from the restoration to the revolution, but a pension, and that perhaps not allwayes, of one or at most two hundered pounds per annum. But wher the confiscated estates or the fines were applyd as rewards to those who were concernd (actively or passively, moderately or furiouslie, tis all the same matter) in the rebellion, from these I think the Cavaliers had reason to demand and expect a full and compleat reimbursement, so long as the posessors therof had one farthing left towards making restitution. And the King and Parliaments debarring them from obtaining what they were thus so unjustly deprived of and was applyd towards enriching ther, the Kings and the nations enimys, was a peice of the greatest injustice and ungratitude and at the same time most impoliticall, in so far as it gave small encouragement to those who were inclinable to serve the Crown aml the countrie, and the effects therof lme affraid are felt at this very time. Two out of the many instances of hardships of this nature I will mention. The Earl of Derby having acted a truly heroicall part, was at length beheaded and his

estate confiscated, or according to the modern term forefaulted. Part of it and that the antient paternall inheritance of the family from William the Conquerors time, scituated in Wales, was by a grant bestowd upon one, who was thought to have, and no doubt as matters then stood had realie more than ordinary merite. As this gentleman lookd ane inch before his nose, he did not incline to rest his title solely on this grant, but obtaind a fine and recovery of this estate, which he afterwards possesd by this double title. After the restoration, the Derby family could not have access to this estate, in virtue of the act of Parliament restoring the Royalists to ther estates: but as it was notorious that this fine and recovery was procured on no just grounds and whilst that noble family was under a cloud and could not oppose it, ane act of Parliament was necessary to set the matter right, which readily past both Houses, but to the amazement of that and all future ages, stopt at the royall assent, and so to this day that noble family is deprived of that estate. This account I had from a loyall person nearlie allyed to it, and is Ime airraid too true<sub>k</sub>. The other instance is from Scotland, wher during the rebeliou, the committees, of what they calld a Parliament, were in use to raise mony, by calling for such as were Cavaliers or reckond such in ther hearts, and compelling them to lend such sums of mony as were prescribed unto them, and wher these had not readie cash nor credite to procure the same from others, the leading rich men of the partie generouslie advanced it, for which they got security on the malignants estate, which they declared shoult be preferable to all even previous mortgages: and the malignant got a bond from certain of the managers (the very persons for the most part who advanced the mony) acknowleging the receiving of the same and graciouslie obliging themselves to repay it, tho to have demanded it then or ever afterwards, had their usurpation continued, woud have been a crime with a witness and punishd as a certain sign of malignancie. After the restoration, these publick borrowers were, by ane act of Parliat ment, absolved of any obligation to perform what they were thus bound to in a private as well as publick capacity, because forsooth, the mony was borrowd on a publick (rebelious) account. But the poor Cavaliers, as if they were still to be reckond and treated as malignants, were left bound and even obliged to pay, what they had been compelld to borrow from these oppressors in \*her private capacitys, to pay back again to them in ther publick capacitys. Now if these and many more such instances can be adduced, let God and the world judge if you have done justice to King Charles's counfills in the way and manner you represent them.

Very different and much more prudent and generous was the

conduct of his predecessor King David the 2d of Scotland. In the beginning of his reign, his cuntry was invaded and his armies defeated by King Edward the 3d of England, and he himself obliged, for his security, to retire from his native cuntry to France, wher he continued many years, but returning at length to head his faithfull subjects against the common enemy, he was complimented at Perth, soon after his arrival], by almost the whole body of the nation, and the first thing he did, was to call for a list of such persons as were killd at the battles of Duplin, Halidown Hill or elsewher, or were deprived of ther estates whilst the English continued in possession of the kingdom, and to the familys of all such persons as had suffered in any of these instances, or remarkably signalized themselves in the defence of the country, he gave rewards suitable to ther severall merits. The effects of which acts of justice appeard, when that prince was afterwards defeat and made prisoner at the battle of Durhame. The nobility, gentry and commons continued resolutely to mantain his cause and oppose the enemy. So soon as the Estates of Parliament could meet (which hapned within 3 or 4 months after his being made captive) they agreed and actually remitted (notwithstanding the heavie circumstances of the times) mony to defray the expence of his living, whilst a prisoner at London, and they resolved (to ther immortal honour be it recorded) to use all possible means to effectuate his releife, and accordingly did manfully stand ther ground against all the hostile attempts and reject the severall dishonourable proposalls made by King Edward, till at last he yeilded to grant honourable tho very heavie terms, *a.* no less sum than 200,000 marks being stipulated as King Davids ransom, for which (huge sum, in those dayes) the subjects of Scotland did bind themselves and sent up hostages for ther performance. Had King Charles the 2d followd the same rules of justice and generosity towards the suffering Cavaliers and tHer familys, tis more than probable, so great numbers woud not have sit with ther hands across and seen the royal prerogatives trampled on and pluck out by the root, for to his unaccountable negligence in not sufficiently countenancing the Cavaliers, may in a great measure be ascribed, the continuance at least, of the many misfortunes attending the royall family.

As I am altogether a stranger to you and your character, you do me the justice, I hope, to believe, that what I have said on these subjects, proceeds from no disgust or ill will to you: I own a great attachment to monarchy and the royall family, and as I am entirely satisfied you are very well affected to both, I am so much the more Sir Yours.

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LETTER  
*from Mr. Lockhart to his eldest Son* \*

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\* George Lockhart of Carnwath was married, April 30, 1697 to the Right Honourable Lady Euphemia Montgomery, third daughter of Alexander ninth Earl of Eglinton by his first wife Margaret, daughter of William Lord Cochrane son of the Earl of Dundonald, and had issue as follows.

1. Margaret born 12th July 1698.
2. George ... 18th June 1700; died 1761.
3. Alexander . . 27th November 1701, died 17th Nov. 1782.
4. Euphemia. .: 12th February 1703. Married John sixth Earl of Wigton.
5. Thomas... 4th February 1705.
6. Kate born 26th February 1706.
7. Grace married first John third Earl of Aboyne, and secondly James ninth Earl of Moray.
8. James born . . 6th June 1707, died 15th October 1749, Lieutenant Colonel of Hacket's regiment in the Dutch service.
9. William .. 4th August 1708.
10. Susan 10th August 1709.
11. Francis ... 4th October 1710.
12. Jean 2d February 1713.
13. Philip . 20th July 1716.
14. A daughter dead born.
15. Mary born 8th September 1718. Married John Rattray, Esq. and died in 1805.

George Lockhart younger of Carnwath was married January 19th, 1726, to Fergusia only child of Sir George Wishart of Clifton hall, Baronet, and had issue as follows.

1. George born 4th December 1726, died in exile at Paris, 1761.
2. James . . . 16th November 1727, died at Pisa 1790, General in the Austrian service, Count of the Empire &c. &c.

This Letter appears to have been written between the years 1721  
and 1726,

Dear George,

Some few years ago, when you went abroad, I wrot a letter to you, containing my best advices and the reasons on which the same were founded with regard to your charactar as a Christian and a gentelman. Yon may mispend your time more than in revising them, now your come to riper years; for if they still stand the test, they will, at least shoud make a deeper impression and be more regarded by you.

One thing which I then ommitted and affects me very much I must now represent to you in this letter, which I leave behind me as the last favour I, your affectionat father, have to ask of you, my dear child, which is this, that youd supply my place, by acting a kind and fatherly part to all my younger childeren, your own sisters and brothers.

What I do earnestlie recommend to you is of its self your duty and interest to observe.

The duty is implyd in the priviledges and benefited annexed by law and custom to the primogeniture; for as, after my decease, you become the head of the family and on that account a respect and regard is, in a more conspicuous degree, due to you from all my younger childeren, than any one of them can claim of another, so are you bound to employ the advantages and priviledges you enjoy, for ther support and protection, in so far as they need and merite the same. For the superiority annexed to the primogeniture is not because the

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3. Alexander . 4th December 1728.

4. Clementina 13th January 1730. Married the Honourable Colonel John Gordon, and died 1803.

5. John ... 19th December 1731.

6. Euphemia . 30th June 1733.

7. William . . 16th March 1735.

8. Anne ... 30th December 1736.

9. Margaret . . 8th March 1738.

10. Charles . . . 27th February 1740. Married Miss M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Largie, and died 1796.

11. Grace ... 14th September 1741.

12. A son, dead born 1744.

eldest son is one whit better than the younger, but because, if the estate and dignities of a family were branched out and parcelled amongst the severall children, they would not have such weight and be so conducive to the grandeur and support of the family, which, in this light, is to be reckoned a little society linked and connected together by particular ties and interests. And therefore as the younger children owe a deference and regard more than ordinary to the head of this society, so he again is bound by reciprocal obligations to perform all the offices of their natural father, whom he represents; and this you may observe hath been the constant unanimous sentiments of all nations, in all ages, as appears from the sacred accounts of the patriarchal age and all profane history ancient and modern.

That tis your interest will appear equally evident to you; for the power and grandeur of a family does not altogether consist in the enjoyment of an estate, tho' ever so great, but in having friends and dependents able and willing to stand by and support it; and from whom can that be expected, in such a measure of zeal and sincerity, as from those blood relations descended from the same original and partakers of the benefits once enjoyed and handed down by their common progenitors, for the comfort and welfare of the society thus united and tied together by the strongest obligations to mutual love, friendship and good offices? When the head of a family acts a kind part, all the branches thereof, near or far related, take pleasure in his prosperity, well knowing they shall in time reap a proportionable benefit from it. Whence, but from such motives as I represent, doth the respect or rather submission paid by our Highland clans to their respective chieftains owe its original? How many ancient oppressed decayed families have been supported and relieved by collateral branches? And how often have flourishing families been brought low by intestine feuds and divisions? What an encouragement is it to a rival or enemy to set up against a family that is broken and divided, or when they appear no disposition to mutual good offices and assistance? On the other hand, what a great figure doth that family make when the severall members of it are united in love and interest and are ready to stand and fall with one another? Such a disposition seldom or never fails to beget both fear and respect.

On a review of your own times, you cannot fail to find particular instances to verify all I have affirmed on this head. In short, families are petty states and have the same fate, and are subject to the same rules and guided by the same maxims as the most powerful extensive kingdoms. A family that is divided can no more subsist than a kingdom. Subjects may be compelled by laws and a superior force, but

never heartily and chearfully obey and support ther prince that does not cherish and protect them, and they often desert him when he's at a pinch; just so, the nearest blood relations expect mutuall good offices, especially from those that claim a superiority, and when these fail, ther attachment in a short time evanisheth.

To reduce what I have said to practice, be courteous, kind and obliging to all your brothers and sisters, willing to assist them on all occasions. Let your house be as ane assembly for them to meet frequently and be merry, and ane asylum in case of distress; and wher it happens by misfortunes and not from causes criminall or blameable in them, do not stand upon what patrimony I have alloted them and you perhaps have paid, but generouslie and like a true freind enable them to set out again in the world. Chanty requires such kind of aid, in some measure, to all fellow Christians, and much more to such near relations who's low and mean circumstances dart back a reflection on you and the family you represent, and who by being assisted may recover so as to repay what you advance, and return your freindship with interest. Set yourself as a good example before them, and by your authority and advice restrain all vicious and encourage all virtuous habits in them.

To be a litle more particular; your brother Sandie\* and your two married sisters† are off your hands, except in so far as love and services are ever to be encreasing wher occasions offer to shew the same to them or thers. Your sister Sussie must be settled in such a manner as is suitable to her unluckie circumstances; no hopes can be formed of her ever being in a condition to appear in the world, but I wish she may be put in a way of living privately and confortably. Jeany and Mary, after ther mothers death, can be no wher so decentlie as with you, if your married, and you shoud recommend to your wife to use them well and take care of them as if they were her own. Jamie hath been ane undutifull child, and shows no inclinations to do well, but hes young and not to be dispaired of, and he must be cherishd or discouraged according to his good or bad behaviour. Willy is a

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\* Alexander, the second son, was Educated for the Scotch bar, at which he made an eminent figure, and died Lord of Session, with the title of Lord Covington. His eldest son was equally eminent at the English bar, but was snatched away in the prime and vigour pf his life and faculties, leaving no issue by his wife, the present Countess of Harcourt.

† The Countesses of Wigton and Aboyne.

goodnatured boy: he's designd for the army, and youd take care he be educated and instructed in such a manner as is fit for one of that employment, who designs and expects to rise by it, and when hes of ane age fit to enter into the service, endeavour to place him in some corps where he may have a freind to advise and inspect him. Philip is a child I love tenderlie, because he evidences a spirit capable of great things; if hes well educated, in all appearance he'l prove ane honour to the family, and therefore, in the most earnest manner I recommend it to you. If Sandy dyes soon or comes in a few years to be advanced, then I incline Philip shoud be bred a Scots lawyer; but if matters goes otherwise with Sandy, in that case I woud have Philip bred to the English law, or rather a clergyman (but this must be left to the advice of freinds, as matters cast up) in which case his education must be in England when he grows a litle elder, and I desire some prudent man may be kept with him, to overlook his manners, health and studys.

I think I have said enuff on these subjects, to make ane impression on any person that hath bowells of love and compassion, and right notions of his interest and duty. I will only add that when you see or think of your brothers and sisters, reckon them as committed in a particular manner to your care by your deceased father, who makes it his earnest and last request, and leaves you his blessing as you act a kind part to them; and remember if the dead know and are affected with the actions of the living, his future peace will in so far depend upon your answering his expectations, as will his prayers be heard in heaven, and the blessing of Almighty God descend upon you and your own offspring; which is earnestly desired by your most loving and affectionate father

GEORGE LOCKHART.

Upon the margin of the above letter, and in a feeble hand, was added— "Jamie, since writing this letter, having alterd his way and behaved to my satisfaction, I have intirely forgot all offences in his younger years."

[Mr. Lockhart junior, upon his father's death in 1732, fulfilled his injunctions, and was throughout life a kind and affectionate brother. Editor.]

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Letter from Mr. Lockhart to his sister-in-law Catherine, eldest daughter of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton, and Lady of James Stewart, sixth Earl of Galloway.—Alexander, Earl of Eglinton, died in 1729, leaving a numerous family by three wives; and this letter appears to have been written soon after his decease.

You are descended of a family illustrious on many more valuable accounts than either antiquity or nobility; that probity affability and generosity which appeared in all the views and schemes thereof, has justly rendered it venerable as well as honourable in the judgement of all good men, and there are few or none of us in the western shires who will not in the compass of a few years, less or more feel and regret the loss of your noble father.

As his fatal death is likely to occasion a very notable revolution in the affairs of that family, allow me, madam, from the honor I bear towards His Lordships memory to accost Your Ladyship, the nearest relation come to years of understanding, on a subject that merits your and all the relations most serious thoughts; in doing whereof I will not trust to my own private judgement, but will frankly and ingeniously impart what I find is the opinion and discourse of mankind. First then tis thought very odd that none of those named tutors, even those nearly tyed to the family by the bonds of blood or alliance, incline to accept and execute the trust which their noble deceased friend assuredly expected from them. The danger arising from omissions is no relevant excuse; it may indeed affect and terrify a formal, narrow-chicken hearted pedant, but it can never penetrate so deep into the mind of a truly generous grateful soul, as to prevent his performing the most essential duty to his deceased friend. He considers that man came not into this world merely for himself, but to act a social part, to assist and relieve all mankind as far as he can, and in so far as particular friends or near relations are concerned to venture and expose himself to certain degrees of inconvenience and danger in their service, and he is convinced that no subject admits fairer or more necessary occasions to display these generous qualities, than in overseeing the education and managing the affairs of an innocent noble minor. To what millions of hazards are such exposed to in this wicked generation? and what satisfaction must arise from the reflection of having been accessory in training up the heir of a noble family in the paths of virtue and preventing his estate from being a prey to others? On the other hand, how cutting and shocking must be the reverse contemplation, when it appears probable it was in ones power to have prevented it, and how low an opinion must the world

have of that person, who rather than run a small hazard will stand by and see his freinds representative and family go to perdition? As these and the like considerations are more than sufficient to affect any generous mind., such as know the particular regard the late Earl of Eglinton evidenced on all occasions towards Your Ladyship personally and the family your matchd with, cant eiuuT admire how it comes about that My Lord Galloway and his son shoud behave in a manner which sure their deceased freind woud have least expected from them of all mankind: and as the interest Your Ladyship most deservedly has with these is no secret, your not employing it in behalf of your indulgent affectionat fathers memory, cannot well be reconciled with those principles of honor and justice which make a part of your charactar, in other matters. As a good Christian is not affrighted from his duty, by the difficulties that attend it, well knowing that with care and vigilancy they may be surmounted, neither ought a true freind be frightned from acting the part incumbent upon him from the terror of ommissions. The law indeed is strict, arising from the many cheats and tricks of guardians, but the law does not require what is impracticable, and as it is observed that what failings guardians innocently committ, usually proceed from their want of skill and experience in the methods directed by the law, any bad effects of this nature in the present case, might easily be prevented, by employing a person of knowledge, with and by whose advice every thing shoud be done, so that this obstacle is no just cause in the sight of God or man, to deterr any person from undertaking and executing ane office incumbent on him and to which he is inclinable: and the world does expect that Your Ladyship and your freinds will not startle at scarecrows when the all of your fathers family is the subject in question.

But supposing that what I have said is not sufficient to dissipate your fears, still methinks your family shoud have showd a disposition to go as far as possible, and at least have come to toun and in conjunction with other freinds have seen what could be done for settling the affairs of the Egljuton family on a right bottom. If they woud not act authoratively, they might at least have ofterd good advice to others and endeavoured to obstruct schemes and proposalls that were unreasonable extravagant and detrimentall, in which they might and may probably still have plenty of occasions to show their gratefnll dispositions; wheras sitting att home with their arms across and seeing the estate pulld in peices, and measures lor ought they know destructive to the heir of the family, concerted and followd out, gives the world too good grounds to censure the part they act, and

think their concern for their deceast freind was deposited with his corps in church of Kilwinning.

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Letter from Mr. Lockhart to Lady Euphemia his wife.

My Dear,

Wheras I have by a deed dated 3d Aprile 1729 named and appointed you to be my executor and legator of my goods effects and personall estate whatsoever in the terms therein specifyed, and wheras it was not proper, in a paper which woud become public, to specifye my private thoughts in relation to the application therof and the execution of the trust *I* repose in you, I do therefore clmse by this to express my inclinations concerning the same, not doubting but you will faithfully perform accordingly, unless some reasons may interveen which will render your acting otherwise more conform to my intentions in committing this trust to

In the first place then, as I have a particular regard to the interest of my eldest son George and his family, and as my youngest son Philip is of such a tender sickly constitution that he may not be fitt and capable to undergo such fatigues and hardships as my other sons, and that his education is to be defrayd off the patrimony I leave him, which was not the case of my other younger sons, I do therfore direct and desire that you may make over in favors of my said eldest son, a right to all my effects and personall estate so disponed by me to you, provided that in leiw and consideration therof, he give security to pay yearlie, from and after the first term of Martimas or Whitsunday after my death to my said son Phillip the sum of fourtie pounds starling (over and above the patrimony or interest therof appropriate by me to him) during all the years of the said Philips life, or untill his enjoying a liverent office tlie sallary or perquisites wherof doth amount to the like sum. But in case my said eldest son refuses to enter into this obligation, then and in that case I desire you may dispose of my effects and personall estate to the best availl and after converting the same with all convenient speed into mony, that you purchase a liverent annuity to my said son Philip, not exceeding the sum of fourtie pounds starling, and that what may happen to remain of my effects and personall estate after such purchase, be by you applyed and given to such of my two sons James and William or my unmarried daughters as you think may most need it.

As the expences of my funeralls will affect my executory, and I

never approved of sumptuous funeralls, I do hereby positively require and expect that nothing accompany mine but decency. If I dye at any distance from Carnwath, wher I am to be interrred, I direct that none but my nearest freinds and relations be desired to attend my corps, and these not exceed the number of twentie at most, and to be met by my vassalls and tennants on the confines of Clidesdalc. I expresslie discharge the ridicoulous trumpery of (lannell dead cloaths now in fashion, and I desire that I be only wrapt up in a clean linnen sheet If my son apprehends that performing the last ceremony to me in this manner will be a reflection on him in the eyes of the world, my express directions containd in this, will be a sufficient exoneration to him and all concernd.

It only now remains that I recommeud my childeren and family to you, that as they are yours as well as mine that you exert yourself in doing all for them that you can, and live in perfect good harmony and love with them, as becomes those that are linked together in so near mutuall relations to one another, and is seemly in the sight of God and man; and my blissing will follow them as they severally act such a part to you as becomes them. I leave you and them on the providence of Almighty God, praying he make you happy here on earth and wee all meet partakers of his joyes in Heaven. Tho I write this in a very good state of health, as it is not to appear till the event of my death, you are to take it as my last Adeiw

GEORGE LOCKHART.

In case my eldest agree to the proposall above mentioned, which I have made with a veiw to his interest, I understand and mean that besides the 40*l.* he is to pay to Philip, that he is also to pay my funerall expences and all my debts, which will come to no great sum.

I understand by Philips having a post of 40*l.* profite annually, it is to be one suitable to a gentleman of his rank and which he is to obtain gratis and which he himself is willing and actuallydoes voluntarily accept of when procured for him.

Notwithstanding of what is containd above I remitt to you to give what surpluss may remain after purchasing anc annuity for Philip, either as above directed or to bestow it on Philips education and particularly to enable him to travell if he inclines to it.

GEORGE LOCKHART.

JOURNAL AND MEMOIRS

OF

*The Young Pretender's Expedition*

In 1745.

# JOURNALS AND MEMOIRS

OF

The Young Pretender's Expedition

In 1745.

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As there has been so many different accounts of the P. arivle and progress through Scotland and England, I shall endeavour to trace him through both till his comeing to Inverness, from which to the batle of Culloden there is already an account. As this was undertaken at the desire of a friend, he may rely on the facts in both, and if there be any mistakes in the dates he will be so good as to pardon them, as the memory cou'd not be so particular as to them.

**T**HE P. imbarck'd at the mouth of the Loir in France the day of June 1745 with eight gentlemen, a few servents, some money, ammunition, 1000 stand of arms, 14 or 1500 broad swords, on board of a small vessel that mounted six or eight three pounders and some swivle guns, and saild for Belleisle where he stay'd ten days waiting the Elizabeth of sixty guns, and when join'd saild for Scotland. Soon after they put to sea they mett with the Lion an English man of war of sixty guns who engaged the Elizabeth, and after an obstinate fight being both very much chater'd (and the Elizabeth loseing her captain in the engagement) they seperated and retir'd each of them to their respective ports to repair their damages. The P. notwithstanding what happen'd made the best of his way for Scotland and came in sight of the isle of Wist, and seeing three ships at sea he put in between that isleland and that of Eriska where they came to an anchor. The P. went on shore and stay'd all night, where a gentleman came from the isle of Wist (where Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donald had been not long before) and told him that things were not in readiness, and advis'd him to return. This cou'd not be agreeable news, but he gave no positive answer and went on board and weigh'd anchor, and went the next day into Lochnanueh in Muidart, and that day sent Kinloch Muidarts brother for him, and they return'd. The next day the P. haveing some letters ready, dispatchd Kinloch Muidart southward (who in his way deliverd a letter to Locheill and an othere to Kepoch, acquenting them that the P. was come (he did not land till some days after) but no orders to raise their men. The next day young ClanRanald was sent to the isle of

Skye with letters to Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donald and the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Load, with one to be forward to Lord Lovat. Locheill on the receipt of his sent to acquaint Lord Lovat that the P. was come and that he was in possession of the papers he had formerly told him of (the papers it was said was his commission for being Lieutenant General of the Highlanders) which should be delivered to him on the stipulated conditions; but as he had not received the P. letter he gave no other answer but that he (Locheill) might rely on what he had formerly promised.

Some days after the first, Locheill received a second letter from the P. desiring him to come to him as soon as possible, which, was complied with, and he was with him (the P.) two days thereafter. About two hours after Locheill's arrival Clanranald returned from the isle of Skye, but his answers did not seem to be so agreeable as was expected. Whatever truth there may be in it I shall not pretend to say, but it was said that M<sup>c</sup>Load sent his letter to Edinburgh to Mr. Robert Cragie the then lord advocate for Scotland, and on the first notice of the P. arrival, Sir John Cope had orders to assemble the troops under his command and to march northward. After some conferences (the P. was resolved to lose no time) it was determined to set up the standard on the 19th following. The next day Locheill returned to his own country to raise his men, and carried money with him to Sir J. C. of A—h—n—k, Kepoch and the Stuarts of Appin, to enable them to raise theirs and to join the P. as soon as possible. Kepoch whilst he was raising his men had intelligence that there was two companies of the Royal Scots regiment going from Perth to reinforce the garrison of Fort William, he intercepted them and after some resistance he made them all prisoners.

According to agreement, on Monday the 19th of August the standard was carried by the Duke of Athol\* from the head of

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\* The person so styled was William Murray, Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest surviving son of John first Duke of Athol by his first wife, Lady Catharine Hamilton daughter of William Duke of Hamilton. Being attainted for engaging in the rebellion in 1715, he resided abroad until he embarked with the young Pretender, at which time the family honours and estates were enjoyed, by his next brother James, under an Act of Parliament obtained by his father for that purpose from King George the First.

After the battle of Culloden, the Marquis endeavoured to gain the coast of Argyleshire with a view of escaping by sea; but his health being very bad, his horses tiring, and difficulties increasing, he

Lochsheale (the P. quarters where Mr. Murray the secretary join'd the P. that morning) guarded by forty of ClanRanalds men to the place appointed for the Camerons (call'd six or seven hunderd men) to meet them, where it was display'd (but no moto on it as was said) and the manifesto was read; the standart was carried back to the P. quarters escorted by about 50 of the Camerons, and about an hour thereafter Kepoch join'd with about 300 men and his prisoners. The next day was imploy'd in carrying the baggage, arms and ammunition from the head of Lochsheale to the head of Lochie wher the P. arrived with his attendents, where he stay'd till the 23d, and went to Fass-fern where he lay that night and sent 200 of the Camerons with the baggage to Moy in Lochaber, where he arrived the next day and stay'd to the 26th; that day he cross'd the water of Lochie and was join'd by the Steuarts of Appin, about 260 men. That night Glenbucket sent an express to the P. acquainting him that Sir John Cope was come to Badenoch and was to march by Corryarock, upon which the P. order'd his men to march all night to gain that pass before him, which they did. That night the P. lay at the castle of Invergarry, where Fraizer of Gortleg came to the P. to assure him of Lord Lovats services (the P. letter had come to his hand before that) and recommended as the surest way to promote the intrest that he (the P.) shou'd march north and raise the Fraizers of Strathharigag, and by that time he cou'd reach Inverness Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donald and M<sup>c</sup>Load wou'd have time to joine, as wou'd a great many of the M<sup>c</sup>Kinzies, some of the Grants, the Fraizers and M<sup>c</sup>Intoches; but the Duke of Athole insisted that it wou'd be absolutly necessary that he shou'd appear in Athole before his brother cou'd make any party in that country. Mr. Murray (the secretary) join'd with him and added that there was no time to be lost, but to march to Edinburgh where (as he said) there was a great many ready to joine. This last advice prevail'd, and the P. left Invergarry that afternoon and came to Aberchaleder, where his smale army lay expecting Sir J. Cope to march by Corryarock. That day they were join'd by Glengarries people and some of the Grants from Glen Morrison. Sir J. Cope being inform'd that it was impossible for the troops he had with him to force that pass (he had left the dragoons to guard the pass at Sterling) he march'd directly to Inverness where he was oblig'd to write to Edinburgh to send him shiping to transport him and army to Leith or any where to the south of the Forth, as he cou'd not return by land, for

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surrendered himself to a magistrate who lodged him in Dunbarton Castle, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower of London, where he arrived the 21st of June and died the 6th of July 1746. EDITOR.

the P. hearing that he was passt, the 28th in the morning march'd up Corriarock and went that afternoon to Garvemore in the braes of Badenoch, where he had certaine intelligence that Sir J. Cope had taken the road for Inverness and had made such forc'd marches that it was impossible to overtake him.

From Garvemore the P. sent 100 of the Camerons under the silence of the night to apprehend Cluny M<sup>c</sup>Pherson at his own house, which they did. There was anothere party of 200 men sent to surprize the barrack of Ruthern or Riven of Badenoch, (where there was a smale garrison of regular troops) but comeing too late they were discover'd, by which the designe miscaried.

