



DA 814.3 S55



a31188007311406b

DATE DUE

UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH



The Library

SOCSCI

DA 750.A2 no.30

Sinclair, John, 1683-1750

Memoirs of the insurrection in

Scotland in 1715



MEMOIRS
OF
THE INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND
IN 1715.

BY JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE
POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF ROSSLYN.

WITH NOTES,
BY SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH :

M.DCCC.LVIII. 1855

Alex. Laurie & Co., Printers to Her Majesty.

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

*At an Adjourned Meeting of the Committee of The ABBOTSFORD
CLUB, held at Edinburgh on the 9th of December 1856—*

MR MACKNIGHT, Treasurer, reported to the Meeting that having applied to The Right Honourable The EARL OF ROSSLYN for the use of the Manuscript Memoirs of JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR, his Lordship had in the handsomest manner consented to its publication by the Club, and, along with a fair Transcript, had sent the original Manuscript to Edinburgh.

Having likewise applied through Isaac Bayley, Esq., to MR HOPE SCOTT of Abbotsford, for the use of the Transcript of the same Work, prepared for the Press, with Notes, by Sir Walter Scott, this application had been equally successful, and that the Club were now in a position to proceed, under the most favourable circumstances, with the publication of this long desired and valuable Historical Work.

The Committee having heard this Report, unanimously resolved that the "MEMOIRS OF THE INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND IN 1715," by JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR, be printed for the Members of The ABBOTSFORD CLUB, under the joint superintendence of MR MACKNIGHT and MR LAING, from the original Manuscript, accompanied with SIR WALTER SCOTT'S Annotations, from the Manuscript at Abbotsford.

JAMES BURN, *Chairman of the Meeting.*

P R E F A C E.

THE peculiar tone of asperity which characterizes the present MEMOIRS, and the freedom and severity with which the leaders of the Insurrection are treated, have hitherto induced the Family of the Noble Author to withhold their consent to their publication. But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals or particular persons; and the reflections are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement; a position in which none can be considered exempt from liability to censure. Much indeed as has been whispered regarding the mysterious and unpleasant revelations contained in the present Work, it may safely be said that few Memoirs of the period will be found more free from personal scandal. The Author is apparently much more bent upon exposing the folly, treachery, and incapacity of the leaders of this unhappy Insurrection, than in recording their private vices and imperfections. With the exception of a few strong expressions and incidental remarks, the Work has no claim to be reckoned a scandalous chronicle; as even the poverty with which many parties are so bitterly taunted, had, according to the theory of the Author, a most important influence on their public conduct.

It must also be borne in mind that the character of no sharer in the Rebellion was more rudely assailed by invective and misrepresentation than that of THE MASTER OF SINCLAIR himself; and the present Memoirs were evidently composed for his own Vindication, and designed for publication expressly for that object. In these circumstances, the Memoirs have at last been given to the press by the permission of the Right Honourable THE EARL OF ROSSLYN, the present representative of the family, as a tardy act of justice to the memory of the Author; and every student of Scottish manners and character must feel grateful for the considerate liberality which has thus rendered accessible so curious and valuable an addition to the Historical Records of Scotland.

The autograph Manuscript of the Memoirs is preserved at Dysart House, and was entrusted by the EARL of ROSSLYN to the Editors for collation. They have

also to thank his Lordship for the use of an old transcript, which has proved of considerable utility. A third Manuscript has also been kindly entrusted by the EARL of ROSSLYN to the Editors for collation; it is a carefully executed transcript in a modern hand, subdivided into paragraphs, but not in other respects requiring observation.

Sir WALTER SCOTT was not only familiarly acquainted with the Work, and had printed extracts from it so early as in his Notes to the Lay of the Last Minstrel in 1805, but he had obtained a complete transcript of the Manuscript, with the intention of committing it to the press. For this purpose he had examined it with great care, and made Annotations and Observations with his own hand upon his copy, which is now preserved in the Library at Abbotsford; but his intentions were necessarily postponed, in compliance with the wishes of the family. The use of this Manuscript,¹ and permission to print the Notes of Sir WALTER SCOTT, have been, in the most handsome manner, granted to the Members of The ABBOTSFORD CLUB, by JAMES R. HOPE SCOTT, Esq. of Abbotsford.

The original Manuscript is written by the Author in a large, bold, and firm current hand, on loose folio sheets, but, owing to interlineations, deletions, and other accidental causes, a few words are occasionally indistinct. In such cases, and when there is any slight difference between the wording of LORD ROSSLYN'S copy and Sir WALTER SCOTT'S transcript, the reading of the Abbotsford Manuscript has been preferred. It may however be explained, that these difficulties do not frequently occur, and are of no real importance, so that the original text may be relied upon as printed with scrupulous accuracy. The Author's orthography has likewise been retained, with the exception of correcting a few palpable slips of the pen. Considerable difference of opinion may indeed exist as to the propriety of preserving such uncouth and barbarous misspellings as will frequently be found in the present Work. But, besides the guarantee for rigid adherence to the text, which the preservation of the Author's orthography always affords, the present Memoirs prove the MASTER to have been an accomplished Scholar,²

¹ It may here be explained that Sir Walter Scott's MS. is written on small quarto paper, and bound in two volumes; the Annotations being made upon the margin of the pages, and occasionally on loose sheets of paper inserted in the proper places. The Life of The Master is prefixed to the first volume, and the Observations are inserted at the end of the second volume.

² The Master of Sinclair, in his numerous quotations from the Latin Classics, appears chiefly to have trusted to his memory, and occasionally has substituted synonymous words.

and well acquainted with Classical literature, so that his disregard of the orthography of his native tongue may be considered as forming a singular feature in the history of education. A marked peculiarity of the style is the almost invariable omission of the auxiliary verb, which has been supplied only in such instances as those in which the meaning is otherwise obscure. The words so supplied are printed within brackets; and, for the sake of ordinary readers, the narrative has been divided into paragraphs, and the Author's punctuation corrected.

The Notes and Observations by Sir WALTER SCOTT, it is scarcely necessary to remark, are particularly valuable. The substance indeed of much of his annotation will be found in his writings already printed; but there is still sufficient matter, either unprinted, or but little known, to render these annotations of interest in connexion with the name of their illustrious author. Sir Walter Scott's account of the Life of the Master originally appeared in a volume which he presented as a contribution to the ROXBURGHE CLUB, in 1828, and is but little known to the public. The volume is entitled "Proceedings in the Court-Martial held upon John, Master of Sinclair, Captain-Lieutenant in Preston's Regiment, for the Murder of Ensign Schaw of the same Regiment, and Captain Schaw of the Royals, 17th October 1708. With Correspondence respecting that transaction." Edinburgh, 1828, 4to.

Lord John Russell, when composing his "History of the Principal States of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht," consulted a copy of the MS.; and Lord Mahon, when writing his History of England, had access to Sir Walter Scott's copy; and both of these Noble Authors have founded on, and quoted from it, as an undoubted authority; but it is obvious that in such Works the authors could not enter into the more minute and circumstantial details given in the Memoirs.

Thus, in the lines quoted at p. 255, from the commencement of book 2d of Lucretius, instead of *turbantibus*, he uses *agitantibus*, and transposes lines 5 and 6. In general, the quotations have been verified, and the passages and punctuation corrected according to recognized editions. In some places however it was thought preferable to allow them to remain as they occur in his Manuscript. Thus, at p. 57, the words quoted from Tacitus, (Ann. lib. vi, cap. 3,) should read "*Tibi summum rerum judicium Di dedere: nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.*" At p. 70, the passage attributed to Sallust, seems to be an adaptation from the second Oration of Cicero against Cataline, cap. 9. Again, at p. 252, three lines quoted from Statius's (in his Manuscript the name seems Placius) Thebaid, occur in lib. v, (ii, 88,) of the *Silvæ*.

In 1716 a curious Pamphlet was printed anonymously in London, bearing the following title:—"A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, the Debates in the Secret Council there, and the Reasons and Causes of the suddain finishing and breaking up of the Rebellion. Written by a Rebel. London, printed for J. Baker, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row, 1716." 12mo.

This Pamphlet was reprinted in the second volume of the "Miscellany of the Spottiswoode Club." The Editor, James Maidment, Esq., introduces it with the following remarks:—"On the title-page of a copy of this scarce tract, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, has been written in pencil '*By the Master of Sinclair*;' ¹ Indeed, the internal evidence is strong in favor of the claim put in for the Master, for it is written by a lukewarm Jacobite, and by one who held the Earl of Mar in supreme contempt. It concludes with the writer leaving the councils of the Chevalier, and proceeding to the North—facts which correspond exactly with the known history of the Master. Coming from the pen of this very remarkable person, an account of the confusion in the councils of the Chevalier becomes an important historical document; and although it is characterised by a dislike to Mar, and by a spirit of opposition to his orders, there can be little doubt that in substance the statements are generally correct. Undoubtedly, if the Prince had any thing like a chance of success, that chance was destroyed by the want of vigour and the incapacity of his General."

Notwithstanding the plausibility of the preceding facts and reasoning, it is clear that the Master was not the author of the Pamphlet in question. The style is essentially different, being totally devoid of the bitter satirical energy of the present Memoirs. The author employs the expression of "us Highlanders," while every line of the present Memoirs breathes dislike, if not contempt for the Celtic race. But, above all, the work in question is chiefly devoted to the narration of the events which took place subsequent to the Pretender's arrival in Perth, of all which the Author describes himself as having been an eye-witness; while the present Memoirs distinctly prove that the MASTER OF SINCLAIR had left Perth previous to the Pretender's arrival there, and never returned. Upon the whole, the "True Account" must be regarded as a contemporaneous authority, strongly corroborative, in every respect, of the authenticity of the present MEMOIRS; and as the Master's feelings must have been well understood, the similarity of sentiments would probably give rise to the report of his having been the Author.

¹ Mr Robert Chambers, in his "History of the Rebellion in 1715," in "Constable's Miscellany," without hesitation assigns the authorship to the same person.

A Letter, giving an account of the Insurrection, subjoined to a History of Scotland, by Dr. Wallace, printed at Dublin in 1720, small quarto, may also be mentioned as strongly corroborative of the views contained in the present MEMOIRS. This Letter contains a short incidental notice of the Master's sister, Miss Catherine Sinclair.

The Introductory Remarks of SIR WALTER SCOTT, which are here printed, ought perhaps to supersede the necessity of further explanation, but the position of society, at the period to which these Memoirs relate, was in many respects so peculiar, that, at the risk of being considered presumptuous, a few Additional Remarks are submitted to the notice of the Reader.



INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

THE following Memoirs were written by JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR, eldest son of Henry, Seventh Lord Sinclair.¹ This gentleman was bred to a military life, and had a Lieutenant's commission in Preston's Regiment, in the army of the Duke of Marlborough. At the Battle of Wynendale he was accused by Ensign Hugh Schaw, of the same Regiment, for stooping down during the time of action. Sinclair challenged Schaw for this aspersion on his courage, but the other did not immediately accept his defiance, having gone to attend his brother, who had been mortally wounded before Lisle. Upon the . . . February 1707-8,² a casual rencounter took place between them, in which, after a few passes, Sinclair's sword was broken and Schaw's bent, but the last was mortally wounded. Captain Alexander Schaw, of the Royals, brother of the deceased, expressed himself with great acrimony of the mode in which Sinclair had conducted himself in this affair, and said openly that he had paper in his breast, against which his brother's sword was bent, before receiving the fatal wound. Upon the 13th of the same month of February the Master called Captain Schaw to account for these expressions, and after a short parley, shot him dead at the head of the regiment, Captain Schaw's hand being at the same time laid on his pistol. For these crimes the Master of Sinclair was tried by a general Court-Martial held in the British Camp at Rouseler, 17th October 1708. The Court found him guilty of

¹ [He was born on the 5th of December 1683.—ED.]

² [According to the Report of the Court Martial, printed by Sir Walter Scott, the date, it seems, should rather have been . . . September 1708.—ED.]

the breach of the 19th Article of War, and sentenced him to death. But, in consideration of the high provocation given to the prisoner by the deceased, they recommended him to the Queen's mercy. The case was, by the Duke of Marlborough, recommended to the consideration of the Queen's Council, who pronounced the slaughter of the brothers wilful murder. Sir John Schaw of Greenock, eldest brother of the deceased Captain and Ensign Schaws, followed up this doom with all the interest he could make with the Earl of Stair and others; so that the sentence must have been executed had not Sinclair escaped out of the Camp into the Prussian Dominions.¹ Notwithstanding the repeated instances² of Sir John Schaw (of whose solicitations I have copies, along with an attested copy of the Master's trial), the Master of Sinclair at length obtained the Queen's pardon upon the Tory Administration coming into power in 1712.

He seems to have remained at the family seat of Dysart, in Fife, until the Queen's death, when he engaged, rather it would seem from a principle of honour than any hearty liking to the scheme, in the Insurrection of 1715. Mar and Sinclair, it is plain, were upon the worst terms possible from the beginning of the affair; and the latter, with Huntly, soon placed himself at the head of those among the Insurgents who were for peace with the Government. This party became obnoxious to the more keen Jacobites, and were exposed to much popular odium. Sinclair's behaviour at the Battle of Sheriffmoor showed but a lukewarm interest in the cause. According to the best accounts of that singular engagement, had the cavalry which he commanded supported the charge of the Highlanders, all the left wing of Argyle's army must have been cut off. Hence, perhaps, the popular old song hath said that

" Huntley and Sinclair
They baith played the tinclair,
With consciences black as a craw, man."

After the return of the Highland army to Perth, and the miscarriage of the enterprise became daily more manifest, Sinclair, as these pages inform

¹ Not without Marlborough's connivance. See *Memoirs*, p. 14. [*Infra*, p. 5.]

² [" Repeated instances," importunities.—ED.]

us, went from the army north to Strathbogie, and thence to Orkney, where, seizing a vessel, he escaped, with some of his companions in misfortune, to the Continent.

Being attainted for his share in the Rebellion, the Master of Sinclair remained abroad until 1726, when he obtained a pardon for his life, but which did not remit the other consequences of the attainder. Lord Sinclair, his father, who survived the Master several years,¹ to avoid the consequences of the forfeiture,² settled his estate on his second son,

¹ [This is an evident oversight: Henry, Lord Sinclair, died in March 1723.—ED.]

² In the scrolls of two deeds which were given me by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the disinheritation is ascribed to a different cause, the death, namely, of the Schaws; but as these deeds must have been dated after 1715, I presume that reason was only assigned to disguise the real purpose of eluding the forfeiture for treason. The first is draft of a deed by Lord Sinclair, setting forth that although the fee of the estate of Ravenscraig was settled upon his son John, Master of Sinclair, yet that the said fee was redeemable upon the granter making payment of a rose-noble, or four pounds Scots money, within St Geill's Church in Edinburgh, at the Earl of Murray's tomb; and that he, the granter, being resolved to exercise this faculty of redemption, did settle the fee of his estate upon James and William Sinclairs, his second and third sons, to the exclusion of the said John, Master of Sinclair. The second scroll is in the name of James and William Sinclairs, the disponees, who set forth therein that the true and real design of granting the said disposition and assignation in their favours, and not in favours of John, Master of Sinclair, their elder brother, was to prevent all inconvenience and hazard whatsoever which the rents of the said Lord Sinclair, his heritable estate, or his moveables, might be liable to if they were settled on the said Master's persone, on account of the said Master of St Clair his present circumstances, *by reason of unfortunate accidents that some years ago fell out abroad between the said Master and two sons of the deceast Sir John Schaw of Greenock*, (these words are added in margin,) therefore it was just and reasonable that they should grant a back bond of settlement, binding themselves to manage the property, when they should succeed to it, by advice of certain friends, overseers, and managers, viz.:—Sir John Erskine of Alva, Bart., Sir William Baird of Newbaith, Bart., Mr John Paterson, eldest lawful son to the deceast Archbishop of Glasgow, their brethren-in-law; Sir William Cockburne of that Ilk, Bart., and Mr Matthew Sinclair of Hermistoun, Doctor of Medecine, our uncles. This trust was granted for obliging them to account for the

General James Sinclair, who generously put his brother into possession of it upon his return to Scotland. The Master of Sinclair continued to reside at Dysart till his death in 1750. He seldom ventured to Edinburgh, and was then always well armed and attended, holding himself still in danger of the vengeance of the Schaws, or of other enemies.¹ He was twice married; 1st, to Lady Margaret Steward, daughter of James, Earl of Galloway, Countess Dowager of Southesque; 2d, to Emilia, daughter of Lord George Murray, brother of the Duke of Athole. There was no issue of either marriage. The Master died in 1750.²

The following Memoirs are written with great talent and peculiar satirical energy. They are intended as a justification of the Author's

rents of the estate, after certain necessary branches of expenditure to these trustees, for behoof of the Master. And James and William Sinclairs also bind themselves, in case the Master should become free of his present inconvenience, or should have lawful children, then, and in that case, to reconvey the estate to the said Master, or to his said children, at the sight of the said trustees. As General St Clair therefore only implemented a legal obligation, less need have been said about his fraternal generosity.

¹ [Sir Walter Scott, in the Roxburghe volume, has thus enlarged this notice:—“After his succession virtually, though not by name, to the family estate, the Master of Sinclair lived at Dysart in much retirement, and seldom visited Edinburgh. When he did cross the Frith he was always well armed and attended, for he seems to have accounted himself still in danger, either from the resentment of the Schaw family or because he was odious to the more zealous Jacobites, who considered him as having deserted the cause. On one of these rare occasions on which he crossed the Frith, the Master had a singular rencontre. As he wanted to hire what was then called a running footman, a foreigner was presented to him by his landlord as a candidate for his service. The lad only knew he was in presence of a Scottish gentleman of quality, the Master as usual preserving a species of *ineognito*. He asked the man what specimen he had ever given of his activity, to which he received for answer,—‘Sir, I ran beside the Master of Sinclair’s horse when he rode post from the English camp to escape the death to which he was condemned for the murder of two brothers.’ The Master, much shocked, was nearly taken ill on the spot.”—ED.]

² [On the 2d of November 1750, in the 67th year of his age.—ED.]

own conduct; but are more successful in fixing a charge of folly and villany upon that of others than in exculpating his own. They will be a precious treat to the lovers of historical scandal, should they ever be made public. The original Memoirs, written by the hand of the Author, are in the library at Dysart. But there are other transcripts in private collections, though some, I understand, have been destroyed to gratify those whose ancestors fall under the lash of the Master. It is remarkable that the style, which at first is not even grammatical, becomes disengaged, correct, and spirited in the course of composition.

WALTER SCOTT.

MAKING every allowance for the prejudice and vehemence of *The MASTER OF SINCLAIR*,¹ it is impossible not to concur with him in thinking that the whole management of Mar, from the beginning to the end of the Insurrection, was highly blameworthy.

His motive for availing himself of the general discontent which prevailed in Scotland at the time of the accession of the House of Hanover, seems only to have been disappointed ambition and mortified pride, when he found himself disgraced at the Court of Saint James's. As a mere political leader, he seems to have possessed very considerable talents, having eloquence, address, and power of influencing and persuading those around him. But these are not enough for military command, where promptitude, firmness, and sagacity are required. The same sound judgment which dictated to the Duke of Argyll a procrastinating and cautious train of operations, recommended to Mar vigour and decision. An established government always grows stronger, while an insurrection gradually becomes weaker, [as] its chiefs disagree, and its inferior members, unsupported by any regular system of finance, desert for subsistence, or render themselves detestable by plundering. It is vain to say that Mar

¹ [These additional remarks by Sir Walter Scott occur at the end of his Transcript, and are written evidently several years later than his Prefatory Notice.—ED.]

waited for his distant reinforcements, for the success of a desultory army depends always more on the celerity of its motions than on its numerical force; and as success never fails to strengthen its numbers, so inactivity is sure to impair them. Forth is proverbially said to bridle the wild Highlander, but it did not bridle Charles in 1745, and ought not to have bridled Mar in 1715. Mar's own arrival at Perth should have been concerted with a movement of the Western Clans, Macdonalds, Camerons, Stuarts, &c.,—towards Aberfoil and the Heads of the Forth, which these ready soldiers could easily have seized, while the Duke of Argyle could hardly have marched towards them without exposing the Pass at Stirling Bridge to the insurgents, who, by passing a body of men at Mar's own town of Alloa in lighters, could have placed those left to defend the bridge betwixt two fires. If it had been judged necessary, the movement of the Western Clans might have been combined by a corresponding march of the insurgent cavalry, under Winton and Kenmore, towards the Lennox, and as far as Drymen. This would have been more judicious than their union with the handful of Northumberland fox-hunters, who seem never to have had any serious thoughts of fighting, and soon sickened of it. This might have been done with the utmost ease before Argyle's forces exceeded the number of 1500 men, which was his strength in the beginning of September. It is probable such a movement would have obliged the Duke of Argyle to have retired to Edinburgh, or perhaps to Berwick, and would have given opportunity to the numerous malcontents in the Lowlands to have joined the insurgents. This was still more recommended by the season of the year, when the harvest being in the fields, those difficulties of want of forage and provisions, afterwards alleged as the cause of Mar's inactivity, could not have existed. If it be alleged that Mar waited for foreign assistance, with which he so often flattered his followers, and without which there was no great wisdom in attempting an insurrection at all, he ought to have known that the successful negotiation of Stair, and his influence with the celebrated Cardinal Du Bois, whose authority over the mind of the Regent of France was unbounded, had entirely detached the latter from the Jacobite party.

When the insurgents did at length move they seem to have been

shamefully negligent of intelligence, and the Battle of Sheriffmuir was, on their part, a mere accident. They were drawn up with military skill, probably by General Gordon and Hamilton; but they did not act with sufficient promptitude, for those who command Highlanders should always secure the first attack. On the right they were successful, and it seems they ought also to have been so in the centre, had their cavalry attacked Wightman's infantry in flank, when it was exposed by the route of Whitham's horse and foot. This inactivity, for which the MASTER OF SINCLAIR takes credit as a merit, is not ill described in some rude lines of the old ballad—" Oh! was ye at the Sheriffmuir," &c.

“ Perth, Fyfe, and Angus, who were horse,
 Stood motionless, and some did worse ;
 For though the red-coats went them cross,
 They did conspire for to admire
 Clans run and fire,
 Left wings retire,
 While rights entire
 Pursue, man.

“ But Scotland has not much to say
 For such a fight as this is,
 Where both did fight, both ran away,
 The devil take the mess is.”

On the other wing Argyle obtained a decisive advantage by out-flanking the Highlanders with his dragoons. But though he chased them to the Bridge [the Water] of Allan, they rallied so often, that it is observable pursuers and pursued were three hours in marching two miles, which looks more like a retreat than a disorderly fight, though many of the highest rank among the insurgents fled on the spur, and said all was lost. When this first blunder was committed, fate allowed Mar another cast for victory; for the Duke of Argyle, in returning from pursuit of the insurgents' right wing, with two regiments of dragoons and Whitham's [Wightman's] small body of infantry, in crossing the field of battle in order, passed under the advantageous position occupied by the victorious right of Mar's army; by their cavalry, and by such of their left wing as had rallied, the fight

might then have been renewed with every prospect of success, and the route of the Duke would have opened the passes to the Low Countries. This error of permitting Argyle, like civil gentlemen, to walk quietly on to Dumblane without a second struggle, says little for Mar's courage or for his capacity.

The Battle of Sheriffmuir being in a manner only half-foughten, left both parties as it found them, for neither had gained a decided victory. But, on the other hand, all the subsequent advantage remained with the Duke of Argyle, whose plan was to remain stationary; all the loss with the insurgents, whose interest it had long been to advance, and who having attempted such a movement, were again driven back to the inactivity of Perth.

After so disheartening a conclusion to their only offensive movement, it is no wonder that they began to despair, and it is only extraordinary that Mar should not have endeavoured to make some accommodation. Perhaps he was deterred by fear of being made the atoning victim; perhaps, having sent for the Chevalier Saint George, he deemed it necessary to wait the consequences of his presence. But it is certain, that during the whole affair he neither found, nor endeavoured to create any circumstance from which he could claim advantage to his arms. He was perhaps courtier enough to think that *de par le Roy* was as omnipotent in camps as in capitals.

While Mar [was] waiting for this cordial to a sinking cause, the divisions of his army became incurable. The MASTER OF SINCLAIR'S character may be gathered from his own Memoirs. The slaughter of the two Schaws, accompanied with some awkward circumstances of time and place, marked a fierce and vindictive disposition. He had been a trained soldier, and notwithstanding the contempt he pretends to have entertained for promotion, undoubtedly he felt hurt at seeing it disposed of to Marischal, Drummond, and others, in preference to himself. At Sheriffmuir he had been at the best but lukewarm. Whatever reality there might be for his despairing of the cause in which he had engaged, it is plain that he gave vent to his sentiments on that subject in a manner which might make matters [worse], but could hardly mend them. He seems also to

have been extremely opinionative, and whoever opposed him, if men of quality, were brutes, blockheads, and what seems to have, in his comprehension been worst of all, bankrupts ; if of an inferior class, they are all little, dirty, mean, insignificant wretches ; and the power of sarcastic vituperation which he displays in his Memoirs undoubtedly [did not] abandon him in conversation, and accordingly those of the opposite party seem not to have spared him in their turn. He is described in one of these songs as

“ The Master with the bully-face,
And with the coward’s heart, man,
Who never missed, to his disgrace,
To act the traitor’s part, man,
Did join Dunbog, the greatest knave
In all the shire of Fyfe, man ;
Who was the first the cause to leave,
By counsel of his wife, man.”

With more talent than Huntly, and at the same time with less power and influence, the MASTER obtained the credit of being his adviser, and chief of the Mutineers, or, as they were called, of the Grumbling Club. He was very sensible of all this, and wrote *recentibus odiis*, which may [be] an apology for the savage ferocity with which he attacks not only Mar but Marischal and others.

At the same time, viewing the matter in general, we must return to the point we have set out from, that Mar, unconscious perhaps of the limits of his own talent, undertook a matter for which he was totally unfit. With a far less force than he had at his disposal Montrose gained eight victories, and overrun Scotland ; with fewer numbers of Highlanders Dundee gained the Battle of Killiecrankie ; and with about half the troops assembled at Perth, Charles Edward, in 1745, marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the Stewarts since the days of Robert II, they wanted a man of military talent just at the time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military means. If the armies had changed Generals, and some part of Ian Roy Cean’s life made his adopt-

ing *l'other side* not quite impossible, he would, in all probability, have made himself master of Scotland within the month of September. But his quarrel with Bolingbroke, and probably his sense of the incapacity of the Court at Saint Germain, prevented the Duke from adopting a side of the question which his talents might have [rendered] formidable, but the success of which could only have brought new convulsions on the country.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE Military incapacity and want of energy displayed by Mar, it is acknowledged, rendered the Insurrection of 1715 abortive; and the result was, that the most numerous body of Highlanders ever assembled, dispersed without having added to those laurels so frequently obtained by smaller numbers of their countrymen. These facts have been sufficiently illustrated by all Writers on the period, and are so forcibly stated in the previous reflections of Sir WALTER SCOTT, as to render further comment superfluous. It must however be borne in mind, that Mar's forces were almost entirely composed of tumultuous and irregular levies, who, as a general rule, are not favorable to dilatory tactics, while in former times the Scottish military character was characterised by hasty operations and rashness, rather than by caution and inactivity.

It is quite impossible even to imagine that Mar was possessed of that strength of intellect and force of mind which alone enables a commander to bend masses of men, hastily and accidentally combined, to his sentiments, in opposition to their own. It therefore appears that the timidity and irresolution which marked the conduct of the insurgents during the whole of this inglorious insurrection must have arisen from some deeper and more wide-spread source than the personal character of their commander. Whether the following suggestions regarding the real causes of the inactivity of the Rebels, and their infatuated confidence in the future, be well or ill founded, must be decided by the Reader, and they are here with diffidence submitted to his consideration.

The Lowland gentlemen of Scotland, who formed so large a portion of the Rebel Army, were the lineal descendants of that fierce and turbulent

aristocracy whose stubborn and unyielding valour had preserved the freedom of their country during centuries of desperate and infuriated struggles for independence with their more wealthy and powerful neighbours of England ; and whose swords indeed scarcely knew their scabbards, so constantly were they engaged either in foreign warfare or domestic feuds. The ancient Scottish Aristocracy were familiar with blood and carnage, and well accustomed to the hardships and self-denial so essential in actual warfare. Indeed the extreme hardiness of the mediæval Scot, and his great aptitude for long and rapid marches, as well as for nocturnal and fatiguing duty, form the theme of eulogium by foreign military writers to an extent which is by no means conceded in modern times to the present inhabitants of the country. Such armies, when assembled, seldom failed to rush, whether prudently or the reverse, into action, as the readiest and most decisive mode of bringing the campaign to a termination.

The Union of the Crowns however most materially altered the position of society with reference to the military habits of the people. The country became secure from all danger of English rapine and invasion ; the increased power of Government gradually suppressed forcible resistance to its dictates ; while the great Civil Wars, by withdrawing men's minds from the limited objects from which intestine discords in Scotland chiefly arose, together with the increase of knowledge and civilization, entirely extinguished the barbarous practice of deadly feuds in the Lowlands. But these inestimable blessings to society completely neutralized the benefit which a landed proprietor formerly derived from the martial character of his vassals. Habits and feelings which are not constantly called into action usually cease to exist, particularly among the lower orders. In this manner the resident aristocracy of Scotland lost all actual knowledge of war, and the peasantry both the practice and the spirit.

The legal power of enforcing military service from followers and vassals however remained in all its original stringency in 1715 ; and the aristocracy appear to have inherited to a great extent the warlike tendencies of their forefathers, the traditions of whose prowess they cherished with the fondest regard ; a regard, even in that day, far from being unmingled with dislike to, if not contempt for, the organised and metho-

dical system which had long been introduced in regular armies. At the same time, the fact that the feudal organization had for nearly a century been little more than a theory, had totally destroyed all practical acquaintance with its working. While, as the smaller landed proprietors had, unless distinguished by very superior capacity, been long cut off from much active share in the political business and intrigues of the country, they had, as a race, lost much of the activity, sagacity, and presence of mind which so generally distinguished their ancestors. Thus the indomitable energy and fiery ambition which led the old Scottish Baron to spend his life in constant alternation between deadly combat and hazardous intrigues, was too frequently frittered away in little better than the excitement of the table, the hunting-ground, and the race-course. A gay, jovial, and *insouciant* race were the Scottish Lairds of the 1715, particularly those attached to the ancient dynasty; and, in discussing the prospects of the Restoration of the Stewarts over a bottle or punch-bowl, where such consultations were generally held, all difficulties vanished. The fumes of the generous liquor disclosed to their imaginations James the Eighth seated on his ancestral Throne, surrounded by many thousands as gay and triumphant as themselves; while the overmastered and discomfited Whigs and red coats stood by in sullen dejection; and it may be, for the blood yet ran dark in Scottish veins, that the gallows and scaffold, with its dismal concomitants of dripping axe and bloodstained saw-dust, were not always absent from these exciting visions.

What was the prevailing tendency of political feeling in Great Britain in those days, is still a controverted point which each author apparently decides in accordance with his own political predilections, however earnestly he may asseverate his desire to judge independently of them. To the Editor it appears that a careful and impartial examination of the historical records of the period justifies the conclusion that the number of men really prepared to hazard their lives and fortunes in the cause of the exiled family was comparatively few. At the same time, between the normal discontent with which a large portion of the inhabitants of Great Britain have generally entertained for whatever Government may exist at the time, and the actual leaning to the Stewarts, the favorers of

that race were in 1715 numerically more powerful, particularly in Scotland. In that country indeed the safety of the Revolutionary Settlement depended, not so much upon the number of its supporters, as upon the important fact that the Government possessed the allegiance of the great majority of the practical intelligence and business-talent of the country.

The discontent created among almost all classes by the Union, tended not a little to disseminate and increase the confidence of the Jacobites in their numerical strength and the ultimate ascendancy of their principles. To such an extent indeed do they appear to have cherished their hopes, that they confidently looked for success, not as the result of hard fought and toilsome campaigns and weary nights in the trench or bivouac, but in taking the field in numbers so overwhelming as to make a great military demonstration, sufficient either at once to overawe the Government into submission, or bring any military operations to a speedy and triumphant issue in their favor.

When, however, the Rebels had actually assembled in force at Perth, their numbers, respectable and imposing as, comparatively speaking, they were, yet fell far short of the sanguine expectations which had been formed, and upon the realization of which their prospects of success, if the preceding theory be correct, had been based. In these circumstances two courses presented themselves to their leaders. The one was, to make the most of the materials which they possessed, by taking every means to render the army as efficient as possible, and commence operations without loss of time; the other was, to await the arrival of further reinforcements, and thus render their strength equivalent to their preconceived opinions. Unfortunately for the cause and the military reputation of the Insurgents, the latter alternative was adopted; but it certainly appears to have been the one most agreeable to the great mass of the parties actually engaged, and, in order to ensure its success, a course of most wilful and deliberate misrepresentation concerning their prospects and numbers was put in practice by Mar and his confidants. When, however, it is borne in mind that the very belief in the truth of these statements, by inspiring confidence in the cause, would have tended materially to their fulfilment, perhaps it may not be necessary to brand these exaggerations, however gross, with the

high degree of moral turpitude which the Master of Sinclair attaches to them. In adhering to this system it was perhaps natural, although certainly most imprudent, rather to neglect the efficiency of the troops already in the field. In place therefore of being harassed with the irksome task of military training and organization, they were encouraged to spend their time in careless jollity and amusement till their forces should have increased to the overpowering numbers which they so confidently expected. So infatuated was Mar on this point, that even when their prospects were effectually crushed by the retrograde movement after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, he still seems to have clung to the hope that the presence of the Pretender would place the insurrection on a strong and commanding basis.

While these were the sentiments of the Lowland Jacobites, the Highlanders, although in many respects in a widely different position, were yet led, from causes incident to their own peculiarities, to entertain views entirely similar, in so far as warlike operations were concerned. This remarkable people were, even in 1715, regarded by the Lowlanders as a totally distinct race, who had, by inexplicable accidents, obtained extraordinary success in their engagements with regular troops, and were therefore to be considered as valuable auxiliaries in a military point of view, although their inveterate love of violence and haughty overbearing manners, rendered them objects of dislike, if not of secret dread.

Although the march of civilization and the progress of law had long succeeded in abolishing the feuds of clans in the Highlands, yet Highlanders still retained their martial spirit and clanish attachments. These feelings were, from motives of policy, encouraged and inculcated by their Chieftains with the greatest assiduity; and, from causes which it would be irrelevant to recapitulate, it may safely be asserted that at no period in history was the power and influence of the Chiefs over their followers greater than at the period now under discussion.

The majority of the able-bodied clansmen were thoroughly accustomed to the use of the broadsword and target, as well as that of the musquet and rifle, and all Highlanders still regarded war as their noblest occupation; while it is to be feared that too many had considerable practical

experience in the somewhat analogous employment of extensive depredations on their Lowland neighbours, in the course of which bloodshed was by no means unusual. From these causes it may safely be asserted that the Highlanders took the field as well fitted for their own peculiar system of warfare, as any well-disciplined and organized regiment after a long peace. The success of Highlanders against regular troops, ever since the great Civil Wars down to the Insurrection in 1745, has been most uniform and remarkable. It might have been expected that so singular a feature in military history would have excited some attention among tacticians and historians, but it has been passed over in silence; the admirers of the Celtic race attributing it to the romantic and superhuman valour with which they are pleased to endow them, while their detractors are contented with laying the blame on the cowardice of their adversaries, or ascribing their success to some of those unfortunate accidents which occasionally occur in war, and the causes of which it is alike impossible to investigate or prevent.

It would here be quite out of place to enter into any discussion as to the accuracy of these theories; but a careful examination of existing memoirs and correspondence clearly demonstrates that the Highlanders themselves placed no overweening confidence in their own valour, but acted upon a regular and recognised system, which, although independent of minute and technical rules, was capable of being easily understood and practised by men of courage and resolution. Several of the Highland Chiefs were undoubtedly men of sagacity and penetration, and they had observed that in modern warfare comparatively few musquet shots tell out of the number fired. From this they concluded, that in a fair field and no favor, it was quite possible for active and determined men to close with musqueteers; and when once in contact, their uniform experience had been that the musquet and bayonet were no match for the broadsword and target. The great activity of the Highlanders, in which they confessedly exceeded the regulars, was supposed to do more than compensate for their want of methodical training, while their superior skill as marksmen fully counterbalanced their irregularity in firing.

Upon these grounds, the Celtic leaders considered their forces as

decidedly superior to modern infantry ; but they were equally sensible that on open ground their arms and training were inadequate to cope with efficient cavalry, and they had nothing whatever to oppose to the fatal power of artillery. Although, therefore, on many occasions they had obtained successes more or less marked against both cavalry and artillery, yet it seems much to their credit, as scientific soldiers, that they attributed these advantages solely to the accidental inefficiency of their opponents. Accordingly, in taking the field, they considered themselves as forming nothing more than the nucleus of an army ; formidable, doubtless, in many respects, and capable of rendering a good account of much more than their own number of regular infantry, but unfitted to contend singly against the modern combination of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It thus happened, that finding themselves unsupported by any considerable amount of cavalry and artillery, they readily acquiesced in Mar's desire to wait for further reinforcements of those powerful auxiliaries before commencing active operations, while their ardent and susceptible temperament rendered them, it is possible, too facile victims of that nobleman's exaggerations.

The Master of Sinclair seems, in this insurrection, to have stood almost alone in his feelings and sentiments. Regularly trained as a soldier in the desperate European wars of the period, he viewed with unmitigated, perhaps undue, contempt, both the raw levies of the Lowlands, and the irregular and undisciplined warriors of the Highlands. His sagacity and knowledge of the world easily enabled him to detect Mar's falsehoods and delusive exaggerations regarding the temper of the country, and the amount of support which could be anticipated. He also soon perceived that their only prospect of success was by making active use of the materials at their command, so as, if possible, to obtain some brilliant advantage which would probably have had the effect of inducing many waverers to declare themselves in favour of the Insurgents, and might also have induced the French Government to render them efficient co-operation. In order to accomplish this object, he seems to have been at first most strenuous and sincere in his efforts to organize the army, and render it as efficient and serviceable as circumstances would permit ; but finding his efforts

thwarted, and a completely different system encouraged and pursued, he soon despaired of success, and became disgusted with his associates.

Sir Walter expresses his opinion that the Master in the present Memoirs is more successful in attacking the reputation of others than in vindicating his own, and of this the Reader must judge. It must however be admitted that the whole tone of the Memoirs most decidedly indicates a sincere, though not a blind, attachment to the cause of the Stewarts. At the same time they evince a haughty and unconciliatory temperament, which probably deprived his counsels of much of the influence which they might otherwise have possessed. But it is impossible to dispute the sagacity and foresight evinced in his opinions and reflections, tintured as they are by prudence and caution, rather than daring and adventure. His conduct at Sheriffmuir is evidently, in Sir Walter's opinion, the great blot upon his escutcheon; and, referring to the present account of the engagement, it cannot be denied that a more enterprising officer might not have hesitated to undertake the duty abandoned by Huntly and Marischal's squadrons, and attacked General Wightman's division, whose unopposed movement to the right contributed so materially to the defeat of the Insurgents' left. But the temper of the Master was evidently cautious and methodical, shunning, rather than courting independent action; and it is besides extremely probable that, as stated by himself, the fact of his squadron's remaining unbroken upon the ground, alone prevented Whitham's Dragoons from rallying and destroying the victorious Highlanders when scattered and disordered by their success.

No account of the Battle of Sheriffmuir, so circumstantial and distinct as the present, is known by the Editor to exist; and from this account it appears that the success of the peculiar system of the Highlanders was never more marked and complete. In four minutes two thousand Highlanders, with the loss of only twenty-five men, defeated, in open field, and without advantage of ground on either side, an equal, if not superior, number of the tried veterans of the Duke of Marlborough's wars. The efficiency of the Highland broadsword as a weapon of destruction is described in language peculiarly forcible and characteristic. This coming from a trained and disciplined soldier, who candidly acknowledges that

he never believed that Highlanders would have endured the fire of regular troops, and elsewhere speaks most disparagingly of their general military character, entitles the Master to be cited as an unwilling witness, the most favourable of all testimonies, in support of Highland tactics and prowess.

It may here be remarked, that while the "rough rebuke," as the Master terms it, which the right of the Rebel army gave to the left of Argyle's, tended to confirm the confidence of the Highlanders in their system, and nerved their arms for Prestonpans and Falkirk, the rout of the left, however annoying in itself, was nothing unexpected, or contrary to their preconceived ideas; they were defeated by cavalry. They therefore only blamed the cowardice or misconduct of their Lowland allies or their Commander, who, with a respectable cavalry force in the field, abandoned the left wing entirely, and left it exposed to the onset of the Grey Dragoons.

After the victorious right wing of the Rebels, consisting of the Macdonalds, with Huntly's and Marischal's squadrons of cavalry, together with the Fife squadron led by the Master of Sinclair, had altered their front, they found themselves opposed to Argyle's troops, returning from their successful attack on the left of the Rebels. In this position both armies remained facing each other for a short time. The powers of invective have been exhausted in abusing Mar for his cowardice and incapacity in not attacking Argyle. Possibly these accusations may be just, more particularly with reference to the unmolested retreat which Argyle was permitted to make. But the question may be fairly asked,—Why did Argyle not attack Mar, the one being in command of regular, and the other of irregular forces? Argyle evidently hesitated to trust his tried and victorious infantry, aided as they were by most efficient cavalry, against Highlanders similarly supported. A greater compliment was never paid to irregular troops,—whether deservedly or not, it is now impossible to ascertain.