The 29th the P. march'd to Dalnawhiny (upon the march Cluny was brought prisoner to him) where several of the gentlemen of that country waited on him and assur'd him of their service, and the next day he march'd to Blair castle where he stay'd some days, dureing which Lord Nairn and several of the gentlemen of that country came and offer'd their service. Lord Nairn and Locheill was sent with 400 men to take possession of Dunkeld, which they did the 3d of September in the morning, and the P. arived that afternoon, when the was proclaim'd and the manifesto's read. The above party march'd that same day, and the next morning took possession of Perth where the P. arived that evening, where the Duke<sup>\*</sup> of Perth join'd him. The next day Lord George Murray<sup>†</sup> join'd and was declaird lieutenant

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\* James Drummond, eldest son of James, and grandson of James fourth Earl of Perth, who following King James the Second to France was by him created Duke of Perth, by which title his descendants were commonly stiled in Scotland, though not recognized by the Government. His grandson James is referred to in the preceding Register of Letters, page 42, as being, with his brother John, conveyed to France by their mother (Lady Jean Gordon daughter of George first Duke of Gordon) on receiving an account of their father's decease at Paris in 1720. James afterwards returned to Scotland and resided upon his estate there until the arrival of the young Pretender induced him to quit his retirement and share the fortunes of the Stuarts, after the destruction of whose hopes at Culloden, he escaped to the coast and embarked for France, but died on his passage, 11th May 1746, worn out with fatigue and anxiety. EDITOR.

† He was third surviving son of John first Duke of Athol, and was father of John third Duke of Athol, and grandfather of John, the fourth and preseat Duke. EDITOR.

general. On his arrival a combination was entered into against him by John Murray the secretary, Mr. O'Sullivan and others, of which the P. was acquainted; but he being an active stirring man and well acquainted with the situation of the country and people, he was caressed by the P. and had great weight in all the operations, notwithstanding the opposition he met with. People having joined from all parts, such necessaries as the place could afford being provided for the army, and the taxes in the country raised, he marched the 11th to Dumblaine (which the Duke of Perth had made himself master of some days before) stayed there the next day and crossed the river of Forth the 13th at the Frews 5 miles above Stirling. Colonel Gardner, who had lain till then at Stirling, upon the P. approach retired to Falkirk. The army lay that night in an open field near Saughie, and the P. in a house in the neighbourhood; the 14th he marched and sent a message to the magistrates of Stirling who submitted to him, but the garrison retired into the castle and fired several cannon as the army passed, but did no execution. The P. continued his march to Falkirk, which the dragoons had abandoned a few hours before his arrival and retired to Linlithgow. The army lay that night amongst some broom to the eastward of Callender parks, and the P. in the house which belongs to the Earl of Kilmarnock who assured the P. of his intention to promote his interest, which he gave very good proofs of afterwards upon all occasions, there being none more assiduous or behaved with greater resolution and intrepidity or made a braver attack at the battle of Culloden than he did, notwithstanding his behaviour afterward. He acquainted him likewise that Colonel Gardner with his dragoons was resolved to dispute the passage of the bridge of Linlithgow with him, upon which a council was called wherein it was resolved that 900 of the best armed men should march and attack him, but upon their approach he thought proper to retire to Kirkliston, and they entered the town without opposition by the break of day, and the P. with the rest of the army about ten o'clock that morning and sent several small parties to the neighbouring seaport towns where they got some small arms and ammunition. About four in the afternoon they marched to a rising ground two miles to the eastward where they lay that night, and the P. in a house not far from them, and marched next morning towards Edinburgh. Upon their approach the dragoons retired to Corstorphin, from thence to the Coltbridge within a mile of Edinburgh where they were joined by Hamiltons (dragoons) and proposed to make a stand, but upon the P. coming to Corstorphin they retired precipitately to Edinburgh, and from thence to Musselburgh. As there was no going farther the Edinburgh road without going within reach of the cannon of the Castle, the P. struck off to the right and

went to a small place call'd Grays Mill where he lay that night and his men in the fields adjacent. Here came a deputation from the city of Edinburgh, but as their instructions were not ample enough they desired some hours longer to get new instructions, which was granted, but when they return'd, they were not agreeable, so that Locheill and Mr. O Sullivan was orderd to march with about 8 or 900 men and endeavour to surprize the town, which they did by getting near the Netherbow port which was accidentally open'd to let out a coach before daylight, so they rush'd in and made themselves masters of the city guard and principal places of the town, with which they acquainted the P. who march'd that morning by Braids-burn Grange, Priestfield, and at Duddingston made a breach in the wall of the King's park-and march'd that way to the back of Salsberry craigs, where they lay sometime under cover from the Castle. The P. went into Holyrood house or Abbie, as it is commonly call'd, where crowds of people of all denominations came to see him. Quarters being provided for the men, they march'd in that night the 17th. The party that surprized the city in the morning, made the proclamation and read the manifesto's in form, and placed a guard of 300 men and proper officers at the weigh-house, and other guards at proper places, to hinder any communication with the Castle on that side, which was relieved every 24 hours whilst they continu'd in town. They seiz'd likewise all the cannon, arms and ammunition belonging to the town. Some days thereafter there was an officer and 50 men sent to the outside of the Castle, who took post on a rising ground between the West port and the West kirk (or church) but not being upon his guard was surpriz'd by the country people, and the captain was carried into the Castle by the back way.

The 18th there was a proclamation issued out requireing all persons in MidLothian to deliver up all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of military execution. The Castle fired very briskly upon the town, and threaten'd to lay it in ashes if those guards was not withdrawn and provisions allow'd to goe into them. By the firing the cannon a ball struck upon the tope of a chimney and threw down some ston's which wounded Locheill and his major that was upon guard that day. It was propos'd to put a stronger guard on the outside of the Castle, to straiten it more, in order to reduce it by famine (as it was thought not to be very well provided) but that was objected too, as the Highlanders was not accusom'd to that way of doeing, and if any of them were kill'd that it wou'd be discouraging to the rest and make them desert. These considerations and the application of some of the inhabitants to hinder the town from being

destroy'd by the Castle succeeded, and there was no guard sent to the outside, by which they were supply'd with what they wanted, but as the guard was continu'd in the inside (as above) there was frequent very smart firing on both sides, but few kill'd.

As there was a great many things (such as shoes, targets, tents, cantins &c.) wanting, a message was sent to the city to get them ready, as the citizens was to furnish them, and a meeting of the inhabitants was call'd and tax'd according to their valued rents. As there was an account that Sir J. Cope was landed at Dunbar with his troops from the north, they thought that they wou'd be saved the trouble of answering the demand.

The dragoons, on the P. coming to Edinburgh left Musselburgh and march'd to Hedington where hearing that Sir J. Cope was arrived at Dunbar march'd to joine him. The troops were landed the 18th and march'd the 19th towards Edinburgh. The P. being inform'd of it march'd out the 20th with his whole army to meet him, and that afternoon gain'd Carberry hill, from which they cou'd see Sir J. Cope's army drawn up to the eastward of Preston pans, with the town of Preston on their right. The P. continued his march along the hill till he came to Tranent where it was propos'd to attack directly, which was objected to as impracticable as they were situate; and to end all contravercy, C. Kerr of Gradane was sent to reconnoitre the enemy, during which there was several that fired at him, and when he return'd he told the impossability of it without risking the loss of the whole army.

Sir J. Cope's army was drawn up with their right to the walls of the gardens of the town of Preston, which were thrown down in several places for them to retire if needfull; there was a large wett ditch in their front, three or four foot broad and five or six deep, which run round an incloser not a pistle shot over, which made two ditches of that breadth and depth to pass and was the only way that he cou'd be attack'd in front; on his left at the corner of that incloser his cannon and coehorns was planted on a highway (with the above incloser on the right and a marish on the left) that went to Tranent; in his rear was the sea at no great distance from him, by which was the coast road to Edinburgh, and on the right of his front line was a highway that went up to Carberryhill. By the above account of his situation, what was to be done? The P. army which was litle above 2000 men was not able to guard all those passes, tho' there was a show made as if he design'd to guard them all. At that road which went from the church of Tranent to where their cannon was planted, the Camerons, who guarded that pass, had a man shot through the arm. Night approaching, it was

resolved to march to the eastward of Tranent where C. Kerr, that was a little before the army, took a gentleman (very well mounted and coming from the enemy) prisoner and carried him to Lord George Murray, who after examination let him go again. By the time that the rear had passed the town of Tranent (it was dark) orders were given for the men to rest upon their arms, which they did on their long march and lay there till about three o'clock next morning when orders were given to march and to make the front the rear, and the rear the front. During the night there was not the least noise or light, so that the enemy that lay on the other side of a morass at no great distance, did not know where they were. In obedience to the orders C. Kerr went along the line and desired that no man should stir nor speak a word till he returned to them, which was punctually observed. When at the rear, he ordered them to march which was done with the greatest order and silence, not a man offering to move till he ordered them, by which the rear became the front and the front the rear without the least confusion. The Duke of Perth who had the rear the day before had the van and was conducted by a gentleman of the name of Anderson to a ford through a marsh a little to the eastward of Sir J. Cope's army where 100 men would have stopped the P. passage. It was so difficult that every step was almost to the knee in the marsh, which made them pass in great disorder, but meeting with no opposition they formed as they passed over; but the Duke of Perth in place of inclining to the left, for fear of being too soon seen by the enemy marched straight forward towards the seaside, by which the rear was a great deal nearer the enemy than the front. When the rear got over and all formed, they were ordered to march and attack the enemy which they did about break of day with a great deal of resolution; but as they advanced to the enemy it was found by the turn of the marsh that there was a great interval or vacancy between the left and the marsh, which Lord George Murray perceiving ordered the Camerons to incline that way in order to occupy that ground for fear of being flank'd by the enemies dragoons. By that movement there became a great interval in the center, which the corps of reserve was ordered to fill up but could not come up in time. The cannon (seven pieces of cannon and four coehorns above mentioned) fired upon them as they marched but did no execution and was immediately seized; and the Highlanders (who never after that did regard cannon which had been formerly very terrible to them) continued their march, and what by their huzzas and their fire (which was very brisk) put the dragoons in disorder and soon after the foot, which took to flight, by which the P. gained a complete victory, a great many being killed and taken prisoners. The wounded were carried to the adjacent villages and all manner of care taken of

them; and such of them that was able to travel was carried to Edinburgh and put into the infirmary there.

After the hurry of the field was over there was information that their baggage was at Cockeny (a house belonging to Mr. Mathie) guarded by three companies of Lord John Murray's\* regiment; upon which Lord George Murray march'd towards them, and upon his approach, Sir Patrick Murray of Aughtertire (who some time before had endeavour'd to trapan the Duke of Perth under the couller of friendship) with othere two officers came out and surrenderd themselves and companies prisoners. Amongst the baggage the military chest was found with about 1500*l.* sterling in it. When Sir J. Cope and such of his officers as cou'd get away saw how things was goeing, they gaind the hight by the road that was on their right, and as there was no horse to pursue them they went off with some dragoons without disturbance to Berwick and othere places as they thought safest<sup>†</sup>.

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\* He was half-brother to Lord George Murray, being son of John first Duke of Athol by his second wife, Mary daughter of William Lord Ross, and died at Paris, in May 1787, a general in the British army. EDITOR.

<sup>†</sup> Soon after this battle Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, eldest son of the author of the *Memoirs &c.*, surrendered himself to Sir J. Cope at Berwick, and on the 15th of October set out for London with him under a strong guard. Mr. Lockhart's eldest son, George, embraced the cause of the Pretender with all the ardour of twenty years of age, and with that enthusiastic attachment to the House of Stuart which had so long distinguished that branch of his family He was the first to carry to Edinburgh the tidings of Sir J. Cope's defeat, was always foremost in every measure proposed in support of the cause, and made himself so conspicuously obnoxious to the House of Hanover, that, notwithstanding his great connections and the powerful interest that was made for him, King George the Second could never be prevailed upon to pardon him, and he died at Paris in 1761, a few months before his father, who had not had sufficient time and opportunity to appeal to the humane and generous feelings of our then young and now afflicted and venerable sovereign. Mr. Lockhart's surrender of himself to Sir J. Cope after an engagement so advantageous to a cause which undoubtedly had his best wishes, has been ascribed to his conviction that the Pretender's means were in no degree equal to the attainment of the great object he had in view, and that in case of the failure of the enterprize his surrender would secure his fortune; while

After all was over and orders given to take care of the prisoners, the P. went to Pinkiehouse where he stayd that night, and the prisoners was carried to Musselbrugh where the officers were put into a house by themselves with a proper guard, and the soldiers into anothere, and all due care taken of them. The next day the P. went to the Abbie (or Holyroodhouse) and the prisoners to the Cannongate. The officers was put into the Duke ot Queensberies lodgeing, where after their names were taken they gave their parole not to goe near the Castle nor keep any corespondence with the P. enemies, and to send to the guard at the Abbie the names of the houses where, they quarterd and not to change their quarters without giveing notice where they removed too, and to answer when calld for, upon which they were set at liberty, and the commone men that were well were put into the Cannongate church till such time as it shoud be determin'd what was to be done with them.

Notwithstanding the above indulgence to the officers one of them went the next day into the Castle, which occasion'd their being call'd together some days thereafter, and being told the reason of it they exclaim'd very much against him as being inconsistent with an officer and a man of honour to break his parole, which most of them forgot when they were sent to Perth and othere places, tho' they had given it in writeing. There was a great many soldiers sent north likeways, to be kept as prisoners; and such as had been sent to the infirmary, when recoverd had pasports given them to goe where they pleas'd upon taking an oath that they shoud not carry arms against the P. before the 1st of January 1747, which the most of them did.

The P. return cou'd be no ways agreeable to the citisens of Edinburgh, by which they found that they woud be obligd to comply with his former demands, which they did as fast as possible the things cou'd be got ready. On his return there was severale proclimations issued from time to time for the good disipline to be kept in the army and for the benefite of the citisens, and all encouragement given to the country people to bring provisions and othere goods to the toun,

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on the other hand, in case of the Pretender's success, his son's ardour and zeal would cover the apparent defection of the father, which indeed was probably known and consented to by his son and his friends. Government seems to have put this interpretation upon Mr. Lockhart's conduct, for he was not permitted to reside in Scotland until some time after the suppression of the rebellion, and the county of York was assigned as a spacious sort of prison, whither he repaired, with his family, and resided there a considerable time. EDITOR.

which was always well supplyd with necessaries.

There was a message sent to the town of Glasgow to send in a contribution, which they did, and so soon as the tents was deliver'd by the city of Edinburgh, the P. orderd the army to incamp in a field to the eastward of Duddingston where he lay some nights himself and went into the Abbie in the morning for the dispatch of business.

This victory was heard of every where and gave great life to the undertaking, which being confirmd made a great many appear in that interest which otherways woud not have done it, so that there was people joining every day whilst he lay at Edinburgh.

The most of people seems to be surpriz'd that the P. did not pursue the advantage of this victory and march into England whilst they were in such a consternation and panick; but if those people had known the state of his affairs at that time, their surprize might perhaps cease. Tis true he had got between 2 and 3000 men together ill provided of every thing fitting for an army; notwithstanding the arms that was found in the city of Edinburgh there was a great many of his men at the battle of Gladsmoor (as it was calld) or Preston that had nothing but pieces of old sciths fixt to the ends of long poles for want of arms; and after the battle the most of the arms that was taken there the Highlanders took the locks off them and sold them, which render'd them of no service. Twelve or fourteen cartload of them were sent north to be fitted up for the men that was raising there, and much about that time there was an account of a ship arriveing on the north coast with money, arms, ammunition and six piece of brace cannon which was noways to be left behind.

With the same ship Monsieur du Boyer came as ambassador from the King of France (and a gentleman was sent by the P. to the Court of France to give an account of his success and to desire more supplies) and he went directly to Holyroodhouse where he was most graciously received, but did not take the title of Ambassador for some time after, tho' all the P. people regard'd him as such.

After giving what arms was necessary for the new rais'd men in that country, the remainder of the arms &c. was conducted to Aloo (or Alowa) where C. Kerr was sent to receive them and to conduct them to Edinburgh; and in order to secure their passage over the Forth there was a battery raisd on the key at Aloo where six piece of cannon was mounted and another at Elphinston pans. This battery was of great service afterwards in order to hinder smale vessels or arm'd boats to come up to interrupt the passage. The batteries being finisht and the cannon mounted, the arms &c. was put on board some smale vessels

and landed. safe at Elphiston pans without interruption and conducted to Holyroodhouse where the artillary park made an appearance, being fourteen piece of cannon, including Sir J. Cope's, four coehorns and all Cope's waggons &c.

During the P. stay at Edinburgh orders was given to collect the taxes of all kinds, and to the collectors to produce their books and to pay in to those appointed by the P. all moneys remaining in their hands belonging to the Government, under the pain, of military execution, for which there was parties sent out to assist the collectors appointed by the P. and the custom houses of Leith Borowstoness &c. was seiz'd and the goods sold.

The P. went to the camp at Duddingston every day, which encreas'd daily by more or less joining, so that they made a good appearance and in great spirits. There being no great hop's of more men joining soon, he began to think of moving but was at a loss what route to take, which seem'd to be a question, as the intelligence from England did not answer expectation. There was certain accounts that Marshall Wade was at New Castle with the 6000 Dutch auxiliaries and other troops under his command, so it was at last resolv'd to march to Dalkieth where it was resolved to take the Wester road and march by Carlisle as being the freest of troops on that side, which wou'd give his freinds in England the better opportunity of joineing him.

On the 2d of November the Duke of Perth left Dalkieth with the cannon, waggons and heavy baggage, with several regiments to escort them towards Carlisle, but when they came to Lockerby the guards upon the baggage &c. was not socare full as they ought to have been, by which a great many of the horses and baggagemen made their escape, which occasion'd about forty carts with provisions, stor's &c. to be left behind which were carried to Dumfries, for which they were call'd to an account afterwards.

In order to conceal their real designe, the P. march'd the next day (the 3d) by the way of Lauder to Kelso with the clans and some of the horse, and sent orders to Wooler (a village about twelve miles from Kelso on the English side on the Easter road from London to Edinburgh) to provide quarters and provisions for them two days thereafter. He stay'd one day at Kelso and sent C. Kerr into the English side with a party of horse to get intelligence; he return'd that night with an account that the dragoons that was at Wooler to observe their motions had retir'd from thence upon hearing of the P. going that way. The next morning the P. cross'd the Tweed at Kelso and march'd to Jedburgh, from thence to Hawick, Hagiehaugh and Longtown on

the English side, the place of rendezvous where they were join'd by some of the horse that was with the Duke of Perth. When they entred England they drew their swords and huzza'd, but in drawing them, Locheill cut his hand, which was look'd on as a bad omen. The foot came not up till the next day when they all cross'd the river Eden at Rowcliff four miles below Carlisle, and lay that night in the neighbouring villages, and next day march'd to Harraby, Blackhall, [Bontcherby](#) and othere villages to the southward of Carlisle, and sent a message the 10th to the mayor to deliver up the town, which being refus'd, orders was given to form the blockade, but intelligence being received that Marshall Wade had left New Castle and was marching by Hexham in order to relieve Carlisle, that project was dropt, and orders to the whole army to march to Brampton to wait for him there. The next day C. Kerr was sent out with a party of horse to reconnoitre, who hearing that there was some of Wade's parties at [Haltwhisle](#) (or Haltwesel) march'd that way, but comeing near the place found it to be a false report, so he went in and refresh'd his men and horses and hearing nothing of the enemy returnd to Brampton and made his report accordingly. However they continued there some days and hearing nothing of him (Wade) it was resolved to besiege Carlisle in form. The Duke of Perth had the direction of it, and Lord George Murray cover'd the siege and for that purpose took up his quarters at Harraby as being most contiguous and on the highway to [Penreth](#), and the othere troops under his command in the neighbouring villages (the weather was very cold being both frost and snow) and Glenbucket with some othere troops was order'd to goe to Rickerby on the north side of the river to hinder any succours to goe into the town by the bridge; and the Duke of Perth with those designd for the siege, under the cloud of night went through the inclosers and placed themselves under the cover of one of the ditches which they highten'd by throwing up some ground which coverd them from the cannon on the English gate. There they proposd to erect a battery of cannon to make a breach in the wall to the eastward of the English gate, from which and all along the walls they fired very briskly next morning when they found that they were there, but did litle execution. Lord George Murray went into the trenches (as they were called) that night, and after seeing what was doing, he desir'd the Duke of Perth, in case of any thing extraordinary happening, to let him know and he wou'd doe all in his power to assist him with what he wanted; what private orders the Duke had was not known, but whatever happend he sent to Brampton (seven miles distant) where the P. was and acquainted him with it and took no notice of Lord George, tho' the older officer and sent there to cover the siege. As he thought he was intitled to know

what past in the trenches he complain'd but had no satisfactory answer, whereupon he wrote to the P. acquainting him (in a very polite manner) that he thought he was ill us'd, that being intrusted with such a command he thought that he was intitled to know what past under his command, and that if he was in the least suspected by his he desir'd him to take his charge off his hand and that he woult serve as a volentier with the last drop of his blood, or something to that purpose. This to be sure woud surprize the P. very much; however there was no notice taken of it; the toun surrender'd in two or three days (without a battery being rais'd and of consequence not a cannon fired) and the castle the next day, and the Duke of Perth took possession of them in the name, and the P. the next day with all the army, where matters was comprimis'd with Lord George Murray, and he continued in his command in which he acquite himself upon all occasions with the greatest zeal and activity.

After a few days rest to the men after their fatigue, and every thing settled for the good and preservation of the place, a smale garrison was left under the command of one Hamilton as governour, and the P. with his army march'd to [Penreth](#), [Kendell](#), Lancaster and Preston, so fatale to the Scots that they never cou'd get beyond it, but Lord George Murray, in order to evade the freet (or superstition which the Highlanders are full of) cross'd the bridge and quarter'd a great many of the men on that side of the water, where they halted next day expecting some intelligence, in which tis to be presum'd they were disappointed. However they march'd to Manchester (where they halted a day in expectation of numbers joining) where there was a sort of a regiment form'd. All the bridges being said to be brocken down every where, to stop their passage, C. Kerr was sent out with a party to examine the foords, and he cross'd at Gatley foord and went to Cheadle foord and return'd to Manchester and made his report. The cannon and heavy baggage went by Gatley foord, and the troops by Cheadle. Lord George Murray march'd to Congleton (the P. to Macclesfield) with a strong party of horse and foot, and sent C. Kerr with a smale party of horse and foot towards New Castle under line, where the Duke of Cumberland with his army (computed at between 8 and 9000 foot and 2 and 3000 horse and dragoons besides what was marching to join him) lay, to see to get intelligence. When he came to Talkerhill (not far from the Duke's army) he surpriz'd the famous Captain Weir (or Vere) well known to all about Court, and carried him to Congleton, from which he was sent to the P. to be examin'd. From Congleton Lord George march'd by Leek to Ashburn, and the P. lay that night at Leek and next morning early march'd to Ashburn

where he made a halt to refresh his men, and continued his march with the whole army to Derby, where there was a great many people taken up on suspicion of being spys, tho' none of them own'd it but one Birch (or Burch) son to one of the principal traders in Manchester, and he was committed in particular to the care of an officer of the guard, by whos negligence he made his escape and was no more heard of.

'Tis to be observed that after the P. past Preston all the bridges where he was to pass were all brock doun and the foords spoil'd in order to hinder his passage, but that was a needless precaution, for Highlanders gives themselves no great trouble about a bridge, if the water be any way fordable.

Orders was given for the collecting all the publick moneys as also the association money (which was done every where where they past) sign'd for by particular persons for raising men for the Government.

The next thing to be considerd of was what was to be done; they were now at Derby, with an army not half the number of what they were reported to be, surrounded in a manner with regular troops on all sides and more than double their number. To goe forward there was no encouragement, for their friends (if they had any) had kept litle or no correspondence with them from the time they entred England. If they past Swarkston bridge not far from Derby, which of necessaty they must doe to goe either to London or Wales, they were credibly inform'd that there was orders to cut the bridge behind them to hinder their retreat, which if done they must fall a sacrifice to their enemies. As they had no assurance of assistance even if they went forward, and as they had intelligence of Lord John Drummond's<sup>\*</sup> arivle in Scotland with his regiment (a great many of them was taken prisoners in their way over and carried into England) and some Irish picquets from the Irish regiments in France, commanded by Brigadier Stapelton (with 4 piece of brass cannon eight pounders, two of sixteen and some smale arms with profusion (as was said) of warlick stor's) which with what was rais'd by Lord Louis Gordon and others were calld about 5000 men (Lord Louis some time before had defeat a party at Inverury (where the Laird of McLoad narrowly made his escape with some otheres) but no doubt augmented the number, it was resolved to return to Scotland and to send orders to Lord John Drummond who was commander in chief of the French troops (see

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\* He was next brother to the Duke of Perth, on whose death in 1746 he assumed that title—and died unmarried in 1747, a major-general in the French service.

his declaration in the Magazine) to march with all expedition with the whole forces and to joine the P. on the borders. The next day (6th of December) they set out for Scotland, and when they came to Preston, the Duke of Perth was dispatch'd with a party of their hussars for his escort to hasten their march, but when he came near [Penreth](#), he was attack'd by a party of the country militia, and finding that he cou'd not make his way he returnd to [Kendell](#) where the P. was come to by that time.

When the P. came to Lancaster he had some thoughts of making a stand and wait the Duke's comeing, and as he arived early, C. Kerr was sent out to examine the foords on the river, where there was any possability of troops passing, and to chuse the properest ground to come to action if oblig'd to fight. The nearest place that the Duke cou'd foord the river was at a mill about two miles above the town, and the ground in case of a batle was on a large moor above the gallo's. As the parly that might be sent to defend the passage of the foord was at too great a distance to be supported and must weaken the main body, which was not 4000 men (notwithstanding all that was said of them) it was thought proper to march, which they did after giveing the men a days rest. That day of the halt C. Kerr was sent out with a party of horse to reconnoitre, who seeing a party of the Duke's horse upon a riseing ground above the town (who was come a reconnoitreing likeways) he march'd towards them, which they perceiveing made off but was so clossly pursued that several of them was taken prisoners (but more of their horses which they abandon'd and saved themselves amongst the inclosers) which, after he had gone to a riseing ground at some distance where he saw a great way round and seeing none of the enemy, he carried to the town (Lancaster) and they proved to be of Oglethorp's rangers.

The next day they march'd, and when at a litle distance from the toun the bells begane to ring, and soon after the word went from the rear to the front that the enemy was appearing, upon which orders was given for the P. army to form, which they did with a great deal of chearfullness, but finding the alarm to be fals they pursued their march to [Kendell](#), where Lord George Murray's servents going into the toun before there was a sufficient number to protect them, four of his horses was taken away and never heard of more.

When they came to Kendell there was new defficulties attended them, which was as they were to take the mountain road to Penreth which was two days march and what carriages they had was mostly of the four wheel'd waggons which did very well in the plain country but wou'd not in the mountains, and few or none of the smale carts to be

got in and about Kendell, march they must; and Lord George Murray, as he had the van all the way going to Derby he had the rear in marching back, the baggage was left to his care with about 300 men to escort it, and the P. marching the next morning, Lord George was left to goe with the baggage. After he had got what smale carriages he cou'd, he set forward and with a great deal of trouble (what with the smale carts breaking and the stops by the waggons when they came to any thing of a precipice or bad step on the road) he reach'd a farmer's house about four miles off near the foot of a steep hill, which he endeavour'd to mount, but in vain, so that he was obliged to put his men under cover the best manner he cou'd that night (which was very stormy) and next day to get what smale carts he cou'd in the neighbourhood to carry what was in the waggons; which not being sufficient he was oblig'd to throw a great deal of the powder into a large pool of water, to damnifie't so as to be of no use to the enemy, which done he set forward till he came to a bridge at the foot of an othere mountain steeper than the former, where the water being much swel'd by the rains that had falen the night before, was not fordable, which oblig'd the carriages to take the bridge, which being without ledgets, by the carlessness of the driver a cart with four horses fell over the bridge, which was got out with great deficulty but the horses so spoil'd that they were fit for nothing, and in order to make every thing as easie as possible, what things was fit for use was put into the smale carts that had cannon ball (which was by no means to be left behind) and twelve pence offer'd by Lord George for every cannon ball that shou'd be brought to him at [Schap](#) (which was about two miles distance) by which the most of them was carried forward and the money payd. After they past that bridge severale of the Duke's light horse appear'd on the hights in the rear but never came near, tho it was under night before they got to [Schap](#), but in the night time they gave frequent alarms but made no attempts eithere to surprize or carry off the baggage. The next morning he march'd for Penreth and at a litle distance from [Schap](#) perceived some of the light horse not far from the highway, who took to flight when he advanc'd, and he continu'd his march through a large moor, the country people or some of the light horse appearing on the hights on all sides. As he came off the moor the light horse gather'd together from all sides in a confus'd manner (about 50 or 60 horse with musick playing) near a village upon a riseing ground, but so soon as a few of the Highlanders made towards them they went off. If they had had the least thought or judgement they might have made themselves masters of all the baggage and cannon; for if they had had the precaution to have thrown doun in different places part of the two stone walls on the sides of the

highway near the village, it wou'd not have been possible for the baggage &c. to have past without a great deal of trouble and more time than they (the Highlanders) had to spare; however as that was neglected they continued their march, not without a great many stops occasion'd by the frequent breaking of the carriages, and in particular on the moor near Lord Laundsens parks, where they were detain'd near two hours, by two of them breaking, to supply which they were oblig'd to send to the neighbouring villages. By the time they were in march the light horse begane to appear again, and word being sent to Penreth, there was some horse orderd out to their assistance, and when the baggage came to Clifton moor it was sent forward to Penreth with a smale escort as being then out of danger, and it was propos'd to see if they cou'd surprize them, which was readily agreed too. Lord George Murray had been frequently at [Lowther hall](#) (Lord Laundsens house) and said that he was very well acquainted with all the inclosers and parks about the house and that he wou'd be the guide himself. There was a farm house at the foot of the moor where there was some hussars placed under cover of the house, with otheres stragleing about for a decoy, and Lord George with the foot (about 300) and some horse marcht throw' Clifton and turn'd down to Lowtherhall where they found the outer gates shut; they were desir'd to be open'd, but no answer was made, on which there was some of the Highlanders got over the walls, which being seen from the house, a man on horseback and another on foot rush'd out and being pursued were taken; the one proved to be a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's who had come to acquent them that the Duke was to be there that night, and being examin'd he said that the Duke had lain within four miles of that, last night with 4000 dragoons, and that the foot was following him. Upon this, C. Kerr was sent to acquent the P. with it, but before he got there, the hussars had acquainted him that the dragoons was appearing on the top of the moor, upon which the P. (who was reviewing his men on the moor above Penreth) order'd some of them to march to reinforce Lord George who by that time was return'd, upon the advice he had received, to Clifton and taken possession of the hedges on both sides of the road that leads into the town. When the dragoons and light horse was form'd, orders was given for some of them to dismount and to attack the hedges, which was done with a great deal of bravery and defended with the same. The principal attack was made on that side where Lord George was, who seeing the dragoons marching that way, march'd down with Cluny and the M<sup>c</sup>Phersons who after receiveing the enemies fire, gave theirs and some of them attackt sword in hand which made the dragoons retire. The fireing was brisk on the othere side too where C.

Kerr commanded, where M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Lochgarry (who commanded Glengarries men) was wounded. Night coming on put an end to that affair, and both parties retired, the Duke, it was said, towards [Apleby](#), and the Highlanders to Penreth. The publick papers acknowledged about forty of the dragoons being kill'd and the officers wounded, but there was a great many more, and the loss on the othere side did not exceed 12 men. Captain Hamilton, who belong'd to the P. hussars was taken prisoner after being sore wounded by the dragoons; he was not well mounted and quit his horse when the hussars retired upon the dragoons appearing on the top of the moor; he thought that he might make his escape on foot throw the inclosers or conceal himself amongst the hedges, but being perceived he was pursued and taken prisoner befor Lord George with his men came up; this happen'd the 18th of December.

It was very lucky the takeing of the footman, for otherewayes the Duke might have march'd into Penreth without being perceived, for till then there was not the lest notice of his being so near at hand. As Lord George retired he left guards at the bridge and sent anothere to guard a foord at a mill not far from that, to hinder the dragoons from passing eithere of those ways, and as those that was at the bridge had been much fatigued, Kepoch and his men were orderd to guard those pass's.

The P. intelligence was so very bad that notwithstanding all the pretended friends he is said to have in those countries, he had not the least notice of the dragoons being in pursute of him, till the Duke's footman was taken; and as he was uncertain of his numbers or what foot was following them, and lest they shou'd cut between him and Carlisle he march'd out of Penreth that night and gote to Carlisle next morning (where he staid that day) where all the cannon but 3 (of what was call'd the Sweedish pieces) was left with the coehorns and a great deal of the baggage for want of horses to take them forward.

It was not doubted but at his (the P.) arivle there but that there wou'd be certain intelligence of Lord John Drummond's haveing passt the Forth and well advanc'd towards the borders, but that failing, there was a garrison (not doubting but that they wou'd be soon relieved) appointed (not 300 men) to continue there, and Mr. Hamilton governour as formerly.

The next day (the 20th a very remarkable day) the P. march'd from Carlisle and cross'd the river Esk very deep that night near [Greatley green](#), and as there was no conveniency of quarters if they keept all together, they seperate upon the banks of that river. The P. went with

one division and the baggage that night to Annan, Lord George Murray to [Eccelfechen](#) with another, and Lord Elcho with the horse to Dumfries, who's presence wou'd not be agreeable there, as they had the carts that was left at Lockerby as the Duke of Perth past southward to account for. Lord George set out next day and marchd by Moffet, Douglas, Hamilton to Glasgow, where he staid till the P. came up by Dumfries, [Drumlenrig](#), Douglas and Hamilton to Glasgow (from which the Duke of Perth was sent to hasten his brother's march) where they staid about eight days and made the town furnish what, was thought requisite to equipe the Highlanders in cloaths &c. and then marchd, the P. by Kilsyth with one column to Bannockburn, and Lord George by Cumbernauld to Falkirk, where there was a certain account of the surrender of Carlisle by two gentlemen that made their escape from thence, tho' doubted by many after that.

From the time that the P. enter'd Scotland there had been several messages sent to Lord John Drummond to march with all expedition to joine him, with which he did not doubt he wou'd be able to return to the relief of Carlisle, but to his great disappointment he was oblig'd to continue his march as above. Being come to Bannockburn, as the gaining the castle of Stirling wou'd be of the greatest consequence for the passage of his troops from the north side of the Forth, the siege was resolved upon, and for that purpose the cannon that came with Lord John was brought forward with a great deal of deficulty, and one Monsieur Gourdon (alias le Marquis de Mirabelle, *nome de guere*) a French engenier had the direction of it, and another young man that had apply'd himself to that business (a volentire never in commission) and ten or twelve French gunners (which was all of that kind that came from France) who was cover'd by the Duke of Perth and four or five hundred men. The engenier to show his dexterity in his profession (not considering that he had neither all things necessary for such an undertaking nor regular troops that had been accustomed to such undertakings) made his approaches on the strongest side of the castle where there was nothing but rock and chingle to work upon, so that in order to raise the batteries that was intended, there was nothing but forc'd earth which was to be carried from a great distance and at a great expence, and when finish'd was commanded by the castle, by which there was a great many men lost and the battery of litle use; however the work was continued rather than oppose his schem's tho' it was agreed that the approaches might have been made and to better purpose on the other side.

After some time Lord John Drummond begane his march and got

the length of [Aloa](#), Polmais and other places where they past the Forth, and in order to interrupt their passage the Pearl and Vulture sloops of war and other arm'd boats and small vessels (with woollsacks round their sides to cover their men from the small shot) came up to Borowstoness road where the sloops came to an anchor, and the arm'd boats and transports went up to Kincardin (on the north side of the Forth) where they landed some men, but hearing that some Highlanders was marching towards them, they reembark'd and return'd to the above road that night.

Upon their first appearance (they were seen from Falkirk where Lord George Murray commanded) Lord George sent to acquaint the P. and sent C. Kerr to Airth and Elphistonpans to give proper orders in case they should attempt to land on that side, which done and the transports &c. return'd (as above) he return'd to give Lord George an account of what past The P. upon the advice sent him ordered four field pieces with C. Grant (who had the direction of the artillery) and some gunners to march directly to Elphistonpans, where they arrived early next morning, and seeing one of the sloops had come near to Airth (to cover their boats that they had sent in the night to burn two small vessels that had been of use to the Highlanders, which they did all along the coast) he took them down to [Airth](#) where they exchanged several shot to no purpose, which C. Kerr seeing ordered them back again to Elphistonpans where they were of greater service. As soon as the tide served (about 9 o'clock) next morning, they weigh'd anchor from the road and came near the pans (where a battery was erected to hinder them from going to [Aloa](#) to stop the passage, if they attempted it) and came to an anchor near the battery which they endeavoured to demolish, in order to land there men with the greater safety under the cover of their cannon, but they were so well received that the Pearl (that lay next the battery) was oblig'd (as soon as the tide serv'd to carry them down) to leave one of her anchors and return'd that night to Borowstoness road, and the next the whole transports went to Leith where they landed their troops and repaired their damages.

As the regular troops had been assembling for some time in and about Edinburgh, and there was advice that they were to march for Falkirk and that orders was sent to Linlithgow to make preparations for them, Lord George Murray form'd a designe to carry off the forage and provisions that was provided, for which he march'd from Falkirk early in the morning and arrived at Linlithgow between 9 and 10 o'clock, where he gather'd together as many carts as carried away all that was provided for them, and sent off directly to Falkirk. Whilst this was a doing, the party Lord George had sent out to reconnoitre

sent advice that there was a party of dragoons appearing, upon which he orderd all to arms. As the dragoons advanc'd, the reconnoitreing party retir'd towards the town, by which time Lord George had got all his men together and march'd out to meet the enemy who (by that time pretty near the town) seeing Lord George marching towards them, thought proper to retire, which they did in very good order. Lord Elcho, who commanded the P. guards, was order'd to pursue them, but cou'd not come up with them. Hunter of Burnside and Mr. Vane (an English gentleman) distinguish'd themselves and follow'd the dragoons closs in the rear till they came to a litle village where their foot was halted. On perceiving of them they returnd and gave an account of their being there, on which Lord George returnd to Linlithgow, took his dinner (which had been orderd at his coming to toun) and refresh'd his men, during which, the parties he had left abroad sent advice that the enemy was in full march towards him, on which he orderd his men to arms, and as he did not know the number of the enemy he did not care to risque any thing but marchd off, and whilst he was marching through the toun, the enemy was got to the hight on the south side of it. Lord George continuing his march to the bridge, propos'd to stay for them, but they contented themselves with sending some dragoons after him to observe his motions, who seeing him pass the bridge, they drew up, by which he concluded that they were to goe no further, and he continued his march to Falkirk where his body was arived before him. From thence he acquainted the P. of what happen'd, and went the next day himself, when it was propos'd to wait the enemy at Falkirk, not doubting but before the enemy cou'd get that lenth, that Lord John Drummond with all those on the north side of Forth wou'd be over to their assistance; but that failing, Lord George thought proper to retire with his men to Bannockburn, where after reconnoitreing all the grounds about for a proper place to give the enemy batle in case they shou'd advance, the moor to the westward of the Torwood was agreed upon and appointed to be the place of randivouz in case of an alarm.

In a few days thereafter, the last of Lord John Drummond's men got over, and a day or two thereafter the P. orderd a general review. When he came to the ground and saw the good appearance his men made, it was resolved to march directly and attack General Hally (who had been incamp'd for some days at Falkirk) and accordingly the march was begun with a great deal of chearfulness towards [Dunnypace](#), where they cross'd the water. When they came to the westward of the Torwood (Lord John Drummond went to the eastward of it with a strong party to intercept any of the enemy that

might goe that way) they cou'd perceive General Hally's scout's goeing from time to time to give notice of their approach, upon which he orderd his men to leave their camp (where if he had stay'd he cou'd not have been attack'd but with great disadvantage) and to march up the [hill to the southward of the town](#), a ground no ways fit for his purpose, nor was it possible for him to get up his cannon, the road was so very bad; but as he was first there, he had the choise of the ground, which was so very unequall that nether of the parties cou'd see from their right to their left.

As the P. advanc'd parties drew near [Dunnypace](#) they cou'd see General Hally marching to the hight, so that he gain'd it too in two lin's; the first (which consisted of the clans) form'd as they march'd, but there was none of the second came to their ground but the Athole men and Lord Ogilvies, the attack being begune before they came up. The first line march'd to the ground appointed them; Lord Elcho with the P. guards was orderd to cover the right flanck, with a morass (or moss) on his right; the front line made a movement forward and at the same time inclin'd to the right, by which, when the attack was made, there was no possability of advanceing without goeing through that moss, which several of them attempted to doe but found it impractickable, several of their horses haveing faln into the peat holes and with great deficulty got out again, which put a stop to the othere gentlemens following them, which occasion'd some reflections to be thrown on that corps, which made a great many of them make a resolution never to come to action again on horseback.

'Tis impossable to keep Highlanders in on place, for they must all ways be in motion, so there was a necessaty to begine the attack, which was the occasion of the second lin's not forming as above, which they did with all the resolution and regularity immaginable (which was done likeways on the othere side in order to recover what they had lost at Gladsmoor) and kept up their fire till within half a pistleshot of the enemy, that C. Kerr gave orders to fire, which put the enemy into such confusion that it was not in their officers power to rally them again; so that after their first fire (which they did very well) they never had time to charge again, and being closs pursued they were beat out of the field. Kepock, who had the right of the P. army that day, seeing some armd men to the left of the dragoons, brock the line without orders and march'd towards them, which they perceiveing, went off in a great haste; they were the Glasgow and othere militia commanded by the Earl of Hume. There was two regiments of foot (Barrels and anothere that made such a noise afterward for their gallant behaviour as it was call'd) and some

dragoons in the hollow upon G. Hallys right which was not seen by the P. people, and, tho they heard the firing did not know the fate of those on the top of the hill, was marching up the hill, which put a stop a litle to the pursuite, which C. Kerr seeing orderd Lord J. Drummond's regiment the French piquets (the French was a corps of reserve) and the P. guards to march to the brow of the hill, which those below seeing, stop'd short and by the favour of the night and a heavy rain they marchd off undisturb'd; and what contributed much to their goeing off in that manner was their being so near the town (Falkirk) that it was not thought proper to pursue them in the dark lest there shou'd be a body of men in the toun (to cover their retreat) where a few men wou'd have hinderd the Highlanders from entering that night, in which case they wou'd have been oblig'd to have lain in the fields wett as they were; however upon strick inquiry it was found that G. Hally had abandon'd both his camp (which they endeavourd to burn but the tents were so wett that they wou'd not burn) and the toun, upon which the P. took possession of them, where Lord J. Drummond was shot through the arm by a soldier who made his escape afterwards.

On entering the toun there was two regiments orderd to pursue the enemy, but such is an ircular army that there was not fifty men to be got together, every on puting himself under cover (tho' it was fair by that time) as fast as he cou'd, so that there was with deficulty as many men found as wou'd mount the necessary guards for the P. and their own safties, so that the enemy went off unmolested tho' they never stop'd till they came to Linlithgow (6 miles) and some to Edinburgh; by which their camp (all their tents standing) cannon and a great deal of baggage fell to the conquerour; this happen'd on the 17th of January 1746.

Next morning reconnoitreing parties were sent out to observe their motions, and an inquiry made into the forces that was in toun, by which it was found that there was not 500 men, the rest haveing gone either from the field of batle the night before or early that morning to Stirling (where the Duke of Perth had been left to keep the garrison of the castle from sallying out to carry off the cannon and destroying the works) and othere places, where officers were sent after them to endeavour to stop them and if possible to prevaile with them to stay. When they enter'd Scotland from England they began to desert, and in order to prevent that, they were promis'd leave to goe home to see their friends, as they came near their own countries. Till they saw what wou'd be the consequence of the batle they were prevaild upon for some days, but were always goeing off.

The P. stay'd two days at Falkirk and then return'd to Bannockburn leaving Lord George Murray to observe the motions of the enemy. Some days thereafter there was a general review at Falkirk where the men made a good appearance, tho' far short of the numbers they were before the battle.

Glengarrie's second son, who had gone home from Edinburgh when the P. went to England, to raise more men, had return'd and was accidentally shot by a man that was cleaning his piece. Lord George continued there till the Duke of Cumberland (who came post from London to Edinburgh to take the command of the army and whose presence gave great life to their affairs) having assembled all his troops together (there were some new regiments had join'd by that time) march'd from Edinburgh to Linlithgow and places adjacent for the conveniency of quarters, which when Lord George heard he sent to acquaint the P. and the impossibility of his maintaining his ground with the few men he had. Lochell and others of the clans that was at Falkirk had join'd before in a representation to the P. setting forth the impossibility of their staying there, as the most of their men had left them. The Duke's advancing made Lord George retire towards Stirling to join the P. and patrols were orderd that night every where where they thought the enemy cou'd pass, but these patrols (like young soldiers not considering that their own safety and others depended upon their vigilance) returnd to the P. quarters, where C. Kerr seeing their commanders, ask'd the reason of it. The reasons not being satisfactory, he acquainted Lord George Murray with it, who orderd them out again and told them to be very attentive, for C. Kerr wou'd be with them at Larbour (within a mile of Falkirk the principal post and nearest the enemy) by three o'clock in the morning, which he accordingly was and found them all very much on their guard, where he stayd till daylight, but neither seeing nor hearing any thing of the enemy, he returnd to make his report, but to his great surprize he found that the P. had marchd sooner than what was designd.

It had been resolved the night before to march next morning (the 1st of February) by eight o'clock; the place appointed for the army to assemble was upon the croft near St. Ninians (alias St. Ringin's) church (which was blown up that morning by accident and not designe as was said) and Lord George Murray was to be early that morning at old Green Yards to distribute the cloath &c. that had been got at Glasgow for the use of the army, (Highlanders) where he went, but few coming to receive them, he sent to know the reason of it, which when told surpriz'd him very much, and as carts could not be found to carry off what was not given out, every man took what he

had a mind, and the rest was left to those that came next, by which they were little the better of what they got at Glasgow.

C. Kerr upon his return from Larbour finding that they were marchd, went to Green Yards where he found Lord George and told him that the patrols had been very vigilant and that there was not one of the enemy come to Falkirk (some of the patrols had gone that lenth) that night nor none of them appearing in the plains about it, and at the same time express'd his surprize at his finding the P. marchd before his return, for which he (Lord George) cou'd give no reason, but follow'd them. When Lord George came up with the rear he stop'd some of them near the firs on a riseing ground near St. Ninians to keep in the garrison of Stirling Castle and give time to any straglers that might be left behind to come up, and C. Kerr went forward to acquaint the P. with what had past at Larbour and othere places where the patrols were, and in his way he found Lord John Drummonds regiment in the center, which had been the night before orderd to remain in Stirling (where the cannon was naild as there was no horses to carry them off) till every thing that was in the toun (stors &c.) was carried off, and that all the people that belongd to the army were out of it, and to bring up the rear. C. Kerr was told that they had Mr. OSulivans orders to march precisely at six o'clock that morning, by which Lady Ogilvie was very near taken prisoner, but her equipage was and a great many of the men that knew nothing of the suden march. When he came to the P. he told him that there was none of the enemy appearing when he left Larbour and that the patrols were still there and was not to leave that till further orders, upon which two aid de camps was orderd (the one to Larbour and the othere to the hights above the Torwood) to bring them off, which they did, but Lord George for fear of mistakes orderd C. Kerr likeways who in his way mett them. The P. continued his march to the foord of the Frews where he passt with the army, which went to [Dumblaine](#), and the P. to [Drummond Castle](#) that night. The roads being very bad, some cannon and carriages was left by the way for want of horses to take them forward; the next morning the army marchd to Crief and was joind on the march by the prirsoners that was taken at Falkirk, that had been at Down for some days, and their guard. Some of the officers, notwithstanding the civilities that was shown them, tho they had given their word of honour both by word and by writt that they shoud not benefite of any indulgence, made their escape on the march. The P. lay that night at [Fairnton](#) where there was a council held, and as they were to march to Inverness and there was no possability of keeping together, especially the horse, it was resolved that the P. and

the clans shou'd goe by Wad's road and Lord George Murray by the coastside with the horse and the rest of the foot. Lord George went to Perth where he stay'd a day to order every thing for the march, but as there was no possability of geting horses to carry off the cannon that was taken out of the Hazard sloop, that had been mounted at a conciderable expence, they were nail'd, and he marchd for Inverness where he was to meet the P. the 16th, but the weather proved so very bad that the P. had got there before him and had made himself master of the toun and castle.

The Hazard sloop of war had been stationd on that coast, to hinder any supplys comeing from France whilst the P. was in England, and at the request of some of the inhabitants of Montrose (or Montross) went into that harbour to protect the toun and beat some of Lord Ogilvies men, that was there, out of it, but as she cou'd not goe out again but when the wind and tide served, Captain Ferrier with the assistance of some of the French officers (who were just arrived) rais'd a battery on the shore and mounted four pieces of smale cannon he had taken out of a ship in that harbour, with which they fired upon her and made her surrender. She had been sent to France and was retaken on her return.

It was propos'd to the P. when he left Blair Castle, to burn it, that it might not be a garrison to the enemy when he was gone (but he absolutly refus'd it) which if he had it wou'd have saved him a great deal of trouble it gave him afterwards, but in his way he took the barracks at Ruthvin of Badenoch and burnd them.

N. B. From the time the P. landed in Scotland he march'd the most of the way to Derby and back to Inverness on foot at the head of his men, seldome or never mounted on horseback, even to cross waters.

JOURNALL AND MEMOIRS.

# JOURNALL AND MEMOIRS.

OF

## Princess Charlotte's Expedition into Scotland, &c.

1745-6.

By a Highland Officer in his Army.

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UPON the 18th of July 1745 His R. H. arrived in the harbour of Lochnanuagh in Arisaig (a corner of Clanronald's country on the western coast of Scotland) on board a French ship of 30 guns, commanded by Captain Walsh. He was accompanied only by the Duke of Athole, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John M<sup>c</sup>Donald, Sir Francis Strickland, Collonel O'Sullivan, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Angus M<sup>c</sup>Donald brother to Kinlochmoydart, together with Mr. Michael and three other servants. This was all the foreign force in an enterprise the most hazardous and resolute that the history of any person or country can afford. July 19th an express was dispatch'd for young Clanronald, and next day, being the 20th, Clanronald, Alexander McDonald of Glenaladale, Æneas M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Dalily, and I, came to Forsy, a small village opposite to the road where the Prince's vessel lay. We called for the ship's boat and were immediately carried on board, and our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near our long wished for Place. We found a large tent erected with poles on the ship's deck covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we enter'd this pavilion we were most cheerfully welcome'd by the Duke of Athole to whom some of us had been known in the year 1715. While the Duke was talking with us, Clanronald was absent and had, as we understood, been called into the Place's cabin, nor did we look for the honour of seeing His R. H. at least for that night. After being 3 hours with the P., Clanronald returned to us, and in about half an hour after there entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect in a plain black coat with a plain shirt not very clean and a cambric stock fixed with a plain-silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings and brass buckles in his shoes; at his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one Obrian a churchman that this youth was also an English clergyman

who had long been possess'd with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

When this youth entered, O'brian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me but immediatly started up again and caused me sitt down by him upon a chest. I at this time taking him to be only a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habite (viz. the highland garb) I answered I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laugh'd heartily and next enquired how I lay with it at night, which I explaind to him; he said that by wraping myself so closs in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that in such times, of danger or during a war we had a different method of useing the plaid, that with one spring; I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cock'd pistol in my hand without being in the least incumber'd with my bedcloaths. Severall such questions he put to me; then rising; quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whisper'd me a second time, to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirm'd in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand he drank to us all round, and soon after left us.

On the 19th, 20th and 21st His R. H. was in private with Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Duke of Athole, and Clanronald, and on the 22d, Clanronald and Allan M<sup>c</sup>Donald, younger brother to Kinlochmoydart were sent to Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Slate and the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>loed to induce them to join His R. H. according to duty and promise; Glenaladel, another gentleman and I being likewise sent to convey Clanronald's men and to get some of the best of them for the P—'s guard in the mean time, and others to be employd in unloading the ship of the arms and amunition. This was our whole business till Clanronald's return from the Isle of Sky, whose errand was in vain, those .gentlemen alledging that the P. comeing without some regular troops more arms and money, they were under no engagement to concurr in the enterprize. Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Scotos came also on board as Glengaries representative, as likewise Cameron of Lochiel, M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Keppoch and M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Glenco, who having concerted measures with His R. H. in behalf of their king and country, repaired immediatly to their respective homes with orders to

conveen all their followers and appoint them to randevouse the of next month, being August, at Glenfinnin in Moydart where His R. H. with Clanronalds regiment would join them and then display the royal standart. These chieftains carried with them some arms and amunition for the use of such of their people as wanted.

Captain Walsh now preparing to return for France took his leave of the P. and weighed anchor on the 25th of July, which day His R. H., the Duke of Athole, Clanronald &c. came on shore and landed at the little village of Borradel in the country of Arisaig belonging to Clanronald, and here H. R. H. first sett foot on Scottish ground excepting one night that he tarried in the house of Angus M<sup>c</sup>Donald at a place called Eriskay in the isle of Wist, whither letters were brought to him by Boystil from Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donald and the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Leod discouraging his attempt at this time. So all may judge how hazardous ane enterprize we (i. e. Clanronald's people) were now engaged in, being for some time quite alone, who notwithstanding resolved to follow our P. most chearfully and risque our fate with him. We there did our best to give him a most hearty welcome to our country, the P. and all his company with a guard of about 100 men being all entertained in the house &c. of Angus M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Borradel in Arisaig in as hospitable a manner as the place could aford. H. R. H. being seated in a proper place had a full view of all our company, the whole nighbourhood without distinction of age or sex crouding in upon us to see the P. After we had all eaten plentifully and drunk chearfully, H. R. H. drunk the grace drink in English which most of us understood; when it came to my turn I presumed to distinguish myself by saying audibly in Erse (or highland language) *Deochs laint-an Reogh*; H. R. H. understanding that I had drunk the Kings health made me speak the words again in Erse and said he could drink the Kings health likewise in that language, repeating my words; and the company mentioning my skill in the highland language, H. R. H. said I should be his master for that language, and so was made to ask the healths of the P. and D.

Having staid three or four days in Borradel, during which time messages were still comeing and going betwixt the P., Lochiel, Glengary, and Keppoch &c. H. R. H. then sett out for the town of Kinlochmoydart in Moydart, seven miles from Borradel, by the head of Lochnanuagh and Lochailort, which way Clanronalds regiment marched closs by the shoar, the P. with his artilary and bagadge going by sea, as being the shortest passage, of about four miles.

A surmise of the Ps landing being now whisperd abroad, and the Government haveing notice therof, a strong detachment of four

companys were ordered to Fortwilliam to reinforce the garison there; and Glengary and Keppochs people, who were then assembling, judged it expedient to prevent the soldiers from passing through their country. Accordingly, Keppoch (with about 40 men) intercepted them at the High bridge and oblidgeed them to retreat back through [Latterfinlay](#); but Keppoch knowing their superiority in numbers, and waiting for the advantage of the ground, did not attack them clossly till they enterd a thick wood at the head of Lochlochy, called Longanachdrom, where they attacked and surrounded them, some of Glengaries people, also from the village of Longanachdrom, comeing in to support Keppoch. A few soldiers were wounded; five or six killed, with the loss of 2 men of the Highlanders; and these four companys were all taken prisoners and sent to His R. H. at Glenfinin in Moydart.

As the P. was setting out for Glenfinin to meet his freinds according to appointment, I was detached to Ardnamurchan to recruit, and soon returned with 50 cliver fellows who pleased the P., and upon review, His H. was pleased to honour me with the command of them, and told me I was the first officer he had made in Scotland; which compliment encouraged my vanity not a little, and with our freinds vowed to the Almighty we would live and die with our noble P. though all Britain should forsake him but our little regiment alone.

The P. having set out from Kinlochmoydart on the 7th, on the 8th he stayed at Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donalds of Glenaladals house the first night, where Captain Swetnam, an officer in Guises regiment, having been taken at , was brought in prisoner by Keppochs M<sup>c</sup>Donalds.

The P. set out from Glenaladals house about 6 a clock in the morning and arrived at Glenfinin about eleven fornoon, being met at his landing by Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Morrор &c. with 150 men; about 2 a clock afternoon Lochiel appeared at the head of 700 men, and was soon after followed by Keppoch with about 300 men; upon which the P. immediatly causd erect the royall standart and proclaimed the K. his father. That night our little army was encamped and provisions provided for them, we were now about 1200 men under the command of Clanronald, Lochiel and Keppoch; Colonel OSullivan being appointed adjutant general and quarter master of the army.

Notice being given that Sir John Cope with the Governments troops was marching from Stirling, after 3 nights stay at Glenfinin H. R. H. set out upon the 12th with Lochiels and Keppochs regiments only, to encamp that night at Fassfarran in Lochaber, from whence he

marched next morning to Moy, Clanronalds regiment being ordered to follow with the baggage and prisoners, from the head of Lochseal to the camp at Moy, where we joined them, after a great deal of fatigue, on the 15th, from whence we marched next morning in order to encamp at [Latterfinlay](#). But H. R. H. having intelligence that Sir John (with about 3000 men) was got the length of Dalquiny in Badenoch, he marched on, under night, with Clanronald and Keppochs battalions till he came to the Castle of Invergarie, from whence he marched next day to Obertaive in Glengarie where Lochiel came up with us. Here Stewart of Ardshiel joind the P. with 200 of the Apin men; also did the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds of Glengarie, being 600 good men conducted by M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Lochgarie.