Perhaps it may be here permitted to add a few words regarding what has always been considered as the great fault of the old Highlanders, and which so completely annihilated the effect of their brilliant military

achievements, viz., their love of plunder, and proneness to abandon their standards. But, in extenuation, it must be borne in mind that the Highland idea of a soldier was that of the middle ages, which only called upon a man for service during a limited period in each year, and allowed him all the plunder he could seize as the legitimate and only reward of his valour. It thus seems rather too much to expect that Highlanders should have become indoctrinated with the modern ideas of military service, without the advantages which modern soldiers consider themselves entitled to receive. To have attached them to their standards by liberal pay and allowances was either never contemplated, or was rendered impracticable by circumstances. Mar indeed seems to have given the Highland Chiefs as much money as he could, but this was wholly insufficient to enable them to allow their followers more than a bare subsistence, unless their selfishness and cupidity induced them to appropriate too large a portion for themselves; and, in either view, the conduct of their followers should excite neither surprise nor disapprobation. We never heard of a soldier or officer, in modern times, who refused his share of prize-money, which is simply the old Highland idea of plunder; but a modern soldier would feel indignant at being accused of taking the field solely or principally on that account, which is the accusation so constantly and unjustly levelled at the Highland Clans.

The celebrated Rob Roy is mentioned more than once, as apparently too well known to require further observation; but it is much to be regretted that no description of his character and peculiarities is to be found among the graphic and forcible sketches given by the Master. The advantage which Rob Roy undoubtedly obtained over a party of the Government forces in Fife, sometime after the battle of Sheriffmuir, appears to be nowhere else recorded, and must now be added to the other exploits of that celebrated partizan and freebooter. The particulars of the rencontre are, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost.¹ Rob's character, it is

¹ It is stated in the memoirs of his life that he went to Falkland with his followers after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, and plundered the country, but no allusion is made to any engagement with the Government forces.

well known, suffered much on the ground either of courage or sincerity for his conduct at Sheriffmuir, which is fully commented on by Sir Walter Scott; but, according to the account given in the present volume, it may be remarked that, along with a detachment of the Macphersons, he was stationed on a separate duty some miles from the field of battle, there being no intention of bringing them into action. In these circumstances, when called upon with his small force to stem the tide of innumerable fugitives, and attack victorious cavalry, his refusal seems in accordance with recognized military principles, and his memory ought thus to be rescued from the imputation of treachery or cowardice on this occasion.

It would be easy to extend these remarks to a much greater length; and many fertile subjects for annotation presented themselves during the course of the Work. But it was deemed, upon the whole, most suitable to allow the Notes as framed by Sir Walter Scott to remain as the sole illustrations of the text.

JAMES MACKNIGHT.



It is well known, that I am of a Familie who, at all times and upon all occasions, were attached to the Crown of Scotland, and who have sufficientlie suffer'd for it, and that I was earlie instructed in the principles of an indispenfable duty and fidelitie towards my Prince; and I must own, that from my infancie I had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old Royall Familie of Scotland; and tho' I was so far a

ERRATA.

On Page 1st of Preface, line 4, *for* " But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals or particular persons; and the reflections are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement;" *read* " But the period is now passed, during which any remarks, however satirical and harsh, could inflict pain on individuals; and the reflections on particular persons are directed against them almost exclusively in their capacity as actors in a great public and political movement."

Page 300, line 8, *for* " no," *read* " on."

MEMOIRS
OF THE
INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND IN 1715.

BY
JOHN, MASTER OF SINCLAIR.

THE matter I have in hand does not deserve the dignitie of a Preface, nor am I such a proficient in scribbery as to be a master of forms; but it being my misfortune, upon the late part I acted in conjunction with other gentlemen of my countrie, not onlie to [have] fallen under the heavie censure of the advers partie, who with justice enough may condemn me, but to have likewise had the most severe and injurious reflections made upon me by some of those with whome I was imbarqu'd in that unhappie cause; I think it necessarie so far, to supplie the want of some introductorie discourse as, before I enter upon a relation of those facts which make up the subject-matter of this paper, to say somewhat of the motives and intervening accidents that led me into that fatall step, and of the reasons I had of disaproveing of that ill-concerted designe in the beginning.

It is well known, that I am of a Familie who, at all times and upon all occasions, were attached to the Crown of Scotland, and who have sufficientlie suffer'd for it, and that I was earlie instructed in the principles of an indispenfable duty and fidelitie towards my Prince; and I must own, that from my infancie I had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old Royall Familie of Scotland; and tho' I was so far a

child at the Revolution as not to be capable of making any judgement of the proceedings of the times, yet that, as soon as I came to some reasonable sense and feeling of things of that kind, I often lamented as well the past as the present misfortunes of that Illustrious Familie; and having just before my said late unhappy adventure received a very singular mark of her late Majesty's familie clemencie, as I hope I may without offence call it, it went a great way towards the fixing and rooting in my heart a sense of love and gratitude towards that Stock, and all that yet remain'd of it.

I am now in course to say somewhat of that infamous surrender of our rights and liberties, or Union, as they please to call it. Tho' I was too young to be concerned in publick business it made a deeper impression on no Scotman then on myself, thro' the privilege I had as a Peer's eldest son, of being present at all the debates that arose upon passing that fatal act. I saw with horror some of the descendants of our once noble ancestors, who had made it their glory to sacrifice life and fortune in preservation of the freedom and independencie of their Countrie, altogether as solicitous to ruine and reduce it into a contemptible province to a neighbouring Nation. There was indeed amongst those a hideous mixture of such whose names had no place in storie, and who having no share of the honour of their Countrie transmitted to them, were not so much to blame if they barter'd it away for profit or preferment, or to secure the ill-got wealth they had already purchased, being conscious of their own guilt; there were wretches of a mushroom growth, who, like the false mother before Solomon, had no other way of getting a part but by destroying the whole; and they now flourish and lord it in peace, having swept away all marks of power and distinction, and thereby put themselves on a level with those whose vassals they were not long before. I had then so great a sense of the dishonour and Nationall evill, that I was not onlie free enough in censuring it and all its abettors, but I offer'd zealouslie, to those great men who opposed it, my helping hand to put a stop to it. And I am still of opinion, that a madness would have been honourable and beautifull in the Scots Nation at that time. I say a madness, because being then as unprovided as we were afterwards, we might have been born down with the weight of a more powerfull Nation, such as England; tho' in all proba-

bilitie our game would have been better, they haveing their hands full elfewhere, and we more unanimous amongst ourfelves. But the prudence of one to whom a great part of the management of that affair was intrusted overrul'd his zeale, and we left in that disgraceful degenerate ftate, groaning under a load of taxes, which accumulated on us every day; while our Nobles and great men, the happie instruments of fo good a work, went to Court to reap the fruits of their perfidie; and while our prophets at home, much at their ease, amused the ignorant people by damning and faving their fouls according to their pleasure, they themselves, in all tranquillitie, haveing secured their beloved, because profitable Kirk; nor being to bear any part of the burthen, in the mean time kept up the divisions amongst us, in case we might at anie time cemented to [have] done our countrie justice.

“*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*”

For my own part, I don't ballance to say that I wish, for the good of my countrie, we could have fallne on some method to have made ourfelves rid both of Church and Kirk for a time, for there seemed no possibilitie of making up our differences without takeing that methode; and it would be doing them injustice not to think, that they had laid fo solide foundations of religion in the hearts of the people, that we could for such a generall good dispenced with them for a few years. But if they have onlie sowed tares instead of wheat, I don't know the good of them. I must freeleie own I have no notion of principles of religion or government that tends to the destruction of my countrie.

The more the English saw into our differences at home, the greater infractions they made of the Treatie of Union, and the less they saw any reason of keeping measures with us. I myself suffer'd by the first, being one of those four Peers' sons who were returned members to sit in the House of Commons, notwithstanding it was stipulated, on our Peers giving up their rights of sitting in the House of Lords, that onlie excepted, they should enjoy all the priviledges of English Peers. Almost everie Parliament has produced new infractions, nor should I wonder that a Nation who knows so much of us, should put it out of our power to sell their liberties, since we had not honour enough to preserve our own.

But of all the indignities that ever was done a Nation, the treatement given soon after the Union to a considerable number of the Scots nobilitie and gentry was the greatest. On the French making a feint to invade us, (for in my consciens I don't beleive there was more designed by France,) yea, after the English themselves were perswaded that all was over, the Scots ministers of State, at Court, being in danger of loosing their posts by a discoverie of their weakness in influencing the electing at home of proper Members of Parliament, to answer the ends of England, put it in the heads of the English Ministrie to lay hold of that pretext to bring up to London, like malefactors, those of the best families and best interests of the Scots Nation; which the English went easilie into, that the Scots might know their masters earlie. "*Et quam gravis casus in fervitium ex libertate fit, illi secum ipse reputarent.*"—(Salust. Bel. Jug.) But what made the indignitie the greater was, that after keeping them so long in prisons at home they brought them up in triumph to London, to be insulted on the road by their mobb; as if it was not enough to have made them slaves, but they must be told it by every scoundrell of that Nation, which would appear'd to been no small part of their designe; for the event shewed they had nothing to lay to their charge.

Haveing said so much of the principal motives that engaged me in that designe, the least part of which would been enough to me to embrace the first favourable opportunitie to assert the honour of my Countrie, I think it necessarie, in my Vindication, to give my reasons for being in the beginning backward to engage in that desperate attempt which was pretended to be meant for the relief of the countrie; and that the reader may form the juster idea of the spirit that then reigned, and the grounds I walkt on, I will give an account of myself for some years before, as well as of others, that he may distinguish betwixt what men ought to doe and ought to think, and what they doe think, and what they are capable of.

Soon after the passing of the Union I left Scotland, and about the age of twentie went abroad to the armie, without recommendation, support, or the least acquaintance there, and I may say without monie, but what was worst of all without the consent of my Father, which, had I carried with me, might have supplied most of those wants. I beleive, I haveing studied as

much as most of younge men had done of my age, he had design'd me for some other state of life. But being prepossess'd with the same follie that most younge men are, I lookt on all other ways of living as unworthie of a man of qualitie; even tho' I forswore, besides these other disadvantages, that the very character of my familie was alone enough to be a clog to me, which for some centuries bygone, till then, would at least intitle me to something. So changeable are the affairs of human life, that what at one time is his greater advantage, is, at another, his greatest misfortune.

In my way to the armie, while I was meditating how I should carry a firelock, I had the good luck to meet with a colonell, a gentleman of note of my country, who had the generosity to attach himself more to me than I did to him. He made me some time after a captain in his regiment, where I served till I was oblig'd to quit, for two misfortunes that happened in a very short time, one after the other, notwithstanding the court-marshal's recommending me to the Generall, his Grace the Duke of Marlborough's mercie, which was always lookt on as equal to a pardon, and which, I can aver, was never refus'd to any but myself; nor was his allowing me to serve at the sieges of Lille and Ghent precedented, on my giving my word of honour to return to arrest after those sieges were over, which I did, and continued till his Grace of Marlborough sent his repeated orders to make my escape, which I disobey'd twice; but at last, being encouraged by his promise to recommend me to any Prince in Christendom that I pleas'd, for these were his words, I went off, and procur'd his recommendation to the King of Prussia, in whose service, which, I may say is of all the strictest, I came back to serve in the Low Countries, where I continued untill the end of the war; at which time her Majesty Queen Ann, having, as it was said, turned Tory, vouchsafed me her pardon.

I need not use many words to convince, that I who had bore my share of the fatigues of a bloody war, and more than my equal share of traverses and chicanes, had now seen through the follie of the world; and the rather that I had tasted all the fouer of service, but none of the sweet, was extreamly gladd to retire home, my temptations to a country life being none of the least of those who followed the armie; and that I might enjoy

myself the better, I put on a resolution to joyn no partie, hoping by that means to have the friendship of all my neighbours; having no thoughts of depending on any Court, could not conceive the advantages I could reap from anie partie, which onlie anfuere the ends of deffigneing men, and is kept by them, to the ruine of commerce and good neighbourhood; and whatever the pretext may be, never tend to the good of a countrie, being always misled by one or other who has most cunning and leaft honour, who raifes himself on the others ruins. Tho' my way of liveing till then had been very different, I had got so much knowledge by strouleing for some time in the world, that I had a horrour of all those Court tricks and courtiers, whose virtues I beleived consisted in lying, impudence to support their roguerues, and their exterior eclat which dazels the eyes of the world, and imposes on them; together with a servile, fouple humor, which makes them abandon all that's good to serve their interest, for no sooner one of them tastes the sweet of a pension, than

“ In villos abeunt vestes, in crura lacerti,
Fit lupus, nec veteris servat vestigia formæ.”

Having this opinion of that set of men, my necessities not forcing me to depend on them, nor my inclinations leading me to raise myself at the expence of my countrie, I was resolved I'd neither cheat or be cheated; at least I would keep out of the way of it as much as I could, and had determined that with myself, when one who I had reason to think was my friend, and to whom I owed obligations, told me, at London, when there in my way home, it would be proper for me to waite on my Lord Mar, Secretarie of State for Scotland, and in all appearance the risingest man of that Nation, and assure him I would be determined by him in every thing; at least make him a compliment to that purpose, tho' I knew he had done me all the harm that lay in his power, by stoping my pardon underhand. I answered that gentleman, who gave me the advice, very franklie, that by God I would be no man's slave, nor determind by any bodie, far less by his Lordship of Mar, who I never had anie opinion of. Upon which his Lordship, when I went to waite of him, found himself obliged to speak free language to me, and pretended the Queen's order to keep me for half a year

at London for a frivolous reason. At last, finding that I had no regard to what he said, he fell on severall little indire& methods to doe it, which, being as ineffectual, some days after, when I saw him, he spoke plainly to me about the elections, by which I discovered his designe. I afterwards told the gentleman who had spoke to me to waite of Mar, that I was not the simple German he took me to be, and askt him seriouſlie whether I had not discovered his Lordship? He ownd ingenuouſlie it was so, and that my Lord was affraid I should interfere with some of his new acquired creatures in the countie of Fife, where he knew I had ane interest. I was informed afterwards, that his Lordship haveing use of all his interest at Court to hinder the Queen's pardoning me, finding it was not in his power, sent Sir Hugh Paterſon, his brother-in-law, to my brother, to assure him of my Lord Mar's friendship; but insinuating it would be proper that my father should write a civill letter to Mar, oweing him the favour; which my father was not mean enough to stoop to.

While at London, I had occasion to see the meanness of some of our Scots Nobilitie who were of the sixteen, and who I heard complain griveouſlie of the Treasurer's cheating them; because he had gone out of town without letting them know, or giving them monie, as he had promised. I was told, they wanted a hundred pound, or some such matter, to pay their debts, and carrie them down to Scotland; and that they used to hange on at his levie like so many footmen. My God! how concerned I was to see those who pretended to be of the ancient Scots Nobilitie reduced to beg at ane English Court! "O quantum mutati ab illis." And some of those, of which number was my Lord Kilſeyth, were they who gave themselves the greatest airs in our affair;—so usefull is impudence to impose on mankind. I soon got out of that place, where I saw nothing but what was chocking, to enjoy my libertie and the innocent amusements of a countie life, resolving rather to put my hand to the plough than ever prostitute myself and the honour of my familie by truckeling or cringeing to any insolent or deceitfull courtier.

When I got home, I had the good luck to be very well received by all the gentlemen of the countie I lived in, and I may say without vanitie that no familie had so good a character amongs them, or was so well lookt on as

ours, both by gentry and commons; for no man had to reproach us with rifeing on the ruines of either our countrie or neighbours, or fo much as with the leaft breach of faith or promife; the little that remain'd to us was got and preferved by our virtue, of which had we had lefs our eftate would beeen much greater.

I foon found that the countrie was in a ferment. The Tories begun to hope, and the Whigs to fear. I kept up to my refolution above half a year, and was equallie civill to both, and without entring into any of their differences, went to both Church and Kirk, as they happned in my way. I found this my behaviour difpleafed the High Flyers, and they fpread about that I was an errant Whig. Tho' I had been a great part of my time out of the countrie I was not ignorant of the generall characters of the parties, or of the particular characters of thofe whome they were compofed of. I lookt on the Whigs as a fet of men very capable to ferve their countrie, but their moralls fo vitiated that they had not the leaft inclination. As for the Tories, I beleived them willing to ferve their countrie without the leaft capacitie. The Whigs' principles, I faw all alonge, were entierelie founded on their intereft, and never change but with it. The Tories' feemed properlie to have no foundation, and confifts in caprice, and a contradiction of every thing the Whigs doe, I beleive, not more from a prejudice of education as from an averfion contracted in their continuell ftuggles; which eafilie appear'd from the bad ufe they made of the many pollitick leffons the Whigs daylie gave them; for, as Horace fays—

“ Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.”

But what was moft unaccountable, that which was at all other times, in all States, the onlie fupport of focietie, and indisputable the beft founded of all principles—the love of countrie—was extinēt and forgot by both; and in that point onlie did they feem to agree; fo that I may take the libertie to fay that the Tories afperfed me injuftlie, for at that time I had no mind either to be infected with the Whigs' knaverie or their follie, tho' then, as at all other times of my life, they themfelves had my good wifhes. Thefe afperfions, which they knew were falfe, were sometime after backt by grievous accusations and complaints to myfelf; the heads of them were

my goeing to the Kirk, by which means I had intirelie loft the Church; and the other was, my not joyning the Tories in all their caballes. After many repeated instances from the best of my friends, for all those I lookt on to be such were of that partie, I was so ingenuous to tell them, that I thought my goeing sometimes to the Kirk was without consequence, and that I did it not to be odious to the common people; I never thought my scandall had lyen that way, and if it gave offence, I could easilie dispence with a worship that consisted onlie in ignorant preaching, which oftne raised my spleen but never my devotion, and as seldom edified me. As to meddling in partie business, I had resolved to keep myself free, since there was no view of serving the countrie, but a certaintie of disquieting myself, and neglecting my familie affairs. It was represented to me, that my familie interest lay that way, and it was a shame for a man to be an useles burthen to the earth when he had it in his power to be significant in his countrie, and at same time to serve it. I had told them that the rubs I had met with, together with the tract of misfortunes, of which no man, for the time I had lived, had a greater share, had cured me of that follie of wishing to be significant in a countrie, and left me no other view but that of living at ease. Happie had I kept up to that resolution.

Not long after, the Whig ministers furnisht me with a very just pretext of giving up with them, for the pulpits begun to beat to rebellion, like so many drums posted at convenient distances to alarme, as if that had been the designe of them, and the ministers payed onlie for that use. I thought myself obliged in honour not to give my countenance to those who declared themselves enemies to that good Queen who so latelie had vouchsafed me her pardon. The Whigs did not stop there; they armed themselves expeditiouslie throughout the whole countrie, and at same time spread reports that the Tories were all arm'd from France, the truth of which has been too well known since. All this while, the good Tories satisfied themselves with drinking loyall healths, and writeing bold addreses to her Majestie, some telling her of the Whigs preparations against her, and all promising to stand by her with their lives and fortunes. One must be blind not to see through the Whigs' management and the Tories follie; and I have since found, by my experience, that I had then a just notion

of every man of them throughout the whole kingdom. In spite of all this, like one infatuated, and cut out for destruction, being teased and reproacht by friends, who, I thought, knew more than myself, I was at last persuaded to goe alonge, believing the Whigs were to rebell, and that there would be soon a necessitie of joyning; and accordingly went to a meeting of the countie where an address was communicated to us befor the meeting, which was then to be presented, and sent to the Queen. It was a bold cavalier address, telling her of the Whigs arming, and their clergies preaching rebellion; and in the common stile, promising to stand by her with their lives and fortunes.

The Earl of Rothes, the sheriff, who came there to oppose it, with a handful of his partie, rebated instantlie all of them who presented the address, tho' they were more than thrice his number. I came there as a spectator, and, having been at none of those head courts before, nor being in fee of a foot of ground, askt somebodie who stood by, If I might not speak? He said I might, as my father's steward. I was forrie and angry to see those so shamefullie baffled, who had undertakne to doe wonders, and, after pulling the address out of Major Balfour's pocket, inspired them with courage, and got it passed with very little trouble. This tryfle gain'd me their esteem; it did not raise my expectations of them; but as follie is the same from the beginning to the end, I did not stop there, and fell into what I had before avoided, the greatest intimacie. It was the common talk that the Queen was to put her brother on the throne; I oftne told them I wisht it so much that I could not bring myself to believe it; nor did I see one step takne towards it, except they'd say that the Whigs arming throughout the whole Nation was a mean to bring it about, when they were cheating the Queen with their foolish addressses, and telling her they'd stand by her with their lives and fortunes, when it was plaine they had not the soules to doe it. Could any bodie pretend to persuade me that they, who had neither armes nor horses, could be capable of any thing but drinking; yea, giving all the allowances could be askt to the weakness of countrie gentlemen, I could not conceive that they were so great fools as not to know, when the sherrif and ministers had armed all the mob of the countie; if they designed but self-defence,

armes and horses were not necessarie to them ; and, for that reason, I lookt on all they did or sayd to be but gasconnade onlie to please themselves, as they had done these tventie-eight years bypast.

It's not to be believed that this way of speaking could have got me the character of a Whig from some of them. The Tories have that wife maxime, amongst many other, whoever does not fall into their follies, or contradicts their nonsense or lyes, must instantlie be branded.

However, having had some further tryells, they sent some of their number to get a positive answer from me, if I would command them, in case an opportunity offer'd to restore the King, and break the Union. I said I would, if they'd allow me to judge of the proper time, and satisfy myself with the reasonableness of the project ; for I knew them so well that I did not know what to think of them, nor would I be determined by them. But if they would believe me, the best thing they could do in the mean time was to provide arms and horses, for without that I'd have nothing to do with them ; for in the disposition the Whigs were then in I expected every day we should all be taken and tied, except they'd give over irritating a party daily who had arms in their hands when we had none. I told them further that I would take care of one, and next post would write to Holland for fifty firelocks with the next post, which, with the arms I had, would defend me against the insults of the whole country. Being all alone at home, I could barricade myself so that no mob would dare to attack me ; for, happen what would, I was resolved not to be taken. This appear'd to make some impression on them, being convinced of the truth of what I said, and they desired me to come to a meeting of the principal gentry, where I might have an opportunity of laying it before them. I found difficulty in that, because of the number they spoke of, and some one or others blabbing. They answered, they knew the people they had to do with ; that if any private method were fallen on to provide arms, they'd think themselves affronted and take none of them when they came, so that there was an absolute necessity of meeting with some of those who had most discretion, for which a day was named. Accordingly I kept the appointment at Denmure's house, where, after repeating my reasons for arming, I found a few dif-

posed, and most of them surpris'd, and lookt on those who advis'd arming as rash people, who had a mind to ruine them. They were told, that armes would bite no bodie, that it was ane old Scots proverb they bodded peace, and there could be no harm in haveing them if they did not put them to a wronge use, which still depended on every man's self. I told them likewise I had sent to Holland for armes to take care of myself, and they might doe as they pleas'd. At last, after a good dale of idle discourse, and more drinke, they were persuad'd to allow me and other three to send a commission to Harry Crauford for fourscore carabines and carabine belts, and as many pairs of pistolls, with a small quantity of powder and flints, for that was all they would consent to take; tho' to encourage them I bid them put anie proportion on me, notwithstanding I was already armed. They were at same time advis'd to take the brokne dragoons into their service, numbers of which were then to be got; but to no purpose, in case they might askt ten shillings more a year then the countrie servants. Some time after we found out that Mr Malcome of Grange, in driveing underhand ane interest for my Lord Mar, then Secretarie of State, was the man that had rais'd that jealousy against me, and about tuentie of us at one time resolv'd Mr Malcome should not be allowed to take upon, and that my Lord Lyon should no more be knight of the shire. But the Queen's death happning, we cemented against the common enemy.

Were I to give a full detaile of the bad conduct of those gentlemen, and the follies they put me upon, I'd never have done. It was not enough to be drag'd alonge to give them spirit in elections, but I must take oaths to King George, which I had never done before to any prince, because no bodie of our partie would accept of being Justice of Peace if I did not, and in that case the whole countrie would be left to the mercie of the Whigs. The fear of a process startl'd them, and reallie it was to be expected, for by the Act of Succession the same Justices of Peace who were in commission at her Majestie's death were to continue for half a year after; the question was, Whether we, who had not exerced that office, since our commission was not read till she was dead, could be understood to be those in office? Lawyers were divided about it. In the meantime I was to bear the brunt of all, for no bodie would fit without my being present, and at last I was, I may

fay, deserted. Upon another occasion I turned a Don Quixot to serve the partie. A magistrat of Kircaldee, one of the most considerable towns in the Nation, wanting to be continued in his office, and, as the Whigs said, haveing no bodie in the whole town for him but those of the Town Councill, who they called a packt partie, and who were not above twelve, or some such number, and were so outraged against him that they threatened to destroy him and those of his partie if he did not desist. Tho' I was no favourite of that people, upon the Magistrates desireing of me to be present, because of the regarde they'd have to me might keep them in awe; and tho' I knew the mob of that place no less dangerous than in anie town of the Nation, especiallie when set agoge by the ministers, and headed by all the principall people in town, and supported by the sherrif of the countie, yet I ventured with one servant, and escorted him through a very numerous mob who opposed his going to the Town-House, which everie bodie owned was owing to me, and to tell truth more than I had reason to expect. But being their devoted slave, I must run all risques to serve them, and to keep them easie once more accept of being Justice of Peace, in a new nomination the Whigs procured, where there was onlie five in all of our partie nominated.

The notice of the rebellion beginning then to spread, the Justices got orders from Court to seize the horses and armes of all the disaffected persons. In the beginning, our Justices did not believe the necessitie was so great in our countie, of seizing the horses and armes of those who were reputed so; but the news of the mobs in England increasfing, and heats growing there every day to greater hights, our Justices seem'd onlie to want some one to propose it, and every one waited on the others' motion. At last the Proclamation was read in one of our meetings where I was present, I, as I really then believed, said, that the Proclamation seemed to be calculated for England, who were then in broiles, and not for us, who were liveing in great tranquillitie, and had not shewed the least marks of disaffection, and beg'd of the Justices that, contrarie to the designe of our office, we might not be the first disturbers of the publick peace, for I could not see that was the way to serve King George. Tho' they had little to say against this, yet I could perceive

they were not satisfied, and feared their meeting sometime by themselves without advertising me, and in that case their blind zeale would carrie them all lengths, and for that reason took all the precautions I could to be present at everie meeting, of which we had severalls, where I found them very hot upon seizing horses and armes. I represented to them that, above all things, we were to avoid even the very appearances of privat revenge in publick affairs; and askt them, If in their consciences they thought the gentlemen of the countie had more horses than was necessarie for them, or such as could be said to be of use in war? As to their armes, they knew as well as I that a pair of old rustie pistols was little enough to defend one's house against theeves, nor did I think them off that value to draw upon us the hatred of our neighbours, since their keeping them could not be of that consequence to put the Government in danger; and in realitie it seem'd so to myself at that time. By this I gave onlie a checque to their violent procedure; and they being generallie seven against me alone, was glad to agree with them to refer all to a generall meeting of the whole Justices of the countie, it being allowed not proper for us to take the odium of all upon ourselves. By that means I not onlie gained time, but in case the meeting happned not to be frequent, I had hopes we might foyle them once more by bringing all our force there, which, with a new convert, made up six. And so it fell out; for either trusting to one another, or because they would not share the odium when they thought the bufiness would doe without their being presente, they met so little stronger than ourselves that we got them managed, and that in a countie where they were ten Justices to one, and where there was nothing wanting of the violence of the partie; and in that condition did we continue till our affair broke out. I'm sensible, I have enlarged too much on things that won't appear of any consequence to the reader, to deserve so long a detaile; but such as they are, they cost me no little travell and pains, and of that kind that none of our partie were capable, or had authoritie enough to goe about them, and at least deserved some better returne. One thing I can affirm, that had it not been for my management, not one of the Fife gentlemen had saved their horses, who made up the best Squadron of those engaged with us. True it is, I have oftn

repented it, nor did I then believe they'd make so bad a use of that piece of service, and act so inconsiderate as they did soon after; for my design was to leave them at their freedom, in case a probability happened to serve the country. I must confess that to bring that about I was obliged to deffemble, and I challenge mankind to say that ever I acted a double part at any other time of my life.

It's now high time to enter on the subject of this Paper, which is to consist in a faithful relation of the manner of rising, the principall councils, movements, and transactions of that party whilst I was with them, and of the reasons that induced me to separate so early from them.

“ *Quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit,
Incipiam.* ”

About the end of Julie [1715], if I remember right, I went to the eastern part of the county to do some private business, where meeting with Mr Malcome of Grange, I was invited to dine with him in my return homewards. I came there, with a good many others, at the time appointed, and found Mr Malcome absent. His sister made us sit down to dinner, and assured us her brother would be with us soon; which accordingly happened, for he was with us in half an hour. After dinner he took me aside, and told me, he had come from my Lord Mar and General Hamilton, who had landed at Elie the night before, hard by his house, out of a coal barck, from London, with only three seamen; and that my Lord and the General had wrought all the way (this to raise the admiration); that my Lord passed under the name of Mr Maule, and had gone, along with General Hamilton, to Bethun of Balfour's house, Hamilton's son-in-law, whence they had sent for him. I asked him the meaning of that. He said, they were the forerunners of a very good thing, and they were going to the Highlands to pave the way for the Duke of Berwick's coming, if not the King's; for it was not certain if he must not go to England with the Duke of Ormond; for all was in the last readiness in England, as well as in France, whence we were to expect ten thousand men, whose landing we'd soon hear off, both in England and Scotland, with great stores off

armes and ammunition. I askt him, What had my Lord Mar to doe with all this, who I had no notion of giving any credit to; for did not all the world know the part [he] had always acted; and said, “Timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.” He said, there was no reason to fear, since, to his knowledge, my Lord Mar had shew’d himself a very firm man to our cause in the Queen’s reigne; and he had takne the freedom to put him in mind of the Union, and that his Lordship own’d his fault, and beg’d of him not to speak of it, for he was going to doe his best to repair it. I told him Mar would find it was easier to sell our libertie than recover it; and if we were such fools as to trust such a man, could our repenting afterwards retrieve it? Malcome said further, I have told him of the daylie fear we are in of haveing our horses takne from us, and the struggle you have had of late, and that it will be impossible for you to stave it off any longer. He said Mar answer’d, Whenever they are pressed let them draw together and defend themselves. I must confes that I was stunned with the rashness of that order, or rather advice, for he did not pretend then to command, because the Duke of Berwick was expected daylie, as he then gave out; and I told Malcome if the Fife gentlemen would take my advice, which I did not doubt they would, they should not act so rashlie; did not he know that the Government had already takne umbrage, and had sent a regiment of dragoons to Stirveling, within a few hours marche of us, and that the Whig magistrats and burgers of Pearth had already made themselves masters of that toun, and consequentlie of the Bridge of Ierne, our onlie passage out of Fife; and would the Sherrife and the mob of the countrie, who, all knew, were armed, be wanting on such ane occasion to take us, being hem’d in on all hands in a peninsule; or if we got out, who could assure us of a refuge in the Highlands, since it was more than probable the Duke of Athole, into whose countrie we must retire, would seize us, and deliver us up to the Government, as all these things were then very obvious to any who allowed himself to think, or who had the least notion of the business designed. So this may serve, in the beginning, to shew that his Lordship of Mar neither knew the situation of the countrie, so necessarie to a Generall, nor did he care what became of the whole, provided he had the good luck to put it once fairlie in confusion; which the uncertaintie of

his success in the Highlands proves further, for at that time he was not shure of anie bodie; and yet most impudently, in his printed letter from France, where he endeavours to excuse himself by palliating all his late villanies with new lyes, he says, He could not allay the Scots heat. I askt Malcome, If he thought the want of armes was nothing? He answered, There was no want of armes and everie thing necessarrie; for, before Mar came from London, he was assured all was gone from France that was needfull, both of monie and ammunition, and certainlie all must be landed in some creeck in the North. He ended, telling me that Mar and Generall Hamilton had gone to Hary Balfour's house, a gentleman of weight in the countie, and brother to my Lord Burleigh;¹ where I knew Malcome had sent them, being in their way to Duplin, where they were to be that night. I don't doubt Malcome had given Mar instructions how to manage that poor gentleman, whose misfortune was to be very easelie elevated, and as easelie disjected. Haveing served a Major of King William's armie, and ever after being of the Torie partie, and of late years always preses of the countie meetings, I imagine Mar would talk big to him, and promise him very great things. From that his Lordship went to Duplin, and from thence to the Highlands. Malcome took my word of honour I should speak to nobodie of what he had told me till meeting; and said, he would see me in tuo-three days.

For Mar, being then out of danger, he was to goe his rounds, and give private information, to all who could be trusted, of his Lordship's landing, and the designe of his coming; with ample instructions and full pouters to solve all doubts, which was Malcome's great excellencie. For enough, if anie wanted to have the King come, before they'd raise, which was the case of most, I may say of all, in the beginning, Malcome was to bring him in less than eight days. Others would necessarlie have the Duke of Berwick: Malcome laid down that as a fundamentall point, which there was no doeing without, and it was supposed he was already landed; some descended to a pair of pistells,—if one pair did not serve them, they could have tventie. One may judge that everie thing costing so little was easilie procured. In

¹ Henry Balfour of Dunbog, third son of John third Lord Burleigh. He had been a Major of Dragoons.

short, England was unanimous; the troops were readie to revolt, and the assistance of France alloweing us to want nothing, the thing could not faile; yea, it muft be done whether we would or not. But he could not understand the Master of Sinclair, who, tho' naturallie a hardie younge fellow, was now turned backward, and did not seem to joyne heartilie; at same time beg'd of them not to take anie notice of it to me, because very often I used to be severe on him. In goeing his rounds, he came to me in the fields, not finding me at home. I askt, How a raising could be propofed to a people who were neither provided with horfes fit for the purpose, or at all armed, a great part of which had not so much as big bridles or sadles; and if my Lord Mar spoke truth, it was proper for us to see the King landed before we stirred; for it was my opinion a countrie was not to be risqu'd on the faith of a man who had no pretensions to be believed, but what his impudence afforded him. He answered, There was no more desired of us but to be readie, and we would hear of all being come very soon; and he was goeing about to advertise all friends to put themselves in readieness, and that most were getting sadles and bridles from Edinburg. I bid him reconcile that with Mar's advice about drauing ourselves together; I cautioned him against telling of stories, for I knew it was his way; tho' I found him at that time very modest with me, yet I did not doubt he would be otherwise with the first countrie laird he met with. Amongst many bad things that attend a partie, such men as this are its necessarie evils; who at first are found tractable enough to be taught to fetch and carrie letters by those who lead a partie, are afterwards intrusted with little commissions in countrie brigues or elections, and by the credit of their patrons, speaking nonsense, lying, drinking, and idleness, accomplishments requisite to get a character amongst countrie gentlemen, who out of zeale believe everie thing that such fools say, and because they never faile to flatter their follie, which talents of pleasing puts them at last in possession of disposing of them; who no sooner find themselves thus established than they set up on their own foot, forget their old patrons, as well as themselves, and, rather than act in concert with anie of them to whome they must think they owe deference, take up with the first who they think capable to support them in driving a new scheme, and flatter their own

vanitie by imagineing themselves great men, and if the project succeeds, that all will be oweing to them. Of this kidney was Mr Malcome, or the Honest¹ Laird, as they please to call him, and shews that few or none, however disinterested they may appear are without views of a back game. For on that change of the Ministrie, in the end of the Queen's reign, he was sent for to London by my Lord Mar, and offered five hundred pound a year, as he himself told me, but said he could not take the oaths, and for that reason refused the post; tho' I am apt to beleive the post would have rendered him soon useles to his Lordship.

My Lord Mar being now got into the Highlands, stay'd some days with Indercale, chief of the Fercharfons, a gentleman of one of the best estates of that countrie, but is vassall to my Lord Mar for a small part of it. He, foundeing this gentleman, who had always been firm to the cause, and finding him disposed to raise so soon as the King came, but not before, told him no more of his designe at first but that he was come to advertise the King's friends to have all in readieness. He soon after procured a meeting at Aboyne with the Lords Huntlie,² Tullibardine,³ Southesque,⁴ (a blank in

¹ The Jacobites, while they continued to exist as a party, used to distinguish themselves by the title of *honest men*.

² Alexander Marquis of Huntly, afterwards second Duke of Gordon. He appears very soon to have tired of the Insurrection, or of the mode in which it was conducted, and became eager for accommodation with the Government. As he acted in concert with our author, both were considered by the more violent Jacobites as lukewarm in the cause. Huntly had the good fortune to make his peace with Government, succeeded to his father's estates, and died in 1728.

³ William Marquis of Tullibardine, second son to John Duke of Athole, succeeded to the second title of his house on the death of his brother, killed at the Battle of Mons, in 1709. He was attainted for his share in the Rebellion 1715; but, escaping to France, he lived to take part in the final affair of 1745, when he was made prisoner, and died in the Tower of London in 1747. His Father obtained an Act of Parliament passing over the Marquis of Tullibardine, and settling the family estate and titles on Lord James Murray, the younger brother of the Marquis.

⁴ James Carnegie, fifth Earl of South Esk. He escaped to France, after suffering attainder, and died there in 1729. The direct line of his family ended in his person.

MS.) and the heads of Clans, or their deputies, of which Glengarie was one of the chief, together with severall others of no note, who he made pass for the deputies of the Low Countrie counties, sent to him with instructions from those gentlemen; when all their business was to say what he had ordered them. After telling them of his designe, he shew'd them the King's picture, which was all the credentials he had, kiss'd it frequently with the appearance of more than an ordinarie affection, and, to confirm all, told them, it was an originale which was sent him directly from his Master; for he judg'd there was some such thing as that needfull to amuse them, and gett into credit with them, and make him pass for an honest man; which, if once allow'd him, he knew the people he had to doe with too well to doubt that he would soon put himself at the head of them. By the little knowledge I have of those noblemen and gentlemen, I don't imagine they'd start many difficulties, or would my Lord Mar's positive way of speakeing allow of doubts, having come so lately from England, where he must had occasion to know the disposition of that Nation, which he was not wanting to exaggerate; which was the easier believed that we had heard of nothing from thence but mobs and tumults.

All England being of our side, and perfectly well arm'd, the troops inclin'd our way; and the French King having promised to send over the King with ten thousand men, the one half of which was to goe to England with the King and the Duke of Ormond, and the other to come to Scotland under the command of the Duke of Berwick, with a train of artillerie, great stores of armes and amunition, and plenty of officers and monie. By letters from France, before he came from England, all was in the last readieness; and he was sent by the King's positive order, and by those who were at the helm of affairs in England, to dispose everie thing right as soon as possible, and was surpris'd to find all was not already landed. In the mean time, no time was to be lost; we must keep touch with England, who, tho' very well affected at present, they knew were a humorfome people, and whose heat might pass, if not takne at the first bond. For his own part, he pretended to no command, and would give his vote to the Duke of Athole, who, he knew, would be most acceptable to the King, and who, there was no doubt, would accept if once he saw them

heartie. When he passed through Fife and Perth shires he found them all readie to mount on a night's warning; and his letters from Stirling-shire assured him to depend on them; and if they had but the least doubt, they had but to ask those gentlemen then present, who were deputed from those counties, and were men of honour, whose words might be taken (such as James Malcome, Alexander Maitland, and the like, who he had brought there, as in the name of the whole). Southesque, who was there, could answer for Angus countie, so that it depended on those present to set the King on his throne, and break the Union, and restore their countrie to its ancient libertie. What honour and profit would accrue to them from that, they themselves knew as well as he; but if they did not incline to it, after praying for an occasion of this kind so many years, he did not know what to think, and should be mightily surpris'd, and would drop the project, when he was more than sure it was impossible it could faile. That he himself, who, without vanitie, was never taken for a fool, had to loose as well as any of them, and could not have greater interest in that affair than they; but that he'd had greater occasions than any of them to know the whole to the bottom, would not engage in a thing of that kind himself, if he did not see it easie; that Generall Hamilton, who had a considerable rank in the armie, was not so mad as to loose it idly, and knew particularlie how the armie was affected, amongst whom he had so many friends and acquaintances. This, with as chimericall assistance from the King of Sweden as the other from France, but as little to be doubted of, seem'd more than was necessary to those gentlemen, of whome the greatest part thought they were strong enough to doe the work themselves, it not being allowed there were troopes in Brittain; besides few off the Highland gentlemen having to loose, and thinking they might gain, animated the others, and on the least hesitation that any had made, would accuse him of cowardice. So the Clans found no difficulty, if Huntlie would joyn in it; but without him they absolutely refused. Huntlie was soon satisfied but not so easily determined, and gave them his word of honour he would, provided they'd allow him his own time to rise.

After things were believed and brought so far, it was agreed, to goe straight home and get their folks together against (blank in MS.) day,

except Huntlie, who was allowed to be master of his own time. Generalls Hamilton and Gordon, who were experienced officers, were to dispose of them till the Duke of Berwick came. That night they were together, the number having crowded the house where they were, and most of the gentlemen of the second rank having no beds, were obliged to set themselves all night by the fire, a pleasant enough story happened of a favourite footman of my Lord Mar's, who coming in amongst them, and taking no notice of their want of beds, complained grievously of the hardship of sitting up a night, and swore rather than be more put to that pinch he'd goe back and turn Whig; but soon after comforted himself, saying, Let my master alone; by God, he can turn cat in pan as well as any man in England. Next morning they separated without more, only renewing their promises to meet, with all their followings, against (blank in MS.) day, and went home entirely satisfied with what Mar had said to them.

“ Sed, veluti Pueris abfinthia tetra medentes
 Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
 Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
 Ut Puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
 Laborum tenuis, interea perpetet amarum
 Abfinthi laticem.” (Lucretius, lib. 1mo.)