The P. being fully resolved to stop the further progres of the Governments troops, a council of war was held at Obertaive, where it was chearfully resolved to take possession of the defiles of the mountain Corryarag, between Glengary and Badenoch, before General Cope should reach them. Accordingly His R. H. sett out August 27 at 4 morning from Oberhallader in Glengary, our regiment in the van, next Glengaries, Keppochs and Ardsheals followed in order, and Lochiels in the rear. We were all in good spirits and resolute to meet the enemy in the muir, judgeing they were to hold their course over the hill of [Corryarag](#) towards Fortagustus, being the more provoked that Cope was comeing in a hostile manner into our country. We had just passed the hill when a gentleman of the name of M<sup>c</sup>Pharson came to give His R. H. notice that Sir John Cope had the day before alterd his rout from Corryarag, and turning northward had marched to [Riven](#) in Badenoch, haveing to deceive us sent part of his baggage with 2 companys of foot and the camp colours four miles further in the road to Fortagustus as if he was to follow them with his whole army. Many of the Highlanders vext at Cops escape proposed that a strong detatchment might be allowed to follow them, but this was not thought proper. The P. notwithstanding of this intelligence continued his march untill he reached Garvamore in Badenoch, where a councill of war was held with the heads of the clans, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray &c. (which last had now joind the P.) when it was resolved to march to the south of Scotland; and accordingly we reached Dalquiny. Next day Dr. Cameron, Lochiels brother, and Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Lochgarie were sent with 100 men to surprise the barracks of [Riven](#), but haveing nothing but their small arms they were repulsed with the loss only of 2 men killed and 2 wounded; however they fell upon a method to take M<sup>c</sup>Pharson of Cluny prisoner (who commanded a company in the Governments

service) and brought him to the camp at Dalwhiny, from whence he was dismissed upon his promising to raise his men as soon as possible for the P's service.

Next day our army marched as far as [Dalnaccardoch](#) in Athol, and the day following we reached the Castle of Blair, a seat of the Duke of Athole, where we were well received and stayed three days. Here we were joined by Lord Nairn, his brother, and severall other gentlemen from Perthshire. From Blair we marched for [Dunkelld](#), and next day came to Perth whither Lochiel, Lord Nairns brother &c. were sent 2 days before to proclaim the P. R., and Keppoch was dispatched at the same time to Dundee in order to sease some arms, amunition, publick money &c. there.

After our arrivall at Perth the army was reviewed, and Clanronald with 150 men were sent to second Keppochs enterprize at Dundee, who by wrong information had been told by some gentlemen from that town that he could not effectuat any thing there without a greater force. We sett out from Perth about midnight and marched so quick that we reached Dundee by daybreak. Being masters of the town we seized 2 vessalls with arms and amunition which we sent further up the river Tay towards Perth; we likewise took up some publick money here, liberated some prisoners and proclaimed the P. R—g—t, and upon Monday thereafter we marchd back to Perth.

His R. H. left Perth on Wednesday the 11th of September, when we marched near 20 miles and came to Dumblane where our army rested the 12th and encamped that night a mile without the town between Dumblane and Stirling.

It was in this neighbourhood that many of our fathers and severalls of us now with the P. fought for the same cause just thirty years ago at the battle of Sherriffmuir.

On the 13th we marched from Dumblane through Down, and crossed the water of Teath at the bridge there. The P. stoped at a gentlemans house near Down, of the name of E...n, and drunk a glass of wine on horseback, where the ladys &c. of the country were assembled to see him. We passed the river Forth that day at the ford of Frew, about 6 miles above Stirling, expecting to have been opposed there by Colonell Gardners dragoons who encamped in the park of Stirling and who we heard had threatned to cut us to pieces if we attempted to cross the water. The dragoons however upon our approach galloped away in a great hurry and lay that night at Falkirk.

The P. in crossing Forth may be said to have passed the Rubicon;

he had now no rough ground for a retreat in case of any disaster, and being entered into the low country must fairly meet his fate. He and his little army halted, soon after passing Forth, and dined at the house of [Leckie](#) belonging to a gentleman of the name of Moir who had the night before been seized in his bed by a party of dragoons and carried prisoner to Stirling Castle, upon intelligence that he was preparing to receive and intertain the P. and his followers, which indeed we were in a most hospitable manner, as well as many other of our freinds who followed soon after.

This night we lay at Touch, and next day, being the 14th, we marched to Falkirk. The town of Stirling, abandoned by the dragoons, was ready to receive us, tho' we did not enter; provisions being demanded, were soon provided for us by order of the majestrates. As we passed Stirling, severall cannon were fired at us from the castle. At Falkirk we understood that Colonel Gardner with his dragoons had retreated east six miles further to [Lithgow](#), and the P. ordered a detachment of 500 men to advance before the main body and attack the dragoons in their camp; but Gardner, dreading the worst, marchd off at 7 o'clock in the evening and encamped at Kirkliston-water 6 miles west of Edinburgh. We encampd 3 miles to the east of Linlithgow, and the 16th marched towards Corstorphine whither Gardner still retired, where we heard he was joind by Hamiltons dragoons who had been encamped in Leith links, and being reinforced by the Edinburgh city guard and some voluntiers, were resolved to wait and receive us at Corstorphine; but their picket, upon the approach of our advanced guard, retreated to their main body and altogether soon fled by the north side of Edinburgh to Leith and Musleburgh, the foot returning to the town.

We encamped that night at Grays milns 2 miles S. west of the city, where some of the majestrates of Edinburgh waited on the P. to desire time to draw up a capitulation. H. R. H's answer was that he thought the K's (viz. his fathers) declaration and his own manifesto were sufficient terms of capitulation for all His M—t—s subjects to accept of with joy, and that they had no other to expect. To consider of which he gave them 4 hours, and required a positive answer by 2 a clock in the morning; but no answer comeing, and only a further delay asked, His R. H. ordered a detachment of 900 men under cloud of night to storm the town, and accordingly, Lochiel, Keppoch and Ardshiel with some of the best armed of their severall commands, together with Mr. OSullivan, silently marched up to the city gate at the Netherbow, and about break of day boldly forced their way, there being no resistance made by the small guard at the port, so there was no blood shed. Our

people with drawn sword and target, with a hideous yell and their particular manner of making an attack (they not knowing what resistance they might meet with in the town) marched quickly up street, no one leaving their rank or order, and forced their way into the city guardhouse and took possession. The main body drew up in the Parliament cross, and guards were immediately placed at every gate of the city; and the inhabitants cannot in justice but acknowledge that the behaviour of our Highlanders was civil and innocent beyond what even their best friends could have expected.

His R. H. on Tuesday forenoon, being the 17th of September, marched the rest of his little army from Grays milns through the K's park and there encamping came himself to the royal palace at the Abby of Hollyrood-house amidst a vast croud of spectators who from town and country flocked together to see this uncommon sight, expressing their surprize and joy together by loud and frequent huzzas; indeed the whole scene, as I have been told by many, was rather like a dream, so quick and amazing seemed the change, tho no doubt wise people saw well enough we had much to do still.

After two days stay in Edinburgh for our refreshment, and proclamation made over the Cross, of the P's regency, and some necessarys provided, we were order'd to encamp at Dudingston about a mile S. east from Edinburgh, His R. H. remaining all night in the Abby with his guards, and visiting and reviewing us every day, till Friday morning the P. having learned that General Cope was landed at Dunbar with the addition of some Highland companys raised by the Government, H.R.H. marched us from the field at Dudingston early in the morning, and about three in the afternoon we were in sight of the enemy, who had taken up their ground on the plain near the town of Preston pans betwixt Colonel Gardners house and P. Seton. We lay in sight of them till the evening when our people grew very impatient to be engaged, but with difficulty being restrained by authority, both armys lay upon their arms all night. The enemy were about 4000, drawn up on the field on the east of Preston, having that village on their right, a broad and deep ditch on their front, a small morass on their left, and the Firth of Forth on their rear, so that it was impossible to attack them in front but at the greatest risk. Their foot in the center were the regiments of Murray and Lascelles, 5 companys of Lees's, 4 companys of Guise's, 3 companys of Lord Loudens Highland regiment, and a number of recruits for regiments at home and abroad; Hamiltons and Gardners dragoons forming the wings on the right and left. There were besides, volunteers, seceders &c. from Edinburgh, and gentlemen at the head of their tennents. General Cope had cannon

and coehorns which were thrown off during the night, and large fires were made round his whole camp. Our men kept quiet all night, not a word was heard. Saturday 21st of September about three in the morning we changed our ground and marched eastward, then turning north formed in 2 lines so as to prevent the enemys retreat through the east country, towards Haddingtoun on the one hand, or on the other their stealing a march upon us towards Edinburgh. The disposition being made, H. R. H. address'd his little army in these words "Follow me, Gentlemen; by the assistance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people." We then marched chearfully on and engaged the enemy; our attack being on the east side oblidge Cope to change his disposition. Our right wing was led on by the Duke of Perth as Lieutenant General and consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengarie and Glenco under their severall cheifs; the left by Lord George Murray consisting of the batalions of Camerons commanded by Lochiel, the Stewarts by Ardshiel, their cheiftain Appin not being with us in this affair; one body of the M<sup>c</sup>Gregors with Glencairney, and the rest of the M<sup>c</sup>Gregors with the Duke of Perths men under Major James Drummond. The enemys artillary plaid furiously upon our left, especially on Lochiells battalions; their cannon also racked our right wing but did little execution. Their great guns were followed by a very regular fire of the dragoons on the right and left, and this again by closs platoons of all their infantry, which our men received with intrepidity and an huzza, a thing most extraordinary in a militia army undisciplined and untryed, who upon this occasion kept up their fire till they were very near, being always sure that their one fire should do execution, which they having done, immediatly threw down their guns and drawing their broadswords rushed in upon them like a torrent and carried all before them. Our march up to the enemy till we came near was without pipe or drum, in the most profound silence till the attack was begun, when all our instruments tongues and hands were at work. As we were about to engage, M<sup>c</sup>Donald of Glenaladel, of Clanronalds regiment, was orderd with a detached party of sixty chosen men double armed, to take possession of the enemys baggage at Preston as soon as he should perceive the main bodys engaged. The P. left his guard on the march to the attack, talking earnestly to the Duke of Perth and Clanronald and giveing his last orders and injunctions; but returning to his guard, as I happend to pass near by him, he with a smile said to me in Erse, "*Gres-ort, Gres-ort,*" that is, Make haste, make haste. As in our march to the attack, the right was oblidge to stop a little till the left should come up. At this time the enemys guards first perceived us, for we heard them call out "Who is there? Who is there? Cannons,

cannons, get ready the cannons, cannoneers;" but our quick march and sudden and intrepid attack soon brought us into the midst of our enemys, where we soon put them to rout, the general and a few horse and officers escapeing with difficulty to Berwick, Major Cawfield with a few dragoons to Leith and Edinburgh Castle.

Now whatever notion or sentiments the low country people may entertain of our Highlanders, this day there were many proofs to a diligent spectator amidst all the bloodshed (which at the first shock was unavoidable) of their humanity and mercy; for I can with the strictest truth and sincerity declare that I often heard our people call out to the soldiers if they wanted quarters, and we the officers exerted our utmost pains to protect the soldiers from their first fury, when either through their stubborness or want of language they did not cry for quarters, and I observed some of our privat men run to P. Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. And as one proof for all, to my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander supporting a poor wounded soldier by the arms till he should ease nature, and afterwards carry him on his back into a house, and left him a sixpence at parting. In all which we followed not only the dictates of humanity but the orders of our P. in all, like the true father of his country.

In the afternoon having taken a short repast of Cope's provisions on the field of battle, His R. H. marched back to Musleburgh at night, leaving the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Lauchlen and some other gentlemen to take care of the wounded prisoners and the baggage and to get the dead buried. He himself lay at Pinky all night, a house belonging to the Marquess of Tweedale then secretary of state and who had signed the order for apprehending the P. with a premium of 30000*l.*; yet did not his army, tho' flush'd with victory, committ any abuse, as neither was done in the least degree at Lord Stairs's house of Newliston in their way to Edinburgh, tho' the Glenco men were of our number and could not have forgot the massacre of their clan soon after the Revolution and by whose order.

The next day we marched back to Edinburgh and took up our old camp at Dudingston. During the P's stay in Edinburgh waiting for a further reinforsement from the Highlands and providing of other necessarys for our march into England, Clanronalds regiment was orderd down toNewhaven, a village west from Leith, upon the sea side, to prevent any correspondence betwixt the Governments two ships of war (*viz*<sup>t</sup>, the Fox, and Happy Jenet) and the Castle of Edinburgh, which last was likewise now blockaded; upon which, the guns from the Castle annoyed the inhabitants day and night till a deputation was sent from them to the P. earnestly begging he would

consider their distressed condition; when he was graciously pleased to take off the blockade.

During our stay at Edinburgh we were joined by Lord Pitsligo and a good body of horse from the Mearns &c<sup>a</sup> as also by Lord Ogilvie and his regiment of foot from the Braes of Angus, and Glenbucket with the Gordons and Glenlivet men. The Duke of Athol also came up to us with a fresh body of his men. Some money likewise, with a small train of artillery and Mr. Grant the ingeneer from France, was come to the Abby of Hollyrood house. And now the P. having small hopes of the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds and M<sup>c</sup>Clouds from Sky &c. their cheafs being artfully detained by their great director Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden and president of the Session of Scotland, Lord Lovats Frazers also being very tardy, he resolved to lose no more time, but march into England. Accordingly on the last day of October His R. H. left the Abby at Edinburgh, attended by his own guards of gentlemen, some of whom were accouterd and mounted as huzzars, and lodged at Pinky house. Next day, November first, he marched to Dalkeith, then took the road to Kelso for England with one part of his army, whilst the other division with the Duke of Athole &c. marched by Moffat, being appointed to rendezvouze upon the English border, that is to say, the Duke of Athole with the low-country regiments the whole horse and the artillery went by [Dumfrice](#). The P. sett out a day latter from Dalkeith with the six Highland regiments by Kelso, passed the river Tweed and came to [Gedburgh](#), from whence crossing the border he was met by the other column within two miles of Carlisle. His R. H. went airly on Munday the 11th to Brampton, being seven miles on the road to Newcastle, in order to give Generall Wade battle, but after waiting two days and understanding that Wade declined advancing toward us, the P. orderd the blocade of Carlisle to be renewed, which was done by one half of the army Whilst His R. H. with the other half remained at Brampton as the most convenient post to attack the enemy had they attempted the relief of Carlisle. The trenches were opened on the 13th at night under command of the Duke of Perth about a musket shot from the walls of the town about midway betwixt the English and Scots gates, and thirteen cannon were brought up in order to play upon the town, but this was prevented by a capitulation signed by the Governour &c. on Thursday the fourteenth, and His R. H. entered and took possession of the town and castle on Friday morning, being the fifteenth. During both the blockades of the town there was but one man killed and one wounded. The militia that served in Carlisle, and all the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood can testify the exact disipline of our army who payed

for every thing they got, and all were protected in their libertys and propertys.

His R. H. continued in Carlisle till the twentieth, when leaving a sufficient garrison in the town, the van marched for Penrith; the twenty second, the van marched to Kendal and the main body to Penrith; the twenty third, the main body came to Kendal; the twenty fourth the van marched to Lancaster, and the main body halted at Kendal; the twenty fifth, the van marched to Garstang, and the main body to Lancaster; the twenty sixth, the van passed Preston and quartered at the village on the other side of the bridge, and the main body came to Preston. The twenty seventh, the whole army halted; the twenty-eighth, we marched to Wiggan and the villages near it; the twenty ninth all the army marched to Manchester and halted there. Here we beat up for recruits and began to form the Manchester regiment. December first, we marched to Macclesfield; the second, the van marched to Congleton within nine miles of New Castle under line at which place the main body of the Duke of Cumberland's army lay. From Congleton Colonel K. was sent out with a detachment towards New Castle for intelligence, and within three miles of that place he took Mr. Weir, their chief spy, prisoner and brought him to Congleton, upon which the Duke of Cumberland's army retired to [Leitchfield](#). The P. R.<sup>t</sup>, having intelligence of his retreat from New Castle under line, marched for Derby by Ashburn; December the third the van marched to Ashburn by Leek; the main body rested the second at Macclesfield and marched the third to Leek; the fourth the whole army went to Derby, where they stayed all the fifth, and in a council of war held in His R. H's presence (dispatches of importance being received) it was resolved to return to Scotland.

How far this was the properest course has been much canvassed; some thinking the intelligence from Scotland of the great numbers conveyed in arms or landed from France was an imposition and that the P. with great unwillingness consented to a retreat. One thing is certain, never was our Highlanders in higher spirits notwithstanding their long and fatiguing march; they had indeed got good quarters and plenty of provisions in their march and were well paid; so that we judged we were able to fight double our numbers of any troops that could oppose us; and would to God we had pushed on tho' we had been all cutt to pieces, when we were in a condition for fighting and doing honour to our noble P. and the glorious cause we had taken in hand, rather than to have survived and seen that fatal day of Culloden when in want of provisions money and rest &c. we were obliged to turn our backs and lose all our glory.

Various, no doubt, are peoples sentiments as to the reasons or motives that enduced us to retreat, which I shall leave to be canvassed at leisure.

It being resolved to return to Scotland, the next day December sixth we marched to Ashburn—on the seventh to Leek—and on the eighth to Macclesfield; the ninth the whole army marched to Manchester, the tenth to Wiggan, the eleventh to Preston where we stayed all the twelfth. On the thirteenth we marched to Lancaster and halted the fourteenth, which day a reconeitring parly took prisoners two of the Duke of Cumberlands men called Rangers. While we were at Preston the Duke of Perth with an hundred horse was orderd to Scotland to bring up the French and others that were at Perth, but meeting with some difficultys, returned back. On the fifteenth we came to Kendal; the sixteenth, the main body of our army was at Shap, but the rear guard were oblidged to stop at a farm four miles from Kendal, by reason that a great many of the carriages and particularly the fourwheeld waggons, in which was part of the amunition, could not be got forward because of the steepness of the hill and badness of the road; but small carts being got next day and the amunition shifted from the broken waggons, they came that night to Shap, the main body having gone to Penrith that day. The eighteenth the rearguard joind the main body at Penrith in the evening. They had observed severall partys of the enemy, but upon the advance of our rear guard they always retired; once a considerable body of their light horse form'd upon the road in order to stop our advancing any further, but upon some of the Highlanders throwing down their plaids and running up to attack them, they retired, one of them only being killed. After the baggage was sent on to Penrith a battalion of our foot and some horse went through Lord Lansdales parks of Lowdar, thinking to find some of the enemys light horse about the house, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county; accordingly some of them were seen at a distance, but rode off on sight of the Highlanders. Some shots were fired after them, and at the same time some partys of our army scouring the parks took a running footman of the Duke of Cumberland prisoner and another person cloathed in green who appeared to be an officer, who informed that the Duke of Cumberland was within a mile with about 4000 horse and dragoons besides light horse and militia; upon which Lord George Murray (who always commanded the rear guard) with four battallions, viz<sup>t</sup>. Glengarys, Cluny-M<sup>c</sup>Pharsons, the Athole and Appin people took possession of a village called Clifton, being a mile from Lord Lansdale's house upon the highway to and about two miles short of Penrith whither our main

body was advanced. By that time the enemy had formed upon an open muir facing Clifton and within half cannon shot, where they continued for a considerable time; at last about an hour after sunset they dismounted severall of their dragoons who came to the bottom of the muir and lined the hedges and ditches that were next to it. Here was a pretty smart fire on both sides for about half an hour, but at last the fire of the dragoons increasing, a battalion of Highlanders was sent down to attack them sword in hand, with orders to drive them from their posts, but not to advance upon the muir; accordingly the Highlanders made their attack with great spirit and keenness, and after passing two hedges drove the dismounted dragoons from the third and then retired, as they were ordered, to their former posts; only, twelve of our Highlanders in their great eagerness passed the bottom of the ditch and ran up the muir, which were all that were amissing after the action. How many of the dragoons were killed and wounded is uncertain; but by severall circumstances, such as the number of broadswords taken from the dragoons and the report of the wounded dressed at Penrith next day, they could not be fewer than a hundred. It is to be observed that at the beginning of this affair the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds of Glengarie having the guard of the artillery, when they came to the bridge of Clifton they sent notice to the P. at Penrith that the Duke of Cumberlands whole body of horse was very near and would probably cutt them all off if not timely relieved, upon which the P. orderd back Clunys regiment of M<sup>c</sup>Phersons together with the Athole brigade and the Stewarts of Appin. Cluny's men were those cheifly engaged who after a fire broke in upon them with their swords. The Glengarie M<sup>c</sup>Donalds, who were placed behind a stone park-dike, continued to gall the enemy's flank with their fire since they could not get at them with their swords, while the Athole and Appin men were not so clossly engaged. Our men would have done more execution on the enemy, had not night prevented them; and learning that they might be overpoured by the greatly supperior number of the enemy who would be augmented by more horse from Wade and Ligonier, they made now a quick but orderly retreat and joind the P. at Penrith, and it was not judged proper to engage their whole force till we were reinforced by our army from Perth. Clanronald and Keppochs regiments were orderd to march back to Clifton bridge to amuse the people of Penrith with a belief that we were all to march back to fight the Duke of Cumberland, while our main body marched on from Penrith to Carlisle late at night, and our two regiments viz<sup>t</sup>. Clanronald and Keppochs marched quickly after them and arrived all safe at Carlyle on the 19th in the morning. This was one of the darkest nights I ever saw, yet did His R. H. walk it on foot and most, part of the way

without a lanthorn, yet never stumbled, which many of us Highlanders did often.

At Carlyle it was confirmed that Lord John Drummond was landed in the north of Scotland with some hundreds of pickets some money and arms &c. from France, who if he had marched up to us with all his force as he was ordered we might well have hoped for success and made our enemy fly before us. On the twentieth December the P. having left a garrison in [Carlisle](#) and particularly the English Manchester regiment, we set out and passed the water of Esk about three afternoon. All this time the enemy never appeared, what they met with at Penrith having given them some disgust. That night we left [Carlyle](#) we marched in two columns, one of which quartered with His R. H. at Annan, the other at Ecclesfechan. It is certain (says Lord George Murray in his journal) that by all accidents, such as death by sickness (of which it is believed there was more in one day in General Wade's army than were in six weeks in His R. Hs) and people which straggled to plunder (which notwithstanding all the officers were able to do could not be entirely prevented) and were not heard of again, His R. H. did not lose forty men in the whole expedition, including the twelve at Penrith; upon the whole (continues he) never was a march undertaken with more cheerfulness and executed with greater vigour and resolution, which (next to the visible protection of Almighty God) was owing to the example shown by His R. H. who always marched on foot at the head of his men.

As soon as we pass'd the river Esk Lord George Murray with the low countrymen set out before for Glasgow; on the twenty first we marched from Annan to [Dumfrice](#), the twenty second to [Drumlinrig](#), the twenty fourth to Douglas Castle, and on the twenty fifth to Hamilton. His R. H. staid one day at the palace of Duke Hamilton, and hunted. On the twenty seventh we marched for Glasgow where we staid near a week and laid a new cess upon the town who had taken arms against the P. while he was in England. On the sixth of January we marched from Glasgow to Cumbernauld and from thence to Falkirk. Next day orders were sent to the army at Perth to join us and with the artillery to invest Stirling Castle. After staying about a week, four of our six Highland regiments which were in England were ordered to march to Linlithgow under night, both to levy the publick money and carry off the provisions which had been ordered to be provided for the English army now convey'd about Edinburgh under the command of General Hawly who was advancing towards us. Now the P. was join'd by Lord John Drummond with the pickets of the Irish brigade from France, and Lord Lewis Gordon who had formerly join'd

the P. at Edinburgh and was sent north, before his R. H. marched into England, to raise more men in his brother the Duke of Gordons lands. He had also defeated some hundreds of the M<sup>c</sup>Loads and Grants under the command of the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Load and Culcairn &c, at Inverury near Aberdeen. This happend while the P. was in England. Here also we were joined by the Master of Lovat (Lord Lovats eldest son) with his Frazers, Glengyle with the reinforcement of M<sup>c</sup>Gregors, and Inverallahy with the Farquarsons. The Duke of Perth commanded the seige of Stirling Castle, the Ps headquarters being at Bannockburn near Falkirk.

After accomplishing our business at Linlithgow and taking some prisoners we were orderd to march about half a mile east from the town of Lithgow on the road towards Edinburgh in order to cutt off GeneralHawlys advance guard. After drawing up in a plain there, a party of about thirty horse were sent out to reconnoitre both the ground and the enemy, and in less than an hour they returned to us and told they could descry no enemy near us, either horse or foot, upon which we marched back to Linlithgow and had not been there half an hour when we were alarmed with the notice that the enemys whole army was upon us. It was their first column under Generall Husk just entering the east gate of the town of Linlithgow. Upon this, considering our small numbers, we thought fitt to march off as quick as possible, which we did in pretty good order and joined our army at Falkirk. We all marched next day westward to Bannockburn, where the head quarters were. Generall Hawley (who had been joined by the Argyleshire Highlanders to the number of about twelve hundred under Generall Campbell) with the Governments troops encamped a little northwest from the toun of Falkirk. The P. finding General Hawley did not move from his camp at Falkirk to attack him, held a councill of war, January the seventeenth, about midday, wherein it was resolved to march and attack Hawley. Accordingly we sett out in two columns, and under the cover of the Tor wood passed the water of Carron at Dunipace, moveing on very quickly to gain the hill above and lying on the south west of Falkirk. Our two columns kept at an equall distance of about two hundred paces till we came in sight of the enemy about a mile and a half distant from us. At the same time that we began our march Lord John Drummond with most of the horse had gone to reconoitre the enemy and made a movement as if he intended to march by the high way through the Tor wood closs up to them, and this might occasion what some accounts tell us, of General Hawlays perceiving a body of the Highlanders in the Tor wood, took this appearance to be our whole army, and finding they did not advance,

allowed his troops to dyne in their, camp.

But to return to our main body; whilst we were making up towards the hill above Falkirk (as was said) the enemy at last perceived us and immediatly their three regiments of dragoons were orderd up to gain the ground upon us and hinder our forming till their foot should form and their cannon be brought up the hill to support them. The P. seeing the intention of the enemy, ordered 1500 or 2000 of his Highlanders, led on by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, to advance and drive the dragoons from the eminence they had possessd, till the main body of our men should come up, and to form the right of our army. This attack upon the dragoons was very quick and regular; as we came within pistolshot the dragoons made up to us at a full trot, thinking to bear us down by their weight, and break us at once, and indeed being well mounted and accouterd they made a glorious show, sufficient to have struck other hearts than ours with a pannick. We received them however with a very smart fire, upon which they reeld and broke into several divisions, some falling back upon their own foot on the left, others flying out of the field, whilst one body of them fled off to the right betwixt the front lines of both armys, which by this time were form'd. Our first line was composed of the Highland, and the second mostly of the Low country regiments. Keppoch had by consent the right of all, as Clanronald had at the battle of Preston pans. Next to Keppochs men towards the left stood Clanronalds, next in order the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds of Glengarie, the Frazers, the Camerons and the Stewarts of Appin. This right wing was commanded by Lord George Murray as Lieutenant Generall. The left, consisting mostly of Low country men, was commanded by the Duke of Perth. The P. with his own guards and Fits James's horse from France posted himself immediatly behind the center of the foot, at about twenty yards distance, that he might have a necessary and commanding view of the whole, having Lord John Drummond with the Irish pickets on his left. As the enemys dragoons rode off to their right betwixt the lines, our men ran eagerly in pursuit of them, but were much surprised to find themselves stopt by our generalls and officers who with difficulty restrained them with their drawn swords and cocked pistols conjuring them to return to their ground or they would be undone. As the dragoons in their flight betwixt the lines past by our left wing they could not forbear giveing them part of their fire likewise. Our left had not been fully formed when the attack begun on the right; a considerable body of the enemys horse came up also to attack them but receiving part of the fire of our left they broke and run off; their infantry comeing in upon that side were opposed by some of our battalions who receiving the enemys

fire went in amongst them sword in hand and drove them down the hill with great impetuosity and slaughter, but not being in sight of our right (by reason of the unevenness of the ground) they made a halt till such time as the two wings should join in the center and the second line come up. His R. H., whose attention was turned to all quarters, observing that our left wing was outlined by the enemy, sent Brigadier Stapleton with the pickets of the Irish Brigade and some other battalions from the second line, which extended our first line and recovered the disorder we were like to be put into. Then our whole army marched down towards the enemy who were retreating on all sides in great disorder, but by reason of the unevenness of the ground and night coming on with a storm of wind and rain they could not overtake them, as they were positively ordered to keep their ranks. The enemy finding they could neither possess nor save their camp set fire to their tents and retreated with great precipitation towards Linlithgow and were just got to the east end of the town of Falkirk when Lord John Drummond entered it on that side, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the west end of the town. We took most of their cannon, ammunition and baggage which they had not themselves destroyed. We reckoned about seven hundred of the enemy taken prisoners and about six hundred men and between thirty or forty officers killed. We had not above forty men killed on our side, among whom were two or three captains and some subaltern officers. His R. H.'s first care early next morning was to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy as our own people. Had not night come on and been very stormy and our men engaged in pillaging the enemy's camp, our army might have got betwixt them and Linlithgow and would have entirely destroyed them, but they being in want of every thing they thought fitt to retire next day to Edinburgh near twenty miles from the field of battle. Both our officers and men behaved with the greatest bravery, and our order in marching and attacking were allowed to be far beyond expectation in the judgement of officers who had been in the wars abroad. It must be acknowledged indeed that the Irish officers were of great use to us in going through the different posts and assisting in the severall dispositions that were made. General Hawly's army consisted of twelve regiments of foot, three of dragoons, twelve companies of Argyllshire Highlanders under Colonel Campbell and a thousand volunteers and eight hundred Glasgow militia, in all about ten thousand men.