But what was so hastily promised was slowly performed, and all of them cool'd after returning home; tho' it did not hinder the story of their meeting to be improved upon in Mar's letters to those he could trust in all parts of the kingdom, where the numbers that each had promised to bring were represented three or four times greater than they really had undertaken; nor is it the fault of the Highland gentlemen to lessen their own numbers. Several of the gentlemen of the county I was of came to me to ask my advice, and what was to be done? I bid them have all in readiness, but it was still my opinion they should not stir till they saw further into it.

At last, being desired to meet some of those in the northern part of the county, I got thither without a servant, the whole country's eyes being upon us. I found Major Balfour and several so blown up, by what Mar had said

to him, and by that visite, and, I suppose, great promises, that there was no speaking to him; and those young people in his neighbourhood, who used to spur him up, who all their lives were fools, were now turned mad, Malcome having been amongst them spreading his lies. I told Major Balfour that he, who ought to see further than others, having seen the world, had a great deal to answer for if he misled them rashly, on the word of a disoblinded courtier; and would have argued the case with them, but to no purpose; all I could draw from them was, that I must goe alonge. I answered, that I did not trust so much to their judgement, which I had seen so oftne faultie, to be overruled by them. This seemed the more extraordinarie, that he who was turned now the foreward man, on other occasions was known by all, in things of less consequence, to be affraid of his own shadow. In my goinge there I went into a gentleman's house, and missing my friend, waited of the ladie, who told me that I was mightilie blam'd for opposing a thing that was so much for the good of the countrie. I askt, What that was? She said, Taking of armes. My answer was, How could they take what they had not. She said, It was certain we'd make six hundred horsemen, well armed, in that countie. I askt, Who told her so? She said, Her husband. I told her, It was a shame for her husband to be telling such stories: not being able to contain myself, to see a man who then did not believe, more as I, that we could make one hundred, give out so barefaced a lye. To be short, I left those gentlemen, neither they nor I being well pleased with the interview; and the last words I spoke to them, when they pressed me to goe alonge with them to command them, were, That being resolved to be a man of my word, I would not promise rashly, but it might readily happen I'd be better than my word; and so left them. This was before they knew my Lord Mar's success in the Highlands. After that, they were hourly animated with lies from Pearthsshire, telling of armes and all other things being landed in the North; and they, least they should seem to be out of their dutie, repay'd the Pearthsshire folks in their own coine.

I was not longe at home when I had letters from those gentlemen I had so lately been with, desiring me to meet them in anie private place, it not being proper we should be seen together, [n]or durst they come my length,

there being so many spies. I returned them for answer, that I had no business with them since they were mad. This did not hinder my correspondence with the gentlemen of the western part of the county, with whom I met from time to time; I found them much more reasonable, and told me plainly of Malcome's insinuations, taking my promise I should not repent it at that time. We agreed not to rise till we saw the King come, and then we were sure the Highlandmen would be more unanimous, and arms and ammunition and officers could not be wanting. Malcome had been up in the Highlands, and had returned with the news of Mar's successful negotiation with the Marquis of Huntly and the chiefs of the Clans. He called upon me in passing, and left me a letter, which at my coming home I found was from my Lord Mar. He bid tell me he was going to his nephew's house, three miles from thence, where having business, he desired I might follow him that afternoon. The letter was very short, and, as near as I can remember, it run thus:—

“SIR,—In the hurry and confusion we are in at present, I can give you no particular account of the King's affairs, only that all is going on to wish. You are ordered, on your allegiance, to repair to the King's standard, which is to be set up
day.

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MAR.”

I went that afternoon and found Malcome with the gentlemen of the western part of the county. I told him, I had read the letter my Lord Mar had sent me, and found that Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earl of Murray, who was then present, had got another of the same, which makes me believe this was the stile of all his circular letters. Malcome told me, he had been in the Highlands, and had waited of my Lord Mar, and that all the heads of Clans, who were the bravest fellows in the world, had determined to meet together against (blank in MS.) day; that my Lord Mar's commission to raise them, being laid on the table before them all, (for these were his words,) they were determined to lose no time to vindicate the

libertie of their countrie, and set the King on his throne. I askt him, Did he see the commiffion? He said, No; for he had not got there till after the meeting, (which was false, for he was at the meeting,) but Southesque and a great many others had seen it. I askt him, Did he hear Southesque say so? He said, No; for Southesque was already gone to raise the Angus people. I askt him, Why, if he saw my Lord Mar, his Lordship did not shew it to him? He said, He was not a great enough man to demand it, and his Lordship was not pleased to offer it, having a great deal to do. I took freedom to tell the company, before Malcome, that then they might depend upon it there was no such thing as a commiffion; and that my Lord Mar's disappointments at Court having render'd him miserable, had made him desperate, and, to my certaine knowledge, having nothing to loose, his designe was to make himself a great man abroad, by rising on our ruines at home. Malcome answered, I had that from my Lord Rothes, for that was the storie he was spreading.

I said, I had not spoke to Rothes for more than a year, and needed nobody to tell me my Lord Mar's circumstances. I askt him, How the scheme came to be so soon changed, and that we must all rise before a landing; for, by what he had told me lately of my Lord Mar himself, and by all I could learn of the Jacobites resolutions, they had resolv'd never to stir till then. He said, Wiser people than he had thought it proper, and he inquir'd no further. I askt, If my Lord Mar knew of the King of France his death, for we had got the news of it some days before. He said, He did, and was very well pleas'd to hear it, for a young Prince, such as the Regent, would push our affair with more vigour than the old King, who was half doated; and my Lord was positive, none in France was so well inclin'd to serve us as the Duke of Orleans, contrarie to all the false reports that were spread of him.¹ I told him plainly I had no faith in the French entering into a new war, who were lately reduced so low, and so glad to get rid of the last; and I was sure they had no fleet that could pretend to land troops in Scotland, since we saw, by the English prepara-

¹ The real sentiments of the Duke of Orleans were afterwards made known by his intercepting the military stores provided for the insurgents, at the expense of the Chevalier St George, at Havre de Grace, and St Maloes.

tions, they were already taking their precautions; and did not everie bodie see, that since the Queen's death, England seem'd. to want nothing but a pretext of beginning the war; and what pains France had been at to evite it, witness the messages that the Regents, and after that which King George, sent to the King of France about Mardyck, and with what submission they were answer'd, so unlike to the King of France's ordinary stile.¹ France knew very well it was not with England alone they'd have to doe, since the same reasons that made all the Allies so averse to the peace would soon cement them into a new confederacie; the German Princes not languishing after any thing so much as the English and Dutch monie, which they could not patientlie bear the want of, being so long used to receive it. I said, further, I did not believe one word of France assisting us, and I foresaw the event: The Highlandmen would rise out of hopes of plunder, and would doe as they had always done, which the historie of Montrofs, and since that, of my Lord Dundee, was enough to convince anie bodie of, which is, they certainlie desert on three events; first, they'd wearie and goe home, if they could not come to action soon; the second, if they fight and get the victorie, plunder following on that, they'd be sure to goe home with it; the third is, if they are beat, they run straight home: so goe as it would, we of the Low Countries must be left in the lurch. The Highlandmen, on the other hand, being encouraged by having nothing to loose, and its not being worth anie bodie's while to pursue them into their hills, where ane armie must be fatigued, and ruined with hunger and cold, would soon make their peace, as they had always done, or at least trust to it, when we would fall the sacrifice, and be the jeaft' of all the people of common sense in all Europe, by not onlie loosing our estates but our honours. And, were we not to consider what troops King George had against us, which were above thirtie thousand men by the establishment; and all that ever we had heard the Highlands could bring out was eight or nine thousand men, without discipline or armes, whome the Duke of Argyle's

¹ As the Peace of Utrecht was generally exclaimed against by the Whigs, it might seem that they would look out for a pretext to recommence the war. But it was strongly the interest of France, exhausted by the ambition of Lewis the XIVth, to recruit herself by some years of peace.

following, which was verie confiderable, and the Grants, would embarras not a little; and how a few divided, armless people, in the corner of a narrow countrie, like ours, which at fame time could fubfift no number of men together, even tho' we had monie, could pretend to make war againft a Prince who had the Dutch and Englifh fleets at command, as well as the Englifh Treaforie, and confequentlie all the force of Germanie and Holland, if his own was not ftronge enough, I could not conceave. Malcolme faid, England would give him his hands full. I afkt him, What made the Duke of Ormond goe out of England if it was fo? He faid, To bring troopes from France. I told, If England was not to rife till then, I could fee no reafon why we fhould be made ufe of as the cat's foot by a Nation who, we knew, whither Whig or Torie was uppermoft, would opprefs us. He afkt me, Would I venture nothing for the King? I anfwered, Everie thing but run my countrie into certaine ruine; for I could not fee any thing we had to depend on; but it was ftrange he could doe nothing for himfelf in France, that no lefs man than the Duke of Ormond muft goe there, who, all knew, the whole Torie partie in England depended on. He faid, He fuppofed it had been neceffarie; and we were to rife to draw the troopes out of England, to facilitate the King's landing, and that Nation's rifeing for England would needs have him there. I faid, If that was what we wanted, we'd have troopes enough upon us. Befides, the Duke of Berwick wanted to have us up before he came, was another of his reafons, becaufe it was feen, at the defcent,¹ nobodie offered to move. I faid, That very reafon was the ftrongeft he could bring for our not rifeing, for that fheu'd us how many accidents we had to fear from fea; for, fuppozing the French at that time in earneft, even when they were almoft in our harbours they were forced to get off again; and how luckie the Stirveling-shire gentry were to get out of that fcape,² I left him to

¹ The attempt to invade Scotland in 1707. It was frustrated by the close pursuit of Sir George Byng with the English fleet, which followed the French squadron commanded by Fourbin so closely as to render the projected descent impracticable. The Chevalier St George was on board Fourbin's vessel in person.

² James Stirling of Keir, Archibald Seaton of Touch, Archibald Stirling of Carden, Charles Stirling of Kippendavie, and Patrick Edmonstoun of Newtown,

judge, for they seem'd the onlie [persons] who were concern'd in that affair; and I was of opinion that their credulitie then was enough to put others on their guard now, not to believe easilie. But after all that was said, that they might not think it was fear that made me speake so, as soon as the gentlemen of the countie, but particularlie those of the western part, got over this reasoning, and were resolv'd to goe, they needed but give me a few hours warning, and [I] should be with them; for I could not think of my countie and friends ruine without shaireing of their fate, since it did not depend of me to put a stop to it. That I could not dispense with myself from doing so, having nothing but my Person to loose, which I thought no great compliment to my countie, having riskt it so oftne for a tryfle during the late war. That I had nothing to fear but banishment, which I was already no stranger to; or death, which would put an end to all miserie. But they had estates, wives, and children, and it was their business to know on what footing they imbarckt. Malcome said, Then they would never imbarck, because it was not proper all should know the secret springs, for that was the great argument they made use of to deceive. I said, I did not know who ought to know them, if some of us did not.

This, and a great deal more, was said; some present being pleas'd and others displeas'd, as in all such occasions; and to encourage, Malcome told them of the North-side Lairds (for so we call'd them) going off in four or five days, and that it was believ'd by everie bodie that a ship load'd with armes and ammunition was land'd in the North, which would make the Duke of Athole joyn and accept of a command under the Duke of Berwick; for Huntlie, being Catholick, was to pretend to none. In the meantime, Generals Hamilton and Gordon commanded all.

were tried for high treason, [15th] November 1708, for rising in arms and corresponding with the enemy's fleet intended to invade Scotland. Owing to the smallness of their number, and the unwillingness of the witnesses to say anything which might indicate the real purpose of their meeting, these gentlemen were acquitted. One witness, the butler of the Laird of Keir, was asked by his master how he had so suddenly forgotten some particulars when interrogated by the Crown lawyers? "I would rather trust," answered the domestic, "my own soul in the Lord's hands, than your Honor's body in those of the Whigs."

The names of those Generalls were to be made use of on all occasions, in case it should be thought Mar would take the command, who durst not then flatter himself that anie bodie had a notion of his conduct in war ; for he was onlie to be lookt on as a messenger of credite and weight, who had so much good sence and so great a fortune to loofe, he would not throw himself away idlie. Our meeting broke up without determining anie-thing, onlie that we were to meet again in a few days.

It was before this, that the surprizing the Castle of Edinburgh had failed. I can't be positive who laid the scheme ; but it was projected after the Queen's death, and gone into by some younge people about Edinburgh, who had srewd themselves into the belief that the King was then to land, at which time they were readie to put it in execution. But the hopes of that being over, through impatience to shew their diligence, they communicated it to a great many of their friends ; and, as it is usuall, everie new plotter was racking his brain how to improve the first scheme, to have a share of the honour in case ane opportunitie offered, and thereby the measures of the whole project were more and more disconcerted. And thus they continued untill the beginning of August 1715, that the intention of Lord Mar's going to the Highlands was publickly known ; and then those who had been all alonge the principall contrivers of that affair thought there was no time to be lost in coming to a finall resolution about the proper methods, and even in putting them to the tryell, applied themselves to my Lord Mar, who encouraged it ; because, whatever the event might be, it dipt so manie who must be obliged to refuge to him. My Lord Drummond, who, amongst the many good qualities he has inherited of his familie, has that of imagining nothing can be well done except he has the management of it, would undertake the direction of all ; and, for that effect, made choice of a little brokne merchant, Charles Forbes, a man according to his own heart, who was to be principall engineer and conductor of that affair. Thomas Arthur, who had formerlie been ane officer in the Castle, had, six months before, gained a serjeant, and brib'd a sojer of the guarnifone ;¹ the serjeant, when he'd have the guard, was to place that sojer sentrie at a post

¹ One serjeant, William Ainslie, and two privates, James Thomson and John Holland, were engaged in this scheme. Ainslie was afterwards hanged.

on the Castle wall, which they had agreed on. The sentrie was to have a clew of small cordes in his pocket, one end of which he was to throw down to those who were to surprize the Castle, who were to tie it to a grappling iron, fastned at the end of the scaladeing ladders, which he was to pull up and fix in the head of the wall or parapet. They proposed to doe the work with fourscore or nintie men, whereof fortie were to be Highlandmen, who were sent to toun by my Lord Drummond about the time appointed, all by different roads, with orders to obey one Drummond of Bouhadie. Fiftie younge apprentices, advocates' servants, writers, and some servants to those in the Government, were let into the secret, to make up the number to be employ'd in the attack. At last, the serjeant letting them know the night he could serve them, and the time, the West Kirk, a place under the Castle wall, was agreed on to be the place of rendezvous, preciselie at nine of the clock at night, where they were to come armed with pistells and fuords. They all mett at the place and hour appointed. Things haveing thus far succeeded to their wish, they, and it must be own'd reasonable, haveing brought it so great a length, reckoned themselves sure of their stroak; but the principall thing was still wanting. They had employ'd a fellow in the Caltone to make the ladders, which Mr Arthur and his brother, Doct̄or Arthur, were to mount the first, because they knew the Castle best; and had brought the greatest part of the ladders, with the grappling iron, alonge with them to the West Kirk at the hour appointed; and Charles Forbes had takne it upon him to bring the rest of the ladders preciselie at the same hour, but instead of that, stay'd till after ten in the citie, drinkeing to good news from the Castle, while the others were waiteing impatientlie at the West Kirk; for they had designed to begin the attack at ten, which being past, and receaveing no neus of Forbes or their ladders, not knowing what to doe, and afraid the sentrie would loofe patience, or be relieved, scrambled up the rock, and posted themselves at the foot of the wall, with a resolution, in all events, to stay there as longe as they could. And thus they continued till eleven of the clock, when, being out of all patience, and the sentrie telling he was to be relieved at twelve, they made him pull up the grappling irone, in order to try if the ladders they had could doe; but, as they suspect̄ed,

they found them above a fathome too short; and in this situation did they continue untill half an hour after eleven, when the sentrie perceiving the rounds coming about, called down to them, "God damn you all! you have ruined both yourselves and me! Here comes the round I have been telling you of this hour, I can serve you no longer." And with that threw down the grappling iron, fired his piece, and called out "Enemie;" upon which everie man shifted for himself, the round firing over the wall after them. And at this time, when the firing from the wall hapned, Mr Forbes, the ingeneer, had onlie advanced to the back of Bareford's Parks, on the north side of the North Loch, with the rest of the ladders, and could not been up in time before that sentrie was to be reliev'd.

My Lord Justice-Clerck, having got a hint of the designe,¹ was the occasion of that rounds going about, having given the Gouvernour the alarme, and at same time, with difficultie, got twelve men of the Burgers' Guard from the Magistrats of the toun, to goe without the walls, under the command of ane officer, who saw no bodie but two boys, who said, they came there by chance, whome he took prifoners, together with ane old man, who had fallen from the rock.² But all agree, that had the ladders come in time, the Justice-Clerck's advertisement had come too late; and blamed my Lord Drummond for the choise of his ingeneer. It was, I may say, miraculous, that so many kept the secret, or rather, that the Government was not sooner informed by some indirec't way or other; for they were so far from carrying on their affairs privately, that a gentleman, who was not concerned, told me that he was in a house that evening where eighteen of them were drinking, and heard the hostefs say, they were powdering their hair to goe to the attack of the Castle.

It's to be thought, that the certaintie of the French King's death, which was brought us before anie act of hostilitie begun, would have disconcerted

¹ By a letter, it was believed, from the wife of Dr Arthur. Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston was then Justice-Clerk.

² Captain MacLean, formerly an officer of James the VII. There were three youths taken,—Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh, and one Lesly, formerly page to the Duchess of Gordon.

my Lord Mar, who had founded his own plan, as well as his arguments, on the assistance that was to be sent from France; and to thinking people, his not being so, would have discovered the fallacie of the whole. Generall Hamilton, who came from London with Mar, and who, I have heard say, knew nothing at all but what he told him, who he believed was of opinion for that time to desist from the enterprize; and that Mar and he, who as yet were the onlie [persons] who anything could be made out against, ought to goe for France, and waite another favourable opportunitie, rather than by persisting at so bad a conjuncture, be the certain ruine of their friends and cause. But his Lordship of Mar's views, being of another nature, opiniated their persisting, assuring positively, that to his certaine knowledge the Duke of Orleans, who, he said, was a young prince, full of fire, and no worse inclined to serve the King, would push that affair with more vigour than the old King, whose death was the happiest thing could happen to us.

After the meeting of Aboyn, Mar returned to Indercauld's¹ house, who, because his vassall for a small part of his estate, as I have already said, he commanded to get the Fercharfons, his Clan, together in armes, to obey his orders. This gentleman, tho' as zealous as anie, but having had more occasion to know his Lordship than others, did not amuse himself with what his Lordship said, refused to stir till the King's landing; and the meantime, being unwilling to make noise or struggle, left his house to Mar, and retired to Aberdeen. He applied himself next to Inderie,² another of his vassalls, and the second man of that Clan, who, not having so much to loose as the other, was disposed to rise with the first; but would have

¹ Farquharson of Invercauld had great possessions in the head of Braemar, which, lying within the lordship so called, were held by him of the Earl of Mar, and so he was his feudal vassal. But as a chief of his own tribe, the Clan Ianla, he was of course independent of his feudal superior. Invercauld took arms afterwards, and became Colonel of a regiment of his own name, when he was taken at Preston.

² John Farquharson of Inverei, descended from a younger son of Finlay Mor Farquharson of Invercauld. The Inverei always consisted of bold daring men, and [had] a considerable command [influence?] amongst the tribe, though inferior to that of the Chief Invercauld.

nothing to doe with Mar, in spite of the intreaties of all his friends, till the Marquise of Huntlie, to whome he offered his service, persuaded him to submit to obey my Lord Mar, who, he said, was the last man in Scotland who he'd choose to follow. His Lordship having thus gained him, offered him the command of all his men, thinking, by his means, to raise the whole Clan Fercharfone; but to no purpose, for neither he [n]or his Lordship had influence enough to bringe out above a hundred, or a few more, out of Brae Mar. By this time the Earle of Linlithgow,¹ and Viscount of Kilsyth,² tuo of those Peers, who, in the end of the Queen's reigne owed their obligations of being chosen of the sixteen to Mar, came and joyned him. The first of those Lords spoke a good dale of his interest, tho' it never appeared amongst us; because, he said, he could not bring his friends to us from the south side of Forth. The other had no pretensions to that, but had severall qualifications that fitted him for Mar's purpose, the chief of which was, his being poor and desperate, his debauches and extravagance having left him nothing but his title of Viscount; so it may be believed his equipage was very small, and his attendants verie few, to be helpfull to us, which consisted onlie of tuo servants; but, in revenge, his complaisance was very great to my Lord Mar, who was to support him at the expence of the publick, as was the case of a great many others who bore specious titles.

However, this was founded in our ears, and through the whole countie, that tuo Peers, with great numbers, had already joyned Mar; and the news of armes and officers being come, was repeated on all occasions. These, and a great many as groundless reports, wrought so much on those of the east and north parts of the countie of Fife, that they sent to tell me they were goinge off. They got over the Tay, most of them at little blind ferries, and were not in all fortie. Some skulkt in the borders of the Highlands for some time, there being no fourage where Mar was,

¹ James fourth Earl of Callendar and fifth Earl of Linlithgow. He was attainted for his share in this unfortunate insurrection.

² William, [second son of Sir James Livingston, raised to the Peerage as Viscount of Kilsyth in 1661. His brother, James, having died unmarried in the year 1706, he succeeded to the titles and estates as third Viscount of Kilsyth.]

and a few of them joynd him Barafield, a gentleman from the west, whose domestick affairs being in disorder, engaged earlier than was to be expected of a man of his sence, was sent, after joyning, to my Lord Panmure and Mr Hary Maule, Mar's tuo uncles, upon whome his Lordship's letters could have no influence; the Earle of Panmure, as I was told by Barafield, haveing sent back a great many, with the highest contempt, without opening them; and even when Barafield spoke to both, they saw nothing but racks and gibets before them; its to be imagined they knew their nephew. He got orders to waite of the Earle of Strathmore,¹ a younge gentleman of eighteen years old, who had the most good qualities, and feuest vices, of any younge man I ever saw: the bufiness was to get him to proclaim the King at Dundee and Forfar, haveing great intrest both in these touns and the countrie about, being of ane ancient noble familie. While Alexander Maitland,² uncle to Southesque, a forward man, and through everie action of whose life a great strain of madnes ran, which generally succeeded better with him than could be expected, was to push Southesque, his nephew, (who needed a more prudent gouvernour to advise him, being not much older than Strathmore,) to proclaime at Montrose, another royall burrough, in the countie of Angus. Mar haveing thus set all his engines to work far and near, knew very well that the dipping of those tuo orphants was not onlie that of all their nighbourhood and the whole countie, but that it would be lookt on everie where as a signall of the King's arrivall, by those who his emissaries had prepared to expect him daylie, or at least the Duke of Berwick; and people's spirits being up; on that supposition, his, and their proclaiming at the same time, would make the Low Countrie, as well as the Highlandmen, joyn him at once, who, notwithstanding their promises, were very slow, or rather, were not like to move.

In the mean time, the Marquise of Tullibardine, a modest, good-natured, younge gentleman, who he had gaind by paying his debts at London,

¹ John, fifth Earl of Strathmore, a gallant young nobleman, killed at Sheriffmuir.

² Son of the third Earl of Lauderdale, and brother to Mary, Countess of Southesque.

with the assistance of his brothers, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, and their uncle, Lord Nairne, was endeavouring to bring over the Athole men, who were naturallie well inclined to the cause, but were afraid of their master, the Duke of Athole, and desired that at least that regard should be had to him, that he should be spoke to.

Mar having nothing to say to him but lies, and a great or a little one being equallie easy, sent Lieut.-Colonell Hay, his brother-in-law, to offer him, from the King, the command of the armie under the Duke of Berwick, requiring of him to get his men together, and proclaim the King in three days. The Duke answered, It was strange, if the King designed him anie commission, he had not sent it directlie to himself; and if there was anie such thing, that my Lord Mar had not communicated it to him sooner, till, after briguing so longe in the countrie, and debauching his children, and setting up his own familie against him, and then requiring him, on so short ane advertisement, without further enquire, to appear in armes, as if it were conditionell, if he were to take the command, Mar was to be his gouverneur. He said, These were circumstances that did not please him, and desired to be excused. I won't pretend to determine that the Duke of Athole would have joyned; but I can say that, to my certaine knowledge, no Scots man was more forward to venture his all than his Grace was at the making of the Union, where he acted the part of a worthie and noble patriot; and it's evident, as well by Mar's message to him as his Grace's answer, that Mar did not treat him as a man of that consequence ought to be, and, for his own ends, did not want he should joyn; which is proven further by his sending Collonell Hay to him, the man on earth the most unacceptable to him, who had been Mar's tool dureing the Torie ministrie in making ane interest against him in the elections of the shire of Perth, to no effect but chagrining him, no more than the lyes and calumnies he and others spread of him at that time. It's certaine, he was of that consequence that he'd done more in one day, in raising the Highlands, than Mar did in tuo months; and had been master of the Bridge of Striveling before the Gouvernement could takne their precautions; and, without alarming by proclaiming, lying, and truckling, at one pull carried all the Highlands, as well as those of the Low Countrie after him;

but then Mar would not had the honour of being known in the world; who all this time had got nobody to joyn him. But being informed that Strathmore and Southefque were readie to proclaime, so soon as he did, in despair he fet up the Royall standard, and proclaimed at Kirkmichell, when he had not in all above tuo hundred men with him, both of his own and those who had joyned him; while he was dreading every minute the Duke of Athole would attack him, the fear of which made him post sentries in all the passes of the hills, to give him time to retire to the West Highlands, where he could hide himself till he made his escape to France; for all that the Marquise of Tullibardine could as yet obtaine of the Athole men was not to follow his father in that designe.

The Earle of Linlithgow, being the onlie man of qualitie there, except Kilsyth, got the command of tuentie horse, of all fortes, which was all they could make up then, to guard the standard, and was the first rife of that squadron, afterwards known by the name of the Royall Squadron.

This no sooner done, than expreffes were sent to all the Low Countrie about, affirming that eight thousand men had already joyned my Lord Mar; upon which Strathmore and Southefque, with the gentlemen of Angus, proclaimed in the three towns already mentioned.

The more the number hookt in by these methods increased, the greater the ferment grew, and the more people he had to lie for him, who now made it their own cause. By their help the Earle of Panmure, who hitherto had resisted all with steadiness, was made believe the King was landed in England; and that being confirmed to him different ways, as if without designe, and from people of undoubted credite, (for he had no regarde to what came directly from Mar,) he thought he was too longe of proclaiming the King in Brechin, a royall burrough, in his neighbourhood, and accordingly did it without further hesitation.

But it must be owned the Gouvernement contributed most to Mar's project, by the Act of the Brittiſh Parliament made at that time; which, being put in execution speedily after it past, fiftie of the most active or most considerable Lords and Gentlemen were cited, some to render themselves in fifteen days, and others in fortie, according to the distance they lived from Edinborough, under the pain of forfeiture of their liferent escheat. All

those were buoy'd up to the last day of their citations by the great pains Mar and his emissaries took to make them expect the King daylie, or, at least, the Duke of Berwick, with great secours from France; and no bodie, in that great ferment of spirits, and great expectation, careing to give bad exemple by delivering up himself first, they were at last all caught in the same noose, their time being elapsed, and no place left to repent; or, like the Stirveling-shire gentrie, who hapning to live too nere Stirveling, where some few troops were assembled, the chief of whome were cited, and fearing that they were more in the eye of the Gouvernement than others, because of their forwardness on the former threatned descent, and that they would not be allowed to live quietlie to the last day of their summons, chose, rather than live in that hurrie, to take refuge in the Highlands, where they carried some of their friends with them, and made in all tuentie horse. But it's certaine most were undetermined, even to the last minute, amongst whome was Mr Hary Maule, brother to Panmure, and uncle to Mar, who was tuentie miles in his road southward, to deliver himself up, when he was met by a certaine man whose integritie was not to be doubted of, who assured him that the Gouvernement had intercepted letters to him from beyond sea, which, if he delivered himself up at such a time, could not misf to cost him his life. Mar found ane absolute necessitie of imposing on his uncle in this manner, being the man of the whole partie whose exemple most of people would have followed, all having a good opinion of him. So, at the expence of his uncle, he adroitlie turned that which would have been his greatest misfortune to his greatest advantage; and, without further balancing, returned from that place where the gentleman met him, and joyned Mar, who drew another advantage from it, which was, informing the publick, that tho' Mr Maule, till then, had determined not to joyn, yet, by letters of a fresh date he had received from beyond sea, he was at last convinced all was going well. Therefor, others out of simplicitie, others, whose great zeale would not allow to think, "*Crimen ac dolum altius non scrutati, more majus quam judicio, post alius alium, quasi prudentiorem secuti.*" (Tacit. Hist. 1mo.; Salust, 1mo.; Orat. ad Cæsar.) "*Pecorum ritu, sequentes antecedentium gregem, ac pergentes non qua eundem est, sed qua itur.*" (Senec. de Vit. Beata.) It's incomprehen-

fible to conceive how the storie of the eight thousand men's joyning Mar was fuallowed down by those who knew that all the men of the Highlands together, who we had anie reason to believe for us, could not exceed that number. But then there were so many friends engaged, it was treason to doubt the truth of it; and that armes and all necessaries of war were landed, for, said they, without that how would so many engage? "A plerisque veritatis investigatio negligitur; dum ea potius quæ magis in promptu sunt, consecantur, et quoquo modo audita pro compertis habent." (Thucid. and out of him Tacit. 3tio. Annal.) "Mavult unusquisque credere, quam judicare: quo fit ut versat multos præcipitatque traditus per manus error, alienisque perimus exemplis." (Senec. de Vit. Beata.)

Those of the Whig partie in the toun of Pearth kept the Tories still under, haveing disarmed them more by the authoritie of the Magistrats, who were Whigs, then by their superioritie or number, but were not a little alarmed at the report of my Lord Mar's haveing got so many men together, fear haveing the same effect on them which hopes had on us, by makeing both equallie blind, and equallie credulous. They addressed themselves to the Duke of Athole, the onlie man of their neighbourhood who was able to assist them, or who they had the least reason to trust, and not haveing an intire trust in him neither, or doubting his Highlandmen, I can't tell whether, they would take no more then tuo hundred. And, on the other hand, they sent to the Earle of Rothes, Sherrife and Lord Lieutenant of the countie of Fife, begging his aide with the posse-comitatus, being a man very active and firm to their partie, and very well provided with armes, both of his own and five hundred he had of late got from the Gouvernement, with a good quantitie of amunition. He had not been wanting before to promise them his assistance, and was at pains enough to make good his promise, and issued out ane order for all the sensible men of the Countie to meet him at a place called Cashmoor. The gentlemen took no notice of his orders, nor did the commons, except those who the ministers forced to goe to the place of rendezvous, to the number of fifeteen hundred mob, and all that their outmost diligence could perform. But those of that countie haveing been taught, by their experience, that it is not good meddling with edged tools, especially in the hands of Highlandmen, were very averse from take-

ing armes. No sooner they reflected on the name of the place of rendezvous, Cashmoor, than Tippermoor was called to mind, a place not far from thence, where Montrose had formerly routed them, under the command of my great-granduncle, the Earle of Wemyss, then Generall of God's armie. In a word, the unluckie choise of a place called moor, appeared ominous, and that, with the flying report of the Highlandmen's haveing made themselves masters of Pearth, made them throw down their armes and run, notwithstanding the trouble that Rothes and his ministers gave themselves to stop them. In the meantime, the storie of Pearth being takne, was not without foundation; for the Torie burgers, who were considerable in that place, being animated with the news of my Lord Mar's being so stronge, begun to caball; and after feeling the two hundred Highlandmen's pulses, or at least their pulses who commanded them, sent to Liutennant-Coll. Hay, son to my Lord Kinnoule, in their neighbourhood, to let him know, that if he could get anie number of men together, and come to their assistance, they would revolt, and deliver him up the town, since there was nothing to be feared from the Highlandmen.

He assembled most of the gentlemen of the countie of Fife who were skulking in Pearthshire, who made the greatest part of the cavalcade, and, with a very few of those of Pearthshire who joyned, they made up fortie horse; the last being still backward, in spite of their great talking and big words, which had roused the Fife gentlemen, when they themselves were very tranquille, being well informed how souldie things were going on with Mar, because of their neighbourhood to the Highlands; but what they had done to the Fife gentlemen turned against themselves, who, haveing now retired from their own homes, thought they were too guiltie to loock back, and were very assiduous in dipping them. Noe sooner Collonell Hay appeared with the fortie horse on the other side the Tay, then the Torie burgers, who expected them, revolted, seized the boats in the sight of the other partie and Magistrats, who drew up under armes, but durst not stir, for fear of the Highlandmen, while their adversaries were bringing the gentlemen over the river, which is there about two hundred yards broad. The Whigs made no difficultie in delivering up their armes, which were given to the Tories; and some of them road post to Edinburgh to inform

the Gouvernement; all of those, as we were told, assuring positively there were some thousand Highlandmen got into Perth.

By so many concurrent accidents did Perth fall in the hands of our people, without his Lordship of Mar's knowledge, which, if we had not got possession of, his whole design must have proven abortive, for there was no other place where an army could be formed. And had Rothes, with his Fife mob, who were well armed, got into Perth, however defenceless that place was, I am of opinion that our Highlandmen, who had not one grain of powder then, nor for a good time after, till chance threw it in our way, which it could not do without the taking of that town, would have been at a loss to attack it, at least till their numbers had grown very much greater than they were for a considerable time afterwards; even though their assembling was not only facilitated by the taking of that town, but depended entirely on it, and, after all, a strong presumption contributed not a little to it; for the Laird of Gay, who commanded the one half of the Highlandmen, not daring to impart the secret to the other, choose rather to steal the flints, in the nick of time, out of the other hundred's arms. The town being taken, there was nobody to reinforce those few gentlemen and burghers who were in it. My Lord Mar being still in the same circumstance, and as uncertain of his own fate as ever; the Athole men still ballancing betwixt the Duke and his sons, Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, with their uncle, Lord Nairne, who had a great interest with his brother's vassals; Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, brother-in-law to Mar, took upon him the command of the place; and all being made believe that Mar had so many thousands with him, he pretended to write to his Lordship to send him a reinforcement of some hundreds, which my Lord's answer made him, and those with him, expect was to join them every moment.

In the meantime Mar got young Strathmore, who was very alert, to raise two hundred Low Country men, and march to Perth, with such arms as they had, all more for show and countenance than use. Those were no sooner got into town than all were satisfied they were strong enough; and a report being spread of the Duke of Argyle's coming to attack them, they resolved to stand it, with the tools they had,

and the few pounds of powder they pickt up in the town, which I don't believe were above five or six.

The Duke of Argyle, who came down from London to take the command of the troopes, had gone to Striveling some days before, where he found assembled the few regiments [that] were in the country. The noise of the great numbers that had joynd Mar in the Highlands, attended with the success that our folks had in getting into Perth, and the great numbers that the Whigs themselves, who came from thence, said were already got into that town, improv'd by daylie messages from our friends there, roused those of our country, so that they thought they were too long of joining; and, I believe, left the Duke of Argyle no hopes of the possibility of recovering Perth by any detachment he could make from Striveling out of that handful he had there. For, could he doubt of what those of his own party, of the best credit of that place, assured him of? The reason was, that those in a country like ours, who were not used to war, and consequently to see any number of men together, with the terror that was upon them, imagin'd every hundred men to be a thousand. So circumstances being thus magnified, as well by ignorance as industry, those with whom I was concerned would hear reason no more. I may truly say, that at this time I had no better opinion of the whole affair than I had before. The same reasons still subsisting, which to me seem'd unanswerable, I endeavour'd to dissuade them from what they had resolv'd. I did, amongst the rest, tell them, That if there had been no other objection against that designe than that of the unfitness of the then head and leader of it, even that alone was, in my opinion, a sufficient reason to withdraw all considering men from a thought of it: They had all, as well as I, a just notion, or rather a certain knowledge, of that noble Lord's character and practice upon all the occasions that occurred in his time; they knew, from the various turns and windings of his life, that his interest was his leading star, and that it was a rule with him to sacrifice all faith and friendship to it, and much more us, to whom he never had the least tie of friendship. I lay'd all this before them; and that, from his utter want of all experience and knowledge of the great part he had taken upon him, it seem'd to me pretty evident, that the success of that cause was not

what he had in view; but that his designe was rather, when ane opportunitie offered, to make his market at Court, by giving up both the cause and all that adhered to it; or, at our expence, make himself pass for a great man abroad, having not the least hopes left of supporting himself at home: and if the little force he had for so great ane enterprize, and the little influence which he knew he had upon all men of distinction or power in the countrie; and if all he did, or attempted to doe, be duellie considered, this conjecture will perhaps appear not altogether improbable. It is true these gentlemen could not intirelie get over the diffidence they had of this noble Lord, but they contented themselves with a report, industriously handed by his partizans amongst them, that his onlie aime was to put all in readines against the Duke of Berwick's comeing, who was hourly expected, a man indeed beyond all exception, and everie way preferable, to this enterprizing Lord. I must own I could not concur with them in the opinion, that so great a persone would venture his reputation upon so desperate ane enterprize. And, after I had on this head, and other good objections, kept them for some days in suspence, in hopes that, upon a due consideration of all things, they'd come to a sense of the desperate affair they had in hand: In the mean time, I advised them to send one of their number to Pearth to know the truth of what was reported, for I gave no credite to all the flying stories our folks had spread. Accordingly one was sent, who got his lesson there, and confirmed all, and a great dale more, if possible: armes and powder were landed; and the Earle of Mar, who was expected everie day at Pearth, was waiteing the King and Duke of Berwick's comeing with impatience. The day after this messenger returned, another was sent us from Pearth with the same packet. All this while my friends of the county of Fife, who were already got into Pearth, were cursing me for a very ill man, because I retarded their nighbours; Malcome, and all, having made a faithfull report to Mar of what I had said of him.

“ Hinc mihi prima mali labes; hinc semper Ulysses
 Criminibus terrere novis; hinc spargere voces
 In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere confcius arma.”

(Virgilius, Æneid 2.)

But to return to those with whome I had been so longe treating; they came at last to a peremptorie resolution, and sent one of their number to me, and told me they had weigh'd all things, and were resolv'd to goe on, and desired me to meet them next morning, tuo hours before day, at Achtertoole, a place of rendezvouze equallie convenient for us all. I answered, I would, since I had promised, and was one of the first there. Amongst other reasons that determined me, they had oftne told me, If I would not goe with them, it was to ly at my door that they had choose a leader of some other familie to head them. I must ingenuoullie confesse, I was not able to stand the reproach of haveing deprived my familie of so honourable a support and interest in my countrie, and that I therefor resolv'd to take my fate with them. When we were all met we made fiftie horse, of which number was Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray. Before we begun our marche, I could not hinder myself to tell severalls of them, That tho' it was then too late to look back, they'd remember that I told them that we were goeing to our ruine. That very day's marche confirmed me more and more, for of those fiftie horse there was oftne tuo miles betwixt front and rear. Severall gentlemen came and met us from Perth, and told us of the horse being drawn up in the South Inch; which, at our approaching, we found were about our own number, and a great part of them our own countrie people.

Mr Francois Steuart and I being invited to the Gouvernour's to sup, I was very inquisitive about the situation of the place, which, they said, was stronge. As to our affairs, all was impudentlie confirmed, except that they could not deny their number in Perth was small, consisting of a hundred horse, with what I brought alonge with me, and tuo hundred Low Countrie men, who, I knew, were not at all used to armes, and fiftie Highlandmen, of those who came first into Perth by the Duke of Athole's order; for the others, according to their laudable custome, had gone home. I met with Collonell Urchard, a gentleman who had served all the last war in the armie, and seeing him the onlie man who knew service there, I beg'd of him we might goe round the toun in the morning; for, except Major Balfour, no other there had anie pretensions to service, which he had left above tuentie-five years, a longe enough time to forget it, haveing served amongst the horse,

and all the others spoke nonsense, impudentlie, as if with one tongue. Coll. Urchard brought Smith of Methvine alonge with him. In our goeing round the toun, I askt the Collonell, who had been longer there then I, If, in case the Duke of Argyle should come, they designed to defend it with the small number that was in it? He said, They seemed not to doubt of defending it. I askt him, What he thought of it? He said, He did not know what to think of it. I told him, I thought we needed a greater guarnifone, for the place was of a large circuit. I found the greateft half of the toun, where there was ane old stone wall, might be made prittie tenible, by louering the wall, which was very high in some places, to breast high, so that with louering it, and raising of foot-banks, it might give us a parapet to fire over. He said, He was of my opinion. When we came to the gates, I found they had made great new gates of firr planks, which filled the whole arches of the gates, where the walls nere the gates were of vast hight, and no place to stand nere them to defend them; and tho' there were, the suburbs comeing up close to three parts, covered the attackers all the way till under the ports, which, like ane ordinarie door, would be soon forced with a forehammer, and all that without the loss of one man, till they were within the toun; so it was my opinion they should reduce those gates to barriers, which were to be defended, and give us the same front with our attackers, who must, by that means, be exposed to our fire as they came alonge the streets of the suburbs; and make severall traverses behind these barriers, in case we were beat from them. He said, He was intirelie of my opinion; and fell a laughing at the close gates, which took away all defence from us. At last we came to the open side of the toun, which is towards the South Inch, where there was no cover or defence. I was told it was thought that side was not attackable, because it had a ditch full of water, seven foot deep, for three foot in the middle onlie, and not ten foot over. I askt, Whither three [or] four trusses of straw, out of the next corn-yard, would not make it passable? Both the Collonell and Methvine agreed it would, and for that reason I proposed lines should be begun to, as soon as possible, to cover all that side of the toun. Collonell Urchard acquiesced to all, and proposed I should goe and speak about it to Lieut.-Collonell Hay, who was Gouvernour. I bid him goe alonge with me,

which he refused, saying, He was going out of the town, and my speaking would have the same effect, since I could tell it was his sentiment as well as mine; his natural modestie not allowing him to take upon him, and the rather, that he knew it would not be well taken. For Methvine told me then, that, being sent by my Lord Mar to be assisting to Collonell Hay, who was a young lad, who stood much in need of advice, being lately come from school, and having bought, before the Queen's death, a company in the foot-guards, where all the service he had done was to have mounted the guard once or twice at St James's, was now turned so vain of his title of Collonell, and that of Gouverneur, that he took no notice of Collonell Urchard; who, finding himself so useless there, was to goe with him to his country house. Then we begun to speak of the garnison; and we found we had a hundred gentlemen and servants, without carabines, who could be of no use in the defence of a place, and two hundred Low Country men, with old rusty muskets, who had never fired one in their lives, and without powder and flints, with about fiftie Highlandmen no better accoutred. I went straight to Collonell Hay, and told him I had been making the round of the town with Urchard, and that it was both our opinions that the place was not at all tenible by a far greater number than ours, even tho' they were supplied with necessaries for a defence. But, in the mean time, till those numbers or necessaries came, it would be proper to put our affairs in the best posture we could, and loose no time to make the place as strong as possible. That it would be necessary General Hamilton should come there, if it were but for one day, to give his directions about it; if otherwise, I'd undertake to make it a great deal stronger than it was; and if General Hamilton thought fit afterwards to fortifie it in earnest, as I was certain he would, as much as the situation of the place, or our circumstances could admit of, I'd undertake it should not be worse for what I should doe; for I was positive nobody ever pretended to make war without having some placed armes to retreat to in case of a misfortune, and where we might keep our stores and magazines, when we marched from thence, and keep a communication with the North, and the sea towns on the north coast. All this was gibberish to him; and he appeared very much surpris'd at what I said, and wisht I had been in the

toun before the gates were made, and the fiftie horse that came in with me, which, he said, was a considerable reinforcement; For, said he, we were then resolved to stand it; and that, with his usual disdainfull laugh, after making a fine speech. I had no longer patience, and said, It seems they were resolved to play the foole, but I did not think that was a reason for our doing so now, for that would be building on a false foundation, and on their follies; for neither his gates, of which we were the worse, or his whole hundred gentlemen, were of any use, without carabines, in the defence of a toun, or, for what I saw, his Low Countrie men either; I was of opinion, yea, I was certaine, that they, like all people who never had been tryed, might flood till the danger was nere, and then their naturall fear would opened their eyes, and surpris'd them so with shewing them their wants, that it must have ended in running away; as the West Countrie mobs had done at Argyle's Road and Bothwell Bridge, being just so buoy'd up by the Whig ministers; which appear'd most ridiculous to us in them, but our self-love and weaknes did not allow us to discover it in ourselves. I assured him, since I saw them obdured, I would not make a foole of myself, nor betray those who trusted me, and, on the first approach of the enemy, would carry off all who came with me to the Highlands, and joyn the first bodie I could find of our people; nor would I give myself airs of doing a thing that I saw was impracticable, and downright madnes.

He, not knowing what to make of me, and finding his reasons had no weight, sent for old Collonell Balfour, brother to Major Balfour, a gentleman I have already mentioned, who was one of his advisers, a worthy, honest man, and had served in his youth, a volunteer in Germanie, at the siege of Brunswick, about fiftie years before, and afterward advanced in the Scot's armie at home, which he quitted at the Revolution. I hope it will be no tache on that gentleman to say, that he could know little of a trade which he never saw much of, and which has been not a little improved since he served. He told, Brunswick was not so stronge when it made a vigorous defence for a considerable time, I forgot how long. I told him, I had seen Brunswick before it was fortified last, and assured him it admitted of no manner of comparison; besides, he owned himself, there was no comparison as to the numbers of the defendants, for ane armie within a place

will always make it stronge, which makes Rab[e]lais say, "Que le rampart des couilles est le plus fort." And that place being one of the greatest touns in Germanie, could not be defended without a great armie. But he teafed me so much, that I was forced to tell the good old man, by all I could judge, he had served when bous and arrows were in fashion. I took Lieut.-Coll. Hay aside, and askt him serioussie, If it was reallie out of ignorance that he was so stiff, or onlie to encourage in the mean time, that he gave out that place was to be defended without armes, powder, or men; for if it was onlie to encourage, I would put the best face on it I could for the time, till I saw the danger approach; but then, he might depend upon it, I would marche off to the Highlands, with all that came with me. He said, If I went the whole would follow, and all would be discouraged; and our armie could never form if we lost that place. I askt him, Why he would not fuffer all to be put in the best posture of defence that was possible, by working day and night at the place to make it more tenible; and sending to my Lord Mar for more men, since he had so many with him, and particularlie for powder? He said, We had powder enough, and were expecting more. I said, If no powder was powder enough, he was right. At last we went round the toun, together with his greatest adviser, Peter Smith, who he had made Major de la Place. I made them observe all the weaknes of the place, and told him of Coll. Urchard's reafoning and mine, to no purpose, for Mr Smith, who, all the world, as well as his brother Methvine, owns to be a madman, and who, after being a chirurgion, and carrying a clyster-bag for some years in the armie, was at the peace advanced to be ane Ensign, was now turned so great a sojer, that with his usuall noise and nonsense, there was no bearing of him; and if he saw a window, or anie peeping hole of a garret, at anie distance, he fuore that was enough to defend the post. I soon turned sick of that work, and got rid of them, not being able to stand it longer, being more and more confirmed in my opinion of all that affair, and discovering clearlie the ruine of my poor Countrie in the hands of such people, of whose management it was impossible to presage good.

All this past in a week after takeing of the toun; and notwithstanding my Lord Mar had proclaimed some weeks before; he was not, as yet,

in a capacitie to assist or reinforce us with any detachment, tho' they gave him out to be four or five thousand men stronge; for, like a perspective, his beautie consisted in the distant views, and the nearer we came to him the fewer we found his numbers, and the greater his imperfections. But in realitie he was not yet so many hundreds; which, most carefullie, was kept up from us. In the mean time, a report was spread of the Duke of Argyle's coming to attack us. I persisted in my first opinion of going off to the Highlands to joyn Mar, on the Duke's approach; and told now, plainlie, I had come out to serve my Countrie to the best of my knowledg, and to please no man on earth would I do otherwise, since I knew very well that if they pretended to stand it, the toun would be takne, and we takne in it, like scoundrells, without being in a condition to strike one stroake for our lives or honours, and lose so many men and horses to no purpose. Coll. Hay thought himself obliged to come to me, and tell me that I discouraged people. I askt him, If taking the necessarie precautions to make the place more tenible could have that effect? He said, It would; for they were satisfied it was abundantlie stronge, and that I was not to think they were always to stay in that toun. That answer deserving no return, I askt him, If sending for a reinforcement to Mar would discourage? He bid me goe alonge with him and he'd shew me a letter he had wrote to Mar, which he'd send away that moment, and if I pleased I might write a post-cript; which I did, and told his Lordship, if he did not send us a stronge reinforcement it was impossible to stand it. All this while he had nobodie to send; and to give him his due, was doing all he could to raise the Atholmen, and everie bodie else; and by all his letters was making us expect him everie day with a great armie; and order'd that no horse should come up to him, because there was no fourage; which, I own, was not plentie there; but I understood that to be calculated for me. At last, after all this great expectation, Struan Robertson came to us with tuo hundred and fiftie Highlandmen.

The report still continuing of the Duke of Argyle's being to marche towards us, and I not changing my first resolution, Struan's men being very badlie armed, and no powder amongst us all, Coll. Hay fell on a

stratagem which he thought would doe the work ; he called about twelve of the gentlemen together of those he thought fit, and desired me to be there ; he named our meeting a Councill of War ; if it was so, I'm persuaded the most ignorant Councill of War that ever was held since the Creation. It was no difficult matter to make those he had pickt imagine the place impregnable at this time, when they had twice the number, when they thought so before with the half: Old Collonell Balfour assuering them he could defend it against ten thousand of the best men of the Allies armie, in these very terms. I left them, without almost opening my mouth, to let them enjoy their own opinion ; not being the more convinced of their standing it, that they talkt so big. I knew the want of powder was more than enough to discourage anie bodie from that, tho' I had not known the men. But I could not know then to what to attribute the willfullness of not taking the necessarie precautions, (for nothing could have discouraged ane enemy so much from coming to attack us, as the noise of our having fortified ourselves,) except to Collonell Hay's weakness, who, I imagined, was jealous of those who give him advice, as if they encroached on his speciall prerogative, a fault common to such vaine, poor, creatures, to whome Nature has neither given soule or bodie : " Scilicet in tenero tenerascere corpore mentem." However bad opinion I had of the business, it never entered into my head that all that followed was to be of a piece with this pattern ; and that powder, arms, and fortifying, were postulates, that, if granted necessarie, would overturn their futur scheme, which was to be carried on with nothing but lyes.

" Illa tibi est igitur verborum copia casta
 Omnis, quæ contra sensus instructa, parata 'st.
 Denique ut in fabrica, si prava 'st regula prima ;
 Normaquæ si fallax rectis regionibus exit ;
 Et libella aliqua si ex parti claudicat hilum :
 Omnia mendose fieri, atque obstipa necessum 'st,
 Prava, eubantia, prona, supina, atque absona tecta ;
 Jam ruere ut quædam videantur velle ; ruantque,
 Proditæ judiciis fallacibus omnia primis.

Sic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava, neceſſe 'ft,
 Falſaque fit, falſis quæcunque ab ſenſibus orta 'ft."

Lucretius, lib. 4to.

At this time the Earle of Southefque came to Pearth with about thirtie horſe from Angus, and a hundred and fiftie Low Countrie foot. A good humor haveing now takne Coll. Hay, he ſent to me to tell me that I might make what changes about the place I pleaſed. I anſwered, I was very indifferent, for the way they were goeing to work what changes I could make would be to no purpoſe; however, if they would order in the countrie people about, with ſhovells and mattocks, I'd ſet them to work to make lines on that open ſide of the toun towards the South Inch. I believe what I had remonſtrated haveing now turned publick, he found the gentlemen went into it, and, for that reaſon, found it neceſſarie to croſs his humour a litle, or goe further than his orders; I believe, both. In the mean time I ordered the trees about the toun to be cut for pallifades, which was done, and pallifades made of them. Three hundred countrie fellows were brought to toun; I carried them to the iron mill, where I traced a large fleſh or raveline, with ropes, and when I was beginning to put the men to work, ſeeing Coll. Balfour, Major Balfour, and Coll. Hay, fall a laughing, I beg'd of them to take the management of it; and told them there was a neceſſitie of being a foole with fooles, and ſo left it; and certaine it is, that it's in many caſes a miſfortune to be too clear fighted. It was buzed in my ear, underhand, that it was time enough to doe thoſe things when Mar and Generall Hamilton came to toun, and intreated I would in the mean time change my way of ſpeaking, becauſe people had a regarde to what I ſaid, haveing ſerved ſo latelie. And for that reaſon, I aſkt them, If I was to be made a toole of to flatter my countriemen into their ruine? I ſaid, I did not take that to be making a good uſe of my credite. They might doe as they pleaſed; but, I believed, Truth was the beſt pollitick.

My Lord Panmure came next into toun, with a hundred Highlandmen, and tuo hundred Low Countrie men. Achterhouſe, uncle to Strathmore and to the Earle of Aboyn, brought in the Aboyn men. My Lord Nairne and his ſon brought in their own men, and ſome of the Duke of Athole's Highlandmen; and now they were in all a great many men, but no fuch

thing as order. I did what I could to persuade those who commanded them to pick out such as had served, to make officers and sergeants, and, where they were wanting, to take some of the activest of their folks to supply; and one day all the garrison being drawn out on the South Inch, I told my Lord Panmure there would be no doing till all that mob was regimented, and accordingly, proposed to him to join his men to the Aboyn men, because his Highlandmen of Gleneske and they were neighbours, and it would have a good effect, they having a confidence in one another; that if his Lordship would begin to form a regiment, the others would follow his example. He said, If Achterhouse was pleased, he desired no better. I went to propose it to Achterhouse, who was satisfied; and instantly they formed a regiment, which was called Panmure's Regiment, to which Achterhouse was Lieutenant-Collonel, and I pointed out to my Lord Panmure one Leslie, who had served, who he made Major. Barafield and I spoke to Strathmore about joining his Low Country men and Southesque's together, being of the same county. He was satisfied to do it, but the difficulty was, after they were joined, who should command them; for Strathmore pretended to command the gentlemen of the county, which must be owned he had a better title to than Southesque, if either family or person was to be regarded. I undertook to speak to Southesque, at a distance, to see what could be done, or what he inclined to. He said, positively, he would command the gentlemen. I returned, and told him Southesque inclined to command the gentlemen. He asked me, If Southesque was as stiff and positive in that, as he used to be in every other thing? for if he was, he sure he should not command them. It was none of my business to aggravate things, knowing that if the least difference happened, it would split the gentlemen of that County, one half of whom would go one way, and the other another, which made me soften it as much as possible; and Strathmore said, very generously, It was the same to him where he served; and pleased himself with the fancy of Southesque's breaking his bones by falling from horseback; because, said he, His mother had not taught him to ride. And that day, Strathmore took the command of Southesque's and his own Low Countrymen joined, and made Barafield his Lieutenant-Collonel, and one Captain Walkinshaw, his Major. It must

be said, nobodie engaged in that affair gave the half of the application to their dutie, or disciplining their regiments, as my Lord Strathmore and Panmure; for the others seemed to doe things for their humour, or rather, did nothing at all; but they made it their busines after that all in toun were regimented, some into stronger and others into weaker corps. Now, our guarifone being stronge, I spoke to Collonell Hay, that, to avoid confusion in case of a suddain alarme, he'd order everie regiment its alarme post; but that was a language neither he nor his friend, Peter Smith, understood any thing off, the work being to be done by confusion. Tho' so many men were got together, there was no monie to pay them, except what everie one gave his own people out of his private purse, which could not subsist longe. I, happning to meet with Mr Hary Maule, fell into regrateing the unluckie state we were in for want of armes, powder, and monie. He said then, very ingenuously, That never men were so idlie brought in for their lives and fortunes as we were.

But lyes, the life of our affair, were spread with more industrie than ever, of powder, armes, and monies being sent us. Some of our gentlemen, who had thought that they had takne monie enough with them to doe their businens, or who came out in such haste that they had no time to provide, were goeing daylie home to get new supplies. I used to tell them, to no purpose, that some of them would be kidnap't; amongst others, Sir Thomas Bruce, a gentleman of a very good estate, was obliged to goe home some such errand. I sent one Mr Balfour, of Forret, after him, and told him of the risque he run; but if he must goe, advised him not to stay a night at home. He took no notice of it, thought himself secure, stay'd some nights, and was takne by a partie of dragoons which my Lord Rothes brought with him, and from thence was carried to Leslie House; but this happned very soon after our getting into Pearth,¹ and when we were daylie expecting a visite from the Duke of Argyle. However, Coll. Hay, and all there, pressed me to take the hundred horse then at Pearth, to attack Rothes, with his tuentie-five

¹ Sir Thomas Bruce was taken upon 28th September. Upon the 26th a small party of the insurgents had attempted to proclaim the King at Kinross, but were interrupted by the Earl of Rothes.—Rae's History, p. 232.

dragoons, in his house of Leslie, and retake Sir Thomas Bruce; and, at same time, take five hundred armes, which was supposed to be hid there, which Rothes had so lately got from the Gouvernement, besides a greater quantitie which he had provided himself two years before. The bootie of armes and amunition would indeed been of use to us, but it was ten to one if they were still there; and if we had thought they were, we ought to have made a search when there was nobody there, and when we could had them cheap, which we could not expect now, that house being a large square, and stronglie situated, and, tho' of easie access to the west, the front is so large, and the windows so many, that a regiment would not be straitned in them, and platform above. It's true, we were not to expect so many there, but it was not to be doubted that my Lord, on half ane hour's advertisement, could get a hundred men out of the village and neighbourhood, and that, with his own servants, who use to be numerous, and the tuentie-five dragoons, would make such a defence, with so many armes supposed to be there, the lower windows being all stauncheld with iron bars. Without a greater force than at that time they could spare, which was the hundred gentlemen, with pistells, and a hundred of the raw foot, without powder, I must have had very little knowledge of the trade to knock so many poor gentlemen in the head, for diversion, in the very beginning of our affair; nor was it our business, at a time we were so weak, to be making excursions of that kind. I was apt to believe that it might be a trap laide for us, knowing us to be young fojers, who might jump at everie baite, and, for what we could trust to Coll. Hay's intelligence, it might been ane ambush. Tho' this was not to hinder Coll. Hay to goe there himself, and doe as he thought fit; and for his encouragement I told him, the best attack he had on it, that I remember'd, was under the cover of a wall, the back way from the village, which would lead them to the corner of the house, when they'd be under a good dale of the fire from the windows, and so force the back gate. But the Gouvernour did not think it convenient to risque himself, and was satisfied to let that project drop. All justified my opinion in the later end of our affair, when a small guarifone of the Suisse were put into that house, who cut off our communication from the coast of Fife, and from the coales, so absolutelie

neccessarie for us in such a cold winter, and choose to starve for cold, when they pretended to be stronge enough to give the Duke of Argyle battle rather than attack that place.

My Lord Mar begun at last to move towards us, havinge succeeded in raisinge almost all the Athole and Tullibardine men, by the means of Tullibardine, Lord Charles and Lord George Murrays, the Duke's three sons, and one hundred of the Mar-men, by the help of Inderei, for the others would take no notice of him so longe as Indercaile would not engage. On his marche he was joynd by my Lord Drummond, and those who followed him, who, not being Highlandmen, would not rise till the others came to force them out.

Generall Hamiltone came into Perth two or three days before my Lord Mar, and the troopes with him, to regulate the quarters, and prepare magazines of meale and fourage, which seem'd needles till then, nobodye thinking of it. Mar, at that time putting all his trust in Hamiltone, could not think of letting him goe out of his sight till the dread of the Athole men was over. He was not ane hour in town when he askt for me, and sent [to] desire me to come to him, to Collonell Hay's lodgings. I went so soon as I had dined; he took me aside into a window, and, after a little discourse, askt me, Who I thought would be the fittest man to command the Fife squadrone. I said, Till officers came to us, at which time I'd demitt in any bodies favours who had served longer than myself, I believed the gentlemen of that countie would be commanded by nobodye but myself. He said, He knew that; but I was to be employed another way. I told him, I was indifferent what way, provided it was not to leave me behind in guarnisone when they marched; for I begun to suspect, that after Mr Malcome's recommendation, that of Coll. Hay's might put my Lord Mar on posting me some where out of the way, to be rid of me; upon which I told Generall Hamiltone, That positivelie I would not stay in guarisone. When he found I took it on that foot, he saide, He would be plaine with me, provided I'd keep the secret. I said, Upon honour, I would. He told me I was to be sent over to the Lothiens, with a thousand men under my command, to raise those gentlemen who were for us in the southern counties, and from that to marche into England. I askt him, How he propos'd

to fend such a number over, and at what place? He said, At the Queen's Ferrie. I told him, That was too nere the enemy, Stirveling being onlie eight miles from it, and we could no sooner make a movement that way than the Duke of Argyle would suspect, or at least, being so near, would instantlie be informed of our bringing boats together; for it was no easie matter to find boats for so manie, and, in the mean time, would have his dragoons, yea, his foot, there, before we could get that done, and would hinder our landing on the other side. He said, There was no difficultie in getting boats the minute we came there, for all the large passage-boats of the Frith were laid up there. I told him, If we were of that side where the boats were, we'd have no need of boats, for they were all of the south side. He had not been informed of that, and said, He was assured they were all at the Queen's Ferrie, which was true, for tho' there be tuo miles of sea betwixt those touns, on both sides, they goe both by the same name, onlie they are distinguish't by the South or North Queen's Ferrie. I supposed we could get over, which was impossible, the dragoons would still be at our heels, and askt him, Where we could take post? for I could not imagine he thought that a thousand of our raw people would pretend to stand that number of dragoons in the plain, which the Duke of Argyle could detache. He saide, Did I know no strong house thereabouts? I answered, I had never been in that part of the countrie but once, some years agoe, when I halted no where; onlie I remembered I had seen some large houfes, which always afford a defence; but the divill was, we'd soon be block't up in them, and starve for want of provisions, which, I was sure, the Duke of Argyle would not give us time to get in; and for my part, were I in such a case, I'd endeavour to gaine the longe chaine of hills, if possible, which, if I did, I'd laugh at the dragoons. But to put an end to that reasoning, I bid him be assured there were no boats to be got there to execute that project. He said, It must be done some way. I said, If it must be done, it was to be done further down the Frith; but I forswaw great difficulties in it, for there were men-of-war in station through the whole Frith; and, before I came from home, orders were given to the Custom-House officers all alonge the coast, to inform the men-of-war of the least movement of the troopes; this I could assure him of. He askt,

Where boats were to be got? I told him, Very far down the Frith, at Creile, Kilrinnie, Anfruthers, Pittenweem, Buchaven, and Wemyfs, and the further down the more boats were to be got. He askt me, If I knew no stronge place oppofite? I faid, I was intirelie a ftranger to my countrie, having been fo longe out of it; but askt him, If he remembered any thing of the Citadell of Leith? for I could think of no other. He faid, He believed it would foon be put in a pofture of defence, and faid, fo might Haddingtoun; but in cafe they were to land, with a view to the Citadell of Leith, where could they land? I faid, I did not doubt it was to be done in the night time, and then they could doe it, as the wind ferved, on any place of the coaft, fuppofe Seatoun, Muffelbrough, or Prefton Pans, for Leith was not to be thought of, becaufe there never wanted men-of-war in that road; but if they were to goe for Haddingtoun, which he feemed to think might be made stronge in fo fmall a time as was requifite, and would embarrafs the enemie more, and put our people out of infult, being at fo great a diftance, Aberladie Sands and North Berwick would be the places. I enquired further, What men he defigned to fend? He faid, Strathmore's regiment for one. I looking furprifed at that, askt him, If there was no Highlandmen? He faid, The reft were to be Highlandmen. I told him, If I went, I'd take care to keep nere the hills, rather than fhut myfelf up in any place; and fince the defigne of that expedition was to raife thofe South Countrie gentlemen, I did not fee why any thing fhould be rifqud till that was done. Some one takeing the Generall afide about other bufinefs, I left him; and tho', I muft own, I was not fond of that commiffion, and fufpected my Lord Mar had pitched on me rather to put me out of the way then out of friendfhip, yet I thought I could not in honour refufe it; and if propofed to me after, would have gone, provided I had feen armes, powder, and ball, without which I had flatlie denied.

From what Generall Hamilton had told me, I formed a very bad idea of the ftate of our affairs, for it fhewed me clearlie, that my Lord Mar's fystem, of England's rifeing, on the firft account of our being up in armes, muft been falfe; as well as his telling us, that it was defired by the Englifh that we fhould rife firft, to draw all the troopes our way, and, by that devertion, untie their hands, and give them ane opportunitie of formeing

into bodies ; when, no fooner he had got a few of us together, than he was meditating to fend a thousand of us to England, which muft weakne us fo much, that he'd never thought of it, if he had the leaft hopes of England's rifeing without it, fince, contrarie to the pretended concert, it would rather keep the troopes in England then draw them our way.

Notwithstanding of my reafoning thus with myfelf, I am fure my greateft enemies can't accufe me of either then difcouraging, or difcovering the leaft thing to anie bodie ; onlie I told feveralls of my Fife friends, that I believ'd I was not to ferve with them ; which they feemed forrie for, and which I explained to them after Brigadeer Mackintosh paff the Frith.

My Lord Mar comeing at laft to Pearth, with thofe he had got together in the Highlands, we were drawn out to the North Inch to receive him, and from that time did he daylie take more and more upon him to aët like our Generall, and did all of himfelf, without confulting anie bodie ; as if he had been another Mofes, meek and fpotheles, and without a blemifh, fent from Heaven with a divine commiffion to relieve us miferable wretches out of bondage : fo mean an opinion had he of all of us prefent, and fo great was ours to be of him, that " *Illi fummum rerum judicium a Deo datum : nobis fola obfequii gloria reliéta videretur.*" (Tacit.)

Having laid the foundation of this ftorie, it will not be improper to give the origine and caractèr of the Hero, or great man, who aëtèd the chief part in it, as well as a hint of his inducements and motives ; that thofe who read this may judge how much, from his infancie, he has been of a piece with himfelf, nor be furprifed with his conduët throughout the whole affair.

JOHN ERSKINE, EARLE OF MAR, is of ane ancient family, which of late has been very low and poor. His father dyed when he was verie young,¹

¹ Charles, tenth Earl of Mar, was one of James VII.'s Privy Council, but is faid to have difapproved of many of his meafures, and to have been on the point of retiring from public life when the Revolution took place. During the fitting of the Convention of Estates he was arrested, in an attempt to leave Edinburgh, with the view, it was fuppofed, of joining Dundee, then in arms. But he afterwards acquired their confidence by delivering up Stirling Castle, and levying a body of men for the Revolutionary interest.

and, as it's generallie believed in Scotland, he hanged himself, Judas-like, out of a remorse of conscience, for betraying his master James the Seventh; and tho' by his bountie he subsisted, he delivered up the Castle of Stirveling, of which he was Gouvernour, and carried over his regiment to King William. He left this Lord Mar heir to more debt than estate,¹ and to the management of a mother, who was a notorious whore, whose figure did not give her merite enough to gaine by her trade,² so that he profited nothing of her but the hump he has got on his back, and her dissolute, malicious, meddling spirite. It's easie to imagine that the first teintures he received from such a gouvernante were none of the best, no more than his education advantageous or instructive. Having no obligations to nature, and so few to his father and mother, and none but that of debt to the rest of mankind, so soon as he was capable of anything he seemed to think himself in a state of war with the whole; for it has oftne been observed that those who are born with such naturall defects, use to revenge themselves on nature, by doing her as little honour as she has done them; which I believe the reason of that Lacedemonian law for destroying these monstrous productions the minute they were born.³ His original sin, both by his father and mother giving him as small a title to honour as estate, he soon gave himself up, as by instinct, to his hereditarie and naturell penchant, villanie and lying. The first act of hostilitie he committed was defrauding of his creditours by the help of his never to be forgotten steuart, Charles Kierie, without the least regarde to so many poor families, whose bowells he tore out and rendered miserable; but this was facilitate by the Court, to whom he recommended

¹ The estate is said to have been embarrassed in consequence of the debts contracted by Earl Charles's grandfather during the great Rebellion. Earl Charles sold the Lordship of Erskine, from which the family take their name.

² The Lady thus rudely characterized was Lady Mary Maule, daughter of George, Earl of Panmure.

³ Our author was better acquainted with the Latin than the English classics, else he had remembered Shakspeare's Richard—

“ Since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain.”

himself by his father's merite, by which he had the cunning to insinuate himself earlie, and gave them hopes that in time he might be of use to them. As he grew older, his inherent villanie, and his interested ambition, grew with him; he soon found that when he had done his best—the small matter he could pilfer from his creditours was but a trifle to his extravagance—he abandoned himself to the Court, and declared war against his countrie. He truckled as an underling till the Union, at which time he was made Secretarie of State for Scotland, to which it was not the interest or influence he had in his countrie, or the least good qualitie recommended him to the English Court, but the hardie disposition they found in him to ruine and betray his countrie. For it was he, who, the year before, first treacherously presented that fatale, scandalous, and deplorable Act of Union to the Scots Parliament, and left the power of the nomination blank, and managed it so afterwards, that the nomination was given to the Queen; it was he whose breathe was so infectious, that his familiaritie was enough to render the Duke of Hamilton suspected to honest men, tho' he had done more for his countrie than all in it; it was he who made that great man swerve, and soon after betrayed him, and broke his promise to him; it was he who by his little undermining artifices, which is his fort, laid the foundation of that jealousy amongst those who loved their countrie, which contributed most to its utter ruine.

For these 'good actions, and this merite, and no other, was he made Secretarie of State; to prove which I not onlie appeal to "Lockhart's Memoirs," where his character is at large, but to the consciences of most Scotfmen now alive. To doe him justice, he served the English faithfully; tho' I could never imagine that the many speeches I have heard him make on that occasion, deserved the three thousand pound of equivalent, and the two for Secretarie of State, for it's hard to say whether he discovered himself by them more the bad man, or the bad orator. Tho' I knew then he was not disposing of much of his own, yet I could not hinder myself to admire the zeale he shewed at that time for their service; but never admired his courage, for no sooner candles were called for into the Parliament House, than he always protested he'd goe, tho' in the middle of a hot debate; his cowardice, as well as his guilty consciens, inspiring him at that

time with that maxime, as well as afterwards, that it was good to secure a retreat, believing it safer to retire out of the Parliament House in daylight than in the night, the city and country being in no small commotion; for it's demonstrable that his only and great quality was that of undermining his country, and committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, by treacherouslie, for a piece of money, betraying it; the blackest and atrociousset of crimes, never to be forgiven by God Almighty, and I think ought never to be forgiven, and impossible to be forgotten by men, for no day has past since the making of that dismal Union that we have not found the sad effects of it. And to shew he never repented so long as he received the least part of the reward of his patricide, at the time of the pretended Invasion he was the great promoter in bringing up to London, in triumph, those of the best families of his country, which I took the freedom to tell him at Perth. It's evident he was not acted of late by his zeale for his country, or the Royalle Familie, but his ambition to be again Secretarie of State, and all that his best friends can say for him is, that he was a creature of my Lord Oxford's. His old friends, the Whigs, who knew him capable of everie thing for his interest, feared his turning renegado, soon armed against him, and did not leave him so much as the influence he had in the little town of Stirveling.

If, by the Whigs throwing him off, he was forced to [take] refuge to the Tories in Scotland, and cajole them to gaine their support, he acted the same part with his Master Oxford, it was with the same view to cheat them like him; who, he found a verie easie purchase, havinge lost their head, the Duke of Hamilton, and severall other Lords of late, which left them *primo occupanti*, with almost few or none of common sense amongst them, and fitted them exactlie for his purpose. His getting the Torie Lords chosen of the sixteen, with his procureing them the other hundred pounds of drink-money from the Treasaurer; and when that would not doe, getting them credite from him on their givinge him their bonds, were favours great enough to make his peace with them, and gaine them to him, while all they were doing was onlie ruining themselves in his service. The pensions given to the Chiefs of Clans was with no other view procured from the Court, but that of making him popular amongst them at the expence of the Gouvernement,

for there was no less needfull to get himself, what he had not, I mean, ane interest fomewhere in his countrie. To gaine himself more uniuersall credite, he insinuated underhand that if it were in his power he would not be wanting to serue King James; which, he knew, would soon bringe about him all the little hungrie Jacobite messengers, whose greatest merite, he knew, consisted in their follie and lying, virtues, that calculated them exactlie to serue his present turn. He dealt with them as Pfaphon of old did with the magpyes, thrushes, jays, and parrets, and some such birds, after haueing taught them to pronounce these words, Pfaphon is God, he turned them loose, that those who heard so many and so extraordinarie testimonies of his diuinitie, might the more easilie be brought to believe it. They were verie docile, and got their lesson soon, and were not longe of proueing him a very honest man to their certaine knowledge, for that's their way of speaking, nor, if need required, were they to stand to swear they had known him so these many years, if need required; which was all he wanted of them, and which they did not so much out of a view to serue the King, as wisely to serue themselves, haueing no head to applie to, and no bodie to take the least notice of their seruices, which, though the King succeeded, would turn to no account to them, without a man of consequence were to represent them; they were overjoyed to find themselves, employed by a Minister of State, which some of them might be fools enough to imagine was makinge court to them, who would not be at pains to doe so, if he did not find a merite in them, but at least conceaved no small opinion of the great fortune they were to make if they could be useful to him.

If the Presbyterian ministers haue usurped the power of damning and saueing the soules of their mob, according to their pleasure, those haue been in a longe possession of giueing or takeing away the good name or reputation of the gentlemen of their partie, according as they drunk them hard, or gave into their lyes; without which usurpation they were not altogether so ignorant as to know themselves of no use. Mar was informed, by those at London, who of that band could be most seruiceable to him in the countrie; letters were sent to some, desireing them to come to London; amongst whome was Mr Malcome of Grange, that my Lord Mar, Secretarie of State, might haue ane opportunitie of telling them the value he had for them, and

how much, were it in his power, he'd be their humble fervant. They were not longe of goeing, and haveing got their leffon, returned heartilie fatified with their reception, brought letters alonge with them to thofe of their recommendation, not more fignificant as themfelves, but good enough to raife him a reputation amongft the unthanking part of countrie gentlemen, who have, of a longe time, been damned to fwallow, like Gofpell, all that thefe drouthie polliticiens were pleafed to tell them. In a word, Mar was made ane honeft man by them to their certaine knowledge, and his health was drunk, tho' this fill required management; for thofe confidering fools who had occafion to know anything of his paff life would foon flop the progreff of all, being ane argument that was not to be well fupported, and for that reafon, before fuch, his name was never to be mentioned; or, if it was, it would be doeing him and the caufe fervice to drop the fubject, for thefe were people who were not to be convinced, and might be alarmed; and no good could come of that.

His Lordfhip being fatified of the deteftation and abhorrence that thofe of the better fort had of him, did not think it was yet time to applie to them till the others had paved the way for him; and even then the jealousie of him would be fo great, that they'd be fo far from goeing in blindlie to all his meafures, it was to be feared, they'd occafion the droeving of him, when the Whigs were not like to be reconciled to him. So there was no lefs than ane absolute neceffity of refugeing to the Tories for fupport; who he attackt in the foible by getting their weakeft or neadieft Lords chofen of the fixteen, by captivateing, underhand, with great promifes, all the little tools of the partie. And, at laft, as if by infpiration, declaring himfelf of the Church of England, contrarie to the profefion of his whole life; fetting up a chappell for the fervice, gaining by that the whole Episcopall clergie, to whome he made the compliment of his new religion, who could not but be rejoyced at the repentance of a finner; all this with a view to make his own markt at Court, at the expence of the whole, by takeing advantage of their weaknefs, and making ufe of them either for or againft themfelves, according to the exigence of his affairs, while all he was preferring by his recommendation to pofts in Scotland were of the oppofite partie; which, tho' not a proof of what I have faid was his defigne, yet a

prefumption, which, with his letter to King George at the Hague,¹ if you'll take his own word for it, will amount to a manifest conviction; where, after

¹ This memorable document, which affords sufficient evidence of the Earl of Mar's versatility, to give it no worse name, is in the following terms:—

“SIR,

“Having the happiness to be your Majesty's subject; and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave to kiss your Majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne; which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now.

“I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's servants who your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty; and your ministers carrying so to me, was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them.

“I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here, upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion, but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

“The part I acted in bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland on your Majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute.

“My family hath had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the Crown, and have had the care of the King's children (when Kings of Scotland) entrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's grandmother when young; and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters which I have still in her own hand.

“I have had the honour to serve her late Majesty, in one capacity or other, ever since her accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services. And since your Majesty's happy accession to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong, and have some interest in.

“Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant

congratulating his own happiness of being his Majesty's subject, as well as his Majesty's happy accession to the throne, he is in no small apprehensions, and fears his being misrepresented to him by his Ministers, who had not visited him, and regrets his being ascribed to them by some ill-meaning party men; tells his Majesty of the care he had taken of undeceiving him, by my Lord Clarendon and Mr Harley, when they went to Hanover; values himself on his having so great a hand in the Union, for these are his own words, "The part I acted in bringing about and making the Union, when the succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland on your Majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute;" and afterwards tells him, in a mean fervile manner, that one of his predecessors was nurse to his grandmother, and lays so much stress upon that, in case the truth of it might be doubted, that he pretends to instruct it by letters: A little after, "And since your Majesty's happy accession to the Crown, I hope you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belonge, and have some interest in." Does not he there begin very early to make discoveries, yea, sacrifice the Scots Tories, only to have an occasion to shew an attachment to King George's service, and of valuing himself on his interest in his country.

If the design of this letter was to lull King George asleep, as his Lordship's friends give out, and would have believed a masterpiece of as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress the Queen. And I beg your Majesty may be so good as not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party hatred and my zeal for the interest of the Crown doth occasion, and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection.

"As your accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty's reign be long and prosperous, and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

"SIR, Your Majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient subject and servant,

MAR."

politick, certainlie this is contrarie to that designe, where he puts him on his garde where there was no need for it, and not the least appearance of disturbance or difquiet; which happened afterwards by second causes, and depended intirelie on the broiles in England. If his Lordship was capable to tell King George so much on so slight acquaintance, what would not he have done had he got into the possession of the five thousand pounds a year? to attain to which he had already sacrificed his honour and conscience, countrie, and all mankind. As he begins his letter, so he ends it, in terms full of submission and duty, hoping and fearing, and begging his Majesty to believe him his most dutiefull, faithfull, and obedient subject and servant. Can it be denied that in this letter his Lordship forgot the promises made to the Tories; and, while he was fooling them, he was assiduously making his court elsewhere, without the least regard to what he had made them believe was the will of his good mistress, as he calls her, who he forgot so soon as her breath was out, tho' she had long given him bread, as he himself owns in the letter: In a word, my Lord Mar is so much through the whole letter, that one must be worse than my Lord Mar to pretend to excuse it, and a Scots Torie, in the superlative degree, ever after to put the least confidence in him.

Besides this letter to King George, he made use of another precaution, which was, marrying ane English ladie¹ some time before, whose familie interest he was in hopes might keep him in place, or reconcile the Whigs to him; and, at least, get him of the ready to keep up his credit for some time, in case the Queen should happen to die, which all forswore, and he sent of grazing. To bringe that about, as I am told, he was forced to give her, in joynture, all that was called his estate. I have some reason to think he cheated her, by pretending to give her what was not in his own name, and if so, not his own; and, I'm shure, if it was his own, it was cheating his son and familie.

But these precautions and submissions did not serve his turn, being so odious to the English Ministrie, who had so long known him, and the same

¹ Lady Frances Pierrepont, daughter of the Duke of Kingston, sister and correspondent of the accomplished Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

who had employed him formerlie, who treated him as those who make use of poison doe a venomous monster, after squeezing, as they thought, the poison out of him, threw him away ; having no further occasion for him, and imagineing him sufficientlie recompensed for betraying his countrie. Finding himself in a most despicable condition, and that there was no mercie to be expected for him, either from the Court or his creditours, of which there was no want in Scotland as well as in London, and fearing that his old friends the Whigs of that countrie would have no compassion on him, and use him scurvilie for deserting them ; and believeing that the little and mercenarie part of the Scots Tories, who he was so latelie tampering with, and to whome he had never done the least service, had founded their friendship to him more on a view of serving themselves than anie regarde they could have for him, would throw him off as easilie as they had takne him up ; and the rather, that the lowness of his circumstances must be soon discover'd, if not already known, when he would appear to them in his own naturell deformitie, for its success onlie that's a cover to villanie: Thus, reasonable looking on himself as one detested and abhorred by all mankind, he could not pardon his countrie and countriemen the evils which he himself had done them, and imagin'd their hatred proportion'd to his villanie, and supposed they'd spare him on no occasion, if he did not hasten to prevent them. On these considerations did he double his diligence, and resolved to strike the iron while hot. Having no other game to play, knowing that the mobs and broiles in Engeland had rowzed the Scots Tories, who were very attentive to all that past there, which, according to their laudable custome, they magnified to cheat themselves, he did not know how far, with his management, and making use of so favourable a conjuncture, he might work them up before things turned stale, and while their spirits were in a ferment ; if, by the force of lying, and making them believe he was trusted by the English Jacobits and the King, he should succeed in raising them, no matter what came of it, he could loose nothing, not so much as a reputation. It was but takeing a ship, and leaving a countrie he could not well subsist in ; and a propofall of that kind to the Jacobites there, before they had time to reflect on his true motives, and coming from him, who they had no reason to doubt was ane

interested man, would naturallie lead them in to believe it a shure game, and might surprize them into doing something which would be sufficient to recommend him to the unfortunate King, the onlie refuge his despair left him. But if he could be so happie as to succeed in makeing a heartie buffle, by takeing advantage of their weaknes, and by makeing use of those tools who he had already been dealing with, whose despair it would answer as well as his own, end as it would, it must get him a reputation abroad, and make him pass on strangers as the greatest man of that countrie; in which, at the bottom, he had no further pretensions, having no other view of felling it a second time :

“ For what’s the use of any thing,
But so much monie as it will bring.”

In all events, he could not faile of securing a ship and get over to France, where he’d have the first title to the King’s favour, after such signall services done him.

He was in hopes the Highland Chiefs of Clans had not forgot the pensions that they so lately owed him, when Secretarie of State, and knew how far the promise of a little monie would goe with them at all times, but yet further, when joyned to their naturall inclinations of plundering and serving that cause. The Duke of Athole stood most in his way, for two reasons : If he joyned, his Lordship would be lost in the croude of poor Lords, and not being at the head, would loose the merite of all; for he’d make but a forrie figure out of that sphere, being capable of nothing but writing of letters, and perhaps not intrusted with that; I must say a whimsicall circumstance, where there was no medium betwixt being Generalissimo and being a little clerck : If his Grace of Athole did not joyn, the rest of the Highlands, however well inclined, would be very backward, and he’d pass his time but badly at Bre-Mar.¹ But he soon found a salvo to both; for the Duke’s eldest son, Tullibardine, being at London, and in a little debt, was soon engaged by him in a cause he loved, by paying his debts with the King’s monie, as he gave out, to make the world enter into the trust, and sent to Scotland before his Lordship of Mar, in hopes he’d, with

¹ Which borders on the Athole country.

the assistance of his uncle and brothers, secure his father's vassals, who were naturally well inclined; which there was great ground to believe he would do, without keeping measures with his father, being, as he thought, hardly used by him; which expedient would answer all difficulties, for it would tie up the Duke's hands, and at the same time rancour him, till Mar got an opportunity of doing more.