An unlucky accident happened amongst us next day; Colonel Enæas M<sup>c</sup>Donald second son to Glengarie and who commanded the Glengarie men, a brave and good natured youth, was unhappily shot by

the accident of a Highlandmans cleaning his peice. This poor gentleman satisfied of the unhappy fellows innocence, begged with his dying breath that he might not suffer; but nothing could restrain the grief and fury of his people, and good luck it was that he was a M<sup>c</sup>Donald (tho not of his own tribe but of Keppochs) and after all they began to desert daily upon this accident, which had a bad effect upon others also and lessend our numbers considerably, so that when the Duke of Cumberland who (upon the news of their late desaster at Falkirk was ordered down to Scotland to take the command) was preparing to sett out from Edinburgh with the army with a reinforcement of two regiments of foot and Cobams and Lord M. Kers dragoons, it was judged expedient by the P. and a council of war to repass the Forth. Colonel OSullivan haveing wrot to Lord John Drummond to leave the seige of Stirling and join us in the retreat, we accordingly passed the Forth February first at the Frew, carrying our wounded men and prisoners alongst. It was lucky for the Duke of Cumberlands character that the P. found it necessary to make his retreat upon his approach, which no doubt would greatly augment his glory amongst his freinds and followers whose vanguard under Brigadeer Mordaunt enter'd Stirling on the first February, on the which day we passed the Forth and went by Dumblane to Crief. Here a council being held, the army divided and marched in two seperat corps, the P. himself with the clans by Taybridge the publick Highland road, the horse and Low country men by Perth and the coastside to Aberdeen, it being agreed that they should assemble again in the north of Inverness, this measure being necessary for the armys easier march and better subsistance. I observe that the London Gazete told the world at this time "that tho the rebels gave out that they were to join again and attack Lord Louden at Inverness that this was only to amuze the people, for that they were actually disbanded." The P. accordingly marched with the Highlanders to Blair of Athole and from thence to Ruthven of Badenoch where a party under the command of Glenbucket took and blew up the barracks there; from thence we took the road to Inverness, and the P. lay at M<sup>c</sup>Intosh's house about           miles from Inverness, and his men canton'd about in the neighbourhood. Here he had almost been surprized by Lord Louden who marchd from Inverness with about two thousand men to oppose him. This alarm soon brought us together, and Lord Louden retiring, we pursued closs to Inverness and oblided him to cross the water, and soon after made ourselves masters of the castle and garrison there commanded by Mr. Grant of Rothomurcus, a Major, with some Grants and M<sup>c</sup>Loads as independent companys. Lord Louden with the President Forbes &c. in great hurry crossed the river

Tyne at Inverness by the ferry of Kessack and got into Cromarty, which day being Tuesday the eighteenth of February we entered Inverness. As Lord Louden had carried all the boats to the other side it was necessary for us in order to come at him to go about by the head of Tyne through Torendonel, about ten miles march, and accordingly Glengarys, Clanronalds, Ardsheals, Glengyles, and Barisdales battalions were ordered after them under the command of the Duke of Perth and Lord Cromarty. Those under Lord Loudens command were the M<sup>c</sup>Loads, Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Donalds men, the Makays and Monroes and the Grants, about three thousand in all. Upon our aproach they took flight again and ferryed over Loch-sund to Sutherland. We encamped at Ferintosh to wait further orders, both armys keeping guard on the opposite banks of the Loch-sund. By the diligence of the Duke of Perth some boats were got together, and being happily favoured by a fog we passed over, but our enemys left their post in great consternation and fled five miles northward towards Glen more were we were told they were to wait for us. We marched all night, the van led on by the Duke of Perth and the rear by Lord Cromarty, and surprized and took prisoners about sixty of them besides Major M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie, the Laird of Forsie and severall other gentlemen. We M<sup>c</sup>Donalds were much perplex'd in the event of ane ingagement how to distinguish ourselves from our bretheren and nighbours the M<sup>c</sup>Donalds of Sky, seeing we were both Highlanders and both wore heather in our bonnets, only our white cocades made some distinction. We understood as we advanced (by our scouts) that the enemy continued to retire; we however still held on our pursuit very quick, thinking to come up with them, and haveing marched twenty six miles encampd at the head of Lochshin. By our intelligence we found that the M<sup>c</sup>Loads and M<sup>c</sup>Donalds were making for the shoar to get to their own Isle of Sky, upon which we begun our march back again to Inverness, Lord Cromarty and Barisdale &c. being left in the country to keep Lord Sutherland and Lord Raes people in order.

As the P. came towards Inverness, it had been concerted to make an attack upon Fort Augustus and Fort William; accordingly Keppoch and Lochiels battalions were ordered away for that purpose together with some French engineers and artillary. Fort Augustus was taken and demolished, but we were not so successfull at Fort William, not being properly provided for such ane enterprize.

Whilst our Low country army lay at Aberdeen some ships from France had landed with money and arms, together with about three hundred of Fitz James's dragoons, but mostly dismounted; and now they left Aberdeen altogether February twenty third and marched to

Elgin and the neighbourhood in the country of Spye. Their orders was to defend the passage of that river against the Duke of Cumberland who had marched from Stirling by the east coast with his whole army towards Aberdeen, having sent detachments from Perth to Dunkeld, Castle Menzies and Blair of Athole, and before he left Perth, about six thousand Hessians had landed at Leith and marching westward by Stirling were orderd to take up their quarters at Perth and the neighbourhood on purpose to prevent the return of our Highlanders to the Lowcountry again, if we should attempt it. In our return to Inverness from Ross-shire we learnd that the Duke of Cumberland was marching with his whole army from Aberdeen in order to cross the Spye and give us battle, understanding, no doubt, that our army was much dispersed and partys out upon different commands. We therefore hastned our march back to Inverness and in a few days after we had joind the P. again, we were orderd to march to Nairn and from thence to Elgin to join those who were appointed to guard the Spye. About this time the Hazard sloop (which the Ps freinds had made themselves masters of at Montrose whilst he was in England, and was now employed in his service) had come from France to the North with money, and being chased by some of the Government ships of war into the Murray firth, was driven on shoar, whereby the money fell into the hands of Lord Raes people then in arms for the Government, and which might have been prevented if Lord Cromarty in the Ps service in that country had done his duty. This loss at so criticall a time contributed much to all our future misfortunes, we being at this time in great want of pay, which we had got very regularly hitherto.

Our battalions that marched to join those who had been appointed to guard the Spay, were Clanronalds, Ardsheels, together with Pitsligos horse and the French piquets. As we came near Elgin we found the guard on the Spey in full march back to Elgin, who gave out that they were neither able to guard the river nor fight the enemy after they had passed; the latter was true, but to guard the Spey was ane easy matter. This guard was under the command of Lord John Drummond. As the Duke of Cumberland's army was marching after them, upon our conjunction it was deliberated whether we should wait for the enemy or not; but it was thought more advisable to retreat till we should be joind by the rest of our army, as the Dukes whole army was comeing upon us and more numerous than we formerly understood them to be. In our retreat, Clanronalds batalion had the rear, together with the French picquets and Fitz James's horse to cover us from the enemys strong advanced guard, our French horse and they often exchanging shots, and once we thought they were to

have actually engaged, upon which our regiment and the Stewarts of Appin under Ardsheils were orderd back to support the French. Upon our advanceing, Fitz James's horse formed themselves into the wings of our right and left, upon which their advanced guard of two hundred horse and the Argyleshire Campbells, as militia, immediatly halted and drew up in order also, but we perceiving their whole army advanceing, retreated again. The Duke of Cumberland encamped on this ground and we marched back to Culloden muir on the fourteenth of April. Our army had got no pay in money for some time past, but meal only, which the men being oblidgeed to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly and were suspicious that we the officers had detain'd it from them. To appease them we had oblidgeed ourselves to give them payment of all their arrears two days before the battle, which we not being able to perform made the fellows refractory and more negligent of their duty. However on Tuesday the fifteenth we lay under our arms upon the hill all day expecting the enemy, without any other provision but a sea bisket to each man. In the evening it was resolved in a council of war that we should march under cloud of night and attack the enemy in their camp at Nairn, judgeing that this being the Duke of Cumberlands birth-day his army would make merry and be less prepared for a surprize. Accordingly we sett out about eight o'clock that night, with express orders to observe the profoundest silence in our march. Our word was King James the Eighth. We were likewise forbid in the attack to make any use of our firearms, but only of sword, dirk and bayonet, to cutt the tent strings and pull down the poles, and where we observed a swelling or bulge in the falen tent there to strick and push vigorously. When we had marched within less than three miles of the enemy we were order'd to halt, but by whose advice I cannot say. According to Lord George Murrays account the morning was too far advanced and the enemy probably had taken the alarm, yet he acknowledges the gentlemen volunteers in the van and many others were for advanceing, and also seems to confess that it was the Ps positive orders that the attack should be made, he knowing well the then estate of his army, that they were in want of every thing needfull, and the loss of their money by the Hazard sloops falling into the enemys hands making a sudden and bold push absolutely requisite for his purpose. By the acknowledgement since of some of high rank in the Duke of Cumberlands army the design was not unlikely to succeed, considering the boldness of the Highlanders first attack and the disorder many of the soldiers &c were in through that days excess; but of this affair Lord George Murray, Colonel Ker and O'Neil have

given their different accounts as they have also done of the next days battle of Culloden, to which the reader is referred.

Upon our return to the muir of Culoden, tho the P. had given orders for bringing meat and drink for us to the field, which our men not expecting, through their great want of sleep meat and drink many slipt off to take some refreshment in Inverness, Culoden and the neighbourhood, and others to three or four miles distance where they had freinds and acquaintances; and the said refreshment so lulled them asleep that designing only to take ane hours rest or two they were afterwards surprised and killed in their beds. By this means we wanted in the action at least one third of our best men, and of those who did engage, many had hurried back from Inverness &c upon the alarm of the enemys aproach, both gentlemen and others, as I did myself, having only taken one drink of ale to supply all my need. Besides this difficiency in our severall regiments, which amounted to above a third (as I said) we likewise wanted Clunies brave clann of M<sup>c</sup>Pharsons, also Cromartys, which was surprized in Sutherland, Barisdals M<sup>c</sup>Donalds, and Glengyle with his McGregors &c out upon command in the shire of Ross. All these unhappy circumstances for us considered, it is no wonder the event of this day proved so fatal to us as it did. Add to this, what we of the Clan M<sup>c</sup>Donalds thought ominous, we had not this day the right hand in battle as formerly and as we enjoyed in this enterprize when the event proved successfull, as at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, and which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles in behalf of our Royall family since the battle of Bannockburn, in which glorious day Robert the Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus M<sup>c</sup>Donald, Lord of the Isles, as a reward for his never to be forgot fidelity to that brave prince in protecting him for above nine months in his country of Rachlin, Isla and Vist, as the same name has done since to his royall successor. This right we have (I say) enjoyed ever since unless when yeilded by us out of favour, upon particular occasions, as was done to the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Lean at the battle of Harlaw; but our sweet natured P. was prevailed on by L. and his faction to assign this honour to another on this fatall day, which right we judge they will not refuse to yeild us back again next fighting day. As to particulars of the Culloden battle I leave it to the abovementiond and other accounts well known to many.

A C C O U N T O F E V E N T S

A T

*Inverness and Culloden.*

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AT

## *Inverness and Culloden.*

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In order to judge of the state of the P—s affairs at the batle of Culloden, it will not be amiss to look back to the time of  
1746 his comeing to Inverness where the Earl of Loudoun commanded before his comeing.

**T**HE Earl of Loudoun hearing of the P—s comeing and that he was to quarter that night at Moy, the seat of the Laird of Macintosh about seven miles from Inverness, form'd a designe to surprise him and to carry him off, as he was to have but a few men with him for his guard. The Earl march'd from Inverness with the most of the garison and was within about two miles of Moy, where accidentily five of the P—s people (who were goeing about their own affairs) mett with Lord Loudouns advanc'd guard, chalang'd them, being under night, and the five men finding who they were, call'd loudly for Locheill and the othere clans to advance. Lord Loudouns people not doubting but they were there took flight and return'd to Inverness in great confusion, and left it the next day upon the P—s appearing upon the riseing ground above it and retired with his men to the shire (or county) of Ross where they continued till the Earl of Cromerty with a party was sent in pursute of them, and upon his approach they retired towards Tain where we shall leave them for a while and return to Inverness where, on the P—s arivle, he summond the Castle to surrender, which being refus'd, a battery was rais'd but the cannon being but smale had litle effect upon it, which obliged the beseigers to have recourse to a sapp, which being brought near the angle of one of the bastions, the castle was surrenderd and the garison made prisoners, which done, Brigadier Stapelton with Locheills and Kepochs regiments, Lord John Drummonds (which was not compleate, a great many of them being taken prisoners in their passage to Scotland) and the French picquets were sent to beseige Fort Augustus, which surrender'd likeways and the garison made prisoners, after which it was thought proper to leave

part of Lord John Drummonds regiment there and to send Locheills, Kepochs, the French picquets and some of Lord John Drummonds regiment (in all not three hundred men of the French) with Brigadier Stapelton to invest Fort William, where we shall leave them and return to the Earl of Cromerty in, pursute of the Earl of Loudoun towards Tain where he (Loudoun) cross'd that ferry with his men and went over to the shire of Sutherland, where we shall leave him for a while and return to Inverness, from which the most of the P—s troops that was not imploy'd as above was sent to Spey-side under the command of Lord John Drummond to guard that river against any surprise from the Duke of Cumberland who was come by that time to Aberdeen and had sent some of the Duke of Kingstons horse and some of the Campbells (Argyleshire men) to Keith (a smale village about six miles from the river Spey) where they were all surpris'd and made prisoners.

As it was assur'd that the Duke of Cumberland was to stay at Aberdeen (where he threw up some works for fear of a surprise) till all the forces he expected should joine him, the P. on his part took his measures, and in order to secure a retrait in case he had no mind to fight till he got all his men together, or to march into Perthshire if needfull for the better support of his army, was advis'd to endeavour the recovery of Blair Castle (which he would not allow to be burnt when he pass'd that way) which was possess'd by Sir Andrew Agnew with some regular troops under his command, as was most of the principall passes in Athole by the Campbells, whilst the 6000 Hessians and St. George's dragoons lay at Creiff, Perth and places adjacent. Lord George Murray was orderd to march with the Athole men to Badenoch to joine the Macphersons that lay about Riven of Badenoch (from the time that the P. had pass'd that way) to guard the passes leading too and from Athole and to get intelligence on that side. Being join'd they march'd with such expedition into Athole that they surpris'd a great many of the Campbells at Blairferty, Keinochen and othere posts possess'd by them, and made the most of them prisoners. But Sir Andrew Agnew being allarm'd by his outsentinells, retired into the castle (where they were shut up for seventeen days) which was batter'd for some days with two pieces of cannon, the one of three and the othere of four pound shot, which made but litle impression on the walls but ruin'd the roof. Dureing this time the Hessians march'd to relieve the castle, and as some of the Athole men were advanc'd as far doun as Dunkeld to get intelligence and to guard that, with othere passes on that river, there was frequent skirmishes between them and the Hessian hussars and some of St. Georges

dragoons who came to reconaitre some days before the foot came up. The foot coming up obliged the Athole men to retire (as they could not be supported at such a distance) to Pitlochrie near the famous pass of Killicranky, where with some others that were sent from Blair they continued about eight days (the Macphersons with some of the Athole men keeping Sir Andrew and his men shut up in the castle) allways skirmishing with the hussars and dragoons till their foot came up, which oblig'd the Athole men to retire into the above pass, where they continued that day, but as they were but few in number, Lord George call'd a council of the officers who were of oppinion that the pass was not tainable, as it might be surrounded on all sides by such a superior number, and it was resolved to abandone both it and the castle, which was accordingly done that night. Haveing sent the cannon away they march'd to Riven of Badenoch without the lest interruption from the enemy, where the Macphersons were left as formerly, and the Athole men were sent to Spey-side, and Lord George proceeded to Inverness where hearing that the Earl of Loudoun had repass'd from Sutherland with his troops to Tain. Lord George was orderd to march with some troops to joine the Earl of Cromerty and to give Lord Loudoun batle if he would stay for it. But he hearing of Lord Georges march, return'd to Sutherland again, and Lord George having given the necessary orders to Lord Cromerty (who continued to command in that country) return'd to Inverness where it was resolved that the Duke of Perth shoud be sent to take upon him the command and if possible to get as many boats together as would ferry over his men and drive Lord Loudoun out of Sutherland if he would not stay to fight. The boats were got together, and the Duke of Perth with his men pass'd over without being perseived, and surpris'd Lord Loudouns people, oblig'd them to capitulate and made them prisoners (Lord Loudoun and the Lord President of the Session of Scotland made their escape) after which he seised upon some ships that lay in Firth (bay) of Tain, on board of which was all the valuable effects that was ship'd on board at Inverness before Lord Loudoun left it, the military chest excepted, which was convey'd on board of a frigate that lay in the bay. This done, the Duke of Perth return'd to Inverness, leaveing the command to the Earl of Cromerty.

About this time the Hazard sloop returning from France with money arms ammuniton and severale French and Spanish officers on board, was chaced on shore, by an English man of war, in Lord Rae's country, where they landed their cargoe. Apprehending no danger from the country people, they provided themselves with a guide to

conduct them and their cargoe to the Earl of Cromerty, but as they were on their march they were set upon by Lord Rae's people, who (after a good resistance) made them prisoners and carried of the cargoe, which was thought could not be done without the conivence of the guide, who disappeared before the action begane. This news being brought to Inverness, orders was sent to the Earl of Cromerty to demand satisfaction for what was done, but His Lordship being somewhat dilatory in executeing his orders, Lord Rae's people getherd together with some of the Earl of Loudouns officers at their head.

About this time advice was brought to Inverness that the Duke of Cumberland (being join'd by all the forces he expected) was begune his march from Aberdeen northwards and had orderd the ships that attended him with provisions for his army to coast along in sight of him to Inverness, upon which orders was sent to the Earl of Cromerty to call in his detachments and to march with all expedition and joine the P. He gave his orders accordingly, and himself with some of his officers went to Dunrobine castle to bid adieu to the Countess of Sutherland and to thank her for the cevilities they had received from her whilst they were in that country. Whilst they were amusing themselves there, the castle was surrounded by Lord Sutherland and Lord Rae's people who had got intelligence of their being there and made them all prisoners.

Orders was sent likeways to the Macphersons and those at Fort Augustus and Fort William to joine the P. as soon as possible. Those from Fort Augustus and the French picquets join'd on the Saturday, and Locheills from Fort William on Sunday. Advice was brought on Monday that the Duke of Cumberland was come to the Spey, and that Lord John Drummond with the troops under his command was retireing, upon which the P. orderd the drums to beat and the pipes to play to arms. The men in the toun assembled as fast as could be expected, the cannon was orderd to march, and the P. mounted on horseback and went out at their head to Culloden-house, the place of randevouz, and Lord George Murray was left in the toun to bring up those that was quarter'd in the neighbourhead of Inverness, which made it pritty late before he join'd the P. at Culloden. Orders was sent to Lord John Drummond to assemble there likeways, which he did the next day being Tuesday.

Wednesday being the 15th of Aprile the whole army march'd up to the moor about a mile to the eastward of Culloden-house, where they were all drawn up in batle to wait the Duke of Cumberlands comeing. Kepochs men join'd in the field from Fort William, and the whole was

review'd by the P. who was very well pleas'd to see them in so good spirits tho' they had eat nothing that day but one single bisket a man, provisions being very scarce and money too.

The P. being inform'd that the Duke of Cumberland had halted that day at Nairn to refresh his men (the ships with his provisions came into the bay of Inverness that evening) the P. call'd a council and after great debates, tho' neither the Earl of Cromerty (who by that time was prisoner tho' not known) nor the Macphersons nor a great many of the Fraizers were come up, it was resolved to march and endeavour to surprise the Duke in his camp at Nairn about twelve miles distant. Accordingly the march was begune between seven and eight o'clock at night; the first column was commanded by Lord George Murray and the second by the P. The night being dark occasion'd severale halts to be made to bring up the rear. When about half way Lord George orderd C. K. one of the Ps. aid de camps to goe from front to rear and to give orders to the respective officers to order their men to make the attack sword in hand, which was thought better as it would not allarm the enemy so soon and that their firearms would be of use to them afterwards. When he return'd to the front to acquaint Lord George that he had comply'd with his orders, they were halted a litle to the eastward of Kilravock house deliberating whether or not they should proceed, as they had about four miles to march to Nairn where the enemy was incampd, or to return to Culloden, as they had not above an hour or at most an hour and a half to day light, which if not there before that time renderd the surprise impractickable, and the more, as it was not to be doubted but that the enemy would be under arms before day light as they were to march that morning to give the P. batle. The Duke of Perth and his brother Lord John who had been sent to advise with the P., returnd to Lord George. Locheill and others that was in the front hearing that there was a great intervale (or distance) between the two lines, which it would take the most of the time that was to daylight to joine, it was resolved to return to Culloden, which was accordingly done, and which some say was contraire to the Ps inclination. They march'd the shortest way back, which was by the church of Grey; tho' scarce two miles from the place where the halt was made, it was clear daylight before the front arived there, which makes it plain that there was no possability of surprising the enemy before daylight, as was design'd. The march was continued to Culloden, from which a great many, both officers and soldiers, went to Inverness and othere places in quest of provisions, which was very much wanted, the P. with great deficulty haveing got some bread and whiskie at Culloden, where after he had

repos'd himself a litle (he had march'd all that night on foot) he was acquainted that the enemy was appearing, upon which those about Culloden were orderd to arms and severale officers sent to Inverness and places adjacent to bring up what men they could meet with.

Whilst those about Culloden were marching up to the Moor above the house, where they were join'd by about three hundred of the Fraizers who were just come up, C. K. went out to reconaitre the enemy, and when he returnd he told the P. and Lord George that their foot was marching in three columns, with their cavalry on their left, so that they could form their line of batle in an instant. The P. then orderd his men to be drawn up in two lines, and the few horse he had in the rear towards the wings, and the cannon to be dispercd in the front, which was brought up with great difficulty for want of horses.

As there was no time to march to the ground they were on the day before, they were drawn up about a mile farther westward, with a stone incloser on the right of the first line, and the second at a proper distance behind, after having reconaitred the incloser, which run down to the water of Ern on the right, so that no body of men could pass without throwing down the walls; and to guard against any attempts that might be made on that side, there was two battallions placed facing outward (which coverd the right of the two lines) to observe the motion of the enemy if they should make any attempt that way.

The Duke of Cumberland form'd his line at a great distance and march'd in batle till he came within cannon shot, when he halted and placed his cannon in different places at some distance in his front which outwingd the P—s both to right and left, without his cavalry, which was mostly on his left, some few excepted that was sent to cover the right. So soon as the Dukes cannon was placed he begane the cannonading, which was answer'd by the P—s, who rode along the lines to encourage his men and posted himself in the most convenient place, where one of his servants was kill'd at his side, to see what pass'd, not doubting but that the Duke would begine the attack, as he had both the wind and weather (it snow'd and hail'd very hard) in his back.

N. B. Here 'tis to be observed that neither those that had been with the Earl of Cromerty (he with his son and some few of his officers was only made prisoners, his men haveing march'd on before) nor the Macphersons nor between two and three thousand men that had been on the field the day before, were come up. Notwithstanding all those disadvantages and the Dukes cannon playing with great execution, Lord George Murray (who commanded on the right) sent C. K. to the

P. to know if he should begin the attack, which the P. accordingly orderd. As the right wing was farther advanced than the left, C. K. went to the left and orderd the Duke of Perth (who commanded there) to begin the attack, and rode along the line till he came to the right where Lord George was, who attack'd at the head of the Athole men (who had the right of the army that day) with all the bravery imaginable, as the whole army did, and brock the Duke of Cumberlands line in severale places, and made themselves masters of two pieces of the enemies cannon (tho' they were both fronted and flank'd by them who kept a closs firing from right to left) and march'd up to the points of their bayonets, which they could not see for the smoake, till they were upon them.

When the attack began, the Campbells threw down a great dale of the wall of the incloser, for the dragoons on the Dukes left to pass to the rear of the P—s army, which they did without receiving one shot from the two battallions that was placed (as above) to observe their motions, which being perceived, and the constant firing kept by the Dukes foot in the front, put the Ps. people in disorder, which gave the Duke a compleate victory. The P. retired in good order with some of his men and cross'd the water of Ern, at the foord in the highway between Inverness and Corry-brugh, without being pursued by the enemy, where he parted with them, taking only a few of the Fitz James's horse and some gentlemen along with him up that river. The rest of those that was with him took the highway to Riven of Badenoch where they stay'd some days, expecting the answer of a letter that was sent to the P. which not coming in the time expected, they all separate, every one to doe the best he could for himself. The most of the clans went from the field of batle towards their respective countries.

The publick has been no-ways favourable to Lord George Murray, but if they had been witness to his zeal and activity from the time he join'd in that affair to the last of it and his exposing his persone where ever an occasion offerd, and in particular at the batle of Culloden where he went on with the first and came not off till the last, they would have done him more justice; and whatever sentiments they were pleas'd to say the P. had of him, it is scarce to be credited, for when, after the batle, C. K. went to acquaint the P. how affairs was going, he (the P.) inquir'd particularly about Lord George, and being acquainted that he was thrown from his horse in the time of the action but was no-ways hurt, the P., in presence of all there present, desired C. K. to find him out and to take particular care of him, which 'tis to be presum'd he would not have done if he had had the least

suspition of what has been laid to his charge by his enemies.

## LETTER.

Coppy of a letter written after the battle of Culloden.

**I**N answer to what you write about the Highland army having not behaved with their usual bravery or that some of the principle officers had not done their duty, which might be the occasion of their late misfortune, I must inform you by all I can learn, the men show'd the outmost eagerness to come to action, nor did I hear of any one officer but behaved well so far as the situation and circumstances would allow. The truth seems to be, that they were overpower'd by a superiour force, and their field of battle was ill chose, which gave the Duke of Cumberland great advantage especially in his cannon and horse; another misfortune they lay under, was a total want of provisions, so that they were reduced to the hard necessity either of fighting an army a third stronger, starve, or disperse.

As to what happen'd the day of the battle and the proceeding day, I shall let you know what I could learn. On the 15th all those of the Highland army as were assembled, were drawn up in line of battle, upon a moor south from Culloden facing eastward; this was done early in the morning as it was known that the Duke of Cumberland was come to Nairn the night before, but as he did not move before midday it was judged he would not march that day, it being his birth day; and as his troops had made no halt, from the time they left Aberdeen, it was reasonable to think he would give them a days rest. It was then proposed to make a night attack upon the Duke of Cumberland's army in their camp, which if it could be done before one or two o'clock in the morning might (tho' a desperate attempt) have had a chance of succeeding. Severall of the officers listen'd to this as they knew the Duke of Cumberland was much superior to the Highland army. The objections to it were, that a great many of the army had not as yet join'd, particularly Keppock, Master of Lovat, Clunnie, Glengyle, the M<sup>c</sup>Kenzies and many of the recruits of Glengary and other regiments which were all expected in two or three days and some of them sooner; that if they should fail in the attempt and be repuls'd it would not be easy rallying the Highlanders in the dark; that if the Duke of Cumberland was alarm'd by any of his patrolers he might have time to put his army in order in their camp (suppose no spy should give him notice) and place his cannon charg'd with cartouch shot as he had a mind, and his horse might be all in readyness, so as to pursue if the Highlanders were beat off; and lastly the difficulty of making the retreat with perhaps a great many

wounded men, whom the Highlanders will never leave, be it possible to bring them off. It is to be remark'd that there was no intelligence of the situation of the enemys camp; add to this how fatiguing it would be to march backwards and forwards twenty miles and probably be oblig'd to fight next day, even could they make their retreat safe and not be attack'd before they join'd the rest of the army.