Next thing that was to be done, was to draw into the affair some one who had the character of a General, to give the thing a name. General Hamilton occurred to him; whose disappointments, by the death of the Queen, and the difficulty of living on a Colonel's half-pay, which was not easily granted him neither, made him the sooner believe what his Lordship said; and, as he told my Lord Balcarras and me, he doubted of nothing that his Lordship of Mar told him, and that he had twelve thousand pounds before him in Scotland, and two thousand carrying along with him in his strong box, which would be of use in the beginning, till the great remittances followed him from France. But to go on with particulars. He knew the Earl of Marishal,¹ who had little or no estate, was a young man of ambition; and tho' his family was sunk, yet the name of it had an influence in the country, which he'd readily make use of to resent the injury done him in taking away his regiment, and [it] being uneasy to him to accommodate himself to the way of living that his necessities reduced him to, after having so lately tasted of the sweet of a regiment.

Linlithgow would be easily led along, whose talent did not lie in much thought or reflection. If Killyth had no influence, yet his want of bread would make him a sure card, as well as a useful instrument, being a man of sense, and having the title of Viscount. As to Drummond,² the straits he had plunged himself into by his follie, would not go a greater length

¹ George, the tenth and last Earl Marischal. More fortunate than his companions in misfortune, he not only escaped from Scotland after 1715, but became the favourite of the great King of Prussia, in whose service he died. The celebrated Marshal Keith, one of Frederick's greatest generals, was the Earl Marischal's brother, and also engaged in the Rebellion.

² James, commonly called Marquis of Drummond and Lord Drummond, was eldest son to James, fourth Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland under James II,

with him than the vanitie of being made a great General, which there was nothing fo easie as promise him. Southesque was fo younge, and knew fo little of the matter, that he neither would or could ask questions. Huntlie, tho' a man who'd not readilie incline to risque a good estate, yet, if he gained upon the others, he being a Catholick, shame would bringe him in, and that very religious reason would be ane argument for his not pretending the command, as he loved the King's affairs. Seaforth¹ would be got by the same reason; to facilitate which, my Lord Duffus² was sent to Scotland sometime before, haveing bargained for as much monie as bear his charges doun; for, I suppose, my Lord Mar did not put that compliment on him of paying his debts, which would been buying his service very dear. This poor creature, who had no other qualitie but that of ane insatiable drouth, and who had neither house nor hold, being turned out of his ship, undertook to raise the countie of Southerland against their master, and his own Chief.³ Caithness he was no less sure of, and did not make the least scruple of a great part of the countie of Murreys following him, as well as bringing out Seaforth, who was his cousine, when those people knew nothing of him further than being obliged to give him monie, and subsist him when he used to be amongst them. "Quid fecit tanto dignum hic promissor hiatu," will afterwards appear. It will be tedious to give the details to anie Scotfman of a great manie others, against whome it was no less easie for his Lordship to have formed designs, before he moved from London.

who followed his unfortunate master's fortunes into France, and was there raised to a titular dukedom. His son had the good fortune to escape to France after the Rebellion was subdued, and died there.

¹ William, fifth Earl of Seaforth. He engaged in the Rebellion, but was supposed not to be very hearty in the cause. He suffered attainder, but escaped to France. In 1726 he received the King's pardon, and returned to Scotland, where he died in 1740.

² Kenneth Sutherland, Lord Duffus, educated in the Navy. He also escaped, but was seized at Hamburg and delivered up to Government, and continued a prisoner in the Tower till the Act of Indemnity. He afterwards went abroad, and died an Admiral in the Russian service.

³ The Earl of Sutherland, of whom more hereafter.

He had got marchands of note to whisfer it about, that there was infinite fomes of monie lodged in their hands from France and England, for some great designe; which he took care to improve after his landing, so there was little place left to doubt it was so; the rather that it was easlie believed, that even his Lordship himself could not be so abandoned as attempt ane affaire of that kind without it, and that England, which had shewed itself so disposed, could not place a little monie better to serve their purpose, than bestowing some of it in Scotland.

He thought, if he hooct in but anie small part of these I mentioned, the others were so weak they'd not resist longe, and then a great many better meaning then discerning men, would follow, besides all of desperate circumstances, who are numerous enough in most of countries, and always readie to lay hold of all occasions to make commotions. Whoever he had reason to suspect would be so impertinent to ask questions, or start doubts, were to be last spoke to, and if they would not drive, must be slandered, by which their sting was to be takne off. The private way of making his escape from London, and the hazard he run to bring them the certaine news of their King's comeing, imbellisht with some prittie little circumstances of his workeing aboard of the ship, would make them stare and prick their ears, and the bringing a Generall alonge with him would found great, and at once raise their expectations. On these, and the like hopes and suppositions, did that noble Lord found his plan.

Being kickt out of Court, and finding it impossible to stab his countrie to the heart another way, the vitals of which had been his daylie bread, and its blood the nourishment of his whole life, which, from his infancie, he had been of sucking; "*Quod nihil spei nisi per discordias haberet: et summi fastigii honores, quos quieta Republica desperabat, perturbatâ consequi se posse arbitrabatur.*" (Salust.) And that his loyaltie was intirelie oweing to that, I shall narrate what happned betuixt him and some gentlemen of the countie of Stirveling, as a further proof. On King George's accession to the throne, these gentlemen, who he had been amuseing, as he had done others, wrote to him to know what was to be done on that juncture; and, as I had it from one of those gentlemen, who saw his answer, he said, Nobodie but madmen would think there was any thing to be done at

that time. I can't say but after his way of thinking he was in the right, so long as he had five thousand reasons against it; the least of which weigh'd more with him than the Government's being unsettled, and their want of troops, or his loyalty to the King, or his duty to his country; but the moment those five thousand obstacles were removed, I mean his pension of five thousand a year taken from him, and the reward for betraying his Country, tho' the Government was settled, the fleet and army purged, and more than a double number of troops raised, I may say a triple, then was the only and proper time for wise men to act, and his Lordship to commence the hero; and all the advantages the Government had gained by that delay were counterpoised by unheard of forgeries and lying; revenge, despair, and want of bread, were to supply him for the want of honour, courage, and loyalty; and the zeal, credulity, and weakness of his poor countrymen, supplied his want of interest. Specious pretences, at no time hard to be found, were easily got; and imaginary aids, and imaginary magazines, as well as an imaginary commission, made up the want of every thing to those unwary people, who, as they had never before known him, trusted to his perfidious words and promises. With this foundation did he set out, having, with artifices and illusions, inflamed too many of his poor deluded countrymen, with no other view than the making a noise in the world at their expense, to satisfy his private revenge, and give him bread, which, in spite of so much ill got money, his own extravagance, and the curse of God on him for his villainies, had not left him at home.

The least plausible pretext makes those who go no further than the surface of things pass over the greatest of crimes for small defects; but those who go to the bottom and dig, find out the real genius of the man, and there reads the certain presage of the misfortune which threatened us. Animosity or hatred does not disfigure him to me; it's only to those he is disfigured to whom his successful villainies had made him appear great. I don't give him the names of perfidious, or odious, without having proved he deserved it, otherwise it might be said, with reason, that these are pure invectives, and nothing more. There's none, who will be at the least pains to trace him from the beginning of his life, but will discover

more than I doe here, and that everie day of his life has been a new scene of villanie; and, without at present entring into the consideration of what happned afterwards, they'd find too much to shew that it's his own actions which defines and names him. Two reasons have induced me to enter into that detaile; first, Ther's nothing so proper to unmask the cheat or impostor, and shew his perfidie clearlie; next, Ther's nothing more necessarie to cure certain weak spirits, whose admiration he has surpris'd, and to whome their ignorance paints him a hero; for his greatness can astonish nobody but those who are blind, or stupid enough, not to find out the methods he took to attain to it.

But to return to Pearth. His Lordship was not longe there when the Highlandmen begun to mutinie, for want of pay. It appear'd to me then, that it had been supposed they could liv'd without it, as well as fight without powder and armes, because there was a fudden conternation amongst us all.

Southesque gave five hundred pound to help to supplie the present wants, with great frankness, and Panmure followed his exemple and gave as much. A Councill of Finance was instantlie establisht, to fall on ways and means to raise monie, and it was determined to levie eight months cefs in these Low-Countrie counties we were masters of. In the meantime, it was desired of those who knew any of their nighbourhood who were not engaged, and had monie, to give in their names. Civill letters, as they call'd them, were wrote to friends and foes promiscoullie, and soumes desired, as it was thought they could convenientlie spare them. Monie came in apace, in greater plentie than we had a notion of; but it was easie to judge, that tho' the common people were pay'd half in meale, and half in monie, that it would not be longe sufficient to the great numbers we expected would joyn us. It was certaine, the Highlandmen would contribute nothing to their own subsistence, and even their Chiefs were to be pay'd out of the first and readiest, each of them as he was pleas'd to put a value on himself. So many poor Lords were likewise to be supported, according to their qualitie, and the better they lived, the more influence they'd have on the lesser forte. Numbers of gentlemen, a good many of whome I could name, were to receive under-

hand to render them more usefull to doe service, and when others of vifible estates, who were drained every way, and complaining of being straitned and feard want, they seemed surpris'd, suore on, and talkt big. My Lord Mar himself was to keep a table at the public expence, for, tho' a very great man, [he] never had to bear his own charges, far less that of his favourites, who were all on the same foot with himself. Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray,¹ was made threfaurer, and a committee was establish'd for providing the armie with fourage and meale. Tho' orders were given out to form into regiments, everie one did as they pleas'd. My Lord Drummond, who had got six hundred men together under his name, tho' a great part of them belonged to Lord Strothallan,² Logie,³ and his other neighbours, who he teased to follow him, and endeavoured to pass all upon the world as Highlandmen, being extreamlie ambitious to be thought a Highland Chief,⁴ form'd them in three battalions, contrarie to everie bodies advice, who told him they'd make one good, but could not make three. His Lordship laugh'd at those ignorant people, who did not know the mode in France; and being so takne with the found of the first, second, and third battalion of Drummond, there was no persuading him to the contrarie, he imagineing himself a great prince, who had three battalions at his disposall, and the haveing so many Collonells and Lieut.-Collonells, and other commissions to give, pleas'd him above all things, and, for the same reason, made the companies as little as possible. By that means he and others about that time carried out of the Fife squadron nere fortie horse, by picking out all the sprightliest younge gentlemen to make officers amongst the foot, which there was no dissuadeing them from doeing, because they got the rank of Captains, Liutennants, and Ensignes. They never haveing

¹ He was fourth son of Alexander sixth Earl of Moray, and, by the death of his brothers, succeeded to the dignity himself in 1736, and carried on the line of the family.

² William Drummond, fourth Viscount of Strathallan. He was killed at the Battle of Culloden, 1746.

³ Drummond of Logie-Almond.

⁴ Notwithstanding the author's sneer, the Drummonds had, by the influence of their property, a great Highland following.

ferved, added to the confusion of those they did not know ; for, I suppose, none but such as have served can be usefull in a mob, except they know them, and have a respect for them, and rather occasion a desertion, not being able to bear the command of strangers, to whome they can't applie to make their little complaints, and from whome they don't expect anie redress of their grievances. In the mean time, these gentlemen, their servants, and horses, which last was what we wanted most, were lost to the service. I complained of all this to my Lord Mar, to no purpose, and proposed, at least to avoide the bad consequence of it, to take the serviceable horses from them, and give Galloways in their place, which was all that was needfull to those amongst the foot, when we had most to fear the want of cavallrie. But his Lordship's business being more to please everie bodie, by letting them follow their own humor, than dispose of them usefullie in crossing their humor, took no notice of it. My Lord Drummond was not now content to be a great prince at home, but must come into a forraigne service, and be made Liutennant-General of the Horse, which was the command of the whole gentlemen ; whether it was that he was the man of the best familie, or because of his distinguished prudence, for he had an equal pretension to both, I can't tell, but I'm apt to believe the modestie of others gave him the best title to it, with the opinion Mar had, of a man of his qualifications being more usefull to him than anie other in so desperat and pernicious a project. However, Mar and he were sensible that was not to be spoke of till a stratagem was fallne on to send his favourite servant, Will. Drummond, out of the way for two-three weeks ; who pretended to come back from France with great news, and brought alonge with him the King's commission to my Lord Drummond, to command the horse. So, by a strange unaccountable jumble of lyes and accidents, the two men in Scotland the most unacceptable, got at the head of all, the one, as I have already said, the most abhorred for his villanies, and the other the most contemptible for his follies.

But the King's commission was salvo enough against all other objections, as well as that generall rule Mar himself had set before him in the beginning, that no Catholick was to have a command ; which, in the main, was to extend no further then Huntlie.

But this was not the onlie time in our affair that his name was made use of to his own losfs and his friends ruine.

Tho' we were onlie four squadrons of horfe in Pearth, we could not agree about the poft of honour, and in this, as well as in all other things in the whole courfe of our affair, it would appear that thofe who had the leaft title to any thing expected moft. All the others took it ill that Linlithgow, whofe squadrone was weak, and moftlie compofed of Stirvelingfhire gentlemen, which was the youngeft countie, fhould carrie the Royall Standard. They had to fay for themfelves, that fome of them were in the Highlands at its firft fetting up, and having got it then, were refolved to keep it, and thought they had the beft title to it. The others faid, there were as many of them there as of thofe of Striveling. However, the prudenteft part were willing to fatiffie themfelves with anie excufe or pretext, and the difpute fprunge more from Linlithgow's airs he was giveing himfelf, than anie other reafon; for, one day, being draun all out on the North Inch, Linlithgow came up, bluftering, before his squadrone, and ordered fome other to change their ground, and give him the right, and fuore he would have it. Methvine took him up, and told him, That the gentlemen of Perthfhire were not all come up as yet, but, when they did, they'd make a ftronger squadrone as his, and believed they would not yeeld to his threats; but if, to keep his hand in ufe, he'd goe and talk big to the Fife squadrone, who, he pointed out to him, he did not doubt but they'd ride him and his squadrone down.

The truth was, I had put my squadrone out of the way, to avoide difputes, till things were regulated. After that, Fife and Pearthfhire differ'd in their ranking; for, tho' it was advanced Fife gave the firft vote in all the Scots Parliaments, after the Peers, yet Perthfhire had always protefted againft it. To put ane end to that difpute, I propofed throwing the dice, but that was not gone into, leaft our confufions fhould not [have] continued.

Linlithgow, finding that nobodie puht that difpute againft him, was not now content with what was allow'd him by a connivance, or to let things ftand as they were, he perfuaded Mar to make a review of the horfe; and, becaufe his squadrone was neither ftrong enough, or fo well mounted as he wifht them, at the review, it was ordered, that we were to give fourteen

of our best mounted gentlemen out of each of the other three squadrons, Fife, Perthshire, and Angus, to serve in the royall squadrone, for which Linlithgow was to send us back five or six of his worst. Certainlie one must have been as weak as Linlithgow, to please his imagination with the thought that anie bodie would yeeld to a propofale of that kind, or make his indiscretion their rule, as if anie thing had depended on him and his squadrone more than on ours. We sent him the number, but they were such that they were contented with the sight of them, and did not think fit to keep, and returned them back to us. Tho' Mar was very glade to take all occasions to make friends, however unreasonable their pretensions were, yet Linlithgow had so little weight amongst us, he could be of little or no use to him, nor could anie obligation make him more dependent than he was already, having nothing to recommend him but Mar's favour; which makes me suppose, that Mar's true motive was to establish himself the better by dividing as much as he could all followings, and breaking bonds, so that being once done, all must have an equall dependance upon him, and as new to one another as the whole was to him; nor did he care to whome he gave influence, provided he took it from those who had it. It was in vaine for me to represent it was doing harme to the service, for no mixt number could agree so well together as those of the same countie, who pleased themselves with the choice of their own leader, and who knew one another; nor, when it came to actione, could they behave so well, as where everie man, who knows those about him, is a check upon his neighbour, which is the reason given, that even in regular services, detachments never doe so well as whole corps; yea, I have seen it in a day of actione, that all the officers of the same regiment were put as nere their companies they served in as possible, without a strict regarde to senioritie, and amongst gentlemen, where there is a friendship, it animates them to stick to one another; and the honour of a countie will have in some measure the same effect on them, at least its to be supposed so, as the honour of an old corp will have on souldiers. I said, If Linlithgow did not think his squadron good enough to carrie the Royall Standard, it was but giving it to mine, which was of the first countie, and the strongest and best mounted, and we would take care of it; or give it to

who they pleased, or keep it, and he should be at full liberty to think himself a better man than any of us, provided he would not force us to think so, for in that case he'd put the necessity upon us of undeceiving him.

My Lord Tullibardine, Lord Charles, and Lord George Murrays formed each of them regiments out of the Athole men and those of Tullibardine, as did their uncle, Lord Nairne,¹ some stronger, and some weaker, as they could get those men to follow them. My Lord Ogilvie,² son to the Earle of Earlie, a very young gentleman, and representative of a verie noble familie, and who was said to be of the first who was engaged, formed a regiment out of the Killiemure and Glenproffen men, and made Sir James Kinloch,³ who joyn'd him with his following, his Lieut.-Collonell. Steuart of Indernitie⁴ did the same with the Gartillie men who followed him. We, of the horse, were order'd to divide each squadrone in three companies, and name our officers for each company. It was no easie task to get everie bodie to agree to be commanded by the same officers who were to be named out of the gentlemen; for we had nobodie who had served, and a great manie aspired to a greater or lesser command; and, as on all such occasions, these who deserved least, or were good for least, pushed hardest for it. I told those who I was concerned in, That no man must pretend to be Major but one who had served; and till such was found, I'd have none. As to the Captains, Liutenants, and Cornets, after two day's dispute, we at last named them, tho', I can't say, to everie bodie satisfaction; yet we seemed to agree in it rather better than the other regiments, as they

¹ Lord William Murray, fourth son of John, Marquis of Athole, who enjoys the title of Lord Nairne by marriage with Margaret, the heiress of that ancient family.

² James, Lord Ogilvie, son and heir to David, third Earl of Airley.

³ Sir James Kinloch of that Ilk, in Perthshire. His father, Sir David Kinloch, was created a Baronet by James II. He died 1744.

⁴ John Stewart of Invernitie, descended from a cadet of the family of Stewart of Grandtully. The instance in the text is one amongst many of the policy exercised by the more prudent Jacobites in these uncertain times. The Chief or Representative of a great family staid at home and professed submission, while it often happened that some cadet or younger brother possessed influence enough to bring out his followers and clan. Thus *lands and tenements* committed no treason.

called them ; but no bodie consented to be Corporalls, because it was honour, and not fatigue, they wanted ; in that case neither countrie nor cause was considered. Some, who did not think justice was done to their merite, endeavoured, at that time, to get commissions in the foot ; amongst others, Mr Carstairs of Kinucher, who was disabled for not being made a Captaine, and being prepossessed with the fancie that some time or other he was to be a great man, got himself made Major to my Lord Tullibardine ; I don't know how, never having been a sojer, and not speaking one word of the language of the people he was to be amongst. He and his servants happening to be well mounted, I complained to my Lord Mar of the loss that such humors occasion'd to the service, and of the little use he was the other way, and threatening to lay him in arrest, he was ordered back to his squadron, where I persuaded the gentlemen, contrarie to all their inclinations, to make him a Lieutenant. These particulars I mention, to shew how follie and vanitie got oftne the better of our interest, and that those who pretended to be most forward for the King and Countrie were those who importuned hardest for themselves, and made up with impudence what they wanted of title, of which many instances can be given.

For my own part, I can appeal to a certaine friend of mine who did not engage in that affair, but the best friend I ever had in my life, and, if any in Scotland, a man of undoubted character, who can witness that I was resolved to take no command upon me before I went out ; and that I went out with that designe. There needed no witchcraft to know, that whoever had a command amongst such irregular people must be unhappy ; and that the greater the command was, the more one had to answer for, and the greater risque he run of having the ruine of his Countrie imputed to him ; the least insinuation of which is a hard charge to a man of honour, and, if convicted, what no good man ought to survive ; and the want of command no great self-deniall to him who saw how all would goe from the beginning. But finding an intire want of officers, which I had least reason to suspect, having so many in France, and contrarie to all I was made believe ; and that the worthless, and bankrupts, assumed, and got commands, I did not know in whose hands my friends might fall ; and, find-

ing no bodie who had served so longe as myself, to recommend them to ; the same reason which brought me out, which was the service of my Countrie, and love to my friends, made me keep that command which naturallie devolved upon me, till some officer of distinction and service had joyned us ; to whome I resolved to resigne it, and turn corporall or agitane, to make him the easier obeyed, and at same time reproach the impudence and emptines of those lords and others, who, tho' they had no influence, were not satisfied with being colonells, when they were not capable of being corporalls, and whom it would be hard to find a use for, except that of ruining their Countrie; of which capacities their private management in their domestick affairs had given undoubted proofs, as well as the onlie reasonable grounds of their conduct at that time, for, since they were of-going, they had a mind to leave their Countrie with éclat, which they could not lived in but in miserie. Except some few who may pleade ignorance, or *non compos*, to whome I'm sure so just a plea will never be refused, it will be hard to persuade the world that the consideration of having considerable to loose, wont, in many cases, be a cheque to prudent men, and wont hinder them to act intirely on their own judgement in things that must be of the last consequence ; for he who thinks he has reason to know what he is doing may take upon him, but to be ignorant and undertake is a voluntar breaking of one's neck. Certain it is, that a good man in such circumstances, who can't reasonable imagine he knows any thing of ane affair of that kind, supposeing he has nothing to loose, if he has the least regarde for his Countrie, will be so far from pressing himself into a great rank, that he ought to look on the necessitie of accepting of it as a great misfortune ; and, like that Spartan, who, after offering his service to his countrie, when they were of picking out three hundred of the bravest of that Republick to joyn the other Grecians for the defence of the Thermopyle, and finding himself rejected, was overjoyed that three hundred braver men than he were found in Lacedemon ; such at least, I say, ought to been the disposition of a good Scotsman, who was conscious of his own ignorance and incapacity to command. But everie day teaches us to distinguish betuixt such as are true lovers of their countrie, and those who make use of the cant of disinterested loyalty onlie to deceive princes : it's to be presumed

the last will in end succeed in banishing the first out of the world, and that countrie will soon serve for nothing but the being employed, no matter how, in gaining the friendship of princes. For my part, I can't help thinking so when I see the greatest of Hero's, whose exemple all ought to set before them, valuing himself the one day to one Prince, for selling his countrie to doe him service, and recommending himself sufficientlie to another Prince next day for willfullie ruineing it, under a pretext of serving him. When the unluckie wretch who has no such plea to make to either, is thought ane enimie to both, and must deservedlie suffer for it.

I know it's said, by my Lord Mar's followers, that it was my not being advanced to one of the first posts, occasions my making those reflections, as well as [to] differ from his Lordship of Mar; being glade to have any reason believed for our disagreeing, except the true. To this I answer, that I had influence on a greater number of gentlemen than any Lord there, except Marishall and Huntlie, and nothing inferiour to the first; that I was so far from courting those gentlemen to ruine themselves, or insnarcing them by spreading lyes to deceive them, as the few Lords who had anie influence did, that the gentlemen courted me when I did what I could to hinder them from being mad. They had all competitors and rivalls in their commands, for Huntlie, who I don't name here as on a footing with us, complained of Marishall's getting from him, by trick, a part of his followeing. Southesque had Strathmore to compete with him for the command of the gentlemen of Angus. My Lord Rollo¹ and Collonell Hay,² who, supported by my Lord Mar, because his brother-in-law, brought it twice to a vote of the gentlemen of the Pearthishire squadron which of them should command, and lost it as oftne, in spite of Mar's influence. Linlithgow would had as little to keep him in countenance as a great many other Lords whose names I need not mention, if Mar had not given him the Royal Standard,³ which brought him a command out of all forts of

¹ Robert, fourth Lord Rollo. He died 1758.

² The Honorable Colonel John Hay of Cromlix, third son of Thomas, seventh Earl of Kinnoull, brother consequently to Mar's first wife.

³ It was carried by Edmonston of Newton, exiled for aiding and abetting Graham of Inchbraco in the slaughter of John, Master of Rollo, 8th May 1691.

people, and made up but a weak squadrone at best. In my command of the Fife gentlemen I had no rivall, even tho' I made my court to Mar first and last but very ill, by telling my opinion of him very plainlie; nor was it in his pouer to stir up a rivall against me, even tho' he gave a commission of Collonell to Major Balfour, a gentleman under my command, tuo months before any other publick commission was given, with no other deffigne, which I knew all the while; and even at last I refused his Lordship's commission of Collonell, till I was pressed by my friends, who said, it would be to command the Fife squadrone, saying, That my friends had allow'd me to command them till then without Mar's order, and I had no doubt they'd continue to doe so, and whenever they wearied of it I should be very easie. Had I deffigned any greater, my Lord Mar must have complied with my importunitie or follie, as well as with theirs, and, I flatter myself, that none of them would had any thing to say against it; but I challenge any to say I ever askt one. I must take the freedom to tell those Lords, least they should mistake me, or imagine its my own pride and vanitie that makes me say so much of them, No; it does not proceed from the good opinion I have of myself, but the bad one I have of them.

While everie one was building castles in the air, and makeing themselves great men, most of our armes were good for nothing; there was no methode fallne on, nor was the least care takne to repair those old rustie brokne piceis, which, it seems, were to be carried about more for ornament than use, tho' gunsmiths were not wanting; but this was either because he who took upon him the command expected no powder from the beginning; or because, what was everie bodies businefs was no bodies.

The noise of the Duke of Berwick's landing did now decrease daylie, as if there were no more need of him, my Lord Mar being now fixt, and all were as well satisfied as if they had been in a solide lasting state of happiness; in short, it would been a heresie to said we wanted either powder, armes, officers, or men of head. The faults which proceed from want of sense are incurable, for, since ignorant people have not the least degree of knowledge of themselves, it would be strange to see them find out what they want, and much more to see them find out a speedie remedie, or correct them. Tuo things have oftne moved my admiration above all I

have ever seen or heard in my life ; the first is, the trouble and pains those people had been at, for near thirtie years, to contrive their own ruine ; the seconde, how I, who knew them, and lookt on them with contempt from my infancie, could, with open eyes, be led into the same noose with them. Had I continued abroad, and not been tuo years at home, when I had sufficient occasion to refresh my memorie, I'd lookt on myself as one of the worst of men not to have posted it from the furthest corner of the earth to share in the fate of my countrie ; but, after knowing their preparations, and the leaders, and then to engage, or have the least hand in it, I do own deserves no less than hangeing. My Lord Mar's great and onlie business was now to put Huntlie, Marisball, and Seaforth, in mind of their promises, and press them, by his letters, full of lyes and great hopes, to joyn him with all speed ; the same care was takne of the Clans, as they then begun to call them, Clan Ronald, Glengarie,¹ Lochiell,² and Steuart of Apin ; who got their orders to marche into Argyleshire, under the command of General Gordone, to disarme the one half of the Duke of Argyle's following, and bring off the other, who, it was said, were willing to joyn us. Tho' none of all those were at that time stirring, yea, some did not move for some months afterwards, we were made believe, day after day, that those who were to joyn us were at hand, and that the others were on their marche back from Argyleshire towards us, haveing succeeded. Letters likewise wrote, with great assiduitie, to all the countrie gentlemen about, and emissaries sent to bringe them in, out of fear that anie had been so luckie to escape. I shall never forget what Mr Hope of Rankillo, one of those of the Fife countie who was last of joyning us, said to me and severall

¹ Alexander Maedonell, Baron of Glengary, called the Black. He made a great figure in that stormy period, and carried the Royal Standard at the Battle of Killiecrankie. He died in 1724.

² John Cameron of Lochiel, son of the renowned Sir Evan Dhu, of whom tradition records such extraordinary [feats.] Sir Evan was still alive in the 1715, but incapable, from his great age, of taking the field. Donald Cameron of Lochiel, son of John, and grandson of Sir Evan, united all the accomplishments of a gentleman and scholar with the courage and high spirit of a Highland Chief. He is the hero of Thomas Campbell's poem entitled "Lochiel."

others, on his first accosting us, That he had come to augment the number of criminalls, out of affection to his friends. Nor that he was not two days amongst us when I observed him of a different opinion, and his head more turned than anie of us, so infectious is a generall madnes. In the beginning Generall Hamilton gave out the orders, and seemed to doe all things that belonged to the militarie; but, by degrees, that pouer was takne from him, and my Lord Mar took upon him the management of most things himself, with the assistance and direction of Lieut.-Coll. Clephan, a half-pay Major, who had joyned him in the Highlands. Mar had found what influence the name of a Generall had in raising of people, and, as such as he, who know their own merite, are jealous of everie bodie, he did not know what consequence it might have if he allowed him to ingross too much pouer, especiallie finding that he was sensible he had been as much cheated by him, if not more, than any other. On the other hand, Clephan was a creature of his own, who, by his recommendation, was advanced to be a Major in a younge regiment, and owed his very character to him, I won't say he was not more grateful to his benefactor that he was on half-pay, tho' I must say the man is well enough, and I think the worst that can be said of him is, that he owed his rise to one, who could not be a good judge of service; he had served a Liutennant in the first war, and was made Major in Scotland, on the raising a new regiment, about the middle of the last war, where he continued with his regiment till nere the end of the war; and having such Collonells, who left all the care of the regiment to him, it was there he got the character of a great officer amongst countrie gentlemen, or those who knew nothing of their trade. When the regiment came to Flanders, they were as much out of the way as any new regiment that came from Brittain, and I don't remember they made more than two campaigns, where I doubt that Clephan saw enough to qualify him for a Generall, tho' I can allow him to have learned the detaile of a regiment. At same time Mar could not hope, however pliable we were, that the weakest amongst us could believe him a Generall by Divine inspiration; and no bodie being obliged to believe miracles, but in matters of faith, to make the thing more conceivable and naturalle, Clephan was cried up to the skies, and was always buzing in his ear, like Mahomet's

pigeon, so it was granted there wanted no more to make a consummate Generall, but Mar's head and Clephan's practise. Nothing favoured us so much as that year's plentiful crop, for nobody remembered they had ever seen such abundance of corn in Scotland; tho' at all times that country we were in yields to very few any where for goodness of soil, yet we could never contrive it to have provisions in store, even with the help of a navigable river, which run thro' the very country we had our provisions from, and by which it could be brought to the gate of the town; and yet we were always from hand to mouth, and oftne in want, and when meal was got, could never fall on methods of backing bread to serve the whole. The reason of which was clear; it was soon found, that it was needless for any man to do any sort of duty, or take the least care of what they had undertaken, so long as it was easy to gain the approbation of every body, and the favour of the Generall, by authorising all his lies; which, at first, was the *primum mobile*, and now our only cement and support; which never any man was more industrious in contriving, and never people were fonder of spreading, to cheat their friends, and deceive themselves.

I then found, by experience, how much Cardinal Mazarine was in the right, to say, that a lie which lasted three days was of value, for that is a sufficient time to confirm it on the spot where it's hatched; it flies in that time by letters, and otherwise, into all corners, and comes back sometime after with new force to the source; and if a man, by oftne telling of lies, which nobody believes, is at last convinced of the truth of them himself, how much more must he believe them who is not let into the secret, and his doubts crush'd by those about him, and by their returning upon him satisfied, from all hands. It would be endless, as well as to no purpose, to descend to the details of those lies, and one must have wrote short hand, and been very attentive, and nothing else to do or think of all the while, to pretend to give an account of the one half of them. Such were the advantages of his Lordship of Mar's fertile brain, and his long practice, and such the volubility of the tongues of those employed about him, and such the stupid disposition and voracious appetite of others to swallow and digest them. Sometimes we were favoured with repetitions of

the former, with plausible circumstances to serve the present time, and to refresh our memories, that we might continue to build on them. But what, I remember, was now most in vogue, besides the inexpressible number of foot, and the many squadrons of horse Huntlie and Seaforth were bringing us, all armed infinitely better than what we were, Marjhall was bringing up six hundred horse, well mounted, and a large boat's load of powder, which he had taken from the Whigs of Aberdeen, who were sending it to Leith; which, tho' chiefly calculated for our meridian, had its own weight with Huntlie, Seaforth, and Sir Donald MacDonald, who were furthest north, and the Clans in the west. But what was directly calculated for them was new assurances of half of the troops deserting the Duke of Argyle, and some of the Gray Dragoons¹ coming in daily; for, tho' not two hundred men, they were a greater terror than all the others, and his Lordship, for that reason, was resolved they should come first over to us; and to encourage further, to get them out, our numbers were represented no smaller to them, in proportion, than theirs were to us; in a word, every thing was said according to exigencies. For my own part, I was so nauseated with them, I was glad not to hear them, or, when I did, to forget them. Nor can I tell how any body can believe that we either were, or would be, such strangers to our own numbers, and speak as ignorant of those who were to join us, as if we talked of the Sophie of Persia, the Great Mogul, the Cham of Tartarie, or the Grand Sultan. For that, one must transport himself in imagination into Scotland, and to act and think as we did then, must adopt our sentiments, our inclinations, and our ignorance, espouse our interests, our quarrels, our jealousies, our fears, and our hopes, and, even then, fiction can't screw up the imagination so far as these different passions and affections did in reality us.

¹ The Dragoons, called the Scots Greys, for many years maintained a character greatly superior to that of an ordinary regiment. They never gave a bounty exceeding a crown, and were recruited from a class of persons greatly superior to those who usually enter the army, such as the sons of decent farmers and tradesmen, who felt a vocation for the army. No ignominious punishment was ever inflicted, and a criminal, who had merited such, was previously transferred to another regiment.

If humane judgement makes so little advances, when all its application is bent on a strict search of the truth, what must it be when it abandons itself to its own weight, and does not act but by humour.

This has put me on reflecting on the case of mankind in generale, and whoever will do so with me, will find that they are almost all plunged into such stupidity, that if it does not intirely extinguish their reason it leaves them so little use of it, that it's surprizing how a soule can be reduced into so brutish a state. What does an Iroquen, a Negre, a Laplander, a Scots Western Islander, yea, a Highlandmen, think of? Is it not hunting, fishing, stealing, plundering, and revenging themselves of their enemies? But, without going further to seek examples of the stupidity of men, what does the greatest part of work people think? Of their work, of eating, drinking, sleeping, to get what's owing them, and a small number of other objects. They are almost insensible of all others; and the custome they have of turning in that little circle, makes them incapable of conceiving any thing out of it. If you talk to them of honour, religion, or the rules of morality, either they don't understand, or they forget in a moment that which is said to them, and returns the minute into that circle of gross objects to which they are accustomed. If, by nature, they are very distant from the state of beasts, nevertheless they differ very little from them, according to the idea we have of them; for the notion we conceive of a beast is, that it is an animal which thinks, but thinks little, and has nothing but confused, gross ideas, and onlie capable to conceive a small number of objects. So we conceive a horse to be an animal who thinks of eating, drinking, sleeping, running, and returning to his stable. I can't tell if this idea is more properlie that of a horse than that of a stupid man, and yet you need not add much to it to form that of a Highlandman. Nevertheless, the number of people who don't think at all, and have their thoughts employed onlie on the present necessities of life, is so great, that the number of those whose judgement has more reach and penetration is nothing in comparison to them; for in Christendom that number of stupid people comprehends almost all the people of work and laboures, almost all the poor, and the greatest part of women of the lower rank; all those think of nothing through the course of their life but to satisfy the necessities of

their bodies, ways and means to live, to sell, to buy; and yet they form but confus'd enough thoughts of all those objects. But in the barbarous countries it comprehends whole Nations, and all people, without distinction. It's certain that those who work, and all the poor people of the world, think less than others, and work makes their souls more heavy; riches, on the other hand, gives leisure and freedom to men, and allows them to converse the one with the other, their employing their spirits by the obligations they have of treating together about their private affairs rouses and awakes a little, and hinders that their souls should not fall into that stupidity. This is the state of most of country gentlemen, or those of the middle rank, and tho' the circle they move in be larger, yet they are still clog'd by the commerce with those of the lower rank, and by continual habitudes with them, who are so numerous, that they must accommodate themselves to them. So, no sooner they go out of that sphere to which they are confined, than they, for want of principles, found on vulgar errors, which oftne exposes or loses them. But, if you'll join to wealth a happy education, and an early conversation with such as have seen the one, by the one the soul gains more activity, and by the other, instead of prejudices, forms just ideas.

In end, to finish the picture of human weakness, or the weakness of our judgement, it must likewise be considered that however just its thoughts are, it is oftne carried off from that justness as if with violence, by the natural wildness of our imagination; a hundred useless ideas will at one time or other come cross to it, trouble it, and confound it, in spite of all; and he is so little master of himself, that he can't hinder himself to rely on phantoms, in quitting objects of the greatest importance. Mayn't we, then, justly call that state follie, even in those who pass for the wisest. For follie complet consists in an entire disorder of the imagination, which comes from the liveliness of the images which it presents, so that the judgement can't distinguish the false from the true; in the same manner, the power that it hath to present those images to the judgement by surprize, is the reason of our falling into little follies everie day; and to make it complet follie, it's but augmenting the heat of the braine some degrees, and rendering the images a little more lively: so, betwixt the wisest

man on earth and the greatest fool, ther's but some degrees of heate and agitation of spirits. And we are not onlie obliged to aeknowledge that we are capable of great follies, but we must own, that we find the follie formed in us, without knowing what hinders the finishing of the intire overturning of our judgement. It will be easier to make the application, than make it relifh. If the situations of countries, by want of commerce, or, if the conditions of men, can have so pouerful influences on their spirits, what could be expected from those in so remote a corner of the world as ours. I know this will appear new, to hear the Scots, who, to doe them justice, have passed in Europe for so many ages for a polite, warlick, and wise people, classed amongst Nations so opposite to that character; and yet I think it can't be denied that our Highlandmen, who made up by very far our greatest number, ever were thought polite, learned, or warlike; for, in all our wars with England, I don't remember they had anie great share in them. They are active enough; but its the same activite that they have in common with all such people as they, and consists onlie in the exercise of the bodie, acquired by their way of living and situation; as to that of the mind, it appears onlie in a mean cunning, which still turns in their own little circle.

Whoever will look back into the histories of all ages will find that the polite Nations were the onlie who were capable of great feats of war. Hovever formidable the infinite numbers of barbariens were to the Greciens, were they not allways routed by hanfulls of them? But to say nothing of these effeminate Eastern Nations, Did not a few Roman legions, with discipline, pass over the bellies of all those savage Nations who trusted most to their own courage, and had much more to fear, from their infidelitie, and suddain fierce fallies, of which onlie all such people are capable off, than from their arms in a pitched battle? But, it may be said, How can ane imputation of that kind reach the whole? If it is allowed, which I think undeniable, that it's commerce with other Nations that polishes and instructs; to have had that onlie more than a hundred years agoe, is the same at present with not to have had it at all; or, to have it in a little measure, onlie differs from a little to none. Our arms had a reputation, but the same thing must be said of them; and that we have not anie thing

of that kind to value ourselves on these hundred years, since we fell into that English servitude, and lost our own Kings; and to imagine that the grandson, or the great-grandson, of a fojer, must be a fojer now of days, is very ridiculous; that is a trade that is not transmitted to posterity by tradition, without the least exercise of it; and if it could, or these old gentlemen were alive, they'd find themselves mightily at a loss. It's my opinion, things in general have changed very much since that time, and men have subtilized in every thing; and, tho' what we see to-day, in most cases, does not resemble what we saw some years agoe, I believe it's in war that they have most refined in. And what commerce or correspondence has our country gentlemen had with any of those Nations in Europe that have been in war? Is not this impudent, when we have had so many corps abroad? That only serves to prove that Scotsmen are as docile and capable of improvement, as those of any Nation of Europe, which is not called in question. We have, indeed, had them abroad; but so much the worse for us; these regiments only served to drain us of our best men, and our men of spirit; and have they not always turned renegadoes, and been employed against us. But suppose discipline could be taught with as little paine over a bottle, as some think they can fight over a bottle, and any of those gentlemen in service had mistaken himself so far as to tell his friends what was necessary, suppose arms and horses, and such things that there's no need of being a fojer to know, would they not conceive a worse opinion of him then [if] he had been their declared enemy, and in arms against them. Could they expect that any of those gentlemen afterwards could have the least regard to those people, in whom they found such demonstrations of a stupid ignorance, as well as a want of disposition to be informed? I believe, out of an antipathy they had to those who wore red-coats, and because they fought with arms, and order, and other necessities, they were determined they'd fight without them. For my part, I can't find out another reason for it, except it be allowed to alledge that those Lords, who were formerly at their heads, not being fojers themselves, and prudently conscious of their own wants, never designing to hazard, thought it enough to keep up their character amongst the gentlemen of their party with big talking; which, by the help of the old Jacobite

officers, no less ignorant than the gentlemen, was authority sufficient, that there was nothing wanting but the will to set their country to rights, and recover all, whenever they pleased to take the trouble. It would be a hard censure to say all those leaders had the same designs, which are generally as different as men's faces, or the passions that rule them; but they all tended to the same end, and forming in the whole that incorrigible ignorance. Their sons, who were tainted with this education, which, meeting in them no greater genius to war than was in their fathers, tho' they had many greater occasions to learn it, found it very much for their honour to continue the same cant, and, by a long habit of recruiting with wine, and fighting with bottles and glasses, imagined themselves all Generalls, and saved themselves the trouble of going to Flanders to fight in that damned cause, which they'd have thought so opposite to their interests; as if, by that, they must have degenerate, or there had been no army in Europe, but that under English pay, or the King of France was to owe them an obligation for not serving against him, for, in that case, he would have been demolished. Besides, I am apt to believe my Lord's mother would have been disturbed after hearing of a battle, and with the thought of his Lordship lying on straw, and rather choose to marry him, and beget young drones.