On the other hand the Prince was vastly bent for the night attack and said he had men enough to beat the enemy whom he believed utterly dispirited and would never stand a bold and brisk attack. The Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond with others seem'd to wish it, and Lord George Murray, Lochiel, with many others were induced to make a fair tryal, what could be done, tho' they were very sensible of the danger, should it miscarry. They observed with much concern the want of provisions; the men had got that day only a biscuit each and some not even that; it was fear'd they would prove worse next day except they could take provisions from the enemy, and they had reason to believe if the men were allow'd to disperse, to shift for some meal, which many of them would doe if the army continued there all night, that it would be very difficult to assemble them in the event of a sudden alarm, which considering the nearness of the enemy might very reasonably be supposed; and as they must have layen that night upon the moors near Culloden as they had done the night before, they knew many of the men would disperse without liberty to several miles distance for provisions and quarters, and that it would be far in the day before they would be assembled again; and as Keppoch came up and join'd the army that afternoon, they flatter'd themselves that the men they had would do, if they could make the attack by one or two in the morning, especially if they were undiscover'd as they had great hopes they might, for having examined the difficult roads of which they had perfect intelligence from the M<sup>c</sup>Intoshes who lived in these very parts, they found they could keep upon a muir the whole way, so as to shun houses and be a considerable way from the high road that leads from Inverness to Nairn. They also consider'd that in the event of making the attack, should they even be beat off without the deserved success, they might before day break get back the length of Kilraick, which was very strong ground, and from thence by a hill they could retire the whole way, on the south side of the water of Airn till they were join'd by their friends whom they expected and by the straglers; nor did they believe the enemy would follow (suppose the Highlanders were beat back) till it were good day light so as they could see about them, and send out reconnoitring parties to prevent their falling in snares and ambuscades, and before all this could be done the Highland army

could have reach'd Kilraick and the hilly ground on the south side of the water above mention'd where regular troops could not easily overtake them and where their cannon and horse in which their greatest superiority consisted would have been of little use; that they found the Prince was resolved to fight the enemy without waiting for the succours that were soon expected and without retiring to any strong ground or endeavouring to draw the Duke of Cumberland's army further from the sea whence he got all his provisions that were brought about in ships which sail'd amongst as his army march'd near the shore. For these reasons, them gentlemen and most others if not all who were spok to upon the subject seem'd to think the night attack might be attempted, but most of them thought they were in very bad circumstances at any rate, and no attempt could be more desperate than their present situation. Lord George Murray about midday desired Brigadier Stapleton and Collonel Ker to cross the water of Airn near where the army was drawn up (not far from the place where the battle was fought the next day) to take a view of the hill ground on the south side of the water, which to him seem'd to be steep and uneven consequently much properer for Highlanders, for the ground they were then drawn up upon was a large plain moor, and tho' in some places it was interspersed with boggs and deep ground, yet for the most part it was a fair field and good for horse. After two or three hours they return'd and reported that the ground was rough and rugged, mossy and soft, so that no horse could be of use there, that the ascent from the water side was steep and there was but two or three places in about three or four miles where horses could cross, the banks being inaccessible; they could not tell what sort of ground was at a greater distance, but the country people inform'd them it was much like the other side of the water. Upon this information Lord George Murray proposed that the other side of the water should be the place for the army to be drawn up in line of battle next day, but this was not agreed to; it was said it was like shunning the enemy, being a mile further than the moor they were then upon and at a greater distance from Inverness, which it was resolved not to abandon, a great deal of baggage and amunition being left there; this was before the resolution was taken for making the night attack. About seven at night an accident happen'd which had lik'd to have stop'd the design'd attempt, and upon it many were for giving it up as impracticable; the thing was this, numbers of men went off to all sides especially towards Inverness, and when the officers who were sent on horseback to bring them back came up with them they could by no persuasion be induced to return, giving for reason they were starving, and said to the officers they might shoot them if they pleas'd but they would not go

back 'till they got meal. But the Prince continued keen for the attack and positive to attempt it, and said there was not a moment to be lost, for as soon as the men would see the march begun not one of them would flinch. It was near eight at night when they moved, which could not be sooner, otherways they might have been perceived at a considerable distance and the enemy have got account of the march. Lord George Murray was in the van, Lord John Drummond in the center, and the Duke of Perth towards the rear, where also the Prince was, having Fitz James horse and others with him. Proper directions were given for small parties possessing all the roads that intelligence might not be carried to the enemy. There were about two officers and thirty men of the M<sup>c</sup>Intoshes in the front as guides and some of the same were in the center and rear and in other parts to hinder any of the men from straggling. Before the van had gone a mile, which was as slow as could be, to give time to the line to follow, there was express after express sent to stop them, for that the rear was far behind. Upon this the van march'd still slower but in a short time there came aide de camps and other officers to stop them or at lest to make them go slower, and of these messages I am assured there came near a hundred before the front got the length of Kilraick, which retarded them to such a degree that the night was far spent, for from the place the army began to march from Kilraick was but six miles; and they had still four long miles to Nairn. It was now about one o'clock in the morning, when Lord John Drummond came up to the van and told there were severalls far behind and if they did not stop or goe slower, he was affraid the rear could not join; in a litle time the Duke of Perth came also to the front and assur'd, if there was not a halt the rear would not be able to get up; there was a stop accordingly. Locheil had been mostly in the van all night and his men were next the Athol men who were in the front (these two bodies made above twelve hundred men), there were also severall other officers that came up. There being a defile a little way behind, occasiond by a wall at the wood of Kilraich, which also retarded the march of those that were behind, the officers talking of the different places of making the attacks, said it was better to make the attempt with four thousand men before day break as with double that number after it was light. Mr. Osullivan being now come up to the front and it being now evident by the time the army had taken to march little more as six miles, it would be impossible to make the other part of the road which was about four miles before it were clear day light, besides the time that must be spent in making the disposition for the attack, as it could not be done by the army in the line on their long march, Mr. Osullivan said he had just then come from the Prince who was very desirous the attack

should be made, but as Lord George Murray had the van and could judge the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not. There were several volunteers present who had walkd all night in the front, such as Mr. Hepburn, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Anderson and others, and as the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond and the other officers seemd to be much difficulted what to resolve upon, Lord George Murray desired the rest of the gentlemen to give their opinions, for they were all deeply concern'd in the consequence. It was agreed upon all hands that it must be sun rise before the army could reach Nairn and form so as to make an attempt upon the enemies camp, for one part was to have pass'd the water a mile above the town, to have fallen upon them towards the seaside; the volunteers were all very keen to march on, some of them said that the red coats would be all drunk as they had surely solemnized the Duke of Cumberlands birth day, and that tho it were day light they would be in such confusion they would not withstand the Highlanders; this opinion shew'd abundance of courage, for these gentlemen would have been in the first rank had there been an attack, but the officers were of a different sentiment, as severals of them exprest. Locheil and his brother said they had been as much for the night attack as any could be, and it was not their faults that it had not been, done, but blam'd those in the rear, who had march'd so slow and retarded the rest of the army. Lord George Murray was of the same way of thinking, and said if they could have made the attack, it was the best chance they had, especially if they could have surpris'd the enemy, but to attack a camp, that was near double their number, in day light when they would be prepar'd to receive them, would be perfect madness. By this time Mr. John Hay came up and told the line was join'd; he was inform'd the resolution was taken to return, he began to argue upon the point but no body minded him. This was the gentleman the army blam'd for the distress they were in for want of provisions, he having had the superintendency of all these things, from the time of Mr. Murray's illness, who had always been extreamly active in whatever regarded the providing for the army. It was about two o'clock in the morning (the halt not being above a quarter of an hour) when they went back in two columns, the rear facing about, and the van taking another way. At a little distance, they had a view of the fires in the Duke of Cumberlands camp, and as they did not shun passing near houses, as they had done in advancing, they march'd very quick. Day light began to appear in about an hour, and they got to Culloden pretty early so that the men had three or four hours rest. They kill'd what cattle or sheep they could find, but few of them had time to make any thing ready, before the alarm came of the enemies being upon their march

and approaching. The horse of the Princes army had been all in so hard duty for several days and nights before, that none of them were fit for patrolling. At that time Fitz James's horse and several others had gone to Inverness to refresh, so at first it was not known whither it was an advanced party, or the Duke of Cumberland's whole army; however the Highlanders got ready as quick as possible and march'd thro' the parks of Culloden, in batalions, just as they happen'd to be lying, to the moor on the south side facing eastwards, and about half a mile farther back, than when they had been drawn up the day before. Lord George Murray proposed once more to pass the water of Earn as being the strongest ground, and much the fittest for Highlanders, and Cluny who was expected every moment was to come on that side; but it was not agreed upon, for the same reasons given the day before. Speaking to Mr. O'Sullivan, he told him that he was afraid the enemy would have great advantage in that plaine moor both in their horse and cannon, but he answer'd that he was sure horse could be of no use there because there were several boggs and morasses; but the event prov'd otherways. Mr. O'Sullivan drew up the army in line of battle, (he being both adjutant and quarter master general) and having shew'd every batalion their place, the right closs to some inclosures near the water of Earn, and the left towards the parks of Culloden. I cannot justly tell what order they were drawn up in; there had been some disputes a day or two before about the rank, but no body who had any regard for the common cause, would insist upon such things upon that occasion. Those who had gone off the night before and early that morning to Inverness and other parts had now join'd, and the Master of Lovat was com'd up with a considerable recruit of his men. It was observed that upon the right there were park walls, under cover of which so many of the enemy could draw up and flank the Highland men. Lord George Murray who commanded that wing was very desirous to have advanced and thrown them down; but as this would have brock the line, and the enemy forming their line of battle near that place, it was judged by those about him too dangerous to attempt. Both armies being fully form'd, the cannonading began on both sides, after which there was some small alteration made in the dispositions of the two armies, by bringing troops from the second line to the first as both ends advanced to out flank one another. The Highlanders were much gall'd by the enemies cannon, and were turning so impatient that they were like to break their ranks, upon which it was judg'd proper to attack, and orders were given accordingly. The right wing advanced first as the whole line did much at the same time. The left wing did not attack the enemy, at lest did not go in sword in hand, imagining they would be flank'd by a regiment of foot and some

horse, which the enemy brought up at that time from their second line or *corps de reserve*. When the right wing were within pistol shot of the enemy, they received a most terrible fire not only in front but also in flank, by reason of those who were posted near the stone walls, notwithstanding of which they went in sword in hand, after giving their fire close to the enemy and were received by them with their spontoons and bayonets. The two regiments of foot that were upon the enemies left, would have been entirely cutt to pieces, had they not been immediatly supported by other two regiments from their second line; as it was, these two regiments (being Barrells and that call'd Monroes) had by their own confession above 200 kill'd and wounded. Two regiments of dragoons coming in upon the same side, entirely brock that wing of the Highlanders, and tho' three battalions of the right of the second line were brought up and gave their fire very well, yet the ground and every thing else was so favourable to the enemy that nothing could be done; and a total deroute ensued.

I am positively inform'd that the Highland army did not consist of above 7000 fighting men, and the Duke of Cumberland's must have been ten or twelve; in the one army there was not above a 150 horse, of which one half was of the regiment of Fitz James, in the other army they had about 11 or 1200.

When a misfortune happens, people are apt to throw the blame upon persons or causes, which frequently are either the effects of malice or ignorance, without knowing the real springs and motives. Several are of opinion that the night attack could have been made, but I am convinced of the contrary, for the following reasons. The Highland army when they halted near Kilraick were not above 5000 men, they had four miles to march, part of them were to make a considerable circumference, so that it would have been sun rise before they could have made the attack, the ground about Nairn where the enemy lay encamped was a hard dry soil and plain moors for three miles round, except where the sea interveen'd, the nearest strong and uneven ground being the wood of Kilraick. Let it be suppos'd the Highlanders had made an attack in broad day light upon an enemy double their number in their camp, who were well refresh'd with a day and two nights rest, with plenty of all kinds of provisions, with their cannon pointed as they thought proper, and their horse drawn up to their wish in a fine plain, what must the consequences have been? What would have been said of officers that led on men in such circumstances and in such a situation? Would it not have been certain death and destruction of all those who made the attack? Would it not have been said (and justly said) Why gae ye on in such a desperate

attempt, seeing it could not be done by surprise and undiscover'd as was projected? Why not try the chance of a fair battle by returning and be join'd by the rest of the army as well as by those who had withdrawn the night before, as a great many others who were hourly expected, where also they would have cannon and might have choice of the field of battle? by this means there was a fair chance, by the other there was none. As to the above mention'd facts you may rely upon them; I saw the Duke of Perth, the Duke of Athole, Lord John Drummond, Lord George Murray, Lord Ogilvy, Colonell Stewart of Arsheil, Colonell John Roy Stewart, Lord Nairn and several others at Ruthven of Badenoch, on the Friday two days after the battle, they all agreed in the same things; one thing I must take notice of, that from the beginning of the whole affair till that time, there never had been the lest dispute, or misunderstanding among the officers.

Some find fault that the night march was undertaken, seeing there was not a certainty of reaching Nairn time enough to make the attack before day light, as also that they had too few men. In answer to this, there was no body doubted when the march was begun but that there would be abundance of time; their greatest precaution was, to take care not to be discover'd. The Highlanders had often made very quick marches in the night time: the French picquets were I believe in the rear, and were not so clever in marching; the moor that they went thro' was more splashy than they expected and they were obliged to make some turns to shun houses, and there were two or three defiles that took up a good deal of time to pass; the guides tho' they knew the ground very well, yet were not judges what time it would take to march the ten miles (as they were call'd) tho' by reason of the indirect road must be more. Notwithstanding of all this I am persuaded most of the army, had not the van been frequently stop'd and retarded by repeated orders and messages, would have been at Nairn by two o'clock in the morning. As for the number of men, tho' not half that of the enemy, they might very probably have succeeded in the attempt, had they made the attack undiscover'd. Nothing is more uncertain than the events of war, night attacks are most of all subject to disappointment. This march and countermarch to be sure was a thing turn'd out a great disadvantage, it fatigued the men much, and a council of war might have been obtain'd in which doubtless a resolution would have been taken, to choose a more advantageous field of battle, and perhaps postpon'd fighting for a day, till the succours that were coming up with the outmost expedition should join.

Councils of war were seldom held, and were out of request from the time the army march'd into England. I remember but of two that were

held there, one at Brampton, in regard of beseiging Carlisle or going to attack Generall Wade, the other was at Carlisle, where it was resolved to march forwards; what happen'd at Derby was accidentall, by most of the officers being at the Prince's quarters; and taking into consideration their situation, they were all unanimous in advising the Prince to retreat. I think there was but one council of war call'd after they return'd to Scotland, and that was near Crief the day after the retreat from Stirling, where there was some difference of opinion, but it was at last agreed, to march for Inverness in two seperate bodies, the one the Highland road, and the other by the coast, severals at first being for the army all going the same road. The day of the battle of Falkirk the officers were calld in the field where the army was drawn up betwixt Bannockburn and the Tor Wood, and they all immediatly agreed to march streight to the enemy. As to the retreat from Stirling, it was advisd by many of the principal officers, particularly the clans; they drew up the reasons, and signd them at Falkirk three day before the retreat was made: the chief of which were that a vast number of men had gone off after the battle, and were not returnd, and that as the seige of Stirling Castle was not advancing, they did not think it adviseable to fight in such circumstances.

This letter has been much longer than I intended, but before I conclude I must acquaint you that six weeks before the battle of Colloden, some officers proposed sending up meal to several parts of the Highlands and in particular towards Badenoch, that in the event of the Duke of Cumberlands marching towards Inverness, before the army was gather'd they might retreat for a few days till they could assemble, or if a misfortune should happen by a defeat, there might be some provisions in these parts; but this was reackond a timerous advice and rejected as such, though I have reason to suspect that the opinion of mostly all the Highland officers was much the same; they were not for precipitating any thing. There is no doubt the Highlanders could have avoided fighting till they had found their advantage in so doing; they could have made a summer campaign without running the risque of any misfortune; they could have march'd thro' the hills to places in Aberdeen shire, Bamf shire, the Mearns, Angus, Perthshire, or Argyle shire by ways that no regular troops could have follow'd them, and if they had continued amongst the mountains, it must have been attended with great difficulties and expenses: their convoys might have been cut off, and opportunities have offer'd to have attacked them with almost a certainty of success; and tho' the Highlanders had neither mony nor magazines, they could not have starved in that season of the year, as long as there were sheep

or cattle to be had. They could also have separated into two or three different bodies, got meal for some days provisions, mett again at a place appointed, and have attackd the enemy where lest expected. They could have march'd in three days what would have taken regular troops five, nay had those taken the high roads (as often they would have been oblig'd to do, upon account of their carriages) it would have taken them ten or twelve days. In short they would have been so harrass'd and fatigued, that they must have been in the greatest distress and difficulties and at the long run probably have been destroy'd, at lest much might have been expected by gaining of time.—Perhaps such succours might have come from France, as would have enabled the Highlanders to have made an offensive instead of a defensive war;—This I say was the opinion of many of the officers who considerd the consequence of losing a battle. They knew well that few Highlanders would join heartily against them, as long as they continued intire, but would upon a defeat. There was one great objection to this, that the Irish officers who were as brave men and zealous in the cause as probably could be, and many of the Lowcountry men could not well endure the fatigue of a Highland campaign; as to the common soldiers who came from France, there were not four hundred remaining, they and their officers even tho a battle was lost, had but to surrender, and would be prisoners of war. It was very different with the Scots, whose safety depended upon their not venturing a battle without great probability of success. But any proposition to postpone fighting was ill received and was call'd discouraging the army. I have nothing further to add, but that I am, &c. &c. &c.

ACCOUNT  
OF  
*The Young Pretender's Escape.*

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Here follows a genuine historical journal of P. Charles' retreat from the battle of Culloden, April sixteenth, and of his many disasters in both the isles and continent till he embarked at Lochnanuagh in Arisaig, for France, the twentieth of September, 1746. Written by a [Highland Officer](#) in his army.

**P.** C. having done his utmost to rally his men at the fatal battle of Culloden, who through many concurrent circumstances against them, and an over ruling Providence that disposes of all events, were obliged though unwillingly to give way, yet in such order as to secure in great measure a safer retreat than could have been expected, having a regular army and many horse on their enemy's side to pursue, so that he also, after having a servant killed near him and his own horse wounded (which horse is now in the possession of a Scots gentleman) followed the fate of the day, attended only by Colonel Sullivan, Captain Allan M<sup>c</sup>donald (a P—t) Mr. Alexander M<sup>c</sup>cloed and one Ned Burk a servant, and came that night (viz. sixteenth of April) to the house of Fraser of Gortleg in Stratherick, where Lord Lovat then stayed. Here the P., and his attendants took some refreshment and two hours rest. This place was from the field of battle.

1746  
April 16<sup>th</sup>.

On the morrow by day break the Pr. set out again for FortAugustus, through the country of Glengarie, and stayed that night at M<sup>c</sup>donald of Droynachan's house, where his supper was a piece of a broil'd trout.

April 17<sup>th</sup>.

On Friday the eighteenth in the morning he set out again and held his way to Lochnargaig, where he stayed that night with D. Cameron of Glenpean.

18<sup>th</sup>.

Saturday the nineteenth he came to Oban in Kinlochmors, a corner of Clanronald's estate, where he and his company lay in a sheelen or sheepphouse, near a wood.

19<sup>th</sup>.

Next morning he went towards the country of Arisaig, and halted at a little village called Glenbeastil, where Mr. Lockhart younger of Carnwath, and some few gentlemen of Clanronald's name, who had escaped thither from the battle, repaired to him and consulted about his safety.

20th.

Apprehending the enemy's partys would soon come into that country, after four days stay at Glenbeastil, His R. H. concurr'd in their oppinion who judgd he ought to take to the Isles. Clanronald, who was absent at the first consultations, was of oppinion that the P. ought to keep the country for some time, and that he would cause build several small huts in different woods for his accomodation and change of quarters, as occasion should require whilst he and some other chosen persons should take a trip to the Isles and look out for a veshel for his passage into France, if found needfull. But finding the P., through the perswasion of Sulivan &c. disposed to repair to the Isles, Clanronald immediatly provided a boat (which had belonged to Alexander M<sup>c</sup>donald of Borrakil) with rowers and all necessarys for the voyage, as well as the time and place could afoord; and Donald M<sup>c</sup>cloed being pilot, they set sail for the Isle of Uist on the twenty fourth of April.

24th.

Each of them assuming borrowed names, the P. was called young Mr. S<sup>t</sup> Clair, Sulivan old S<sup>t</sup> Clair his father, and Captain Allan M<sup>c</sup>donald (the P—t) Mr. Graham; but the boatmen retained their own names. The wind blowing a very fresh gale from the south-east, in endeavouring to weather the point of Arisaig, the boat's bowsprit broke in pieces. The night became dismally dark and tempestous, with some flashes of lightning, and wanting a compass, they were at a loss what course to steer, but at break of day they providentially found themselves near the island Benbecula, and accordingly put in there at the toun of Roshnish about eight a clock in the morning on the twenty fifth.

April 25th.

Here they refreshed themselves for three days, and the P. was visited by old Hector M<sup>c</sup>Eachin i. e. old Clanronald, to whom this island of Benbecula belonged.

On the morning of the twenty eighth, the P. set sail again for the Lewis Isle, but previous hereto it was agreed that the P—s company should give out in the Lewis that they were the crew of a merchant ship wreckt on the isle of Tiree and wanted to get home to their own country the Orkney's, and having been at Uist, Clanronald's brother, Boystil, advised them to go along with his people to the Lewis who

28th.

were bound thither in order to hire a vesshel to carry some meal from the Orkney's to supply the country, by which means they hoped to return to their own homes. Having thus plan'd their bussiness, they set sail for the Lewis accordingly, with a hard gale from the south-west, and landed in the morning of the twenty ninth at the isle of Skalpay, belonging to D. M<sup>c</sup>ean oig, alias Cambel a rigid loyalist to the family of Stuart.

29th.

April the thirtieth, Donald M<sup>c</sup>cloed the pilot and four persons went to Stornway to bespeak a veshel for the purpose abovementioned, with all expedition, and M<sup>c</sup>cloed hired a vesshel of forty tuns for 100*l.* freight, but the master at last, through some indiscretion of M<sup>c</sup>cloed's (supposed to be the effects of drinking) smelling somewhat of the purpose for which the veshel was hired, declined going, and M<sup>c</sup>cloed, being thus disconcerted, even proposed to purchase the vessel at a very high price, which encreased the suspicion, and the matter taking air, it began to be blazed abroad that the P. was at Lewis; so that M<sup>c</sup>cloed, suspecting the danger and fatal consequences, return'd to the P., then at Lady Kilduns house in Arynish, and apriz'd him of all that had happen'd. Upon this, the P. and his attendants repair'd to their yoal they had left at Lochseafort; as they were launching it, M<sup>c</sup>cloed the pilot ask'd some of the countrey people who were gazing after them, if there was any among them who for a good hire would pilot them to Lochfraon, an harbour in the shire of Ross in Lord Seaforth's countrey, but none gave answer; however, the putting this question suggested that they design'd to go for Ross-shire, purposing however to take a quite different course. They accordingly set out in the evening May the sixth, those upon the shoar noticing their course; but night coming on prevented their further observation; and tho the wind favoured the purpose, they gave out that it was contrary to their intended course, which obliged them to take shelter in the creek of a small island at the foot of Lochalg, where by a storm and contrary winds they were obliged there to remain for two nights, and could perceive some Lewis vesshels pass them, bound for Lochfraon, in quest of them.

30th.

May 6th.

On May the eighth the wind changing to the north, they took to sea in the night and landed at Rainish near Rossnish in the isle Benbecula, where they had landed on their first leaving the main land, and were visited again, upon coming to Rossnish, by old Clanronald and his Lady, who gave them all the accommodation that place could afford.

8th.

Here it was debated whether the P. should stay in old Clanrdnald's house; but at last it was judged more proper he should be lodged in the forrest-house of Glencorridale, a remote place yet central for corresponding with his friends in Uist, and by its situation most convenient either for takeing to the hills or the sea in case of an alarm. Accordingly this house was fitted up as well as could be for the P—'s reception, and scouts placed on all hands for intelligence, a boat being provided also for his going to sea, and guides in case of need to take thro the mountains. Accordingly the P. and his small retinue, with very little ceremony, took up his quarters in the house in the forrest in the Isle of S. Uist, attended by Colonel o'Sullivan, Captain Allan M<sup>c</sup>donald (Pr—t) and Captain O'Neal, the two Rories and Alexander and John M<sup>c</sup>donalds, all formerly officers in H. R. H. service in Clanronald's regiment, with a dozen other sturdy clever fellows that served as guards and for dispatches.

This island of Uist is accounted the best in Scotland for game, having plenty of deer, wild fowl &c; and here the P. diverted himself often, and was observed to be very dexterous at shooting fowl upon wing; and indeed he ever chearfully bore all his crosses and adversitys with a most magnanimous spirit and the greatest christian resignation.

And now his enemys were got together upon the coast towards the Isles on Moidart side, which made old Clanronald, who often attended the P., to apprehend a sudden visit from them; yet he would not leave S. Uist, when the danger was signified to him, till he should receive some further intelligence. In the mean time old Clanronald went over to the main land in order to learn how matters went, and apprise the P. in case of further danger from that side.

It was about the end of June when Captain Ferguson landed in the isle of Bara with some hundereds of soldiers, and three hundered of the M<sup>c</sup>cloeds of Sky at the same time came over to Benbecula, all in quest of our dear P.

*June.*

General Cambel with a strong party sail'd to St. Kilda, the remotest of the western isles, the property of the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>cloed, and from thence was to return by Uist, while the whole coasts of Sky, Uist &c. and channel towards the main land was covered with ships, schooners and arm'd veshels; so that the P. and his few attendants were environed on all hands and to be attack'd both by sea and land. It was now therefor full time to concert measures for his safety, and accordingly Lieutenant Alexander Mcdonald my nephew was sent to

the south end of the island, there to observe Captain Ferguson's motions, also Lieutenant Rory M<sup>c</sup>donald my brother, to the north side, to learn and bring notice of the rout which the M<sup>c</sup>cloeds were to take, and were appointed both of them to meet at Lochbeistel, a central place, to concert measures for further intelligence. By these gentlemen the P. understood that both partys were to march from end of the isle in search of him, till they should meet in the middle of the country.

It is impossible to express the perplexity of mind the P—'s few attendants were in (upon this intelligence,) for his safety. However, they immediatly repair'd to the top of a hill in this S. Uist, called Beinil-koinish, from which eminence they could have a large prospect, and here consulted how the P. should get out of Uist, tho' late; and now it was that they thought of getting Miss M<sup>c</sup>donald for their assistant. Accordingly they seperated till they should come to a sheeling (or sheep cottage) called Ashary, within a mile of Milnton, where *Flora M'donald* kept house with her brother young Milnton. At first the proposal of her being assistant in making the P—'s escape startled her, but when spoke to seriously, she condescended to undergoe any danger for H. R. H. safety. Accordingly she goes for the isle Benbecula to old Lady Clanronalds to provide suitable cloaths for Betty Burk (the name the P. was to take) engaged to goe home with her to Skie as her servant. The good old lady accordingly provided what was necessary for this disguise, and they both (the Lady and Miss Flora) set out for Lochniskava in Benbecula where the P. and his few attendants waited for them with a small shallop-boat ready to take the sea.

Is was now the twenty eighth of June when Lady Clanronald dress'd up the P. in his new habit, not without some mirth and railry passing amidst all their distress and perplexity and a mixture of tears and smiles. The dress was on purpose coarse and homely, suited to the station of the wearer, viz, a callico gown with a light coulered quilted pettycoat, a mantle of dun camelot made after the Irish fashion with a hood joined to it.

June 28th.

Here the P. in his new disguise parted with Lady Clanronald, with thanks for all her troble, as he did likewise with his other Highland attendants; Colonel O'Sullivan, Captain Allan Mcdonald (the Pr—t) and such as could not speak Erse having parted with the P. some days before, as had also Donald M<sup>c</sup>cloed the pilot and O'Neal likewise two days befor this voyage to Skie. And now our noble exil'd P. parted

with all his friends except his new mistress my nephew Lieutenant Mcdonald and the boatmen, and set out from Benbecula for Skie with a gentle breeze in his sails about one a clock afternoon.

Next day they were surrounded with a thick fog which made them suspect they might err in their course and come unawares upon the island, which made the rowers drop their oars till the fog should disperse, which it did soon after, and mistaking the point of Snod for the point of Waterniesh, and the wind blowing fresh from the land, they were obliged to row closs by the shoar for shelter, but seeing some men in arms who called out to them to land, at their peril, this made them alter their course a little and stand out from the land; but plying their oars gently to prevent any suspicion, on their refusing to land some musquets were fir'd at their boat, but without any harm, my nephew sitting closs by the helm. Upon the shot from the shoar by the M<sup>c</sup>cloeds (who were the people they saw in arms) the P. encouraged the men at the oars not to fear the villans, so they plyed their oars most assiduously but without any disorder, saying they had no fear for themselves but only for him "No fear of me" replied the P. And indeed they had always a confidence in whatever he said to them, God seeming still to work a passage for him from time to time. Yet having seen three boats at the shore, they suspected they would be pursued, however pulling on with all their force they at length doubled the tedious point of Waterniesh and hereby left the M<sup>c</sup>cloed's country behind them; and although Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>donald had not joined the P., they still expected more favour from his people than from the cold M<sup>c</sup>cloeds, besides that Mr. M<sup>c</sup>donald of Kingsburgh was trysted to meet the P. upon the shore of Moydhslat the place of Sir Alexander's residence.

29th.

Accordingly they landed upon the twenty ninth day of June at Moydhslat, when Miss Mcdonald having conducted her charge to a proper place in the fields, dismiss'd the boat with orders to return to Uist. Miss then repaired to Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>donald's house, where she met with Kingsburgh, and he soon with proper refreshment of a bottle of wine and bread found out the P. in his retirement in the fields. In the evening he conducted the P. to his own house, where he stayed one night, the next day changing his woman's dress, that he was in such disguise being known to his pursuers. Kingsburgh committed him to the care of Malcom M<sup>c</sup>cloed at Portree, and he conveyed him to the old Laird of M<sup>c</sup>kinnon.

After two or three days stay with him, finding the P—'s danger greater by being in the islands, on the tenth of July, old Mckinnon with four of his people ferried him over to the mainland to a place called Buarblach, in Glengarie's *lands in Knoydart*; yet it was the P—'s choice to go immediatly into Clanronalds country. M<sup>c</sup>kinnon having parted with the P. upon the twelfth, he then sail'd for Lochnevis, and as they were turning at a point were met by some of the Sky militia (whom Sir Alexander M<sup>c</sup>donald had sent out to join the Duke of Cumberland) who put the ordinary questions to the P—'s people, from whence they came and whither they were bound, to which being answered undauntedly, suitable to the time, the militia let them pass without further notice. The P. pursued his course further up the Loch, and having once got out of sight, they immediatly landed and travelled all that day and the night following through woods and hills till they arrived on the thirteenth at Moror in Clanronalds estate and was well received by the Laird of Moror, viz. Lieutenant Colonel M<sup>c</sup>donald of Clanronalds regiment, whose houses being all brunt by Cumberland's army, he lodged the P. in a small hutt, where he rested one day and set out again in the night betwixt the fourteenth and fifteenth, accompanied by Captain M<sup>c</sup>kinnon and a guide, and arrived befor day at Boradale, the place of his first landing, and was welcomed by Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald of that place, who also having his houses and effects brunt by the party under General Cambels command, was obliged to carry H. R. H. to a hutt in a neighbouring wood, where he entertain'd him in the best manner he could for three days. On the eighteenth H. R. H. wrote a letter to Alexander M<sup>c</sup>donald of Glenaladale, Major to Clanronald's regiment, and who was well known to H. R. H. befor, requiring him to come to him to concert measures anent his future motions. This letter he sent by John M<sup>c</sup>donald junior, son to Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald of Boradle his late landlord. Immediatly after sending of this express, H. R. H. got an account of the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>kinnon's being taken prisoner, upon which it was judg'd proper that the P. should remove four miles further eastward to an almost inaccessible cave known only to a few in the country, accompanied by Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald of Borradle and his son Ronald, formerly Lieutenant in Clanronalds own company, where he was to stay till Glenaladale should come to him.

July 10th.

Glengarrie's  
Morrar.

12th,  
Young Clan-  
ronalds wri-  
ting.

July 13th.

14th and 15th.

18th.

20th.

On the twentieth at night Glenaladale met with the forsaide Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald at the place they had formerly agreed upon, from whence he was conducted to the P.

On the twenty first, Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald got a letter from a son in law of his, acquainting him that it was whispered in the country that H. R. H. was with them, and representing how dangerous it was for them to stay any longer in that place, and making an offer of a place he had prepared where they would be more secure for some time; accordingly Ronald Mcdonald was sent to reconoiture the place.

July 21st.

On the twenty second, Lieutenant John M<sup>c</sup>donald being sent to view the sea coast and learn the enemys motions, he returned with the news of their seeing a small boat, somewhat like one of the enemys tenders which allarmed that coast; upon which, the P. thought proper to quit his present grotto, without waiting for the return of his new quarter master (sent the day befor to the Glen of Morar) and repaired to the place intended for him there. The P., accompanied by Major M<sup>c</sup>donald of Glenaladale and Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald of Boradale, with John junior his son, travell'd till they came to a place called Corrybeine Cabir, where they were met by Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald's son in law who, as abovementioned, had a place prepar'd for them in the Glen of Morar, who informed H. R. H. that Clanronald was come within a few miles of them, in order to conduct him to a safe place he had prepared for that purpose; but the P. having gone too far in his way towards the Glen-morar quarters and it being too late to go to the place where Clanronald was, or send for him that night, he pursued his former course, supposing he would have time enough to send to him next day.

22d.

Glenaladale's  
hand writing.

Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald having gone befor, upon his arrival in Glenmorar an information came to him that General Cambel with some men of war and troops had anchor'd at Lochnavies, the place where the P. landed at his coming from the Isles; whereupon two men were sent away by way of Loch-morar to Loch-navies to observe General Cambel's motions, but before they had time to return, Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald came back on the twenty third early in the morning without waiting for the necessarys he went for, and brought intelligence that Captain Scot was come with his party to the lower part of Arisaig from Glengary's Morrar. The P. hereby finding that Clanronald's country was wholly surrounded by the Government's troops, it was resolved that he should leave it in all haste, especially since it was impossible to join young Clanronald, the enemy being already between them and the place where Clanronald was. Accordingly the P. set out, accompanied only by Glenaladale and his brother Lieutenant John M<sup>c</sup>donald and the other Lieutenant John M<sup>c</sup>donald junior, son to Boradale, being obliged to part with Angus M<sup>c</sup>donald

Young Clan-  
ronald's hand  
writing.

July 23d.

and his son in law Angus M<sup>c</sup>Eachine, surgeon formerly to Glengary's regiment, that they might the more easily pass undiscovered by the guards that lay in their way, and by twelve a clock they came to the top of a hill in the outmost bounds of Arisaig, called Scoorvuy, when having taken some refreshment, John Mcdonald, Glenaladale's brother, was sent to Glenfinnin, the outmost bounds of Clanronald's country and Glenaladale's property, as well for intelligence as to bring two men Glenaladale had stationed there, and appoint them to join the P. about ten a clock at night in the top of a hill above Lochairkaig in Lochiel's country, called Swernink Corrichan. Lieutenant John M<sup>c</sup>donald being sent off, the P. set out, and by two a clock came to the top of a neighbouring hill called Fruigh-vein, where observing some cattle in motion, the P. and Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald junior stood back, and Major M<sup>c</sup>donald Glenaladale went to examine what it might mean, and found it to be some of his own tennants, driving their cattle out of the reach of the troops, who by this time, to the number of six or seven hundred, were come to the head of Lochairkaig on purpose to enclose the P. in Clanronald's country, whilst a narrow search was making within it. This being the rout they were to hold disconcerted the P—'s company not a little; however, upon this intelligence by Major M<sup>c</sup>donald of Glenaladale, they resolved to alter their course; accordingly the Major sent one of his tennants express to Glenfinnin, about a mile distant, to call back Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald, Glenaladale's brother, and the two men that were stationed there for a guard. He sent likewise another tennant to a neighbouring hill for one Donald Cameron of Glenpean, whither he had removed with his effects upon the approach of the soldiers, in order to learn from him the situation of the troops about Fort Augustus, and to guide H. R. H. through their guards if possible. Whilst the P. and Major M<sup>c</sup>donald with Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald junior waited the return of both the expresses, one of Glenaladale's tennants wives, regrating the condition she saw him in, and willing to refresh him in the best manner she could (suspecting nothing of H. R. H. being in company with him) milked some of her cattle and brought it to them. The P. observing the woman coming towards them, covered his head with a handkerchief and passed for one of the Major's servants who had got a headach, and notwithstanding the good womans present was very seasonable, the day being excessive hot, yet they could have excused her complement at that time, so ticklish was their present situation; however the Major thank'd her and used some policy to dismiss her, and get some of the milk reserved for H. R. H.

The express sent to Glenfinnin returned soon after without finding Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald senior (i. e. Glenaladale's brother) nor the two men who were stationed in Glenfinnin, they having run off with intelligence to the place where they expected to have found Major M<sup>c</sup>donald (Glenaladale), and brought word that one hundred of the Argyllshire militia had come to the very foot of the hill where the P. now stayed; whereupon it was thought proper to dislodge, and as there was no time to wait for Donald Cameron of Glenpean who was sent for as a guide, trusting in the great Guide of all, H. R. H. with great resolution and chearfullness set out about sunset with his small retinue. They travelled pretty hard till about eleven at night, when passing through a hollow way between two hills, they observed a man coming down one of the hills towards them, upon which the P. and Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald stept aside while Major M<sup>c</sup>donald went towards to know whether he was friend or foe, and, as Providence directed, found him to be their desired guide Donald Cameron, whom the Major immediatly conducted to H. R. H. to whom he gave an account as far as he had learned of the situation of the Goverment's troops, and undertaking to guide them by the guards, they pursued their way through roads almost impassible even in daylight.

After travelling all night they came about four a clock in the morning, July the twenty-fourth, to the top of a hill in the braes of Lochairkaig called Mamnyn-Callum, from whence they could (without the help of a perspective glass) discern their enemys camp, being not above a mile distant. Being informed by their guide that the hill on which they now were had been searched the day before, they supposed there would not be a second search that day, and therefor resolved to keep on the hill all the day, and chusing the fastest properest place for their purpose resolved all together to take a little rest. After two hours sleep, the Major, the Lieutenant and new guide got up to keep centry, and about ten a clock forenoon they observed a man at a small distance. Cameron the guide being in his country and near home and best acquainted with the inhabitants, was sent to speak with him, but upon coming up with him found him to be Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald the Major's brother, who not meeting with the P. at the place appointed and having no intelligence of the enemy's being so near till he saw them, he became apprehensive of what might have happened, and regrating his having the misfortune of parting with his P. went in search of him wherever Providence directed, and thus came just to the place where he was, who was much pleased thus to find him safe, the whole company having given him for lost. They continued on the top of the hill all that day, and about nine a clock at night set out

July 24th.

again to the southward, and about one a clock in the morning on the twentyfifth came to a place called Corringaull on the confines between that place of Glengarie's country called Knoydart and that part of Lochiel's country called Lochairkaig, where the guide expected to meet with some of the Lochairkaig people who had fled with their cattle and in whom he had confidence for some supply of provisions, which was now much wanted, having only a small quantity of butter and some oatmeal which they could not prepare, as they travelled almost always in sight of the enemy if it was daylight, and durst make no fire, the troops being encamped in a direct line from the head of Lochiel to the head of Lochruin, dividing Knoydart from that part of M<sup>c</sup>cloed's country called Glenealg, each little camp within half a mile of the other, and the centries placed within call of each other, and patrolling partys going every quarter of an hour to keep the centrys alert, that it might be impossible for our dear P. to escape or get through this chain. In this situation they were and in want of provisions when the P. and the two Lieutenants M<sup>c</sup>donalds staying behind, Major M<sup>c</sup>donald (Glenaladale) and the guide (Glenpean) ventured down to some sheeling-huts, expecting to meet with some of the people, but found none; they therefor resolved to go to a fastness in the brow of the hill at the head of Lochnaigh and about a mile distant from the troops; this they chose as the safest place for them to take an hours rest. After this short sleep, the guide and the eldest Lieutenant, the Major's brother, were sent off to the hill above them to enquire for some provisions, the Major and the other Lieutenant his cousine standing sentry while the P. slept. When the sun began to shine, they observed one of the enemys camps was pitched at the head of Lochnaigh, an unpleasant prospect so near them; however they resolved to wait the return of their provisors who came back about three a clock afternoon and brought only two small cheeses, which was but a mouthfull to each of them. They also brought intelligence that about an hundred red coats (i. e. soldiers) were marching up the other side of the hill where they were, in order to destroy and carry off such of the poor inhabitants as had fled to the hills for shelter. Here the search for H. R. H. was general and very narrow all around, yet did he and his little company keep their ground till about eight a clock at night, when they set out travelling very quick till it became dark, and climbing a steep hill called Drimachosi they observed from the top of it the fires of a camp directly in their front, which they could scarcely shun; however they were resolved to pass at any rate, and came so near as to hear the soldiers talking together, without being noticed, and creeping up the nixt hill they no sooner got to the top than they spyed the fires of another camp at the foot of the

July 25th.

hill in the way they were to have gone down; but turning a little westward they passed betwixt two of their sentrys about two a clock in the morning on the twenty sixth.

July 26th.

After travelling, as they judged, about two miles, they came to a place on the Glenealg side of the head of Lochairn, called Corriscorridill, where having chosen a secure place, they took such refreshments as their circumstances could afford, H. R. H. covering a slice of cheese with some oatmeal in place of bread, which tho' but dry fare he eat very chearfully, and drunk some spring water, and passed the whole day in this place till about eight a clock at night.

The guide being acquainted no further in the course the P. intended to hold, yet hoping they would find some other trusty guide, Cameron and the Major resolved to look about; they had no sooner quit their fast hold, than they found that they had lodged all day within cannon shot of two little camps, and saw a company of soldiers getting in some sheep into a hut for slaughter. Of this they soon came back to give the P. notice, whereupon he immediatly set out, and by three a clock next morning came to Glenseil in Seaforth's country; and as provisions had now run short, the Major and Lieutenant John M<sup>c</sup>donald, Boradale's son, were sent out to provide some and find out a guide to conduct them to Pollew, where it was reported some French veshels had been. While the Major was communing with some country people about a guide, a Glengarie man came running up to them; he had been chased by the soldiers that morning from Glengarie after they had killed his father the day before. The Major knew this man at first sight and that he had served in the P—'s army, and confiding in him as a trusty fellow, resolved to keep him in reserve as a guide in case of need and they should be oblidgeed to alter their course, tho' he did not intimate this purpose to the Glengarie man. The Major having furnished himself with some provisions, returned to H. R. H., when, after eating, they retired to the face of an adjacent hill to take some sleep, which they did, and rising up about four or five afternoon they dismist their old guide Donald Cameron, after whose departure the Major observing the Glengarie man passing by in his way to his own country, slipt out of his den and took him aside to a by place (till he should know more assuredly of their intended guide) and returning to the P. again consulted with him anent keeping of him for that purpose, which H. R. H. approved of. About seven at night the man who undertook to furnish the guide came to the place where the Major had appointed him, and the Major repairing thither understood by him that the only French ship which had been there was gone and

Captain Al.  
M<sup>c</sup>donald's  
hand writing.  
July 27th.

that no guide could be got. The Major finding it in vain to proceed further towards Pollew, perswaded the man who was sent in quest of a guide, to return to his own country, and so dismiss him, and returning to the P. told him what had pass'd; and it was resolved that H. R. H. should change his course. Accordingly the Glengarie man was introduced to the P., who cheerfully undertook to conduct him; so they set out late at night, and after travelling about half a mile, the Major stopt and clapping his hand to his side, mist his purse in which was a purse of gold the P. had given him to keep for defraying their charges and which he had forgot at their last setting out. Upon this, he and Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald, Boradale's son, return'd, and coming to their last resting place found the purse, but upon opening it found the little purse of gold which he had put within it was gone. Reflecting it might have been taken away by a little boy whom their landlord had sent with a present of milk to the Major, as he supposed, (for he knew nothing of the P. being with him) this boy they had left at the place where the purse was forgotten, and accordingly the Major and Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald went back a mile further to their landlord's house, whose name was Gilchrist M<sup>c</sup>rath, and through his means got the boy to restore all back, which he did to a trifle. So returning by a different road they got up again with H. R. H. who began to be in pain for them, lest they had falln in the way of an officer and two privates under arms who passed their road near by the place where the P. was during their absense. But observe on how slight an accident, tho' important in the eye of Providence, the fate of the greatest personages depend! for had not this accident stopt the P—'s progress, he had undoubtedly falln in these persons way, in which case one may judge how fatal the consequences of this rencounter might have been, as likewise his enemy's chasing the Glengarie man thirty miles (as mentioned above) out of his way, whereby he fell into the poor P—'s hands who needed him as a guide.

The P. having now gotten his few friends about him again, they travell'd on all the remainder of the night, and came to a hill side above Stathchluanie, and chusing a fast place, took some rest till towards three a clock afternoon, when having set out again and travell'd about a mile along the hill side, they heard the firing of small arms on the hill above them, which they judged to be some of the troops pursuing the people who had fled with their cattle and effects to the hills, as was frequently done. Upon which occasions, were I to be particular, such barbaritys and monstrous scenes of wickednesses were perpetrated by murdering the aged, the innocent and the young, by ravishing the women weak and helpless, and destroying their

July 28th.

habitations by fire &c. as is horrible to relate; when those who escaped their savage hands by flight were often found perishing with hunger and cold in the fields and caverns of the hills; when such things were committed wantonly and needlessly as would seem incredible to relate, and which the posterity of those sufferers never will, never can forget, and it will become their dolefull tale to tell their children to future generations. Such was the lot of numbers in the Highlands, which in the lower and less exceptionable part of the country was mostly confined to rifling and an universall desolation by fire of all the Protestant Nonjurant places of worship in the kingdom; and the impression which all these dismal scenes have made upon my mind have forcibly drawn me away from pursuing the thread of my dear P—'s story, to which I return.

The P. and his company steering their course northward, mounted a high hill betwixt the braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglas and reached the top of it late at night, where it being dark they were obliged to lodge all night, the only shelter H. R. H. had being an open cave where he could neither lean nor sleep, being wet to the skin with the rain which had falln all that day, and having no fewel to make fire with, his only way to make himself warm being by smoaking a pipe.

About three a clock in the morning on the 29th, Lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>donald, the Major's brother, and the Glengarie guide were sent in quest of some trusty persons to conduct the P. to Pollew, and were appointed to return to the top of a neighbouring hill where the P. and his retinue were to meet them. H. R. H. having set out about five a clock in the morning, after two hours travel arrived at the top of the appointed hill, whither the guide also came and told them that he was directed by some proper persons, he had found out, to tell the Major (knowing nothing of the P.) to repair to a cave in the braes of Glenmoriston, called Coiraghoth, where they promised to come at an appointed hour with some victuals. Accordingly they came to the place, and meeting with the P. they immediatly knew him, having formerly served in his army; for hitherto they had suspected the young man, who they heard was with the Major, to be young Clanronald. These new guides conducted the P. to his cove, where having eaten something, he was soon lull'd asleep with the sweet murmurs of a gliding stream that run through the grotto just by his bedside. In this romantick habitation the P. stayed three days, and was so much refreshed that he thought himself now able to encounter any hardships. While they stayed in this place, they provided themselves

July 29th.

in some necessarys and sought for intelligence about the enemy's motions.

August the second they removed their quarters two miles further to Coirin head bain and put up in another romantick cove; and here they staid four days and were informed that one Cambel, factor to Lord Seaforth and captain of militia, had pitched his camp not far distant to graze a great herd of cattle. They therefor set out again and travell'd further northward till they came in upon the hights of the Chisolms country called Strathglas, having left one of their party behind, in the braes of Glenmoriston, to observe Campbel's motions; who brought back notice that they need not be under any apprehension for that night, whereupon H. R. H. was conducted to a sheepcot or sheeling, and a bed was made up for him, of a long fail or turf with the grass side upmost and a pillow of the same, where he sleep'd soundly all night, and remained here three days, during which time an express was sent off to Pollew to know the certainty of a report of some French veshels being seen on the coast. They followed their express in the road to Pollew, and passing through a long muir put up that night at another sheeling, and about twelve a clock nixt day, being the tenth, arrived at a place called Glencanna, and passing the day in a neighbouring wood, repaired at night to a village near. About two a clock in the morning on the eleventh, they scrambled up a hill on the north side of Glencanna, and sending two of their number to find some provisions, they stayed two days in a neighbouring sheeling, waiting the return of their express to Pollew, who at last brought them notice that a French ship had been upon the coast and that two gentlemen from on board had gone to Lochiel's country in search of H. R. H. The P. being anxious to know if they had any dispatches for him, resolved to turn back again in order to meet with these gentlemen.

August 2d.

August 10th.

11th.

Upon August the thirteenth they cross'd the water of Casina, and holding near by young Chisolm's house came about two a clock in the morning to a place called Fassanacoil in Strathglas; and before H. R. H. should venture any further, it was concerted to send some spies to the braes of Glengarie and Lochiel's country, in order to learn whether the search for the P. was over, and if the troops were returned to their camp at Fort Augustus. In the mean time they concealed themselves three days in a very thick wood, the inhabitants in the neighbourhood never dreaming of the P. being so near them. At length the spies brought back notice that the troops were return'd to their camp; whereupon H. R. H. set out on the seventeenth in the

13th.

14th.

17th.

morning, and travelling through an unfrequented road came again to the braes of Glenmoriston, and passing the day on the top of a hill, set out again at night, and had not travell'd a mile, when they learn'd that a strong party of soldiers had come to the hights of Glengarie in quest of the P. Hereupon they stopt in their journey, till the enemy's motions should be further known, and therefor past the remainder of this night in a sheeling hutt.

August the eighteenth in morning, three expresses were sent August 18th. Angustisth off, two to Lochairkaig in Lochiel's country, to seek for one Clunes Cameron and let him know that Major M<sup>c</sup>donald wanted to meet with him in a convenient place; and the third express was to goe to the braes of Glengarie and to bring back word if the party they were informed of the night before had return'd to the camp or not, that if the road was clear, the P. might pursue his journey. Accordingly the expresses were sent off, and on the nineteenth, the one from Glengarie 19th. brought notice that the coast was clear; whereupon H. R. H. and his little company (being ten in number) set out in the afternoon under the favour of a fog, and passing through Glenmoriston and Glenlyne, came late at night to the brae of Glengarie, and as they came to the water of Garie, the rain coming on very heavy, it was swell'd to a great hight, and having sent two of their party to foord the water they thought it passable. The P. and his company, in wading the water found it reached their middle, but got over safely, and travelling a mile further, the night being very dark, they were obliged to pass it on the side of a hill without any shelter or covert, tho' it rain'd excessively.

Nixt day it continuing to rain also very hard, they travell'd six miles 20th. over hills and muirs till they reached the brae of a place called Achnasalt, the place appointed for the expresses to meet them; where having past the day very incommodiously, it raining heavy both within and without, beginning to despair of their expresses, and being intirely run out of provisions of all kind, and quite strangers to the situation of Lochiel's country at this time, they began to consider what was to be done. In the midst of their perplexity the express return'd and brought the Major word from Mr. Cameron of Clunes that he could not wait on him that night, but directed him to lodge all night in a certain wood within two miles of them, and that he would be with them nixt morning. Accordingly two of their number were detached to take a view of their new habitation and found it indeed a very fast place. And here good Providence, which ever supported the P. in all his necessitys, in their present want brought a large hart deer

in his provisor's way, which they killed at the very place where he was to lodge that night. The P., after permitting Major M<sup>c</sup>donald (Glenaladale) to acquaint D. M<sup>c</sup>donald of Lochgarie of their arrival in that place and to send for him, set out for his quarters and feasted most elegantly upon his venison.

Lochgarie having joined them that night, they took some rest altogether, and about ten nixt day Clunes Cameron also joined them, and in the afternoon of the twenty first of August Clunes Cameron conducted them into a wood at the foot of Locharkaig, where they lay all night.

August 21st.

ssd. Early in the morning of the twenty second, an express was sent to Lochiel to desire his attendance. Here the P. stayed three days till the return of the express who brought word that Lochiel, being not yet recovered of his wounds, could not come at so great a distance, but he had sent his brother Dr Cameron to make his apology, who arrived on the twenty fifth, and nixt day they all set out and travelled till they came to a wood opposite to Achnacary, called Torvuilt, Dr Cameron and Lochgarie having parted from the P. about three a clock in the afternoon, to avoid suspicion, as did Clunes Cameron, how soon he had conducted the P. to his quarters where he remained eight days, during which time the French gentlemen were sent for and introduced to H. R. H. and after staying two or three days, they were sent to a safe place, to be taken due care of till such time as they should get a safe passage into their own country.

22d.

25th.  
26<sup>th</sup>.

The P. now seeing himself in a manner out of danger, and having got intelligence that the forces that were encamped at Fort Augustus were dispersed, and only Lord Loudon's Highland regiment left at Fort Augustus, and the militia also having delivered up all their arms were gone home, and supposing a chance party might come near where the P. was, he had a safe retreat either north or south, he now thought fit to dismiss Major M<sup>c</sup>donald (Glenaladale) to his own country to wait the coming of the French veshels on the coast, which H. R. H. expected every day, and resolved to remain himself in that place (unless he was surprised) and wait the event.

Accordingly upon the third of September the Major set out for his own country, leaving Lochgarie and Clunes Cameron with H. R. H.

September 3d.

He arrived on the fifth and tarried in the country till the thirteenth, when Captain Sheridan and Lieutenant O'Bourn landed from on

5th

board two French veshels which had anchor'd at Lochnanuagh in Arisaig, in order to carry off H. R. H, and coming to the place where the Major, or Glenaladale, was, expected to have found him with him; whereupon the Major set out that very night to acquaint the P. of the arrival of these French ships and to conduct him to the sea side; but coming to the place, found he was gone, nor could he learn any thing about him to his great surprise. The P. had been obliged to change his quarters upon hearing of a party of soldier's approach from Fort Augustus under the command of Mr. Monro of Culcairn and Captain Grant; and Clunes Cameron, who was appointed to acquaint the Major of the P. being obliged to retire, having himself gone out of the way, had left no notice for the Major either about the P. or himself. This dissappointment at so critical a time gave the worthy Major great uneasiness; yet while he was thus anxious and thoughtfull what to do, a poor woman came accidentally to the place where he was, and told him of Clunes being in a certain sheeling, whom having found they concerted to send an express to the P. who by this time had gone to Lochiel. In the mean while the Major himself returned to the ships to acquaint them of the cause of the P—'s delay and that he would be with them with all expedition.

13th.

The P. being now informed that the French ships were in Lochnanuagh waiting for him, set out immediatly, accompanied by Lochiel, Lochgarie, John Roy Stewart &c. and going on board the Happy privateer of S<sup>t</sup> Maloes, she immediatly set sail the twentieth of September, and escaping all the Government's warships and being in her way happily favoured by a fog, he arrived safely in France; an unparalell'd instance, upon a review of all the circumstances of this escape, of a very particular Providence interesting itself in his behalf. For what wise end Heaven has thus dissappointed and yet preserved this noble prince, and what future scenes the history of his life may display, time only can tell; yet something very remarkable still seems waiting him and this poor country also. May God grant a happy issue.

September 20th.

*The Young Pretender in France.*

## The Young Pretender in France.

An account of what happened to the young Pretender after his arrival in France, as related by persons at Paris in letters to their friends in Great Britain.

These letters (a printed copy of which was found in the trunk containing the Lockhart papers) were published at London in 1749; but as they may not be generally known, the most interesting substance of their contents is here inserted by way of supplement to the young Pretender's adventures. —EDITOR.

INTELLIGENCE was no sooner brought to Versailles that the young Chevalier de S<sup>t</sup> George was landed at Roscort near Morlaix in Brittany on the twenty ninth of September 1746, than the Castle of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine was ordered to be prepared for his reception, and his brother accompanied by several young noblemen went to meet him, and conducted him directly to Versailles, he not chusing to stop at Paris for any refreshment. The King of France, Louis the fifteenth, immediately quitting the Council which was sitting on affairs of moment, went to receive him, and as he advanced, took him in his arms with every mark of tender affection, and said "*Mon très cher Prince, je rends grace au Ciel qui me donne le plaisir extrême de vous voir arrivé en bonne santé apres tant de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait voir que toutes les grandes qualités des Héros et des Philosophes se trouvent unies en vous; et j'espere qu'un de ces jours vous recevrez la recompense d'un merite si extraordinaire.*"

After a quarter of an hour's conversation with the King, the young Chevalier passed to the apartments of the Queen, who welcomed him with every demonstration of good will and satisfaction; and as he quitted the palace, the whole Court crowded about him to pay their compliments, and testified as much joy as if the Dauphin himself had been engaged in the same dangerous expedition and returned in safety.

In spite of the reasons the French have given for their sincerity being called in question, and in spite of the events which have since happened to give the lye to all these kind professions, I cannot help thinking but that the King had really a very great personal regard for the young Chevalier, though the interest of his kingdom and the incessant remonstrances of his Ministers (some of whom it is suspected have other views besides the national concerns) have

prevented His Majesty from giving such proofs of that regard as the other expected and he made him hope. But however that may be, the sincerity of the Queen's professions admits of no doubt; for Her Majesty and the Princess Sobieski had passed some years of their youth together and had contracted a most intimate and lasting friendship; and it is natural to suppose that the favourite son of a person who had been so dear to her and who has so much the resemblance of his mother, cannot be indifferent to her. It has been with a kind of maternal tenderness she has always looked upon him, and I have been told by several about Her Majesty, that whenever he came to court (which till the signing the peace he did once or twice every week) she used to keep him in conversation for whole hours together and make him recite to her and the Ladies who were with her, all his adventures, the detail of which seldom failed of drawing tears from her eyes; nor were the young Princesses, one of them especially, less affected with the melancholy story. This was sufficient to flatter a youthful heart, yet did he not appear elevated with it; the memory of his disappointment was yet too recent, and the news which was continually arriving of the commitments, trials and executions of some of his most faithful followers, filled him with an anxiety which left but little room for pleasurable ideas.