If, by these maxims, those in Scotland turned their own heads, and have not a little contributed to their country's ruine, those abroad have contributed no less both to it and the King's; first, by the Ministers of St Germans' singular address to be always in bad terms with the Court of France; next, by their own disagreements and divisions, which was generally followed, by their different applications, to those at home; as they affected, and never failed to produce animosities and jealousies amongst their own friends, as if they had artfully contrived it; next, the sending all alonge such strange apostles to Scotland, instead of men of credit, capable to rectifie their errors and judgements, and lay before them the necessary methods of serving the King and themselves, the following of which they ought to represent to them as absolutely necessary to recommend them to his Majesty. So far from that, those who were sent were such who neither had discretion or judgement, and less authority; and ofne such as those of

greater prudence would not see, and had orders to say all things to all men, and, in one word, to flatter everie one in his follie; to tell them their Maſter would see them next year, and that they need not be at trouble about any thing, for all would be done to their hands, which they found was what pleaſed beſt. They got the characters from the laſt they were with of thoſe they were to goe to, that, if poſſible, they might give them ſome marks of the King's knowing them particularlie, and of his havinge them, more than anie bodie, in his eye, and his dependance upon them; which made them very vaine for a little time, till the meſſengers were gone, and people begun to compare notes, that they found themſelves laught at, and that the ſame compliments were made to all the King knew, and all he did not know, without diſtinction: And went back to St Germain, telling the King might hazard when he pleaſed, Scotland was readie; and the truth is, a great many uſed to tell them they deſired no aſſiſtance from France, all they wanted was the King's preſence. One, who I ſaw, had indeed brought twentie thouſand crouns to diſperſe amongſt the Highlandmen, as he ſaid, for buying of armes; and, in caſe that ſoume had been put to the right uſe, it was left to the management of my Lord Drummond, I believe, becauſe there was not a man in Scotland who had ſo great a reputation of finding out the ſecret of ſquandering his own ſo idly as his Lordſhip, without either he or anie bodie elſe knowing what had become of it. If this monie had not the pretended effect of getting armes, yet it had the uſual effect of all the St Germain meſſages; for, as Huntlie told me, it was made uſe of by my Lord Drummond to buy off his and other's vaffalls thro' the Highlands, to ſerve the King, under Drummond's banner, to create a jealouſie amongſt the whole, rather than his Lordſhip of Drummond ſhould not appear the great man; and his Lordſhip, to make a gratefull return, and ſhew how much he deſerved that truſt, aſſured his Maſteſtie of his havinge tuo thouſand tuo hundred men at his ſervice. This in a liſt, that a friend of mine ſaw, of the Highland Chiefs ſending to the King, where, after everie one had given in his own numbers, Drummond had not much to pretend to. Being, by this means, the great man in truſte, and the onlie man of buſineſs, to give further proofs of his zeale and pouer, ſent his valet-de-chamber, William Drummond Mackintosh, of

Barlome,¹ and Charles Forbes, at different times, to negotiate with the Court of St Germain, I believe, without consulting any bodie. Their busines was to bring over the King at any rate, as if all was readie.

To one who will consider seriouſlie all this conduct of the Court of St Germain, and particularlie the pouer given to Drummond, whose name is sufficient to give a character to his Plenipo's, tho' their own did not, must acknowledge they designed tryfleing, and did these things onlie to exoner themselves of what they thought their dutie, with no other aime than amuseing the King and us, being satisfied of their being more respected and happier abroad than they could be at home, and, for what I know, thankfullie rewarded by the Court of Engeland, for it's by appearances, and not by professions, we are to judge; it's impossible, otherwise, that tventie-eight years' misfortunes should not made them wiser. Adding all those things together, ther's nothing more certaine, that besides our ignorance in war, occasion'd by our distant situation from those Nations in Europe who are in use of arms, more than ordinarie accidents have concurred, and extraordinary pains have been takne to confound our reason, by a longe habite of wronge thinking; which threw us into extravagances more dangerous than any that can springe from passions, and given us dispositions of acting with more pleasure, contrarie to our reason, than others obey it, and rendered us so despicable as to furnish those of common sense sufficient excuses to leave us to ourselves, since all efforts to disabuse multitudes are in vaine, who, we finding not disposed to enter into all our follies, used badlie, and forced to run to the other extream. These, in my weak judgement, are the cause of the disorder of our imagination, and of the degrees of too much heat and agitation of spirits, which ended in the intire overturning of our reason, and in doun-right madnes. But to end this longe digression of the causes of it, to come back to the madnes itself.

Mar, after comeing into Pearth, did nothing all this while but write; and, as if all had depended on his writeing, nobodie moved in any one

¹ Commonly called Brigadier M'Intosh. He had interest enough with his Chief, Lachlan M'Intosh of that Ilk, to bring out that gentleman and his Clan, although they were thought before to have held Revolution principles.

thing ; there was not a word spoke of fortifieing the town, nor the least care takne of sending for powder to any place ; we did not want gunsmiths, and yet none of them was employed in mending our old armes. Whoever spoke of those things, which I did oftne, was giveing himself airs ; for we lived very well, and, as longe as meat, drink, and monie was not wanting, what was the need of anie more ; most of us were goeing home everie day for our diversion, and to get a fresh supplie of the readie. In that we followed strietlie the rule of the gospell, for we never thought of to-morrow. If it escaped any extravagant fellow to say, that more troops were coming to joyn the Duke of Argyle, from England or Ireland, he was lookt on as a visionare ; or, if any seemed to think, that these few troops he had would fight, there was no doubt he was a coward, and despair'd of our success ; which, I'm shure, they could not been so positive of in their circumstances, but by believing no bodie would fight against them, which they said confidently ; but so soon as men have nothing reasonable to trust to, they seldom faile to please themselves with phantoms, and a drowning man catches hold of everie straw.

Of manie of those Lords and Chiefs of Clans who had first engaged so franklie at Aboyne, few seemed as yet to remember their promise, except Glengarie, who, it's hard to say whither he has more of the bear, the lyon, or the fox, in him, for he is at least as ruff and cunning as he's bold ; finding his neighbours backward, to encourage them, got his men together, and marched into the Braes of Glenorchie, where he continued eight days before any bodie joyned him. Captain of Clanronald, and Sir John M'Lean, were the next who raised their men ; for Locheill and Stuart of Apine would by no means marche into Argyleshire ; no more would those who my Lord Bredalbaine had promised, I believe, not being as yet determined to rise, nor being willing to disoblidge the Duke of Argyle ; however, they pretended they'd doe any thing but be employed that way, and continued at home ; while Generall Gordon marched on to execute his orders. How little he did there, and how much time they loofed, being fooled by my Lord Isla, I shall tell you in the proper place.

The Duke of Argyle, who had not as yet above fifeteen hundred of the regular troops under his command, continued at Stirveling, without make-

ing anie movement; and tho' a younge man, full of fire, acted, in my private opinion, the part of ane old wary Generall. The handfull of men he had with him did not allow him to make any detachment to Pearth, which, tho' he could have takne easilie enough at first, yet had no reason to think would be so longe a time without succour; and, suppoeing he had takne it, he could have spared but a verie few to be left in guarnifon in Pearth out of his small bodie in Stirveling, which pafs he was never to desert; and Pearth requiringe a great guarnifone, he could scarce doubt, that whatever he left there were so many lost men, since he, nor no man, could possiblie imagine we had made war without the least provision of powder and armes, or the least thing necessaric. Besides, had he marched towards it with his whole little bodie, he was not sure if the Highlandmen, who are very quick marchers, being in motion round him, might not have cut him off from Stirveling; and, as Generall Gordon's marche towards Argyleshire threatned Glasgow, so it threatned Stirveling, had the Duke of Argyle left it. Tho' this contributed to give our ignorant people courage, being improven by those who designed to take advantage of their weaknes, I lookt upon that conduct as the effect of the just judgement made by his Grace, who, knowing us to be ane undisciplined rabble, thought it adviseable not to give us any possibilitie of being put into heart by the success of ane action of any kind; that he well knew the little experience of our leader, and was not a stranger to the distrust that we must had of him; that he had cause to hope a spirit of division would soon spring up amongst us; and that, perhaps, he thought it adviseable to give his troops, who, on such occasions, are not always so thoroughlie fixt in their dutie as in other wars, time to see the rashnes and disorder of the other side, and of their being thereby confirmed in a stedfast adherence to their leaders, and sufficientlie armed against all the invitations and private practices of the enemy; and was the more convinced of this that I remember'd that once, amongst the manie times I had the honour of waiteing of his Grace in Flanders, I heard him say, That if ever he commanded against the Highlanders he would never be at the trouble of following them into their hills, to run the risque of ruining ane armie by fatigue, and giving them any occasion of advantages, when he could post himself so as to starve them, if they pre-

tended to keep together, or till, by their naturall inconstancie, they separated, after which every one would doe his best to get terms, and put an end to a war of that kind, without drauing of blood. Upon these and the like considerations, I failed not to represent it as such, in order to let some unthinking people see, they were not on so sure a foot as some would persuade them.

It was about this time that we sent out our first command to seize the armes at Bruntisland. But, before I goe further, I must take leave to tell, that ane old friend of mine and my familie's, with whome we had longe dealing, being a merchant, called me out to the South Inch of Pearth, by fix of the clock of a Sunday morning. I was surprisid to meet him there, and was not longe of askeing him his business. He told me, He had rid the whole night to let me know that there was a finall ship in the harbour of Bruntisland, loaded with armes and ammunition for the Earle of Sutherland.¹ I askt him, If he knew any thing of the number? He said, They were at least three thousand. It's easie to judge I was transported with the news, tho', at same time, I doubted my friend, not that I believed he wanted zeale for our cause, but that I knew him to be one of those whose imaginations are so stronge that they magnifie everie thing, and oftne makes a mountain of a mole-hill; and, for that reason, not being altogether so well with my Lord Mar, was at a loss how to behave in it. But, on second thoughts, resolv'd to goe straight to him, and awake him, and tell him of my information, and, at same time, give him the character of the man, that he himself might judge of it. I found him in bed, and told him my storie, and, at same time, gave him the character of my friend. I remember I told him with vehemence, and said, That, by God, what armes we could not take with us, we would leave in the Castle of Bruntisland, with a good garde. He askt me, If that Castle was strong? I assured him it was; but that it was good to be shure, and we'd carrie all off with us at first that we could. He said, That was right; but, at same time, I told him, tho' I believed the

¹ The Earl of Sutherland had received the King's commission to be Lieutenant in the North Highlands, and these arms had been embarked at Leith, furnished from Edinburgh Castle, to arm the Clans over whom he had influence. But the skipper, being a native of Bruntisland, had put in there to see his wife and family.

thing, yet I would not answer for its being true in every title ; for I was afraid of his Lordship taking advantage of the least of my mistakes. He desired to see my friend : I said, He had refused to come into town, nor could I desire him. He pressed me to call him, for his business, first and last, was to plounce every man who had the least friendship for us, and whoever offered the least service to us was sure, in recompence, to be drawn in, sooner or later ; I run out, and went straight to the Port, and found him, with some others got about him ; I took him aside, and told him Mar's desire. He seemed at first unwilling, nor did I press him ; but at last put on a cloak, and offered to goe ; I carried him straight to Mar's quarters. In our way thither we met James Malcome, who, I suppose, Mar had sent for, being a great Councillour ; after leading him in to Mar, I perceived, by his Lordship's countenance, he wanted to be alone with him ; but the moment I went out, he called in Malcome. What happened there I can't tell, onlie I can judge that nothing of consequence was concerted. In a little time my friend came out, as did Malcome, and went to Hardie's, a vintner's ; then, because the one half of the affair was to be a secret to me, I was called for when they were gone. He talked to me, of the way of seizing those armes. I told him again, That if there was so manie, I did not see how we could bring them all off at once for want of horses ; but that it was easie to leave what we could not bringe alonge in the Castle of Bruntisland, with a good garde. And if he would not trust the Castle, there was another way to take a share of them, which was by writing to a servant of my own, five miles below Bruntisland, to send two boats, who were known to be artfull in cheating the Custome-House, and who'd carrie those armes about to the Tay, in spite of the divill, and would not faile to be at Bruntisland the minute I desired, as the wind blew then. I went after that to Hardie's, without anie conclusion ; and, a little after my friend went away, I was sent for, by my Lord Mar, about eleven of the clock. He asked me, How I would bring off those armes, in case I were commanded ? I said, I knew no other way than that which I had told him already ; onlie added, that what armes were to be brought alonge, must be done by the baggage-horse of the armie. Coll. Clephan, who was the onlie man stood by, said, It must be done by the countrie horse, which must be called in. I told

him, He might as well advertice the Duke of Argyle, for that must make such a noise, it would alarme the whole countrie, and set everie bodie agoge in toun, and he knew spies would goe; besides we had lost alreadie too much time to bringe in the countrie horse, which was not done of a fouldain, so that the baggage-horse of the armie was the best; and whoever went, must marche out by five in the evening, to make sure of the ship before she could get out of the harbour; and, above all, the ports were to be all shut before four, to hinder intelligence, and before any bodie was commanded, or the marche spoke of. Mar said, I was in the right; and, without saying more, I went to dine.

An hour after I was called for again, and an order was given me, in writing. I was surpris'd to find the order address'd to Major Balfour and me; onlie I was named, John, Master of Sinclair, first, and he, Collonell Harrie Balfour. Tho' that was the first conjunct command I ever saw, I said nothing; I knew he could not leave his little waspish tricks, no more than a wasp can turn its poyson into hunnie, or a bee its hunnie into poyson; I understood his designe perfectly well, and that it was to force that gentleman into a competition with me, against his own will, that, by that division, his Lordship might profite, or make me own a dependance on him, which I was not willing to doe in that case, by owing any influence I had in my countrie to him. I knew that gentleman was one of the best friends I had, and would not readily differ with me; nor, as I was situated, was it in Mar's power and his joyned, to discredit me with those gentlemen I had under my command, so long as I pleas'd to keep that command, and tho' I had not his Lordship's commission. I had almost forgot to tell, that he who brought the information had told it was absolutely necessarie we should be at Bruntisland by twelve of the clock at night at furthest, if we designd to succeed, that being the time of full sea, and the ship being to saile that tide. I told my Lord Mar, We might run some risque in the back-coming, since we were to pass within ten miles of Stirveling, both in going and coming back, and that we might loose so much time at Bruntisland as give the dragoons, which was the onlie thing I had to fear, time to cut us off, since we were not to be above fourscore horse. He seem'd angry at that reasoning. I told him, It was good to

prevent what was very possible to happen, for we did not know but the Duke of Argyle might have intelligence, even from Pearth, in a few hours after we were gone; and that they had but ten miles to march, and we were forty, back and fore, besides the time we might lose in doing our business, and returning with loaded horses. That it was true the Duke of Argyle had not then a strong body with him, but what he had consisted in dragoons, and much supernumerary, yea, more than double to all our horse, and, at least, could run no risk in sending them out, since, though we had foot, if they could not attack us, they could always make their retreat safe; and put him in mind of a hundred foot being necessary to be left in the Castle of Bruntisland, to take care of those arms we left, in case we could not bring all off. This he went into, against his will, and said, He'd send five hundred foot after us, and post Indernitie at Kinross. Accordingly I set out by five of the clock with fourscore horse. I went out of a wrong gate, and, till it was near dark, rid out of my road a little, to amuse. I was not long of finding Malcome there taking upon him, for which I gave him such a cheque, that he was like to go back, but Mar thought nothing could be done without him; however, I must do him the justice to say, that, when I call'd for a guide, he offered himself, and did it very well; for I ordered him to shun all villages, which he did so well, that nobody saw us, and who we met on the road, we carried along with us. At last, he who brought the information, met us three miles from Bruntisland, and calling for me in the dark, took me aside, and told me the ship was gone out of the harbour. I spoke to Major Balfour, and told him of what my friend said, but that he was in hopes, yea, seem'd sure, the ship was still in the road, and continued our march. I halted above a mile from the town, and call'd out such as knew the town best, and gave the command of them to Thomas Hepburn, in all twelve men, who, after posting two sentries on the heads of the harbour, to hinder all boats from going out, I order'd to secure the skipper, if at home, being that town's man, and rid slowly after, till that was over, with no noise; which I found done, on my coming into town. I found, likewise, my servant there, with a lad come from those boats formerly mentioned, which I did not expect, my Lord Mar having ordered them, without my knowledge, nor spoke one

word of them in the orders given me ; however, they were lying without the harbour. We seized severall small boats the minute we came into toun ; and, after placing a few sentries about the toun, which, by the by, was no easie task, since nobody cared to stand, we forced some toun's men to goe alonge with ours to bringe in the ship, which was seized with no difficultie ; but the wind being contrarie, it was hard enough to get the ship brought into the harbour. I, in the mean time, went out to the point of the quay, with the younge man who came from the boats, to order these boats to goe and help to pull in the ship. He went before me, in the dark, and both of us perceived ane armed boat seize them tuo boats ; he said it was the man-of-war's longe boat, and so did I believe. On that I run back to get our people to be silent, and let them land, at same time run about to get all together ; but both was impossible, for the few who stood on the shore made more noise than a thousand men, and the others were separated in the toun, buffie drinking, contrarie to my exprefs orders at first coming in. By this time Major Balfour had takne the alarme on the adverticement I had given, and haveing got a few together, was goinge straight down the quay, when I intreated him to leave the management of that part to me, and beg'd of him to get out the others, and went down with eight or nine armed, only with pistolls, for that was all the armes we had, and resolved to lye snug to observe their motion, or, if any landed, sieze them, which I did not expect they would doe, because the noise of our folks thro' the toun continued. While I was goinge nearer with my small peloton, I met Thomas Hepburn, and found he had come ashore to get help to bringe in the ship, and that it was he, and those with him, who had seized these boats, and that he had stay'd there some time to oblige them, being large and well manned, to tow in the ship, which was the way I designed to employ them.

It's to be thought, that my sentrie not givinge the alarme, I was not to suspect that to be ane enemies boat ; but not knowing who he was, or if he had been pleased to stay on his post, I had no trust to give, seeing the whole so irregular. Nor was there sentries to be got to post about the toun, or, if any posted, would others relieve them, nor would anie hold the few horses of those who had gone to sieze the ship, who

went a strouling thro' the toun, and loofed their bridles. It's not to be conceived how those people's tongues, and other unrulieness, in going into alehouses, confounds at all times, but more at night, the unluckie officer who has the command of them, for ther's no want of advisers, sometimes tuentie speaking at once, and all equallie to the purpose, but not one to obey; at same time, I had the toun's men to struggle with about getting them to go aboard, and others to goe home, to avoide confusion; but that was encouraged by our own disorder. At last, those boats brought in the ship by maine force, against the contrarie wind; and those aboard of ours, being seamen, did their dutie very well. I stood in the water to the middle of the leg, and, with my own hands, received all the armes from the ship's side, and found, to my great grief, but three hundred, wanting one; we found a bag of flints and two little barrels of ball, and two or three barrels of powder, about a hundred pound each, and some cartridge boxes. But of the fiftie baggage horses, for we had no more, none would load, or, if they did, not above four firelocks; after humblie begging the favour of them fellows to put on more, to no purpose, I gave them round, without distinction, a heartie drubbing, the most persuasive and convincing argument to those sorte of men, and, with my own hands, tyed on the greatest part of them. We seized the armes of a big ship which lay in the harbour, which were about tuentie-five firelocks, and with them a barrell of powder; and, at sametime, the armes of the Toun Garde, about thirtie. A little before that I received an account, that Inderie, with five hundred Highlandmen, was come to Achtertoole, a place four miles from Bruntisland. I sent orders to him to continue there, and keep his command together. I got on horseback betwixt three and four, and never thought myself happier than when I got out of that toun, being faint and sick with that confusion, and running up and down working.

We had not marched far when some of the command went off, without leave, to pay their respects to some minister who they had a mind to teaze; and, as those irregular folks generallie contrive it, they returned, before break of day, with noise. Tho' I had an avantgarde, hearing a noise on my left, in the dark, I halted and formed; so great is the aversion of those people to regularitie, that was not done without their reasoning strangelie about

it ; but those who have served know, that from time to time, on a marche, there's nothing more necessarie to bringe a command together. Then I marched on to Auchtertoole, where the Highlandmen had orders to halt. I went into the village myself, without halting the horse, and found onlie about fortie men, and was some time before I could find ane officer, for all the others were spread up and down the countrie, plundering. I ordered those to marche who I saw there, but they were so far from obeying, that they pretended they did not understand me, and most cockt their pieces, and presented, to shoot me, and some lay down on their bellies to take the better aime. If I could have spoke to them, I would have offer'd myself prisoner ; had I offered to run away, I was a dead man ; but, by forceing myself to look pleased, and as a friend, I stopt their furie, till ane officer came, who understood me. I desired him to order his men to marche, which he did, but in vain. Then I told him, to inform them that I was to command them, and tell them I would not waite of them with the horse, and that the Duke of Argyle was within three miles of them ; and, with that, took off my hat, and bid them adieu, and gallopt off after the horse. It's incredible to believe how them fellows run and overtook the horse, on their being told that, and how soon they gathered from plundering on all hands ; for, without makeing use of that stratagem, they had staid and plundered the countrie at their leisure, on the pretext of being fatigued. By this means I kept them together for some time, but afterwards disbanded again to plunder.

It was needles to complain to those who commanded them, who said, it was not in their pouer to help it. So I made a halt at Kinnakwood, where I laid hold of the occasion of Indernitie's coming from Kinross, whence I desired him to joyn me on the marche ; gave out it was theemie, and put the old stratagem in execution, both to see how the gentlemen would form, as well as the Highlandmen, and to bring them together from plundering the countrie ; for they had againe broke out. The gentlemen formed prettie well, but the Highlandmen would not by any means, and run together in troops of nine or ten, without takeing the least notice of what was desired, except a very few ; but it had the last effect, which was the getting them assembled, and leave pillageing, which they did very

expeditiously. After meeting Indernitie, with his five hundred, both his men and the other detachment dispersed again. I proposed to him, being one who had a following amongst them, and who abhorred that manner of theirs as much as I, if he'd goe into it, to stop, before we came to Pearth, and search the whole, and return what they had takne to the poor people of the countrie, who followed us, with lamentable complaints; but, on his affuring me they would not be treated so, and, considering their number, they would destroy himself and me, and the fourscore horse, rather than suffer that, I was forced to be pleased, and let them doe as they would.

We got back to Pearth before five of the clock, and marched nere to fourtie Scots miles in tuentie-four hours; I can say, for my part, without either eating or drinking, or sitting down, or so much as haveing my head in a house. All these particulars I have mentioned, tho' about a thing of no consequence, to shew the trouble one has with such tools, and how great a misfortune it is to be concerned with them; and how much their own wilfull confusion puts it out of their power either to be helpfull to themselves or their cause.

We found my Lord Mar a horseback, on the South Inch, when we went to make our report to him. Major Balfour, as he had reason, complained freely, and in sharp terms, of the Highlandmen's plundering the countrie, and named particularlie Inderei's men,¹ which I observed his Lordship extreamly chockt at; and, soon after was told, that he had need to take care of himself, for the Highlandmen would be upon him, which would [have] happned, if it had not been takne away. So that I observed, it was not enough to have the countrie we were of plundered by those who pretended to be our friends, and we discredited by it, but we were not to shew our dislike of it, for fear of worse; and it seemed a greater crime to the generall forces to represent it, than to the Highlandmen to commit it; for Mar blamed, openly, Major Balfour's freedom. What I said was, That detachments of different Clans was not to be so easilie managed as a whole Clan, with their Chief at their head; and, if his Lordship designed doeing

¹ John Farquharson of Inverey, held his estate in Braemar off the Earl of Mar, so that the misconduct of his men was a reflection on that nobleman, who was his superior.

good with Highlandmen, that was the onlie way, which was a rule he followed ever after.

That very night, Mackintosh, with his men, came to Pearth, and Indercale,¹ with tuo hundred Fercharfons alonge with him. This was the gentleman to whose house my Lord Mar had refuged in the beginning, and kept him for a considerable time, till, by brigueing in the nighbourhood, he made his own house too hot for him; and, not being willing to engage at that time, imagineing things not ripe enough for him to risque, left his house to his Lordship, without any struggle, when it was in his pouer to [have] done him prejudice, for what I know, takne him by the neck, and choose to retire to Aberdeen, till, as he thought, he saw a probability of success, by the great numbers of those engaged; and, being as well inclined as any, came to us of himself. My Lord Mar was so far from holding him account of the civilities done him, and of his late moderation to his Lordship, or his zeale to the cause, as well then as when his Lordship was ane enemie to it, that he thought he had got a favourable opportunie of being revenged of him, and would doe, by being Generall, what he was not capable of doing as his landlord for a small part of the gentleman's estate. He ordered Indercale, with his tuo hundred men, to joyn Inderei, with that hundred which my Lord and he had brought at first from Brae Mar; and told him, despoticklie, that he must submit to Inderei, and be under his command. The gentleman was not willing to give over his men to anie bodie, but yet lefs to submit himself to one of his own name, who was so much his inferiour, That, as he said, he never pretended to put on his bonnet in his presence till he desired him; could not think of giving over his birthright, which his familie had ever since that was a Clan. With the same moderation as formerlie, not to create disturbance, offered to let his men joyn Inderei, but would not subject himself, and dessigned to serve in my Lord Marishall's squadron, where his friends had presented him with the command of a troop. But, on Mar's being positive he should have no command, if he did not serve under Inderei, the gentleman, seeing how far his Lordship's malice carried him, pluckt up a spirit, and told, That while he, or one of that tuo hundred men were alive, no man should command them but

¹ Invercauld.

himself and bid his Lordship of Mar doe his worst. Upon which Mar desisted, not finding it proper to pursue that further; and Indercale and his men continued with the Mackintoshes. Inderei remained Collonell to the hundred Mar-men, who formed a regiment, it being the fashion, however small the followings were, for every great Lord to have, at least, one battallion of his own subjects.

It was now thought the proper time to put the designed project of passing the Frith in execution. Generall Hamilton having told my Lord Mar of his communicating that secret to me, his Lordship was pleased to send for me, and askt, before Generall Hamilton and Mr Malcome, who were the onlie present, What number of boats I thought could be got together on the coast, and in what places? I said, Mr Malcome, who lived in the midst of those towns, could tell better than I what number there were; all I could tell him was, That what boats were of use were to be found from Wemyss to Creile, in the towns and villages all along that coast; that there was a great many of them, but could not tell their number. Malcome said, Nor could he. His Lordship askt me, Who were the proper persons to apply to for information, &c., in case of the projects going on? Who could be helpful in getting the boats together? I said, Hary Craufurd, Alexander Williamson, having had long commerce with those people, and men of project, were of all men the fittest, provided they would take it in hand; but I thought myself obliged to tell his Lordship, that Hary Craufurd had so loose a tongue that there was some danger in trusting him, not that he did not wish us well, but that he never could keep his own secret; and yet I did not see how we could doe without him. I told him, Generall Hamilton's son-in-law, Mr Bethune, must be helpful in his town of Kilrinnie; and named him two other gentlemen of discretion, who would be of great use further up the coast, if they would medle in it, not being engaged with us; but bid him enquire of others, for his greater satisfaction, and not take people's characters entirelie on my word, for I might be mistakne. He said, He'd enquire no further, for Malcome had told him the same, to a title. Then he begun to speak of having all those boats sent up to Bruntisland, where, on my having formerlie told him the castle was stronge, he had put a guarrifone to keep our communication with the countie and coast of Fife.

I told his Lordship, He was to consider that bringing all those boats together to Bruntisland was a double movement, and that the men-of-war, who were in station all over the Frith, would see them, and bear up to them, as they did to the least small boat alone; besides, I had seen an order given to the Custome-House officers, who were all along the coast, to inform them men-of-war, of every thing done on land, and, if they did not, the Gouvernement had friends enough to do it: And most of these boats were laid up on drie land in winter, and it would take some time to get them to sea, with the difficulties that these fellows would make, who are, of all people, the most dastardlie crew; and, for what I knew, the boats wanted calking before they could be used, their seams being open with lying drie. After that, to bring them to Bruntisland, would be worse to execute than the project itself; and, suppose they escaped the men of-war in going there, along the coast; which was to be feared they could not, being further, for most of the boats, than the crossing of the Frith; it was impossible, that from Leith Road, where there was always at least one man-of-war within little more than a half hour's sailing from Bruntisland, they should not be discover'd, and soon blockt up in that harbour, by one ship casting anchor before it, and put an end to that project; and, tho' one ship was enough, signalls at sea are heard and understood at great distances, and could bringe thither the others. Next, I supposed, tho' there were no men-of-war in the case, their very going off from Bruntisland would have a bad effect, for, after havinge alarm'd the Duke of Argyle with the first movement of bringing the boats there, it would give him time to take his precautions; and besides, the being already on his guard, would be twice as soon informed of the certaintie of their going off from Bruntisland, as from double the distance, where most of the boats were actually then, and, at least, loose the advantages which a surprize on the Duke of Argyle might give, without which, at the bottom, the thing itself was impracticable, because of the men-of-war; and if at all to be done, was to be done at one jerk.

I had not better fortune, in this conversation, than I had on other occasions, for he snarled oftne at me, after his ordinarie manner, when one does not approve of every thing he designs. Tho' (I was then persuaded, as I am still) that I was in the right, and had often thought

of it, from the time that Generall Hamilton had spokē to me, and was not yet sure that I was not to goe myself to command, because of his Lordship talking to me of it, never having heard more of it from that time of Hamilton's speaking to this; and, because I did not ask it, they gave out that I was not willing to goe; no great charge, tho' it had been true. I took freedom to ask his Lordship, Where he designed they should land on the other side, in case he proposed some advantage by their going off from Bruntisland, which was not to be got from another port? He said, They were to land on the Lothien coast, at any place to which they found the wind fairest, and then, either marche to Haddintoun or the Cittadell of Leith. I said, They might doe the same from the place where the boats lay then; but what he said of Haddintoun and the Cittadell of Leith, put me in mind of what Generall Hamilton and I had spokē of flightlie, at his first coming to Pearth; and that they had contented themselves with the first names of places that came in head by accident, without enquireing further, or determining any thing, except the sending over so many men, I may say, without a fixt view or designe, as appears by his Lordship's intercepted letters to Viscount Kenmure and Mr Forrester. I, in the end, told his Lordship, That I was no failer, but I doubted of the whole project; and, upon Malcome's being positive, I said, That I believed his argueing for it, or mine against it, deserved no attention. That my Lord had nothing to doe but to inform himself, by one who understood the sea, what would happne, in case the men-of-war discover'd them, which was the state of the question. Mar said, I was to goe, in a day or tuo, on command to Fife, and should state it to Harrie Craufurd, as I pleas'd.

In that time he made Mackintosh, with his Clan, and the Fercharfon's, my Lord Nairne, and Lord Charles Murray, with the Athole men, Earle of Strathmore, with his regiment of Low Countrymen, and Logie Drummond with my Lord Drummond's men, and his own, defiléé by Kinrofs, corp after corp, to Bruntisland, to the number of tuo thousand tuo hundred. When he had thus disposed things, he called me, and gave me the following orders under his hand and seale; which I insert here, that the reader may better judge how I obeyed them:—

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MASTER OF SINCLAIR AND COLONELL
HARRIE BALFOUR.

That you marche, with the detachment under your command, to Couper in Fife, from thence to St Andrews, Craile, Killrinnie, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Pittenweem, Ely, Leven, Wemyfs, and Dyfert; whereupon you are to proclaime the King in all the touns aforesaid, and to intimate to the Officers for the Custome and Excise, to be leveyed by them in their respective bounds, to ask immediate payment of both, conforme to orders; and, upon refusall, to bringe one or tuo of the Magistrates alonge with you as hostages for the monie, and feize all the publick monie and bonds belonginge to the renew, in all the above-mentioned places; and when you come to the Wemyfs, if there be no other orders for you, then you are to continue your marche straight to Pearth; you are also to feize all the armes and ammunition at the Wemyfs, Balgonie, Melvill, and everywhere else you can have anie intelligence of them, and all the horses of difaffected persons; for doeing whereof this shall be your warrand. Given at the camp of Pearth, this fifth of October,

MAR.

P.S.—You are to fend me ane exprefs from Creile, with ane account of the boats I spoke to you of.

After reading my orders, I told my Lord Mar, That for the first tuo days' marche into Fife, according to the route he had given me, there could be no great danger from the Duke of Argyle; but that, in my coming back towards him alonge the coast, it depended on him (havinge even then above fix hundred dragoons, all his strength at that time consistng, in a great measure in his dragoons) to attack me; nor did I see, if he sent out his dragoons that my Lord Mar had any force to oppose them, for Huntlie and Marifhall's horse, and a good many more, in one word, not the half of what we had afterwards, had then joynd us. He answered, He had force enough to oppose them, when he had Highlandmen; and askt me, If Mackintosh was not cover enough at Bruntifland betwixt me and Striveling? I told him, that there was eighteen or tuentie longe miles

betuixt Pearth and Bruntisland, and, if the Duke of Argyle had a mind, there was nothing to hinder him, in all that wide tract of an open countrie, to make his dragoons pass to me; and that countie being almost a peninsule, by two great navigable rivers on the south and north, or rather two arms of the sea, which come from the German Ocean on the east of the countie, into which those rivers discharge themselves, I'd be taken in a horse net, since there was no other way of getting back to him but by the Bridge of Ierne. He askt me, If that should happen, how the dragoons could return, since he'd cut them off from Stirveling? I answered, he might, provided he had a superiority of horse; but tho' the dragoons were within a musket shot of his foot, they'd make a wheel and pass at any place of that countrie without his foot's being able to come nere them. All this while he was in a passion to see any pretend to reason with him, and told me he'd send five hundred men to Kinross, or order some of those who were there in their way to Bruntisland to halt at Kinross, being half-way betuixt that and Pearth. I told him that would make it no worse; but what I'd trust most to should be the intelligence from those posts, provided my Lord would detach fifteen horse, or some such number, the one half to Kinross and the other to Bruntisland, to be sent out from those places on the roads towards Stirveling, to bring in intelligence; which he said he would; and particularly desired him to give orders to take care of the Dumferling road, as one of the straightest and privatest ways they could come. Generall Hamilton, who stood by all the time without speaking one word, said, He wisht my Lord would order forty horse more to the fourcore, and then he thought I might be pretty secure; on which my Lord made faces to him, and appeared angry, so he was struck dumb, and I took leave. It needs be no surprize to any to see I reason'd so much with such a Generall, who I had observed from the beginning capable of doing everie thing so looslie; and tho' his foundation had been more solid, had no reason to think he could know more of that business than I, seeing Hamilton laid aside, to whome, as an officer, I'd have yielded sooner tho' I had imagin'd him to be in the wrong, because whatever superiority of judgement some men have over other's, it's almost a generale rule that everie man speaks or acts less or more reasonable in his own business, and when the wisest goe out of it they act and speak like

fools, for want of the principles; and their self sufficiency and forwardness on those occasions, tho' it may serve to give a mob confidence in them, it has the contrarie effect on those of common sense, by making them more and more diffident. Besides, had any thing happned wronge, which, considering all, and the irregularitie of our people, was too much to be fear'd in case of action, if I had been knockt on the head in that command I knew him capable of throwing all upon me, for it was for the King's interest that everie bodie should suffer blame sooner than he; and the gentlemen would find their account in it, because they'd be satisfi'd the blame did not fall on them. I observed, likewise, by these Instructions, as he called them, the continuance of his wonted favour, by his still sending my gouvernour alonge with me, as if I had not been capable of commanding fourscore men in an armie such as that, where I may say there was not above five or six that deserved the name of officers in any station, when I had oftne commanded two hundred, and sometimes three, in the best disciplin'd armie that ever was in Europe. On the other hand, I was pleas'd to have so good a friend alonge with me, who I could trust more to than to all the others, and said nothing.

Before I left, his Lordship, after reading my orders, and seeing that article of the publick monie, I told him that I was certainlie informed where Charles Kraigengelt, the collector to the Excise, was to be two nights after that, in going his rounds to receive his monie, and that he'd have five hundred pounds with him, which I made no doubt of securing. His Lordship forbid me to meddle with him. I knew his reason was, that he was heir to his Lordship's famous steuart, Charles Kierie, who had assist'd him to cheat his creditours, and by whose name his Lordship's estate remains still covered; whose right, having devolved on Mr Kraigengelt, serves his Lordship for the same purpose; so that reason for engaging every other man in Scotland, however useles he was, or bringing them under the suspicion of the Governement to make them desperate, failed in the case of Mr Kraigengelt, even tho' he had a sum of money with him. It was easie to judge there was no monie to be got of the Custome-House officers, for all trade had been stoppt. Nor was I to goe the length of the Custome-House, and if I had, it would have been to no purpose, they must have hid all on the Highlandmens being so near them, which had put all that countrie in a

fright. Nor could the marcheing with fourscore horſe, who muſt give too great alarme, and proclaimeing, ſucceed in the ſearche of armes in any toun but the firſt, for the others would ſoon put theirs underground, and their Magiſtrats would hide themſelves; as to horſes it was the ſame, for theſe things can onlie be done by ſurprize and by ſmall parties, after haveing information. So it was evident to me that all that part of his Lordſhip's orders was but a ſham, nor could I perſuade myſelf he'd ſend fourſcore horſe along with me for what I had to ſay to Harrie Craufurd about the boats, ſo it was eaſie to judge his whole deſigne was proclaimeing; and tho' it could not bringe him in one man more than had joyn'd, yet it was reaſonable at Couper, being the head toun of the countie, where all the courts were held; but what reaſon he had to proclaime in ſo many little touns and villages I could not underſtand, except it was to make me as black as poſſible to the Gouvernement, by proclaimeing in as many places as all the others together, and by that render me deſperate; the only way he could fall on to cure my diffidence of his damnable deſignes, and make me flick at nothing, judging of others deſpair by his own, as if that could be a ſufficient reaſon for me to be heartie in ſacrificing my countrie.

I was the more confirmed in this, when I heard he had ordered as many as could be perſuaded to goe of the Fife countie, for that was then the way of givinge out orders, thinking to ſecure all by their being dipt alonge with me; and was intirelie convinced, in the end of our affair, when his Lordſhip's favourites brag'd of it, that he had play'd me that trick, and made uſe of it as ane argument for my goeing into their meaſures. It's eaſie to believe that, haveing all thoſe conſiderations, I was not fond of that command; but I ſaw he'd make a crime of my reſuſall, and, haveing no ſmall regarde to the gentlemen who were commanded, I obey'd, in hopes I might be of uſe to them; ſince, I can ſay, without vanitie, that there was no bodie who had the leaſt notion of ſervice who could take that freedom with them which I could, or had that authoritie over them. So I begun with telling them of the diſorder of my laſt command, and hoped they would not fall into that fault, and ſuore if they did, they'd oblidge me to tell them my mind with greater freedom than I knew was proper to doe to gentlemen; but when they conſidered that it was I and not they who was to be anſuer-

able for all, I hoped they would not misconstrue my care, nor pretend to reason with me so long as I commanded; that after I came back to Perth, they might call me to an account if I injur'd anie bodie, and beg'd of them not to think they were commanded for their diversion.

I marched straight to Couper, where that night I proclaim'd the King, having sent a small partie before me to seize the horses of some disaffected people before my coming should alarme them; but what was found was not worth the taking. After proclaiming, I order'd that no man should light till I gave orders, and went myself to look to the stables to get the horses put all together, or as nere to one another as possible, and not spread in the town. But before I came back a great manie were already gone, and others going to disband, so all the favour I askt of them was to come and keep garde in the town-house; and to oblige them to it, order'd all the taverns to make ready what meat they could, and bringe it there; but the gentlemen were pleas'd to intercept all, so I was in the town-house with a very few, and was forc'd to stand sentrie myself at the door, to keep the form of a guard in a town not at all well affected to us. Some of those gentlemen whose houses were nere, went home, and took a friend along with them; for, even when it was not their turn to goe on command, or they were not desired, as at that time, through the whole course of our affair, they made it always their business to goe on these commands, near their homes, and by that means were of no use to the service; yea, some went that night home to St Andrews, six miles from that, contrarie to express orders, and alarmed all there: so they expected us, and hid their armes; others got their wives into town. Some times the gentlemen came into the town-house in a croude, and after they had all spoke at once, to give information of armes, went out; some went and put their own proposals in execution; others went out to doe so, but forgot to come back; and, in a word, we got nothing but some old rustie muskets, most without locks. At last, except a very few, all went to bed, in spite of what I could doe; and on those occasions, those who stay have so much fatigues put upon them by doing the other's dutie, that they are forced to decamp at last. I must say a man must know nothing of the service to bear such disorder; and I must own I curst them till I was sick, and told them that nothing would make them wise till they got a

ruffle, and pray'd God it might be a little one; and in that case they'd be the better for it, for I saw nothing else would doe, and at the same time assur'd them they'd meet with it.

I know some wise men will say that we were ten miles further from the enemy then when we were at Pearth. It's true we were; and it was impossible that we could have been attackt that night from Stirveling, but it was known there was hidden armes in that town and countrie; and however cowardlie those people are, it's easie to cut the throats of those who are asleep, or steal their horses, which, as things stood then, were of no less value than their masters, since we wanted horses more than men. And was it any great fatigue for them to watch a part of the night and sleep the rest in the town-house, and doe the business regularlie they came about? and are people never to learn dutie, and pretend to deall with soldiers, and run counter to every thing they doe, that experience and a long well-conducted war had taught 'em? and when sojers are so much on their guard, who have nothing to loose but a miserable life, what must gentlemen, who have their countrie, their estates, and all at stake, not to speak of their honour, which by their way of talking would seem to goe a great length with them? And does not that happne sometimes in a moment which has not happned in a hundred years? And is it not certain that the intelligence of their disorder from that town, who would not faile to give it just to the enemy, must encourage them to attack us some night before we got back to Pearth, or, at least, take the first opportunitie to doe so at any other time? And how often had they been foretold so by officers who suspected they would some time play the fool; to whom their threats, for that very reason, appear'd ridiculous, and ought they not rather to have given them the lye by a contrarie behaviour, and a strict observance of their dutie? I can tell all those who pretend to deal in that trade, by the little experience I have of it, that countenance is none of the least part of it, for with a good appearance ther's often a great deal done; and that ther's another maxim which has been found of great use, that diffidence is the mother of securitie. This way of talking, one would think, might have convinced rationally creatures, but could have no effect on countrie gentlemen, and the rather, for that my Lord Mar's plan was to make all easie to the

gentlemen, and to humor them in everie thing they had a mind to, for fear of discouraging; and he had always his creatures sent amongst them to give a wrong turn behind one's back to everie thing of that kind that was said, especiallie by me; and to insinuate it was the effects of fear that made any bodie speak so, which, tho' they could not persuade the gentlemen of, yet bial'd them to follow their own inclination, which all men fall naturally into. But, in spite of this, I was resolved they should doe their dutie, or have as little rest as if they had; and for that reason sounded the trumpet before four of the clock in the morning, and with a desaigne to surprize those of St Andrews before they should take the alarme and hide their armes, not knowing that several of ours had already done it by going home the night before. After coming to Couper I had given out that I was to goe back to Pearth by Dundee; and, crossing the Tay, intirelie a different route from what I designed to take, as well to make those of the toun send false intelligence to the Duke of Argyle, who, in case he had a mind to attack us, would look no more after us, as to take those of the countrie napping, before they had put their horses and armes or powder out of the way; and to make that take the better, I ridd half a mile towards Dundee, and, falling in after into the St Andrews road, got there by break of day, and took some few horses on the road, or near to it.

So soon as we got there we proclaimed, and at the same time searched all the suspected houses for armes and horses. We succeeded as ill there as at Couper, and got onlie a few broken rustie muskets. And, tho' I had order'd expressly that nobody should dismount, except those order'd for the searche of armes, before I knew where I was, a great many were staring at me out of the windows: Had I desired anything of them, which I did not doe myself, I should not have been uneasy; and then its easie to judge what difficulties one has to get such people out of a toun, since ther's seldom on these occasions any want of liquor, though I will say, that, generallie speaking, they kept sober enough. However, having several touns to proclaim in, I thought it was a little too earlie to refresh there, for the King's health must be drunk in everie one of them, otherwise the ceremonie was null and void.

We marched from that to Creile; and having a verball order to fend a stronge box of my Lord Mar's, then in the hands of Ladie Lyon, with tuo of my detachment, straight over by the ferrie of Dundee; thinking it of greater value than it was afterwards believed to be, I sent six men with it for securitie. This box I was formerly to goe and escorte when I was commanded for Bruntisland, and had it inferted in my written orders to doe it, after doing my bufiness there; but on representing it to his Lordship, that it would be hard to put fo great a detachment to the trouble of goeing tuentie miles out of their road, and neglecting the armes, if we happned to take them, and ruining our horfes with so great fatigue, when it could be done with ten horfe at any time, he was pleas'd to excuse me. By this it can be seen what notion the Generall had of service.

We came to Creile before twelve, and proclaimed the King that moment; the few rustie armes of that poor honest toun were delivered with no pain; and gave orders to light, and refresh and feed our horfes, but that none should be put up in stables. Thus far, I think, I obeyed his Lordship of Mar's orders literallie. On the writeing of his order, he imagined I should stay that night in Creile; and, on that supposition, desired me, in a postscript to his written order, to fend him ane exprefs from Creile about the boats, tho' he left it in my pouer to stay that night where I pleased, both by his written orders and on my receaveing them, at my coming off, when I told him I would shun quartering in touns, it being impossible otherwise to keep the gentlemen together. And tho' he had not left it to myself, I should have trusted more to my own judgement in that affair than to his, and was still more determined, after what I saw at Couper, never to be another night in a toun, and had rather chosen to ly anywhere, tuo or three miles from a toun, in the open fields, where fourage was to be got, than bear the seeing of their disorder, or allowing it; which I then told them. For that reason, I found the Abbey of Pittenweem, which happned to be one of the places my order led me to, was the fittest place to take a night's quarter in; and if anie orders should be sent me by my Lord Mar, I knew well they must find me, since such a detachment in that countrie must always be heard of, especiallie having a

freight route through so many towns. Before I marched from Creile I askt Hary Craufurd if he could get as many boats as could transport two thousand men over the Frith ; and how soon they could be got ; and how he thought that project would succeed, in case the men-of-war should get the least hint, or fall in with them ? He said, The project would doe, and he did not doubt but as many boats could be got, but that it would take at least three days to get all ready. He desired more time to think of it, and said he'd come that night to Pittenweem, where we were to be, and speak further about it ; and not being then willing to be seen dealing with us without ane appearance of force, desired I should threaten publickly on the street to carrie him off prisoner with me, and let him goe on his word of honour that he should be that night at Pittenweem ; which I did.

I marched from that to Kilrinnie, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, and Pittenweem ; and, after proclaimeing in all those royall burroughs, and making search for armes and amunition, according to my intelligence in all those places, I got nothing worth the nameing, except some bars of lead, which, being weightie, I left the one half in safe hands to be sent for, and took the other half alonge with me. That night I took up my quarters in the Abbay of Pittenweem, which, being nere the town, afforded us all we wanted. Those under my command had no mind to goe to the Abbay, saying that it was ane old ruinous place, and had no cover for horses ; and wanted, above all things, to quarter in the town. I told them, I had made ane oath never to quarter in a town with them, and that I'd rather ly with my bridle in my hand in the fields, than ly in a bed on such occasions ; that tho' there was no cover for horses, the high walls of the Abbaye-court was shelter enough ; and that for themselves, there was cover enough in Doctor Bruce's house, which made up one side of the court, and they might fend for what they wanted to the town. With difficultie I got them to obey ; and after tyeing their horses alonge the walls the best way they could, I order'd no bodie to goe out of the Abbay without allowance, having first of all planted fentries at all the gates to hinder them. I drew up the gentlemen and servants, divided them in three plotons, put officers over each ploton, and chauced numbers on their breasts, as they doe sojers on a garde, that I might know who refused to doe their dutie ; order'd those

fentries I had posted in all the avenues of the cloyfter to be alternatellie relieved by each ploton, and sheu'd them their alarme posts in case of a surprize.

While I was doing this, the wife and active Sir Heugh Paterfon could stand it no longer. It seems, finding this method contrarie to Mar's plan—to whom he is brother-in-law, and for that reason must shew himself a politician, and always busie doing nothing—told me that all that care I was taking did harm, and frightned the gentlemen. I knew very well that this did not come from him, but was the maxime reigned then at Court; and, looking on him onlie as a repeater, caught at him, and bid him meddle with his own affairs, or with what he understood, which would have been hard upon him, and given him little to doe. By this time some of the gentlemen desired to allow them to water their horses out of the cloyfter, which I did for a tryell. They went to toun, stabled their horses, stript, and went to bed. After that none were permitted to goe out on anie pretext. Some aft leave to goe see fathers, mothers, brothers, and friends, which, had we quarter'd in toun, had been done without leave, and carried others with them; all whom I refused. This I mention, because I remember the people's names who did so. There happned to be some stables, and those I allowed any bodie to make use of who pleased, since I was resolv'd to put no hardship on the least of them which I did not suffer myself.

I expected Hary Craufurd from Creile till it was late; at last got a letter of excuse from him, telling me he could not come, but that he would doe his best to manage that affair I had intrusted to him, and bring it to bear as soon as possible. I wanted one to send to my Lord Mar with a letter, as he had order'd me, that night; but it being eleven of the clock, and everie bodie so fatigued, none would undertake it; and, in a case of that nature, there was no trusting one who we could hire, and finding that affair was not so nere being put in execution as my Lord Mar imagin'd, I thought it no great matter to delay it till next morning earlie, which I would not have done neither, had any consented to goe. I went from time to time my little rounds, and visited the fentries. At last, being overcome with noise, disorder, chagrine, and two days and two nights fatigue and want of sleep, about one of the clock I laid me down to sleep, and desired to be awaked in two hours. Collonell Balfour,

or rather Major, being better known by that name, having done so alreadie, as I had encouraged everie on[e] of the command [to] doe before and after dutie, I recommended the care of all to Mr Fleming, who had been an officer. So far, I think, I can anfuer for my conduct, nor did I deviate from my written orders. If my regular precautions brings me under the suspicion of being afraid, I believe all who knew service would have fallne under the same fenfure; and, as I have said before, nothing draws on a misfortune so readilie as the enemy's knowing that those they have to doe with are never on their garde; nor can I conceive how an honest man, who is engaged in a cause, can satisfie himself without advertifeing his friends of their certain ruin, and putting them on methods to avoide it, by teacheing them their dutie, which is not to be learned without both precept and example; and that night, when I had difficultie enough to keep them within the Abby, and they were murmuring, I told them often that I was sure they would not be long without meeting with a ruffe, which would be the onlie thing could cure them of their follie, and wisht to God it might be a little one, and in that case there would be no harm in it, and, on the contrarie, would doe them good.

I had not slept ane hour, when I received a letter from my Lord Mar, which I shall infer from his originall. It was address'd to the Master of Sinclair and Collonell Hary Balfour:—

SIR,—The man-of-war being gone, I desire, upon sight hereof, that you'll send all the barks and boats that can possiblie be had to Bruntisland, without looseing a moment of time, the troops of Bruntisland having orders to embarke there; and I have order'd all the troops here to marche to-morrow morning towards Stirveling, which will make your joyning us again the more easie.

Mr Ogilvie of Boyn came to me here last night with my new commiffion, and full powers, &c., too longe to repeat in a letter. I expect the King is landed in Brittain by this time. You are to follow your Instructions, except I send you contrarie orders, which you shall hear from me in time.

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MAR.

From the Camp at Pearth, the 7 of October.

Here I muſt take leave to ſay that his Lordſhip's intelligence about the men-of-war was falſe, for there was one lying within leſs than a mile of the ſhore of Pittenweem, and oppoſite to that cloyſter where I then was, and as if poſted there on deſſigne in the way that the boats were to goe to Bruntifland, and I am of opinion there was another in the rade of Lieth; but his Lordſhip, haveing heard that whoever has a mind to be a great man muſt overlooke all difficulties, run into the belief of the firſt intelligence that ſuited his deſſigne.

As to the laſt paragraph of his letter, it was all a downright willfull lye, for he never had a commiſſion before that which Boyn brought him then. The King's landing was no leſs; and Boyn oun'd he had not ſeen the King in ſix months before his comeing from France, and that he knew nothing of him, onlie that commiſſion was ſent him to carrie over to Scotland; but that is naturall to his Lordſhip.

Nor can I here enough admire his Lordſhip's opiniatrete and ignorance; for, before I left Pearth, I thought I had put him off his deſſigne of carrying the boats up to Bruntifland, by laying before him the inconvenience of tuo movements, yea, the impoſſibilitie of ſucceeding if he attempted it that way; and that, beſides the alarmeing the whole men-of-war before he could ſet out the ſecond time, tho' they eſcaped at firſt, which was impoſſible, (at that time one of the men-of-war being directlie in their way,) it was likwiſe, without that inconvenience, worſe to execute than the tranſport itſelf, or croſſing the Frith, ſince they could run over to any place of Lothien where the wind blew faireſt, eaſier than be determined to goe up the Frith to one port, and reallie a longer voyage. It was no leſs to be admir'd that he thought all thoſe boats were to be got ſo ſoon.

After receaveing my Lord Mar's letter, I wrote him an answer, giving an account of everie thing I had done in my march, and letting him know that Mr Craufurd had aſſured me that the tranſport was practicable, and that he'd doe what he could to get them boats ſoon readie, but it was not to be done in leſs than three days; and that his Lordſhip's information about the men-of-war was wrong, for one had obſerved us all the way from Creile, and waited on us alonge the coaſt, and was lying at anchor

within less than a mile of us. I dispatched him who brought me the letter from Mar back to him with this answer about three of the clock, and told his Lordship further, that I was to continue my route.

By seven of the clock I received a letter from Mackintosh of Borlome, from Bruntisland, who now begun to be call'd Brigadier Mackintosh. His letter assured me that a great bodie, of both foot and horse, of the enemy, was already in Dumfermling, and that they were to march towards him as soon as the moon rise, and for that reason, most earnestly desired I should join him with all possible diligence. It was no small surprise to me to find Mackintosh expect I was to receive orders from him, who knew nothing of him further than that I was to receive intelligence from him, not having the least verbal or written order to obey or take orders from him; but how he could imagine that I, who he supposed was at Creile, since he directed his letter for me to that place, and twenty miles from him, could come to his relief before the enemy could march four miles from Dumfermling to Bruntisland, is above my comprehension, especially, since they were to begin their march about the moon rising, which was one of the clock, the very time he sent off his express to me, who I did not see till seven. My being at Pittenweem, two miles nearer him than Creile, did not much alter the circumstance, for it was simply impossible that any man of common sense could think that when the enemy were to begin their march by the time he sent his letter to me, that he should not be invested before his express could ride eighteen miles, and I march with that detachment eighteen miles to his assistance, since he must have been invested long before I received his letter. In that case, it would have been thought very odd that I, who had not then seventy horse, having sent some off with the strong box and old armes, should march up against those who had invested or attacked, in a strong castle, two thousand foot, which number Mackintosh had with him; and had I been in the castle with him, on the certainty of the enemy's advancing to attack us, I had sent off, without hesitation, the horse under my command, whatever way I had disposed of myself, for he could not but be very much straitned in so little a place with the great number he had, and the gentlemen must have been an embarrassment to him in the state he was

then in, for they must have onlie contributed to straiten him more; and, for want of carabines, could have been of no use to him in the defence of a place.

I remember all this I told to Major Balfour and severall gentlemen under my command, when I shew'd them Mackintoshes letter at Pittenweem; and further added, that I would lay my life that the horses the foot had there with them were abandon'd in the toun, which afterwards I found was a true conjecture; and, indeed, five hundred men were to[o] many for that place. It's not improper to tell, that James Malcome's servant brought the letter, and I remember he had an Indien targe or shield in his hand, which he was carrying back to Logie Drummond; and with him wrote back to Mackintosh of Borlome, telling him I had no orders to obey him; and tho' I had, if his intelligence was true, it would be impossible to joyn him, since I believed he must be attackt before his letter came to me; nor, were I with him, could those under my command be of any use to him.

Having thus reason'd, I look'd over my written orders, and read the letter I had receav'd from my Lord Mar that morning; and, finding I had no more to doe but to proclaim in Ely, Leven, and Wemyfs, three villages, which I look'd on as a thing of no consequence, after haveing proclaimed alreadie in seven royall burroughs in the same countie, for in the latter part of the orders he desires me to come straight from Wemyfs to Pearth, and excuses me from goeing to Dyfert,¹ a royall burrough, where my father's interest lies, which was farther up the coast, and out of my road a little; besides, he, by a verball order, excused me, because, as I pretended, if I went there, I could not reach another quarter that night, which was contrarie to my resolution of quartering in a toun. Tho' that was one reason stronge enough to me, yet I had another no less, and that was the fear of those poor people of that toun's shewing more fondness of the thing on my account than I thought was needfull; since it could doe no service, and I should have been loath to have been an instrument in doing them harm; which made him give orders to the Highlandmen from Bruntifland to proclaim there, which they did. But, to be short, all that seem'd materiell

¹ Dysart, with its castle and dependencies, was an ancient patrimony of the Sinclairs, and is now the chief seat of the Earl of Rosslyn.

in my orders was to feize thirtie firelocks in the Wemyfs Houfe, for I knew there was no more. As to the armes of Balgonie and Melvill Houfes, belonging to the Earle of Leven, Major Balfour, and others of his neareft neighbours, affured me there were none.

All this while, I could not but give fome faith to Brigadeer Mackintosh of Borlome's intelligence, fince he was fo positive that they were fo near him, and of the time they were to begin their marche; which circumstance forced my belief, and that from a man who was faid to be a foldier, and to whom my Lord Mar gave the truft of fo great a command, and to whose intelligence I was to truft from my firft fetting out. And, indeed, I never doubted of the enemy's being at Dumfermling, but I told feverall of the command that Mackintosh was fo strongly posted the Duke of Argyle could doe nothing againft him without cannon, and all his foot and dragoons, which were at that time fhort of Mackintosh's number, and his dragoons being of no ufe to him there, except difmounted, I could not fee how he'd either venture that, or the leaving Stirveling; fo it appear'd nonfence to me. In the mean time, I thought it more probable that it was a detachment of dragoons fent to thresh my jactett, in going up the coaft, or to cut me off from the Bridge of Iern, having no other paffage back to Pearth. However, I got on horfeback, after eight, and having fent feveralls beft known in the countrie out to reconnoitre on all the roads, I continued my route four miles up the coaft; and finding no further intelligence, and thinking it, in my confcience, the hight of madnefs to rifque a detachment of gentlemen for thirtie old firelocks, for I had nothing elfe to doe, I changed my route nere Durie, and marched northward, cros the countrie, nere Melvill Houfe, where I refolved to take up my quarters that night, having great accommodation, and the houfe feeming prittie tenible, and place enough, if attackt, to put our horfes in securitie; at leaft, the place of all that countrie fitteft for our purpose, and from that I was to fend, next morning, ten of the command, that I might leave nothing undone, to bringe the few armes out of Wemyfs, and follow me to Pearth. But Major Balfour, to whom my Lord Mar had given the conjunct command, tho' he did not pretend to determine me, yet preft hard, before the whole command, that, being onlie nine miles

from Pearth, we should marche that night to it. And, I remember, he made use of a maxime of some Marechall of France, which was, That in making a retreat, it ought to be made to purpose; to which I consented, haveing no reason to give why I should not. And, haveing day enough, fed our horses, and halted there above an hour, and march'd, as we did all alonge, in order, and at leasure, the shortest way thro' the hills of the north of Fife, and got to Pearth before it grew dark. I design'd, when we halted, to search the house of Melville for armes, but I was assured, by those who knew, that there was none.

When I changed my route, to marche northwards, Sir John Erskine spoke to me about the boats. Being a creature of Mar's, his Lordship had let him into the secret, which I thought none there but I had known. He ask'd me, What Harrie Craufurd's sentiment of it was? I told him what had pass'd. He said, Craufurd's answer was not particular, nor determin'd enough. I told him, I expected him, the night before, at Pittenweem, according to his promise, and, he not coming, I could not detain fourscore horse to waite on him, nor leave the command of them to run on errands; that the affair not being in so great forwardness, Mar had time to send any single man to adjust all with him; or, if Sir John pleas'd, he, himself, not being then far from Creile, might return and doe it, since Mar had let him into that secret. He said he was willing, but it should not be as he pleas'd, but as I order'd; which I did, and he return'd. On our march, Sir Hugh Paterfone's changing of countenance, and turning pale, and blabbering strange stuff, to cover what he was afraid everie bodie saw. William Maxwell, and Brisbain, rid up to me, and bid me look back to him. I had observed the poor wretch, with compassion, before, and spoke to them not to take notice; and said, That such things happne sometimes to good men, and that, on another occasion, he might doe well. But it was the more observeable, that this was the man who was uneasie at putting out sentries in Pittenweem, for fear, as he said, of discouraging the gentlemen, and who gave himself airs on his getting to Pearth, saying, That the care their officers took, proceeded more from something else than caution.

I found all our armie draun up before the town of Pearth, and it

was then my Lord Mar's first and onlie commission was read, and that my Lord Marishall¹ had joyn'd them with the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire and thereabouts, for till then he had never been with the armie, and the many hundreds he was to bring along with him, so longe vaunted of, were not then fourscore, for some few follou'd him afterwards; but if the horses of the Fife, Pearth, and Stirveling shire squadrons were bad, those were a great dale worse. I rid up straight to my Lord Mar, and made him my report. He askt me, Why I did not goe to Mackintosh? I told him, I had no orders to obey Mackintosh, and tho' I had them, I was not simple enough to think I could have been with him in time, or have been of any use had I been with him. He said, it would have look'd bold. He askt me, Why I did not write to him? I told him, I had. He askt, With whom? I said, Tho' I knew the man by sight, I had forgot his name, but it was with the same who had brought me his letter. He turned away, and spoke to some other. That scoundrell, to whome the letter was intrusted, did not come to Pearth for two days after, and returned me my own letter. He was one Grahame, son to a steward of Sir Thomas Bruce's.² As to that part of my Lord Mar's order, concerning the magistrats of towns, I brought alonge one from Couper, the others either got all out of the way, or were so much our friends, that I thought fit to take their words for it; and for publick monie in the hands of Custome-house officers, there was no such thing. Thus, I believe, I did my dutie; and, had I done otherwise, I am still of opinion I had deserved to have been hanged; for what intelligence could I trust to if I did not trust to Brigadeer Mackintosh? And was such a detachment of gentlemen to be thrown, in the beginning of our affair, without any shadow of reason? Would it not have discouraged those who had not joyned us from joyning? and would not my Lord Mar have imputed the ruine of all to me? Which he has done since, in a great measure, on less grounds. When Major Balfour went to my Lord Mar, his Lordship demanded of him, Why we did not goe to Mackintosh? And, on his answering as I did, Mar repeated the same to

¹ The last of this noble house, who became an exile with his brother, the Field-Marshal, and ended his life the chosen friend of Frederick of Prussia.

² Sir Thomas Bruce of Kinross.

him which he had said to me, That it would have look'd bold. I own, ingenuouſlie, I did not know what to make of theſe words. Sometimes I thought they could admit of no other meaning but that he'd have been glade ſo many had been loſt, to give him a pretext for making his eſcape; but having then leſs reaſon to be uneaſie than in all that affair, I found his aim was only to diſcredit me. So, by this command, I was to have been ruin'd on all hands, by putting me in the worſt ſituation of any with regard to the Government, and fullieing my character amongſt thoſe I was engaged with.

Three days after, a friend of mine, the Laird of Orrok, who had been in Bruntifland with Brigadeer Mackintosh, came to town, and he, as well as Robert Douglas, brought me Strathmore and Barafield's compliments, and told me they wiſht heartilie for me to command them in place of their Brigadeer, as did ſeverall others of the command; for that animal, who they begun then to find out to know nothing of the ſervice, was turned ſo inſupportable with his rank of Brigadeer, that in three or four days' time they could not bear him. He ſaid, That night the Brigadeer received the alarm, he order'd all under arms, in the open air, and went himſelf to bed; which ſhockt all thoſe of diſtinction and qualitie there, of which there was a great number very much ſuperior to him; and that Strathmore raiſed him, by telling him, it was more his dutie to be alert than any bodies; which Strathmore told me afterwards himſelf. Orrok informed me further, that he was [preſent] in the room when the Brigadeer receav'd a letter from Mar, which, after reading to himſelf, the Brigadeer deſired a great many to remove, but Barafield put Orrok into the chimnie, and he and Strathmore ſtood before him till the letter was read; and, if I remember right, his Lordſhip was pleaſ'd to accuſe me of plain downright couardice for not joyning Mackintosh. Had his Lordſhip called a court-martial, and given me their cenſure or verdiçt, I, nor no man, could have taken it ill; and in thoſe caſes, when a man has to ſay for himſelf, his honour is clear'd; but to condemn me before I was judged, and murder my reputation underhand, which, dureing the courſe of a toileſome life, I had ſo carefully preſerved, and the only reward I had pretended, for ſo much danger and fatigue, after that of rendring myſelf

capable to serve my country, could only come from one who himself had no reputation to lose; who, being already so black, could take no stain, and to whom the good name of another was an eye-sore. I say none could have been capable of it but such a little creeping monster, who, all his life, had subsisted by a criminal industry, and who had never any thing to value himself upon, but his being a burthen and a blemish to his country. However, that not being the time to take notice of it, I stifled my resentment, Mar being now a General, as far as a commission could make him. Tho' I am not, as yet, fully convinced it was a real commission, for, tho' it was read on the head of all the army, none but his special friends saw it; it was said, because it put a constraint upon him of taking such a number of Counsellours, without whom he was to do nothing. But it was strange that those who sent it, if it was real, neither sent officers, powder, nor armes, in that ship, which brought it, nor so much as the least account of the King. It would appear it had been sent off in haste, and at the solicitation of some of Mar's trustees in England; for we were never told of any going from Scotland to France, till this time that Mar call'd together all the noblemen and gentlemen then at Perth, and proposed our signing a petition to the Regent of France; which was read to us, first in English, and then in French. After hearing it read in both languages, Mar asked of those who understood the French, if they thought the French translation was just? For his part, he said, He did not understand that language. No body making any answer, I said, It was so just that I believed the English was translated from the French, which made his Lordship snuff a little, without saying one word; for nothing could have led them into so many Gallicisms as was in the English, if it had not been a translation from the French, nor was there any present with us capable of writing so good French, or did he, who imagin'd himself the most master of that language, read it with a tolerable accent. So, it was evident to me, it had been sent to Ogilvie of Boyn from St Germain, to Rouen, and that he had brought it along with him.

The design of that paper was, informing the Regent of our having taken armes, with the intention of asserting the right of, and restoring our natural King to his throne; and recovering our own ancient rights and

liberties. It put him in mind of the ancient alliances, and the long harmony betwixt the French and Scots; and presum'd on the justice of our cause to flatter ourselves with his assistance, and beg'd of him to send us over our King, in the name of the Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen, subscribers, who were indeed very numerous, for everie bodie would signe, and wrote down their titles and designations at length, to both the French and English copies, and, amongst others, one Frebairn, a printer, which a gentleman of rank and distinction of the Court of France assured me he read at full length, "Robert Frebairn, printer at Pearth,"¹ as well as some other who signed "Writer to the Signet," which was not taken notice of, tho' the other was; and said, it was admir'd how Mar allowed it, for it look't like mocking the Regent, whom we address'd under the name of Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen, or how the others suffered it, because it gave too much ground to think we were all made up of such canaille, and must necessarily take off from the influence of such an application; nor did ever before Noblemen and Barons, who pretended to be the States of a country, asking the assistance of a Souveraigne Prince, allow mechanicks or workmen to sign with them; but it had been the same to Mar, had all the cobblers of Pearth desired it, he had granted the favour. After this, Mar dismissed Collonell Hay, and Doctour Abercrombie as Secretarie or Gouvernour, to France, to carry the petition to the Regent; which he did in a very private manner, of himself, without consulting with any bodie, and they at sea before it was spoke of; when it was given out that they were gone to bring the King, and troopes, and arms, and amunition from France.

The manner of sending away, and the choice of that ambassadour for negotiating such weighty matters, occasion'd no little surprize to a great many, and, amongst others, to me, to find a weak young boy, who had lately come from schoole, and who, all know, never will have a capacity for anything, employ'd, without our consent, in an affair which so much depended on, and who was of a family that had always been our enemies, and had onlie changed sides with Mar, to whom he was brother-in-law and creature, appear'd every way suspicious, as if Mar were trifling with the whole. For what notion could the Court of France have of us, who, they might

¹ This person was one of the printers to the Crown.

readilie suppose, sent them one of our finest gentlemen; or, could Mar think that such a procedure, after having cheated us so long with lyes, must not create a jealousy, however stupid we were? Was it not reasonable, considering his Lordship's character, and our being now sensible that till then we were impos'd upon by trusting him, and not having, after so long a time, heard one word of the King or the disposition of France; for Boyn told us, he had come from Rouen, where he had heard nothing, and rather put us in doubt that things were as unfavourable as it was possible, and for that reason were kept a secret from us; since it was not to be thought that one who brought a commission, and had a ship sent express with him, could be so intirelie ignorant, or bring no other packet, but, on the contrarie, brought us a form of a petition to the Regent, or at least my Lord Mar propos'd one after his coming, to beg the Regent to send the King to us, as if, after all the great expectations we had entertained of the Duke of Orleans, on Mar's assertions, he had made the King prisoner some where in France; for that was the construction put upon it when he propos'd that address all of a suddain to us, after expecting the King every day, for two months and a half. But, after all this, the sending off one of his own little creatures, without any bodie's consent, as if there were none to be consider'd but himself, and as if we had no pretensions to know the situation of our own affairs, argued the utmost contempt of all engaged, and augmented the jealousy, so justlie conceived, that he was playing his own game by these tools, betuixt the King and us, while we were still to be kept in the dark.

Some days after my returneing to Pearth, Mackintosh was order'd to leave Bruntisland, and march with those under his command to Creile, Anstruthers, and all those towns where the boats lay, and to embarque in these places, and saile straight over the Frith to whatever port the wind blew fairest; and left some men in Bruntisland Castle, as he was commanded, to amuse the men-of-war who had been cannonadeing him there for two days together, without doing the least harm. Mr Craufurd, and some others, who were let into the secret, having prepar'd the boats, and made that affair prettie easie. However, by some mismanagement of Mackintoshes, there happned confusion amongst those he commanded, and,

as I have been told by Barafield, if it had not been for the brave young Strathmore, the command would have mutienied, and, on some difobligation receiv'd from the Brigadeer, who they now begunn to call "a baptized brute," would not have gone with him. All I remember further was, that my Lord Nairne¹ was said to complain of him as much as any, for giving all positive orders not to imbarke till he had sent them word; which he did not doe till he had imbarqued himself, without considering the distances he was from the others, who receiv'd no orders till eight of the clock at night, and some later, and the tide gone back, when, by that time, they might have been landed on the other side, or nere it, haveing lost some hours; and being, as it was said, fudled, some he forgot intirely; which was the reason given by Strathmore, Barafield, and others, of their being chased into the Island of Mey by the men-of-war, by whom they were kept there eight days, with nere three hundred men, in a very miserable condition, and of the tuo boats being taken in the passage of the Frith; for there was nothing more certain than their haveing all reached the other side before tide and wind changed, which brought down the men-of-war upon them next morning. And it was said, I don't pretend to determine how true, that this bad conduct stopt the passage of the other thousand men, or at least of a great part of them, who were all at the sea side readie to imbarque.

Strathmore continued, with three hundred men, eight days in that Island, dureing which time the men-of-war threatned often to land upon him with their longe boats and great floops, which they had brought from Leith; but Strathmore, and those with him, so soon as they pretended to land, made a good countenance, and drew up before them, and when the men-of-war, as well as the floops, fired their cannon and patereras from a very short distance, they kept up their fire till they should land, and return'd their civilities with huzzas. All this while the Highlandmen took all the small provisions that were sent in the night time to Strathmore, tho' he took care to give them as great an allowance as the circumstance would permit; in a word, they turned so intolerable, that none could have bore them but

¹ Lord William Murray, fourth son of the Duke of Athole, having married Margaret, heiress of the first Lord Nairne, obtained that title.

himself, who had the greatness of soul to overlook it; and tho' some there, on that ill-usage of his from the Highlandmen, who at the same time were maltreating his own men, prest him to goe off in the night, which he could often have done, he said, determinately, He never would, till he saw an opportunitie of bringeing off the whole, and would be the last man who would set his foot in a boat; and he kept his word, for he was the last who left the island. Here, I think, the school-boy, for he was not of age to be called a man, gave our confummate hero a fair copie.

Mackintosh, and the others of that transport, landed safely in different places of East Lothien, and after goeing about giddily, without knowing what he was to doe, no more that those who sent him over; having no positive orders, and hearing nothing from those who he was told would joyn him, and who, instead of a body that could be of any use to him, were only forty or fifty horse, consisting of a few gentlemen, and those not got together, skulking where they best could about the Borders. So, after goeing to Haddintoun, one of the places Mar had named to him, he thought, having nothing to doe, he might goe in his rambles to the Citadelle of Leith, another place he had heard Mar mention. But his Grace of Argyle having made a very quick march to deliver the town of Edinburgh out of his hands, who were in a terrible consternation at the approach of eleven hundred Highlandmen, for that was the number that past the Frith; whatever his intentions were as to that place, he found himself obliged to turn his whole care to self-preservation, and employ'd the little time he had in getting provisions into the place, and barricadeing the breaches of that old antiquated fortification, and placeing ships cannon on the most advantageous places of the rempert, and provideing himself with powder out of the ships and town; which was all done by the direction of one Major Nairne, an alerte younge fellow, who had been ane officer of the armie, and came over to us tuo days before the passage of the Frith, and went alonge in that expedition out of friendship to my Lord Nairne. For the affair lookeing serious, the Brigadeer relaxed of that Highland pride, and left the management to that gentleman, which he had done to no man in Europe in the plundering of a town, and happie that time and place allowed him to profit of Nairn's advice. The Duke of Argyle, who came late that night to

Edinburgh, with three hundred dragoons, and five hundred foot,¹ marched down with them to Leith next morning, together with the countrie Militia; and saw things in such a posture, that he judged they were not to be overrun, as it was reported, differing from his volunteers, who talk't of nothing but the immediate destruction of those Highlandmen; knowing they were not to stand the brunt, the very same humour running amongst them as amongst us, each trusting more to his neighbour than to himself.

I freely own, that no man of the party has so bad an opinion of Highlandmen² as I; and that what they are capable of doing, in a plain field, against regular troops, depends on accident, or the irregularities of the troops, and that they never will be brought to attack any who have the least cover, nor will the wit of man bring them to stand cannon, which has an astonishing influence over them; but where they are invested, and see no retreat, I am of opinion that none are capable to make a more vigorous defence in a breach, for they fire as well as any, from under cover, against attackers, and in the melee, which must happen in a storm, their sabres are dangerous weapons; and had his Grace of Argyle attacked the eleven hundred Highlandmen then, without further ceremony, with his eight hundred regular troops, of which there was three hundred dragoons, whose talents do not lie in fighting on foot, he might have had great cause to repent that familiarity, and, at the same time, have discover'd of how little use his Militia was to him. It's likely these, or the like considerations, moved his Grace to return to Edinburgh to provide cannon to dislodge them, by which method he'd soon succeeded, but they gave him the slip the night following, and retired to Seaton House, seven miles from Leith. I was present when Mar got the account of Mackintoshes landing safe in Lothian, for those who came from the coast assured it was so, and that the men-of-war had not so much as discovered them; which elevated his Lordship extremely, and made me say to him, That all that could be said of it was, that it was a rash project, which, hitherto, had succeeded well.

Mackintosh, after being invested in the Citadell of Leith, or on the

¹ More correctly, 200 regular infantry, and about 600 militia and volunteers.

² His prejudices, as a regular soldier, certainly lead him to undervalue the Highlanders too much, as was plainly proved in the subsequent Civil War of 1745.

approach of the enemy, had found means to send two letters to my Lord Mar. We, in the mean time, knowing nothing of this, were order'd to march, by break of day next morning, and drew up without the town, where we continued three hours; and, after James Keith,¹ brother to my Lord Marishall, had come alonge the line, at a full gallop, telling us of Sir William Windham's surprizing Britoll, and Sir William Blacket, Berwick and Newcastle, which occasion'd great joyceing and huzzas to almost all who really believed it.

His Lordship of Mar came out about ten of the clock; orders were instantlie sent alonge the line, that all Noblemen, Heads of Clans, and Commanders of Corps, should repair that moment to a house in the front; which accordinglie being done, care was takne to put out all others, and the doors shut. My Lord, with a most dejected countenance, and a sad voice, told us, He was forrie to give us the bad news of Mackintoshes being invested in the Citadell of Leith, and that his goinge there, contrarie to his Lordship's last orders, would, in all appearance, prove a fatall mistake to him; and next read us two dismall letters, where Mackintosh, appearing disheartned, said that a few hours would determine his fate, in these words, but that he'd doe his best; tho' he mentioned the preparations of cannon and bombs with terrour, which, he said, would soon doe his work. My Lord Mar said, He gave him over for lost, and did not see that we could help him in the least, except by makinge a feint towards Stirveling, to bring the Duke of Argyle back, and even that appear'd to him unneccessarie, believing him already takne. I askt his Lordship, What powder Mackintosh had? believing it possible for him to resist for some time, in case he had powder; but Mar, not knowing what powder he had, since he had given him none with him, would not hear me, and made no answer. In the mean time, Generall Hamilton said, That makinge a feint towards Stirveling might doe good, and could doe no harm, and, in all events, it ought to be done. No bodie saying one worde, the marche was determin'd, and we marched off the ground that moment to Auchterardoch.

I remember my squadrone and Southesque's happneing to be drawn up that

¹ Afterwards the celebrated Field Marshall Keith, killed at the Battle of Hochkirchen.

day on the left, for as yet we had not agreed on our ranking or posts, I fore-saw, by the others marcheing off, that one of those tuo squadrons would be sent with the artillery and baggage over the Bridge of Ierne, which was some miles about, and remembered of old that it was one of the most fatiguing commands of any, went and stood by the Generall Hamilton till the order should be given, not doubting but Alexander Maitland, Major to my Lord Southesque's squadrone and Major of Brigade, haveing been in the first war sometime a sojer, would put it on me, and save his own squadron; which happned as I suspected; for tho' I heard the Generall order Southesque to marche, Maitland turned about and order'd me. I told them I had foreseen it, and had been waiteing there expresse in case the Generall had order'd me, to tell them, that if they would not allow me to be the oldest squadron, which I pretended to justlie, from the rank of the countie, at least I hoped they would have more modestie than make me the youngest; and their squadron haveing never as yet pretended to take the rank of mine, tho' I could not say but they might have done it on as just grounds as any other, the tour of fatigue fell to them, as the Generall had rightlie order'd it; this onlie to shew, that tho' we did not know much of discipline, yet we entered into the little chicane of the trade.

We cantoon'd that night at Auchterarduch, and about it, where we came very late, which occasion'd great difficultie in getting quarters; and march'd next morning, and halted towards night at Arduch, and drew up there for some time, both foot and horse, where it was believed we were to ly in the fields¹ that night. But all of a suddain, I received an order to follow the other horse, who begun to file off; we marched, at a great trot, in a heavie rain, in the dark, and came to Dumblain betwixt eight and nine. There being but one street in that country village, which was so narrow that tuo horses were all that could stand or march in a front, and six hundred horse (for Huntlie, besides a great many stragglers, haveing now joyned us, we became in a few days, and were at that time, as stronge in horse as ever after,) throng'd us so, that with the croude, and darknes, in that narrow street, we could neither light, nor get to our quarters, in tuo hours' time, tho' the quarter-masters had all readie before our comeing; and when they lighted, a great

¹ This was in the middle of October, Old Style.

many thronged into the first stables they came to, without regard to billets, which occasion'd some to be in the streets at midnight.

So soon as I lighted, which was after ten, I found my stable possess'd, but having endeavour'd, with very pathetic expressions, to persuade those gentlemen that their occasioning a general confusion, as well as the injuries done me, was no matter of jeaft, they thought fit to decamp and provide for themselves; and after going a little about to see how my friends were accommodated, I was desir'd by my Lord Drummond to come to Drummond of Bouhadie's house, where he had taken up his quarters.¹ I found with him there Linlithgow, Southesk, Marishall, Kilsyth, and the Laird of Keer.² I ask'd his commands, in a respectful manner as one must do to their General. He said, He had none; but that he wanted to see me. I thought it my duty to tell him the confusion I had left our people in on the streets, and took occasion, at the same time, to say, That if the least alarme happen'd, we must be the unluckiest people on earth; and that, being so crowded, if it took us two hours to dismount, when at our ease, and as yet not got into stables, how long must we be of mounting, if hurried by an alarme, especially, since, by what I had heard and seen, there was not a stable in the whole village which a horse of any size could enter without taking off the saddle; and that all were in such confusion that the masters had given up their horses, in the rain, to their servants, and were both crowding in at every open door; so that the masters did not know where their servants were, nor the servants where their masters were; and, considering all that disorder, and our being so crowded in so narrow a place, but [fix] miles from Stirveling, and that a great many, if not all the gentlemen, would go to bed, and, to crown all, no sentries out, I lookt on that night as the last of our affair, since it depended on the enemy to make it so, who must be informed from the town of our state; for the town's folks were all of them Whigs. Drummond said, That he expected Gordon of Glenbucket, with three hundred of Huntlie's Highland foot, and he'd

¹ Drummond of Bohaldie, alias M'Grigor, who had a great following in the Clan Alpin.

² Stirling of Kier, who, tried for his life for being in arms in 1707 at the Bridge of Turk, again assumed them in 1715.

make them put out fentries ; and, for the gentlemen, he'd fend and order them to goe to the great room, where the Bifhop's Bibliothéque¹ was, and fent one of his Aide-de-camps to order them there. I told him, He might doe what he pleaf'd ; but that I knew the nature of the gentlemen fo well, that it would be to no purpofe ; that the place was fo crouded, their being there would be to as little, for tho' they were on horfeback, in fo frainted a place, fiftie foot would deftroy them all, for they'd run their heads againft one another in the dark, and needed no other enemies but themfelves ; for I had no notion, in that cafe, of their getting out of the village, far lefs of their getting on horfeback. He afkt me, What I'd have him doe ? I anfuer'd, I flou'd him his danger and our's, his orders would tell him the reft. He faid, He had no orders, nor knew any thing of the horfes comeing away, till he faw them marcheing off, and, fince he commanded the horfe, he thought it his dutie to put himfelf at their head, and come alonge with them. Then, I was afkt by fome other, What I thought was to be done in that cafe ? for all there feem'd of one fentiment, and turned towards me. I faid, I was divellifhlie at a lofs, for I had never feen the like cafe before ; but yet, having no orders, it was naturall for us to confult our own fafetie, fince the whole depended on it, and that was to give orders to feed our horfes well ; for, above all, they were to be takne care of, and after that draw out of the toun, and then either halt there till he got orders from Mar, or return, fince he had no orders to ftay, and confequently nothing to doe there. He faid, He'd not return till he got orders. I faid, He might doe as he thought fit, but if the enemie fhould get betuixt us and home, he might doe worfe, for if all were rightlie confider'd, they had a fuperioritie of horfe, but that was what I fear'd leaft ; the being furprifed in the toun was all. My Lord Kilsyth,² who was lying at the catch all this while, afkt me, in laughing, Where was our home ?³ I faid, My Lord Mar's camp, at Arduch or Pearth, which was the fame roade. After that, the Laird of

¹ A Library, contained in a houfe of fome extent, founded by the Venerable Bifhop Leighton, for the ufe of the clergy of his See of Dumblane.