The little visit he had made at Versailles being as it were *incog*, it was necessary he should pay his compliments in form and in the character his father had conferred upon him, which was that of Prince-Regent of England, Scotland and Ireland; accordingly about ten days after, he set out from the Castle of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine in the following manner. In the first coach were the Lords Ogilvy and Elcho, the venerable Glenbucket and Mr. Kelly the young Chevalier's secretary. In the second, were the young Chevalier himself, Lord Lewis Gordon, and the eldest Locheil as master of the horse; two pages richly dressed lolled on the boot, and ten footmen in the livery of the character assumed by the young Chevalier, walked on each side. In the third coach were four gentlemen of his bed chamber, one of whom, called Captain Stafford, had some time since been a prisoner in Newgate. The young Locheil with several gentlemen followed on horseback, making a grand appearance altogether, but the young Chevalier himself took off my attention from every thing besides. I shall say nothing of his person, and only tell you that he did not entirely trust to the graces it received from nature for attracting admiration, for his dress had in it, I thought, somewhat of uncommon elegance. His coat was rosecoloured velvet embroidered with silver and lined with silver tissue; his waistcoat was a rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe

set on in scollops. The cockade in his hat, and the buckles of his shoes were diamonds; the George which he wore at his bosom, and the order of S<sup>t</sup> Andrew which he wore also tied by a piece of green ribbon to one of the buttons of his waistcoat, were prodigiously illustrated with large brilliants; in short he glittered all over like the star which they tell you appeared at his nativity. He supped with the King, Queen and Royal family; and all who attended him were magnificently entertained at the several tables appointed for them, according to the rank they held under him.

I should not have mentioned these particulars, but to shew you that the French Court took all imaginable pains to lull the young Chevalier into forgetfulness of the breach of past promises, and perswade him that his concerns would now be taken into immediate consideration.

And here it seems proper to mention that Cardinal Tencin, who is known to be indebted for his elevation to the dignity he enjoys, to the interest and favour of the father of the young Chevalier, came frequently to the Castle of S<sup>t</sup> Antoine, to pay his compliments, as he said, to the son of a person to whom he was so highly obliged. In one of these visits, after many protestations of the unfeigned zeal he had for the service of his illustrious family, he took occasion to hint that in spite of the present circumstances, the Ministry might find some expedient to gratify him with the succours he demanded, provided that in case of a restoration to the Crown of Great Britain, the kingdom of Ireland were yielded up and made a province to France, as an equivalent for the expence the Government must necessarily be at in such an undertaking. But scarcely had the Cardinal finished what he had to say, when the young Chevalier started from his seat, and not able to contain how much he was irritated, cried out "*Non, Monsieur le Cardinal, tout ou rien! point de partage!*" These words he repeated several times, walking backwards and forwards in an agitation which was not usual to him. The Cardinal perceiving how his proposal was received, begged he would make no mention of it to the King or Ministry, it being, he said, only a project of his own, which the love and regard he ever had for his illustrious house had put into his head; to which the young Chevalier replied that he should not give himself the trouble even to think about it. Whether the Cardinal had any orders to make this proposal, or whether in reality it was no more than a scheme of his own, cannot be determined; but it is not unlikely that he might put such a notion into the Ministers heads with a view that if they had approved it, and the young Chevalier had consented, the

primacy of Ireland, when in the hands of the French, might be added to his ecclesiastical benefices.

Notwithstanding the successes of France upon the Continent, her losses by sea and the embarrassed state of her finances induced her to be solicitous for peace, in the negotiations for which at Aix la Chapelle in March 1748, the interests of the young Chevalier and all the promises made him by the French King and Ministry were so far from being remembered, that in one of the articles, the Crown of Great Britain was guaranteed to the House of Hanover, and that in another it was stipulated that the son of the unhappy person who lays claim to it should be obliged to quit the French dominions.

When the negotiations were arrived at such forwardness that the peace was scarcely to be doubted, they who wished it most for the common good of their country, expressed much concern for the young Chevalier, easily foreseeing that upon the conclusion of it, he would be obliged to leave France, as his father had been; and most people expected to see him extremely dejected on the occasion, though some, who knew the greatness of his spirit, imagined he would of himself leave the dominions of France before the preliminaries were signed.

His conduct however shewed how mistaken were all these conjectures; whether it were that he was pleased at being no longer under the necessity of dissembling his sentiments with regard to the French Ministry, or that the force of his resolution set him above being concerned at what could befall him, I cannot pretend to say, but he appeared more lively and gay than ever; he hired an extremely fine hotel on the Quay des Théatins, on purpose, as he said, to be near the Opera and other places of diversion at Paris, some one or other of which he now very seldom failed of frequenting every evening. Whenever any discourse happened in his presence concerning the Congress which was soon to assemble at Aix la Chapelle, he seemed not to attend to any thing that was said, but either sang, or found some way of avoiding a reply.

He did not immediately refrain from going to Versailles, Fontainebleau, Choisy, or other places frequented by the Court, but it was observed that he neither went so often nor staid so long as he had been accustomed, and rather chose to avoid than seek a private conference with the King.

The first public indication he gave how little he prized the future friendship of France, was to cause a great number of medals to be cast, with his head, and this inscription, *Carolus Walliæ Princeps*, and on the reverse, *Britanniæ*, and shipping, with this motto, *Amor et spes Britanniæ*. Of these, some were of silver, and others of copper, the latter of which he took care to have so distributed that few of any tolerable rank but had one of them. Every body was surprized at the device, and some knew not what to make of it; but they who considered that France was reduced to the condition of being glad of a peace, entirely by the bravery and successes of the English fleet, looked upon it as an insult; and the Ministry are said to have been so much offended at it that they complained to the King and pretended that some notice should be taken of it; to which His Majesty replied that the P—e doubtless had his reasons, but that whatever they were, as he could not be called to an account, nothing should be said on the occasion.

This, however, made a very great noise, as the medals were dispersed over England, Scotland, and several parts of the Continent, and the Prince de Conti, accounted one of the proudest as well as the most witty men in France, shewed he was excessively piqued at the young Chevalier on this occasion; for meeting him one day in the Luxembourg gardens, he told him with an air of pleasantry, which had also somewhat of a sneer in it, that the device of his medals was not altogether so applicable, as the British navy were no very good friends to him; to which, as I am credibly informed, the young Chevalier made this remarkable reply, "*Cela est vrai, Prince, mais Je suis, nonobstant, l'ami de la Flotte contre tous ses ennemis, comme Je regarderai toujours la gloire d'Angleterre comme la mienne; et sa gloire est dans sa flotte.*" The Prince de Conti, unwilling to make a serious affair of it, said no more, but left him, to join some other company, to whom, it seems, he related what had passed, not without inveighing with some heat against the ingratitude, as he termed it, of the young Chevalier.

Soon after the French plenipotentiaries set out for the Congress at Aix la Chapelle, the young Chevalier entered his protest there against all that should be concerted in prejudice to his title and pretensions. This, as it was a thing of form and had been done both by his father and grandfather on the assembling of every congress since the exclusion of the family, was no more than might be expected; and the omitting it would indeed have been deemed a tacit relinquishing his claim. But in this protest there was something more remarkable than

had been in any of those which preceded it; for the young Chevalier, after the usual declaration, adds, “that whatever might be insinuated to the contrary, he would never accept of any offers or enter into any conditions for giving up his claim, which he was determined to maintain by all the means Heaven should put in his power, and should reject all such proposals as the acceptance of must oblige him to abandon those who adhered to and depended on him.”

This latter part looked like a confirmation of some reports which I have not yet mentioned. It was whispered by several who pretended to be deep in the secrets of state, that there was a project on foot for compromising that affair which had for so many years divided the subjects of Great Britain, and that proposals had been made to the young Chevalier, that on renouncing for ever all claim to the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, a perpetual yearly subsidy should be granted him from those kingdoms, sufficient to support the dignity of a Prince, which title should also be allowed him as a branch of the Sobieski line. Such proposals could not but greatly disgust the young Chevalier, and probably gave rise to that part of the protest which has just been quoted.

After the signing the preliminaries at the close of April 1748; the young Chevalier went no more to Court, but appeared far from disconcerted at the event; nor did the rejoicings that took place upon the occasion at Paris seem to give him the least shock; he had determined to contemn his fate instead of complaining of its severity, and he kept his resolution to the end, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected trials.

It was soon known all over Paris that by one of the articles of the treaty he would be obliged to quit France entirely; and also that the King being willing to soften the stroke as much as possible, had written to the States of Fribourg in Switzerland, desiring they would receive him in a manner becoming his birth and as a Prince who was very dear to him; but the young Chevalier, continuing to live as a person regardless of what was doing, the King ordered Cardinal Tencin to acquaint him with the necessity there was for his departure.

It may be supposed that the Cardinal delivered this message in the tenderest terms that could be, and spared no arguments to convince him of the regret His most Christian Majesty felt at finding himself constrained, for the sake of giving peace to Europe, to make a concession so disagreeable to himself. He is also said to have

insinuated that it was only an expedient to serve a temporary purpose, and that in a short time the young Chevalier might return with a greater prospect of advantage than ever; to all which the latter gave short and evasive answers, so that the Cardinal was obliged to leave him without being able to give the King any positive account whether he was ready to conform to his intentions or not. The King having waited the result about a fortnight, and being informed that the young Chevalier had made no preparations for his departure, sent the Duke de Gesvres with a message of much the same nature with that delivered by the Cardinal; but this had no more effect than the former, the young Chevalier only telling him that he had so little expected the step that had been taken that he had not yet had sufficient time to consider how to behave in it. This answer produced a delay of near a fortnight more, when the Duke de Gesvres was sent a second time; and on his expatiating on the necessity the King was under of executing this article of the treaty, the Chevalier replied with some warmth that there was a prior treaty between himself and His most Christian Majesty, from which he could not depart with honour. It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit, the young Chevalier only bidding him deliver what he had said, to the King who would know his meaning.

Neither of these visits from the Duke, nor the purport of his errand, was made a secret either by the one side or the other; and there was so little appearance of the young Chevalier's intention to leave Paris, that his people bought several pieces of new furniture for his house. Among other things, he sent to the King's goldsmith, who had been employed by him before, and ordered him to make a service of plate to the value of an hundred thousand crowns, to be ready against a particular day, which the goldsmith promised not to fail in; but it so happened that immediately afterwards he received orders to prepare such a large quantity for the King's use against the same time, that he found it impossible to comply with both, upon which he waited on the young Chevalier and intreated he would allow him some days longer, telling him the reason; but he would not admit of the excuse, insisting on being first served, as he had given the first orders. The goldsmith thought the most prudent way of extricating himself from this dilemma would be to acquaint the King, who no sooner heard this story, than he commanded that the young Chevalier should be first served, and that the value of the plate should be paid by the comptroller of the household. It is probable that the King imagined the hurry the young Chevalier shewed for having this plate got ready at a particular time, arose from his designing speedily to leave Paris,

for not till a week after it had been delivered were any more messages sent to him. But it is plain that the young Chevalier had no such intention, but was resolved to push things to the last extremity; and I have been told that this fine service of plate was ordered for a grand entertainment which he gave to the Princess Talmont a near relation to the Queen, the Marchioness of Sprimont, Madame de Maisieuse, the Duke de Bouvillion and above thirty others of the nobility of both sexes and several foreigners of distinction.

It was about this time, November 1748, that in consequence of the definitive treaty of peace which was signed the seventh of October, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart arrived at Paris as hostages from Great Britain for the due performance of the treaty on the part of that Government, a measure at which the young Chevalier expressed great dissatisfaction, and publicly said that the tables were sadly turned upon England, since her word could not be relied upon without such pledges as are scarce ever granted but by a conquered nation, whereas French faith passed current for all that was to be done on her part.

The French Court having received repeated complaints from the English Ministry that the young Chevalier was not yet removed from Paris, thought proper once more to remind him of what was expected from him, and accordingly the Duke de Gesvres waited upon him a third time and acquainted him that the States of Fribourg had returned a most obliging answer to the King's letter on his account, and were ready to receive him with all the demonstrations of respect due to his birth and virtues, in their power to give. To this the young Chevalier replied only, that he hoped to find a time to return the good will of the States; nor did he satisfy the Duke whether he accepted the offer or not. The King thereupon dispatched a courier to Rome with an account of all that had passed; and the young Chevalier having also written to his father, the Court was willing to await the result, which occasioned further delay.

As no part of these proceedings was a secret, scarcely any thing else was talked of at Paris. For a Prince in the circumstances of the young Chevalier to thwart the intentions and disregard the power of such a monarch as the French King, would have seemed too strange to be accounted for, had not the flagrant injustice done him, and the high idea every one had of the greatness of his mind, diminished the wonder and justified the resentment; and I may venture to say that among the body of the French people, taking in all degrees, for one that blamed his conduct in this point, there were more than a hundred

that applauded it. Whenever the young Chevalier appeared in any of the public walks at Paris, all the company followed the path he took, as impelled by irresistible attraction. When he came to the theatres, the attention of the audience was fixed upon him, regardless of what was presented upon the stage; upon his entrance into a box, a general whisper in his favour ran from one side of the theatre to the other, and few of the fair sex but let fall tears of mingled pity and admiration; while he alone seemed above a sense of his misfortunes, and talked to the young nobility with whom he was perpetually surrounded, in the same easy, cheerful and affable manner he had always done. The magnanimity with which he supported this last stroke which was looked upon as so fatal to his hopes, was now the general topic of eulogium in all places, and the Princess Talmont spoke so largely of it, even in the King's presence, that she was forbid the Court; and several other great personages were highly in disgrace on the same account.

The French ministers being now fully convinced that it would be impossible for them to make any future use of the young Chevalier in their schemes for distressing England, wished for nothing more than his destruction, and took this opportunity of representing to the King that His Majesty had been too passive in this affair, and that he had suffered himself to be affronted in his own dominions, his authority to be called in question, and the affections of his subjects to be alienated in favour of a stranger, and they urged that somewhat ought to be done to humble the pride, as they termed it, of the young Chevalier, adding that it would be too great a condescension to wait the return of the courier from Rome. These representations induced the King to send the Duke de Gesvres a fourth time to him to insist on his immediate removal. The young Chevalier now expressed some impatience, and told the Duke that though he should always treat with respect any one who came to him from the King, yet he was sorry to find he had the trouble of so often repeating a message to which he could give no ear, without hearing it from the King himself. The Duke having replied that such a thing was impossible, as H. R. H. went not to Court, and it could not be expected that His Majesty would come to the Quay des Théatins in person, "*Enfin donc, Monsieur le Duc,*" exclaimed the young Chevalier, "*Je n'ai plus rien à dire que ce que j'ai déjà dit—Pardonnez moi, J'ai quelques affaires,*"—and with these words quitted the room, leaving the Duke in the greatest consternation.

The King however being impatient to get rid of the young Chevalier at any rate, and yet loth to proceed to extremities,

vouchsafed now to write him a letter with his own hand, and sent with it a blank order to be filled up by the young Chevalier, for what yearly sum he pleased; both which the Duke de Gesvres was obliged to deliver, though he has since declared he would gladly have been excused. The young Chevalier read the letter twice over, and having paused a little, threw the order from him with disdain, saying that he neither wanted nor would receive any favours of that kind from His most Christian Majesty, and that as for the rest, what was required of him was not consistent with honour. Whether he meant his own honour or that of the King is uncertain, but he would explain himself no further, and this was all that the King's condescension produced. This proceeding on the part of the young Chevalier both perplexed and exasperated the King, and a council being called upon it, it was there resolved that the Count de Maurepas, who had always maintained a good understanding with the young Chevalier, should go and expostulate with him, nor leave him till he had obliged him to declare in express terms what was his intention, and withal to intimate to him that if he did not conform to the present necessity of affairs by leaving the kingdom with a good grace, the Ministers would be forced to compel him to it, in order to fulfill their engagements with Great Britain. "*Les ministres ! les ministres !*" cried the young Chevalier with the greatest disdain, "*si vous voulez m'obliger, Monsieur le Comte, dites au Roi voire maitre que Je suis né pour rompre tous les projets de ses ministres.*" This was plainly setting them at defiance, and might be expected to be attended by no less consequences than the utmost of their malice could contrive to bring about; but the young Chevalier shewed himself as incapable of fear as he was above dissimulation, and having nothing to hope from their friendship, he despised their resentment.

You surprize me much by telling me it is reported in England that on the arrival of the hostages the young Chevalier concealed himself in the house of some friends, in order to have it believed that he had quitted Paris; than which I can aver on my own knowledge, nothing can be more false; and he was so far from endeavouring to avoid those noble Lords, that he sought an opportunity of having some discourse with them, but the caution observed by the Marquis de Puyieux prevented him from ever meeting them. The subject on which he perhaps intended to have entertained them might not indeed have been very agreeable to the French court; for though to preserve an entire command over all his passions is a distinguished part of his character, the indignation he conceived on hearing that these Lords were arrived was so great, that without any regard to who might hear

him, he said,—“Shameful concession, unworthy of a Ministry not abandoned to all sense of honour and virtue! but if ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages to England.” This I am assured he said, from the best authority I could have except his own.

The courier being at length returned from Rome, brought a letter from the old Chevalier to his son, inclosed in one to the King, open, as it is said, for His Majesty’s perusal. I wish I could oblige you with the contents; but though many pretended copies are handed about, they are so widely different from each other in the most material passages that it is impossible to know which of them is genuine or if any one is so; all that I can say is that a gentleman, who was near the young Chevalier’s person and is still at Paris, assures me that the original contained a command to him to quit the French territories, but without mentioning any time in which he should obey; for which reason he thought himself at liberty to stay where he was till he had fixed on a proper place for his future residence, as he had some reluctance to go to Fribourg, though he had no other objection than because he should be looked upon as a guest recommended by France, to whom, he frequently said with some warmth, rather than be obliged, he would suffer any thing.

The Ministry imagining he would pay as little regard to his father’s injunctions as he had done to their remonstrances, now pressed the King to give orders for his being arrested and conducted by force out of the kingdom, to which His Majesty, seeing no other means of complying with the treaty, at last consented, though, being in the Queen’s apartments when the order was brought for his signature, he, as I am well informed, burst into this pathetic exclamation—“*Pauvre Prince! qu’il est difficile pour un Roy d’etre un veritable ami!*”

This order, signed only at three o’clock in the afternoon of Monday the tenth of December, 1748, being blazed all over Paris in the evening, a gentleman of the young Chevalier’s retinue heard and gave him intelligence of it; but he was so far from believing it that he cried somewhat hastily, “Pish—pish—an idle rumour! They know I will obey my father.”

The Ministry resolving to have the young Chevalier seized by surprize, the passage leading to the Opera-house in the Palais Royal was chosen as the most proper place; and orders being given to the

Duke de Biron, colonel of the French guards, a council of war was held at his house on the Monday night, and was composed of the field-officers and six serjeants. Having concerted the measures for executing their orders, the officers who were to have a share in it were commanded to repair to Monsieur de Vaudreuil's, Major in the Guards, on Tuesday morning before day, in order to prevent their being perceived, and the Duke de Biron caused ten ells of crimson silk cord to be procured for the purpose of binding their intended prisoner. In the course of Tuesday the eleventh of December, the Duke ordered twelve hundred men of his regiment to invest the Palais Royal; the Serjeants of the regiment, armed with cuirasses and scull-caps, had directions to be in the passage to the Opera-house and in the entrances of the houses bordering upon it; the Serjeants of grenadiers were ordered to seize the young Chevalier; two companies of grenadiers took post in the courtyard of the kitchens, where the Duke de Biron, disguised and in a coach, waited to see the success of the enterprize; the mousquetaires had orders to be ready to mount on horseback; the *guét* (or armed police) was distributed in all the neighbouring streets; troops were posted upon the road from the Palais Royal to Vincennes; hatchets and scaling ladders were prepared and locksmiths were directed to attend in order to take the young Chevalier by escalade in case he should throw himself into some house and there resolve to stand a siege; and finally Doctor Vernage a physician, and three surgeons were ordered to be in readiness to dress the wounded. These measures being observed, the young Chevalier received several notes giving him advice of the design. At the Tuilleries likewise he was informed of it; and as he passed through the street Saint Honoré, in his way to the Opera, he heard a voice—"Prince, return, they are going to arrest you, the Palais Royal is beset." Notwithstanding these warnings he proceeded, and in alighting from his coach at the passage of the Opera-house he found the guards doubled, with their bayonets fixed, and the *guét* turning passengers out of the streets and making the coaches file off; and he was surrounded by six Serjeants dressed in grey cloaths, as if they had been servants desirous to get a sight of him, a popular curiosity to which he had been much accustomed. A serjeant in uniform now advanced, under pretence of dispersing the mob, which was the signal agreed upon, and at that instant two Serjeants seized him by the arms behind, two confined his hands, one clasped him round the middle, and another seized his legs. In this condition they conveyed him to a great gate, at the end of the passage, belonging to Monsieur de Matsar, which opened into the courtyard of the kitchens, and Monsieur de Vaudreuil, who with the other officers waited for him behind the gate, which they opened to receive him,

said, "I arrest you in the name of the King my master:" to which the young Chevalier, without the least change in his countenance, answered, "The manner is a little too violent." He was then carried into a room upon the ground-floor, and being ordered to give up his arms, he replied, "I shall not deliver them to you, but you may take them:" and then they took from him his sword, a knife with two blades, and a brace of pistols. "You must not be surprized," he said, "at seeing me with pistols, having constantly carried them ever since I returned from Scotland." Monsieur de Vaudreuil intreating him not to make any attempt either upon his own life or that of any other person, he gave him his word that he would not. Monsieur de Vaudreuil then went to the Duke de Biron's coach to give an account of what had passed, and informed him of the young Chevalier's being disarmed without resistance; but the Duke judging that for greater security he should be bound, the order to that effect was executed in the presence of M. de Vaudreuil, who made his excuses to the young Chevalier, by assuring him that these precautions were taken from regard to his person and solely to prevent him from making any attempt upon himself. "I am not used to such proceedings," was the reply; "and I shall not say whether they are justifiable or not; but the disgrace cannot affect me, it can only affect your master." To M. de Vaudreuil's declarations how much he was chagrined at having such a commission to execute; the young Chevalier replied, "It is very mortifying for an officer." Both his arms and legs were tied, and he was bound with so many cords that looking disdainfully upon them, he asked "Have you not enough now?" and M. de Vaudreuil answering "Not yet," the young Chevalier darted at him a menacing look. This operation being terminated, he was put into a hired coach that waited in the courtyard of the kitchens, M. de Vaudreuil placing himself by his side, and two captains opposite to them, whilst two officers on horseback rode with a hand upon the door on each side of the coach, six grenadiers with fixed bayonets mounted behind, and the rest of the soldiers on foot surrounded the coach. They then proceeded towards the suburb of Saint Antoine, and the Duke de Biron, after seeing them set out, stepped from his coach into his chair, and went to give an account of the transaction to the King.

The coach stopping in the suburb of Saint Antoine where a detachment of mousquetaires waited for it and where fresh horses were put to the coach, the young Chevalier, seeing these preparations, asked if they were conveying him to Hanover, to which M. de Vaudreuil replied that they had changed horses in order not to be kept too long upon the road. Nothing more was said during their route to

Vincennes, where the Marquis de Chatelet, who was known to and beloved by the young Chevalier, and who had just received orders concerning him, no sooner appeared, than the latter exclaimed, "I should be glad to embrace you; come to me, my friend, you see I cannot go to you." M. de Chatelet perceiving he was bound, cried out with horror, and running to him, caused him to be unbound, and assisted in doing so, trembling and scarcely able to support himself. "Come, come, my friend," said the prisoner, encouraging him, as he walked up the stairs (consisting of fifty steps) to the chamber appointed for his lodging. Upon entering and coolly surveying his apartment, the furniture of which consisted of a matted chair and a wretched camp-bed, "This," said he, "is not very magnificent:" and having enquired the meaning of certain characters he observed upon the walls of the room, M. de Chatelet told him they were the handy-work of a priest who had made a long abode in that chamber. M. de Vaudreuil saying that the young Chevalier had not been thoroughly searched, M. de Chatelet asked him if he had any thing remaining with which he could make any attempt upon himself; whereupon he gave them a pair of compasses, and declared upon his word that he had nothing more; but M. de Vaudreuil took M. de Chatelet aside, and after whispering some time together they returned and searched him so strictly that M. de Vaudreuil thrust his hands into the most secret part of his garments, and found a pocket-book which he took from him; the young Chevalier shewing on his countenance marks of great indignation, but not uttering a word.

After this, M. de Chatelet having observed that the chamber being very small, his prisoner could not take a walk in it, and that having been accustomed to a great deal of exercise, the being inclosed in such a little room might be prejudicial to his health, the young Chevalier replied, "Instead of taking one turn, I shall take four." M. de Chatelet then told him there was, next to that, a large room, the door of which should be opened, if he would give his word—but the young Chevalier interrupted him by saying "I shall not give my word; I have given it once already, and it was not taken; I shall therefore give it no more." "I am undone," cried M. de Chatelet, falling at his feet and pouring forth a flood of tears, "Monseigneur, this is the most unfortunate day of my whole life:" upon which the young Chevalier with great tenderness gave him his hand and said, "I know your friendship for me; I shall never confound the friend with the governor; do the duties of your office."

Being asked at what hour he would sup, he answered that he had dined heartily, and very late, and that he would call for something when he had a mind to eat. He then enquired how they had treated the gentlemen his attendants; "Have you," he said, "bound my Englishmen as you did me? An Englishman is not used to be bound; he is not made for that purpose." He soon afterwards resumed the discourse about his people: "If you have treated the Chevalier Harrington in the same manner you treated me, I heartily pity the poor man; he is fat and must have suffered a great deal." At last finding they refused to give him any account of the fate of his people, he spoke no more, but walked about his chamber, treating the officers appointed for his guard with familiarity and politeness, M. de Vaudreuil being the only person to whom he did not direct his discourse. After walking a long time he threw himself upon the bed, in his cloaths, but it was with difficulty he could compose himself; at last however he fell asleep, but his slumbers were so disturbed that the officers of his guard being frightened, ran to his bedside, where they found him still fast asleep. He continued sleeping till six in the morning, when he awoke, and having asked what it was o'clock and being told, he with a smile said "The nights seem here to be somewhat long." He then arose, and walked about his chamber, talking freely with the officers about indifferent matters, and treating them as if they belonged to himself.

This account I had from an officer of my acquaintance who was one of the young Chevalier's guards, was with Monsieur de Vaudreuil behind the gate at the bottom of the Opera-house passage, saw the young Chevalier brought in, conducted him to Vincennes, and did not leave him till next morning. He would at first have denied that the young Chevalier had been bound; but finding the fact was made public, he with grief acknowledged it. He had conceived the highest respect for the unfortunate stranger and was struck with admiration at his conduct, adding that in his greatest distress he did not discover the least weakness—that in his conversation he shewed as much temper and magnanimity as any man could shew in the height of prosperity, and that even in his prison he appeared the monarch of the universe. Both officers and soldiers upon their return from Vincennes declared the same sentiments, and thought it their duty not to conceal their admiration; and in less than four hours all these circumstances were spread over the whole city of Paris, where the young Chevalier was beloved, his virtues respected, and all thought he had merited an asylum in France. The public, already in consternation on hearing of his arrest, shewed the utmost indignation at the treatment he had

received, and discoursed upon it without restraint in such terms that it was thought necessary to give some pretended reasons for binding the young Chevalier and for the other parts of the treatment he had met with. The officers were reprimanded for having so much extolled him, and were ordered to say that he had attempted to throw himself out of the coach, and that they had bound him because after he had delivered up one pistol and given his word that he had no more, they had nevertheless found another. But these stories came too late; the officers could not now contradict facts which they themselves had publicly related; besides, all of them, except one or two, refused obedience to this order, and continued to speak with admiration of the young Chevalier. But what I should deem incredible had I not received it from some persons of the first quality, who were present, is that the morning after the arrest, the Dauphin went to the royal apartments and in the full levee took the liberty of condemning the step that had been taken, with a vehemence, which however just, was thought too presuming. He said that he was both surprized and grieved His Majesty had been prevailed upon to give the royal sanction to an act which fixed an indelible stain upon the glory of France—that all Europe would despise the barbarous policy of a Court which shewed no regard either to its own engagements or the blood and virtues of the person thus ill dealt with—that the Ministers who yielded that such an article should be inserted in the treaty and advised the execution of it, ought to be looked upon as the betrayers of His Majesty's honour and that of their country—and that in saying this he spoke not only his own sense but that of the whole nation. A remonstrance so stinging from the mouth of a son, could not but highly irritate a King and a father; yet did His Majesty at first content himself with telling the Dauphin that he was too young to give his judgement in affairs of that nice and delicate nature; but finding him persist in inveighing against all the measures that had been taken with regard to the young Chevalier, the King grew warmer, and such high words arose between them that the princes of the blood and the nobility present were in the utmost consternation, and withdrew one by one, not chusing to witness a dispute in which none dared to interpose.

I have further to acquaint you that no sooner was the word given that the young Chevalier was arrested than another party of guards seized upon his house, turned out the inferior servants, clapped all the gentlemen of his retinue into the Bastille, and put the broad seal upon his effects, though they will doubtless be sent after him when it is known where he has fixed his residence.

The young Chevalier continued a close prisoner at Vincennes until the Sunday after his arrest, when he was conducted to Pont Beauvoisin the frontier town of France and Savoy, from whence he proceeded to Chambery; and having passed three days there and written a variety of letters, he travelled to Avignon in order to meet Don Philip of Spain with whom he passed about a week, but whether he intends to remain there is quite uncertain. His gentlemen were set at liberty on the return of the officers who had escorted him to the frontiers, and it is supposed they will follow him when the place of his retirement is ascertained.

THE END.

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