² William, third Viscount of Kilsyth, attainted for the Rebellion. He died at Rome in 1733.

³ Rather a home question at the time.

Keer said, There was no fear, for he'd fend his friend, John Stirveling, on whom he seem'd to have a more than ordinarie dependance, to the end of the longe caufey which leads from the Bridge of Stirveling, and he'd stand sentrie. I said, It was impossible he could doe that, in such weather, for a whole night, after haveing suffered such fatigue, and many accidents might happne to a single man; but, at the best, if the enemie had a mind to attack us, they'd follow him close at the heels, and by that we should neither have time to mount, or get out of the toun. They seem'd to relie on the Laird of Keer, and he on his friend John Stirveling, which I have oftne laught at since, for this gentleman, Keer, haveing met his ladie that morning of our battle, who came to the armie to see him, sent her up to the hills, to a place called Glenduchorn,¹ where he followed her in great heaft, so soon as the work begun; and which made it singular was, that it was not near his own house, and therefore could not happen by accident, but must have been the effect of forecast and design; tho' it may be said for him, by those who judge charitablie of such things, that seeing folks busie about killing of men, out of a speciale love to the King and Countrie he providentlie went off to beget more, and recruite. But, as men are valued according to their falling in to the common cant, or rather outdoing one another in extravagancie, this man was reckon'd one of the King's best friends; which was enough to give everie thing he said then, as well as afterwards, no small influence, and made it easie to him to speak big, who was to risque nothing. Marishall² was the onlie of them who seem'd to reason; for, said he, The Duke of Argyle, who had gone to Leith, could not be back till twelve of the clock that night, and he knew his Grace's temper so well, that he was sure he had order'd Witham³ not to stir in his absence. I answer'd, It might very readilie be so, but there was no trusting a thing of such consequence as King and Countrie's cause, our lives and honours, to a conjecture; that all I askt of them was to put us in a condition either to fight or run away, but, as we were

¹ The Duchroun is in the Forest of Glenartney. It is well known to sportsmen as famous for moor game, *me teste*.

² I should have supposed him as likely to do so as Sinclair himself.

³ General Witham or Whitham behaved but indifferently at Sheriffmuir.

situated, we had neither in our power, and there needed not fiftie foot to destroy us all.

Drummond askt me to stay supper, which I did, to see what he would resolve: And, in the mean time, Glenbucket, who commanded the Highland foot, and had marched very hard, came in, complaining griveouffie of his men's being fatigued, and of all their powder and armes being poyfon'd with rain; they were put under cover in the church and toun-houfe, and were breaking the benches of the church to make fire, which, he told Drummond, was impossible for him to hinder. His Lordship order'd him to post a hundred men on a bridge over a little rivulet, at the end of the toun which was neareft Stirveling. He said, He'd doe what he could; but he did not believe the fellows would goe there, and that, if they did, their arms were so much out of order they could not fire; and went about it. I askt my Lord Drummond, If the enemie could come to us no other way but over that bridge, and at that end of the toun? Keer anfuert, No, except they went about. So, it being prefum'd that they would never put themselves to that trouble, I said no more to that point; onlie took freedom to tell his Lordship further what might happen to us, supposeing we were out of the toun, and that the enemie, who he did not deny was stronger in horfe then we, should prefs us hard, for I did not believe he would hazard fighting them, that even, in the case of retireing before them, we should be at a los; and that it was the greateft tryell of regular troopes to make a retreat in good order. I told him the way of makeing a retreat was, the one half of our Squadron keeping a good firm countenance, and fronting towards the enemie, while the other half were to gallop off, and halt at a good distance behind them, in some proper ground, where they were to wheel and doe the same; and that was to be done by turns, till we were in a place of safetie: And that he was not to expect any such thing of our people, who would not halt till they had got to Arduch, eight miles from Dumblain, where Mar was, and it would be a thousand to one if such a deroute would not send all our Highlandmen to the hills, and God onlie knew if ever we could get them back again; and if the enemie pursued us to Pearth, our pistells, for we had no other arms, would not defend it long, if we pretended to defend it at all. I beg'd of him not to misunderstand me, for I did not tax the

gentlemen for want of courage, and that I'd much rather attack with them than retreat with them. But he was to have some regarde to their being undisciplin'd, and to the enemy's strength, which lay in horse; nor did he know when the Duke of Argyle had left Leith. But I was very easie about all that, provided he would draw us out of that narrow hole, and put it in our power to act like honest men.

Marshall and Drummond speaking soon after of going to bed, the last having desired Kilfeyth to goe to the Bibliothec, I went home to my quarters, and told Hary Balfour, who I found there, what I had said to my Lord Drummond. He had been ane Officer and Major to the Grey Dragoons in King William's war in Flanders, and had not so intirely forgot his trade that his opinion was to be neglected by such as we were, and was no less uneasy than I. He bid me goe alonge with him to the Bibliothec. I said, I'd set me down by the fire, and would not stir, whatever happned. But, pressing me hard, he persuaded me to goe with him, tho' I told him I'd certaintly say something disoblidgeing to those Lords. I went first to the bridge where the Highlandmen were posted, and in place of a hundred men, there were onlie thirtie. Tho' now midnight, a good many were yet strouling about with their horses in their hands; some had got their horses over on the other side of the bridge, without the garde of Highlandmen, who, they not understanding, would neither allow them to pass or repass; some one had fallne, on horseback, over a precipice into the river, but that was little to the purpose. I came back to the Bibliothec, where I found Kilfeyth and Linlithgow. Hary Balfour, by this time, had told Hary Bruce of Clackmannan, and old Major Graham, who had been officers in King James' armie, what I had been saying to Drummond and the others. They, and John Cockburn, a man of very good sense, who had served the same master with the other two, came to me, and said this might easily be the last night of our affair; none of them being pleas'd with our management. I told them, in Kilfeyth's hearing, every thing I had said before to Drummond, and the other Marshalls, for they seem'd so consummated in their generalship, that none of them imagin'd himself a less man than a Velt-Marshall. They agreed to what I said, and found it hard my Lord Drummond would not

put it in our pouer either to fight or run away ; and ask't me, If I would not goe with them to Drummond? I told them, I'd see the fool damned first, and that he was gone to bed ; that I was resolv'd to sit down there, and happen what alarm would, I'd not stir.¹ They being impatient, went to Drummond along with Hary Balfour, found him in bed, and came back soon after, to tell me they had Drummond's allowance to me to doe as I thought proper. Upon which Hary Bruce and I went together, raised all the gentlemen out of their beds, told them they'd find their servants and horses a little without that end of the town we came in at, ane hour after, which was three of the clock ; went in to everie barn, byer, and stable, and told the servants the same of their masters, without the least noise, (for they could not been got together in the village,) and bid them make use of their time in feeding their horses heartilie ; and, in making that round, there was neither post nor sentrie, except at the bridge. I was resolv'd we should rather die in the cold than be buried there alive, and loose our lives and honours in such confusion ; for the setting fire to one house would have bid fair to have destroy'd us all, at least we had done so to one another. I got on horseback, with the first sent to reconnoitre, or rather patrol, [and] formed without the town ; where we waited patientlie till after nine, that my Lord Drummond had sleopt out and drunk his tea. Then he came out, mounted on his best horse, rid alonge our front, with all his academie airs, went towards a hill to see the enemy's camp, and had not gone three hundred yards, when his horse threw him, in our view, which occasion'd laughter, to see his Lordship crippling, and following his horse.

By this care, if I gained the friendship of the gentlemen, who were all convinced how much I was right, yet it loos'd me more and more that of the Lords, who were angrie their knowledge was called in question, and they not lookt on as infallible. We continued there till twelve of the clock, in the bitterest cold that I ever felt ; at last his Lordship of Drummond, havinge sheu'd all the resolution of a great Captain, as he thought, was designinge to marche back, when he reflected that he had forgot to pro-

¹ In all this matter the Master shows himself much more ready to discover errors than to correct them.

claime the King at Dumblaine, haveing had so great matters to mind, and returned to the town, with a few gentlemen, and did it.

It was very observable, not onlie by Mar's manner, but by what he said on the opening of that Councill before we marched, that his Lordship had no mind to stir on that occasion from Perth, where he had nestled; for, in the few meetings that he allowed us, it was always his methode to tell his sentiements first, knowing there were so manie who would not find it their interest to contradict him. However, Generall Hamilton's proposal seeming to please, it being once tabled openlie, his Lordship, in case it might be afterwards objected to him that Mackintosh's ruine was occasion'd by his not moving, durst not hazard the loss of credit which might follow on it. I have been since assured, from very good hands, nor can it be denied, that Generall Hamilton made a further stretch after this, in the march, in a private Councill of War, where Drummond, Marisball, Linlithgow, and Kilsyth were, what others were present I can't tell, and prest it, that when the horse went to Dumblain the foot should marche up to the end of the longe caufey which leads to the bridge of Stirveling, and take post there before the Duke of Argyle's return; which was visible seen we could have done. He proposed by it the striking the terrour deeper, and a greater certaintie of Mackintosh's relief; next thing was, that haveing once post on that caufey, which is no less a defile then the bridge, but ane English mile longe, he'd put it out of the Duke of Argyle's pouer to come over to us, no more than we could goe to him; and demonstrated, by the situation of the ground, and the nearness of the hills to that narrow caufey, that it was impossible for him to come at us, and he'd be tyed to the defence of the bridge; while the Clans, who were then at Dumbarton, or supposed by Mar to be there, and within fourteen miles of Stirling, were to be order'd by Mar to march towards Stirveling, along those strong grounds on the other side of Forth, where, besides the Clans being more numerous than his Grace of Argyle's whole armie at that time, his dragoons could not act, tho' he left the defence of the bridge to goe meet them; which he durst not venture on, being obliged to leave no small post of his little armie to defend the bridge against us; nor durst he so much as send out a detachment while we were so near,

and the Clans moveing up to him; so that Mackintosh might have joynd the Clans without the least hazard or paine; and, if before superior to him, how much must they be then, and how his Grace must be embarass'd in such a situation; and what would happne, he left them to judge. Ane other advantage still sprunge from this, which was, the cutting off of Evans' Regiment of Dragoons from joyning, which they then knew was landed in the west of Scotland. This was so closelie brought home to Mar, that he had not one word to say against it, but that of the want of provisions, which he industrioullie took care we should want, and Hamilton undertook to furnish, to his Lordship of Mar's conviction; and it was agreed and resolved upon, and with that designe the horse marched on to Dumblain. But no sooner they were gone than Mar stopt short with the foot, and on Hamilton's desiring to pursue their designe, Mar told him that Marisball and Linlithgow, who were now gone before with the horse, since their meeting, had refused to doe it, and for that reason he'd stay at Arduch, and not goe nearer. Hamilton durst pursue it no further then, or, if he had, durst Marisball or Linlithgow have denied what Mar once said, at that time of day. They have been accused of it since; and not being now altogether so great dependers upon him, they have given his Lordship the lye. Mar, to save his honour, averrs Sir Heugh Paterfone said so to him, and has recourse to the honest favourite stratagem; Mar being at a loss, Sir Heugh must bear it; a very good use of a man on whom he has put ane idiot humpbackt sifter. But suppose Marisball, Linlithgow, and worthy Sir Heugh, had all agreed to it, or a little, trickie, lying boy, and a stupid fool and a scoundrell, for tho' no more could be said to the last, that must be own'd he is, for bearing the lye,—fit persons to determine the fate of a countrie; or had they either authoritie, or so much as drie bread, but by Mar's means, out of our pockets, or would not he [have] sent them packing on any other occasion but where there was ane appearance of fighting? This disconcert was in a great measure the occasion of our confusion at Dumblain, but does not one bit excuse our negligence, our Generalls being told of the foot's halting, and it was our business to take care of ourselves; betuixt the tuo we had great luck not to be lost.

Then we marched back, and cantoon'd in and about Auchterarduch, where

the footjoyn'd us from Arduch. How, in that wide cantonment we missed the having many of our horses and men taken, or cut off, I can't account for; onlie that regular troops make but bad partizans, and, above all, the English, who have been least used of anie to the *petite guerre*; but what is most certain, that it was not owing to our own management. Here I must say, that in all our marches, we, I mean our Generalls, or those who assumed that title, contributed not a little to our confusion, by beginning their marches too late; and, consequentially, coming too late to our ground or place where they designed to canton; so, not knowing the ground, or situation of the place, we neither knew where or how to place sentries, or, if attacked, where to apply for support, which is always avoided as much as possible by regular troops, even in relieving small posts; for I myself have seen when the one post knew nothing of the other, by coming late to the ground where they took their posts, and not settling the parole and a communication of sentries, necessarie on many occasions, that the patrouilles have fired on each other, everie command, in that case taking care of themselves, and then it's a great accident if both commands don't goe together by the ears; but it was in vain to mention this to people void of care and reason, and who never had either sentrie or patrouille, and were in no manner of concern what happened, provided they commanded. For example, would anie man on earth, who commanded such a number of troopes in such a situation as Dumblain, in the very nose of the enemy, not to say gentlemen, of which there were a great many, everie way as good men as Drummond, if not better, gone to bed, and leave everie thing in that disorder which he did? Especiallie one who never had seen any thing, who, when he takes such a command upon him, is supposed to make up with vigilance what he wants of experience, and not risque in the least, by trusting to his own weakness, or indulging his laziness, what he, and all his race, and thousands like him, could never be capable to make restitution of to his Countrie; but to take the command on that occasion, and goe to bed, as if all there did not deserve the least consideration, and the whole below his care, I must own surpasses my comprehension, and to be excused no way, but that it was not one farthing's matter whether he was asleep or awake, which, I'm afraid, his Lordship has not the good sense to know, but

had got that whim in his head that it was great and noble to be calm and serene, and sleep in the midst of dangers; if that was it, there was nere ane old woman in the village, or a child, or a bouer, who we alloued to sleep, but did as much, and most of ourselves; and we must not imagine that heroes of that kind are so wanting in the world, but if found amongst regular troopes, where no manner of excuse is admitted for surprises, such heroes are always recompensed by being hang'd.

While we were in our marche to Dumblain, Sir Robert Gordon had been commanded towards Doun Castle; what the desaigne of sending fiftie horse that way was, I never understood, for he had no orders but to stay till further orders, which, had he obey'd, the Generall's forgetting him, he had been there till the enemy had takne him, which was inexcusable to treat gentlemen so, who were each of them more ignorant then another, and no bodie with them who ever bore the name of a sojer. They frightned away the Militia from cutting the Bridge of Doun, who retired into the castle, and haveing staid a whole day there from very earlie in the morning till nine of the clock at night, after ten got into the little town where we all were, without being challenged by anie bodie. And here I must tell a remark I made of that regiment of three hundred Highland foot which was with us at Dumblain. Being out at a sorte of exercise, some time before we marched from Pearth, in making a generall salvo, they had but ten pieces that fired, which one Gordon of Abergeldie took notice of as well as I.

We marched back next day to Pearth, where we soon heard of Mackintoshes making his retreat to Seatone House; Mar being mightilie pleased he had made this bold step, and given his arms such a reputation in the world, but let no occasion slip of shewing how much he was displeas'd with Mackintosh for not obeying his last orders, as he termed it, tho' he never told what his last orders were; but the matter was to root out all suspicion of being accessarie to a thing that was like to have so bad a consequence, and if people did not believe him infallible and a prodigie, they could believe him nothing at all. If I may be alloued to assert, by all that I heard from Mar, with whome I had occasion to speak on that subject, and by what he had said to

me, he had, nor could have, no determined view in it, and so could give no fixt or positive orders; and if there was anie other place named to Mackintosh, besides the tuo former, Leith and Haddintoun, it was the Abbey of Holie Rood House, which I have heard from some of Mar's intimate counsellours, where Mackintosh had been in much worse circumstances then at Leith, for the Duke of Argyle coming to Edinburgh with his detachment in a very short time after he could have been at the Abbey, he had been shut up that night; and coming there hungrie and fatigued, had surrend'rd next day, for the wretched suburbs of Edinburgh could not have provided him so suddainlie with what was necessarie for a thousand men, as the ship stores did at Leith; besides, the Edinburgh magazins, which are all there, of meale, wine, brandie, and everie thing else, and the ship's cannon and powder, which he wanted intirelie, for we, haveing so little, gave him none alonge with him, nor was it to be found in any other place; and these supplies made the Duke of Argyle pay him more respect then he would have done otherwise, and contributed most of any thing to his retreat.

To make good what I advance, that there was not the least care takne to supplie them with any necessarie before they went from us, Strathmore, and Barafield,¹ his Liutennant-Collonell, told me, at Pearth, that tho' their regiment was to go on that expedition, three hundred of their men, which was by much the greatest part, wanted flints. I askt them, Why they did not represent it to Mar or Generall Hamilton? They said, They had done it to both, and both were deaf to it. I told them, Were I to command, as it was once propofed, I would not receive such men, and that it was better to have three hundred feuer, for the moment they came to anie action, these men must run away, and, by their exemple, carrie others with them, and could not faile to ruine the whole, or mutinie; for no man's so stupid but knous the want of a flint; and, being Low Countrie men, they neither had fuords, or pretended to make use of any, which was the mad excuse when it was complain'd the Highlandmen wanted fire-arms; and if Mar had no flints to give, why not send others in their place? However, I told them I had a small parcell,

¹ Walkinshaw of Barafield.

which I brought with me, out of which I'd give them three hundred; and being then on horseback, to goe on that command to Creile and the other touns, I told Barafield to get them from one of my fervants, at my quarters; but, not finding him, they marched to Bruntifland without them. On my return I gave them to Robert Douglas, a Liutennant of that regiment, who carried them to Strathmore before his regiment imbarckt. Tho' these things tended to certaine ruine, it was a crime of the deepest dye to take anie notice of them.

By Mar's intercepted letters to Viscount Kenmure and Mr Forrester, since printed, it's plaine Mar had no other aime, in sending that detachment over the Frith, then ridding his hands of so many men, for fear we had obliged him to marche, to pass the Forth, so soon as Huntlie came up to us, haveing always threatned it before he joyn'd, and complain'd that his not joyning was the onlie thing which hindered us; but when he was within three days' marche of us, Mar sets the other expedition on foot, and sends off Mackintosh, with his detachment, to Bruntifland, and prest it, right or wronge, with all the hurrie imagineable, as will appear by his letter to me, for fear Huntlie, whose vassalls the Mackintoshes are, should [have] enquired into the reasonableness of the expedition, and the encouragement to it, and put a stop to the whole by not allowing them to goe; and, with the assistance of all concerned, force Mar to take the other course, with our whole armie, and marche to the foords of Forth,¹ when the river was low and passable, and when the Clans were so situated as to come and favour our passage, and, together, at least four times stronger then the Duke of Argyle; who, as yet, was not reinforced, and we as stronge as ever we could be afterwards, because of our daylie desertion; for all that came with Seaforth was but fourteen hundred men, Sir Donald Mackdonald's, which made the one half, included, who stay'd to waite on Seaforth, by Mar's orders. Lochiele and Stueart of Apine had been with the Clans, but for his Lordship's willfulness, in revengeing private quarrells on the Duke of Argyle, which kept back a thousand. But we shall suppose that he had no hand in this, (tho' it's notorious it was so,) and

¹ Commonly called the Fords of Frew, near Aberfoil. Here Charles Edward passed in 1745.

that his Lordship wanted the joyning of these tuentie-four hundred men. Did not we loofe much more out of the whole then that number, by defertion, before they joyned, not to count thofe who paffed the Frith? And did we not fee that the Duke of Argyle muft foon be ftrengthened? Moft that we pretended to expect any friendship from, or who the Gouernment were moft afraid of, will, at that time, be found to have been feized in England, and Mar was not ignorant of it; nor was it poffible he or any man, could expect that after things were in a great meafure clear'd up there, that King George would neglect us, fo many of his avoued enemies, got together in arms, when the great bodie of the troopes were in England doeing nothing.

Haveing thus given reafons for not fending over Mackintosh, let us confider the invitations and motives Mar had for fending him, which will no where appear better then in his own letters mention'd; both which, concerning the matter in hand, I fhall infer here, in his own words:—

TO VISCOUNT KENMURE.

MY LORD,—I longe extreamlie to hear from you, you may be fure, fince I have not had the leaft accounts almoft of your motions fince I fent the detachment over. I hope all is prittie right again; but it was ane unluckie miftake of Brigadeer Mackintosh in marcheing from Haddintoun to Leith. I cannot but fay tho', that it was odd your Lordship fent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reafon to expect that parties comeing over every day. His retreat he made from Leith, and now from Seaton, with the help of the mouvement I made from this, makes fome amends for the miftake; and I hope the partie of men with him will be of great ufe to you and the caufe. I wifh you may find a way of fending the inclofed to Mr Forrefter, which I leave open for your Lordship to read; and I have little further to fay to you then what you will find in it. I know fo little of the fituation of your affairs, that I muft leave to yourfelf what is fit for you to doe, as will moft conduce for the fervice, and I know you will take good advice. My humble fervice to all friends with you, particularlie Brigadeer Mackintosh, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Mackintosh, who, I

hoped, are joynd you longe ere nou; and, indeed, they all deserve praise for their gallant behaviour. I must not forget Kinackin;¹ who, I hear, spoke so resolutlie to the Duke of Argyle from the Citadell; and I hope Innercale, and all my men with him, are well, and their councitriemen longe to be at them; which, I hope, they and we shall soon. I have sent another copie of the inclosed to Mr Forrester by sea, so it will be hard if none of them come to his hands. I know your Lordship will endeavour to let me hear from you as soon as possible, which I longe impatientlie for; I hope you will find a way of sending it safe. In one of my former, either to your Lordship, or somebodie to shew you, I told that a part of the armie would be about Dumbarton, but nou you would not relie on that; for, till I hear from Generall Gordon, I am uncertain if they hold that way. I have sent your Lordship a copie of my new commissiion, which perhaps you have not seen before. I have named the Generall Officers, and your Lordship has the rank of a Brigadeer of the Horse. I am told Earle Wintoun has been very usefull to our men we sent over. I suppose he is now with your Lordship, and I beg you may make my compliments to his Lordship, and I hope the King will soon thank him himself. I will trouble your Lordship no further now; but all success attend you, and may we soon have a merry meeting. I am, with all respect,

MY LORD,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

MAR.

From the Camp at Pearth, October 21st, 1715.

TO MR FORRESTER, GENERALL OF THE KING'S FORCES IN
NORTHUMBERLAND.

SIR,—I wrote to you, of the seventeenth, from Auchterardice, which I hope you got. I marched the same night, the horse to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirveling, and the foot, some miles short of that place. Next morning, I had certain intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's returning

¹ An Highland gentleman, who bade the Duke of Argyle defiance from the rampart of the Citadel at Leith.

from Edinburgh, with most of the troopes he had carried there, and was on their marche towards Stirling. I also had accounts of Evans' regiment landing in the west of Scotland from Ireland, and [that they] were on their way to Stirveling. I had come away from Perth before the provisions were readie to goe with us, and I found all the countrie about Stirling, where we were to pass Forth, was intirelie exhausted by the enemy, so that there was nothing for us to subsist on there. I had no account from Generall Gordon, as I expected, and the soonest I could expect him at the Heads of Forth was tuo days after that, and I could not think of passing Forth till I was joynd by him. Under those difficulties, and haveing got one of the things I designed by my marche, the Duke of Argyle withdrawing from our friends in Lothien, I thought fit to marche back to Auchterardice, which was a better quarter, tho' not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the night before, and that he had sent exprefs upon exprefs to Evans' dragoons to hasten up. I had a letter also that morning from Generall Gordon, telling me that some things had kept him longer than he expected; that it would be that day e'er he could be at Inverary, and that he could not possiblie joyne me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and waite his comeing up, and the Lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterardice, since it would not a bit retarde my passing the Forth when I could be in a condition to doe it, and in the mean time I could be getting provisions to carrie along with me in my marche, which, as I have told, are absolutlie necessarrie about the Heads of Forth; so I come home last night. I very much regrate my being obliged to this, for many reasons, particularlie because of its keeping me so much the longer from joyning you; but you easilie see it was not in my pouer to help it. However, I hope my stay here shall be very short, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it necessarlie must. The passage over the Forth is now so extream difficult, that it's scarce possible to send any letters that way; and within these tuo days there was tuo boats comeing over with letters to me, and were so hard pursued that they were obliged to throw the letters into the sea; so that I know very little of our friends of that side, and less of you, which is no small loss to me. I heard to-day, by word of

mouth, that the detachment I sent over are marched, and joyn'd our friends in the south of Scotland, so I hope they may be usefull; but I hope you know more of them than I doe. I have now write to Lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing where he is, or what way he intends to dispose of his people; whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling, to wait my passing Forth; and in the ignorance I am of your affairs be-forth the river, I scarce know what to advise him. If you be in need of his assistance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there, but if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I pass Forth, or, now that the Duke of Argyle is reinforced, should he march towards me before I am, it would be of great service; I am forced, in a great measure, to leave it to himself to do as he finds most expedient. I am afraid the Duke of Ormond is not as yet come to England, else I should have the certainty of it, one way or other, before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the King, from coming here. However, I am sure it is none of their fault; and I hope they will both surprize us agreeable very soon. I believe I told you, in my last, of the Lord Strathmore and two hundred of the detachment that was going over Forth, and drove in to the Island of May by three men-of-war, being got safe ashore on this side, and are now joyn'd us again; there were but two of all the boats taken, and I hear some of the men that were in them [who] were made prisoners in Leith, were relieved by our men when they came there, but that their officers were sent to Edinburgh Castle; so I want some reprisals for them, which I hope to have ere long. Tho' Mackintosh Brigadier's mistake, in going to Leith, was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of Argyle no little trouble, and our march obliging him to let them slip, has, I'm apt to believe, vexed him. I beg you will find some way to let me hear from you. Ever since my detachment were in Fife, all the men-of-war that cruised on the north coast, betwixt Peterhead and the Frith, have been in the Frith, and I believe will continue there, to prevent my sending more over that way; so that all that coast is clear, which, I wish to God, the King knew, and you may easily send a boat here, anywhere, with letters from England. I hear there is one of

the regiments of foot come from Ireland to Stirling. When you write to me, if by sea, pray send me some newspapers, that I may know what the world is doing, for we know little of it here these eight days. Success attend you; and I am, with all truth and esteem,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MAR.¹

From the Camp at Perth, October 21st, 1715.

In the beginning of his letter to Kenmure he complains first of Mackintosh making a mistake, without telling what he ought to have done; and yet he is angry with himself, with that short, "cannot but say tho'," that it was odd he sent no orders or intelligence to Mackintosh, and, without determining anything, lays the blame on both, fixes on nothing. For all he could have told Mackintosh was, that one who was Viscount of Kenmure was skulking at that time in the hills and by-corners, and that there were about forty others in the same condition; and all Kenmure could know of Mackintosh was, that Mar, to get him and the other forty to leave their homes, and take arms, had promised to send over a detachment to them, but how he was to do it, did not know himself, as appears by his reasoning, and method of sending them, only a few days before they went over; nor does he tell him, he had sent one before to advertise him of their coming, for that he would not [have] omitted, who was so far from thinking of a command, that he was taken up in hiding; and how he could expect Kenmure could give orders to a Brigadier, commanding a thousand men, in that state he was in, I can't tell, since, in this letter, dated eight days after the passage, he tells him, for news, that he had given his Lordship the rank of a Brigadier of the Horse. Then he only hopes, after accusing,

¹ The criticism which the Master of Sinclair makes on Mar's Despatches is severely satirical, but, it must be owned, can scarce put a more unfavourable countenance on the vacillating and uncertain movements of Mar than we are apt to gather from his own letters, in which he appears totally uncertain as to the movements of the enemy and of his own confederates, and by no means decided upon his own.

that the partie of men with Mackintosh will be of great use to him and the cause. It was no less easie for Mar to hope without sending over any, and, with better reason, might have hoped that they nor the cause had not wanted them, since he sent them with no view, as he soon after plainlie owns, by saying, "I know so little of the situation of your affairs that I must leave to yourself what is fit for you to doe, as will most conduce for the service;" and, in a manner, regrates the necessitie of leaveing it to him, by saying he must, which his imperious nature would not allow him to doe if he knew how to doe otherwise; especiallie since, next sentence, he supposes Kenmure as ignorant as himself, or rather is positive of it, by knowing "he'll take good advice," and does not tell him whose advice he is to take; nor will he have him trust to himself, and leaves it there. Can there be any thing on earth so loose, or is it to be thought that, if Kenmure had askt them, he had not told his reasons for doing so, and what he was to make of them, which is to be thought was concerted and resolved on before they run that great risque in the passage, or before they went to a place where neither he who sent them, nor he who was to receive them, knowing how to dispose of them, they must be intirelie lost to us.

The rest of his letter is frivolous, and has no meaning, but the paying his court to the gentlemen there, and particularlie Brigadeer Mackintosh, who he distinguishes by giving him the first place, except where he forbids my Lord Kenmure to relie on Generall Gordon's being with the Clans at Dumbarton, who he himself had order'd to take another route, but is not frank enough to own it here, for he took speciale care to change that project before it could come to the execution.

He introduces himself to Generall Forrester in this of the 21, by telling him he had sent him one of the seventeenth, which, by Viscount Kenmure's letter is the same with this, which sheus it to be his last orders, after some days due reflection. He tells him that the horse marched to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirling; but does not tell him how far he kept aloof from it with the foot; he amuses him with the earlie intelligence he had of the Duke of Argyle's returning, and Evans' regiment's being on it's marche to Stirling; informes him of his want of provisions alonge with him, without letting him know it was his own fault; for, tho'

he might not have foreseen the fuddain marche on Mackintosh[es] account, yet he foresaw Huntlie's coming to joyn us, on whose coming he had always promised to marche, and by the severe reflections he and his partizans made against Huntley for his not coming sooner, and, for that very reason, of retardeing our march, he can't complain he did not give him time enough to provide. His saying he "found the countrie about Stirling, where we were to pass Forth, was intirelie exhausted by the ennemie, so that there was nothing for us to subsist on there," is onlie one of his Lordship's own shifts, and, in plain Scots, a damned lye, for there was great plentie of corn and fourage everie where, and particularlie at Dumblain, which was all he had to expect there. Certainlie his Lordship, who has got such a trick of hoping when he is at a loss, did not hope the ennemie would lay magazins of meale in his way, nor had we ever hopes of fourage or any other thing in that barren countrie where we were to pass Forth, or the Heads of Forth, which he speaks of a little after, and does not here distinguish from the countrie about Stirling; nor does he tell that Generall Hamilton undertook to make up all these wants, yea, convinced himself it was to be done. "He had no accounts from Generall Gordon, as he expected, and the soonest he could expect him at the Heads of Forth was two days after that;" he means two days after that night we were at Dumblain, which was no long time for us to waite. It's wonderfull his Lordship did not make that excuse in his Councill of War; but he instantlie gives the true one, "that he could not think of passing Forth till joyned by him." If in such intire want of fourage and provisions, it's odd how he could think of it at all, and needed not given this last; but truth will break out in spite of the divill; nor could he think of passing a long time after, when he was joyned by Gordon and the Clans, and Lochiell and Apine, two Clans more. Under those difficulties, the want of fourage and provisions, and which was the truest and greatest of all, the want of heart, the first was in some measure true, and occasion'd by himself, and the other naturall, and would always subsist. As to what he says of that one thing designed by his marche, the whole Councill of War saw he did not designe marching at all. "Auchterardice was a better quarter than Dumblain," so did his Lordship think Arduch was, when he halted there,

and either was better than a post at the end of the longe caufey of Stirling, but yet none fo good a quarter as Pearth, which was ftill further from the ennemie. "The exprefs upon exprefs for Evans' regiment" was but a bad figne, as if the Duke of Argyle defigned attacking him. He feems to juftifie his returne by this, and a later information from General Gordon, by his being delayed longer then he thought, which, if true, Gordon himfelf did not expect; and by faying Gordon could not joyn him that week, fheus clearlie that Mar alter'd his whole plan at that time, or rather before, fince the Clans were no more to come by Dumbarton, or doun the other fide of Forth, which was a great third of his marche out of his way, fince he was to joyn him fo foon. He muft have fent him a contrarie order before he left Pearth, without Generall Hamilton or any body's knouledge; for he could not, in three days' time, had ane anfuer of any exprefs fent to Gordon, who was to be next day at Inverara, and if fo, Generall Hamilton founded very wronge in fuppofoeing the Clans to be at Dumbarton, or fo much as to come by it; which his Lordfhip had no mind to tell him, and kept him in ignorance of, as he inclines to doe to Kenmure in his letter, to whom it was very materiell to know the certaintie of their motion. But Mr Forrefter is a ftranger to the whole ftorie, and there was no harm in being free with him. "He returns to his quarter at Pearth to waite Gordon's coming up, and the Lord Seaforth's." Being no more fatiffied to marche on the Clans joyning, which he is afraid will be too foon, he takes up, all of a fuddain, the pretext of waiteing on Lord Seaforth, to fpin out the time; might he not [have] faid fo at firft, when he could not think of paffing Forth till the Clans had joyned. "In the mean time he was to get provifions readie, which, as he was told, were abfolutlie neceffarie." It was very much for his Lordfhip's purpofe that Mr Forrefter fhould think fo, and that he was neceffitated at that time to returne for want of provifions, tho' very wonderfull that his Lordfhip had not forefeen it, and yet more, that he never rectified that want, nor provided againft it: But after the Clans joyning, and all that longe ftay for Seaforth, did not we again marche without provifions; which, tho' he had not own'd in his printed account of his battle, all mankind faw; and then, indeed, we were in a worfe fituation, for the ennemie by that time had takne care not to leave

us straw, where both straw and corn were in plenty before. So he came home, regrets his being obliged to it, for many reasons, particularly the not having the pleasure of seeing Mr Forrester, and supposes he had persuaded him it was not in his power to help it; no great difficulty, to give one what reasons he pleased, who knew nothing of the least fact or circumstance he told him. He hopes again, that his stay wont be long; his hopes are never to be understood otherwise but that he knows, or fears the contrary of what he hopes; witness in his letter to Kenmure, where he hopes he'll find a safe way of sending over letters, and yet, in this to Forrester, the passage of the Forth is extremely difficult, and scarce possible. He had heard our detachment had joined our friends in the south, so he hopes they may be useful, and the very next sentence, hopes he knows more of them than he does himself; which, if there be any understanding his dialect without a dictionary of his own making, is to be interpreted by reconciling one part of his letters to the other, and giving it the genuine meaning, that he fears they wont be useful, and fears Forrester knows no more about them, or how to dispose of them, than he; which is very natural, having changed his own plan, by giving the Clans another route. But it's hard neither Mar, Kenmure, nor Forrester did, after running so great a risk in passing, and, in the ignorance he is in, he scarce knows how to advise them, nor does he so much as know where they are, or where they design to go. There's nothing surer than that they were a dead weight upon him while with him, and knew as little, or rather less, what to do with them before he sent them over; for how could he otherwise have embarked them in that uncertainty that he so often confesses? "Whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling, to wait my passing the Forth." He tells Kenmure, in his letter, in which this is enclosed, that he is not to rely on the support of the Clans at Dumbarton; and has already told Forrester, indirectly, that they are to join him directly, and that the passage of the Forth depends on other circumstances, which, tho' in the main very uncertain, yet he knew was of a very distant view; and how Kenmure could be supposed to go toward Stirling, to wait, as if at his ease, his Lordship of Mar's passage, could enter in no man's head but Mar's. Then he gives Kenmure and the Scots a shy

recommendation to General Forrester, if he needs them. He must have been in very extraordinarie circumstances not to need them, especiallie since they'd fall on ways to maintain themselves, without putting Mr Forrester to charge; or Mar must have supposed the English were not to take arms, and, in that case, we have been often told a thousand or twelve hundred men were too few to conquer England.

But, if not, and that the General Forrester will not receive them, for fear his cattle should turn a drug, he tells him he knows a use for them, and assumes the air of the General, and when he can doe no better with them, determines, positivie, that they'l certainlie be usefull to him in the rear of the enemy when he passes the Forth, now that the Duke of Argyle is reinforced before I am. If he means they'll certainlie be usefull at the passage of the Forth, and onlie then, which was never to happen, it's the same as if he said, Certainlie they never would be usefull or serviceable. To please his Lordship, let us marche Kenmure up to the rear of the Duke of Argyle, (since that unluckie gentleman was to command,) for that's a way of speaking that smells of the General, and takes with folkes extreamlie, could Mar think that my Lord Kenmure with the hundred horse, joyning Mackintosh, could make him forget the scurvie trick the Duke of Argyle had like to play'd him, by streaching out his arm the length of Leith, no less then tventie miles from him? and which made it the more intolerable, that it was all of a suddain, without giving him or Mar timely notice. It's to be thought the reflecting on that would have taught my Lord Mar it was not convenient, being much nearer the enemy, since there was no place comparable to the Citadell of Leith betuixt that and Stirling; and if he could not stand him then in that post, at tventie miles distance, with that small detachment he could spare from his great bodie, how can he goe full butt up to his rear when he is reinforced with a regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, which he owns in this letter, and when the Clans are not to goe to the other side Forth, and be a check to him? But, says his Lordship of Mar's friends, when the armie from Pearth marched up to the front of the enemy, what was to hinder Kenmure to attack their rear? That's a rare chimere, as if it were possible for people at such a distance,

and labouring under such invincible difficulties of keeping correspondence, to attack the Duke of Argyle both in the same minute; and without that, it was not to be done, for a few minutes would determin'd the fate of a small command, composed of such troops, if ever caught within reach, in Rafe Campagne. That the difficulty of correspondence was so great, appears through both the letters. Can it be said, that by owning this difficulty, he does not make his only certainty, or the only thing he is positive of, a very great uncertainty, and that he does not contradict himself materially. He is forced, in a great measure, to leave it to Kenmure to do as he thinks most expedient. Could any indifferent man, who had been an intimate stranger as well to our circumstances as to theirs, have wrote a more idle letter on such an occasion? He knows nothing of them; Kenmure knows nothing of them; Mr Forrester he is not sure will receive them. Could he have sent over as many Highland bullocks on less grounds? I question, if they had been his own, if he'd done it on so little, without any expectation of a market; but now that he finds he has mist his market, or rather, that there never was any, he is forced to leave them to Kenmure, either to graze them or sell them, who he still supposes no good market-man, and directs him to take good advice. He seems very keen about reprisals for the officers that were taken, and he hopes he'll have ere long; no good omen for them at that time, and no small certainty of their being hanged. Is delighted with the trouble and vexation given to the Duke of Argyle; but says nothing of the faces he made in reading Mackintosh[es] letters to us in our meeting; and, in end, bams Mr Forrester with the King's coming, when he knew nothing of the matter himself.

No man can paint Mar so naturally and so crooked as he does himself in these two letters, tho' it will be hard to find out either the General or the Secretary of State in them. I am worse pleased with his mother than ever; she must have been a horrid woman, and never sent so hopeful a youth to school, since, by all the advantages he has had by being a Minister, it has not been in his power to acquire a better style, to put, at least, some fairer face on his eyes and knaveries. Surely his military governor, Clephan, and secretary Paterfone, had they set their heads together, could have made more of it than this; and what did we maintain those for? But it's a

safe, and a good maxim, to have more pensioners than secretaries or people in trust; the last might do mischief, and the others, if they can't be serviceable, have it not in their power to do harm; and, by that rule, it would be too much for any one man to know one third of the affair. How unwillingly does he wringe out some small part of the truth, and gives it a false colour, or cloudes it intirely, either before or after he has told it, and to those to whom it was so much the interest of the cause he should speak plain, that, since he could not judge himself of their situation, he ought, at least, to tell them what he knew of ours, to open their views; but, so far to the contrary, leaves them, as much as he can, to grope in the dark, huddles all up from them, and onlie tells them how much he is at a loss how to direct them; and, by his way of writing to them, and of them, supposes not one man of the whole capable of consulting with, otherwise he'd recommended some of them to Kenmure, who, he seems to know, wanted good advice, for he must know best what men he sent him. These confused hints occasioning their leaders greater confusion, no wonder if, by shewing themselves so irresolute and undetermined in their marches, the common fellows were soon infected, and that, with want of pay, made three hundred of their best men leave them at one time. It's, I think, prittie manifest, by everie sentence of Mar's own letters, that this was all done without the least fixt designe he had of employing them before he sent them, since, after they had been some time over, he was so much to seek; but to a ship that designs to no port, all winds are the same. As to the condition he sent them over in, he had no shadow of reason to promise himself service from those so badly armed, and without powder, and under the command of one who had no pretensions to know any thing of service, I mean his Brigadier Mackintosh, who the world had no better opinion of at that time than they have at present, and who had nothing to recommend him but that his Chief, the Laird of Mackintosh, who all lookt on to be a very weak man, imagin'd him wiser than himself, and delivered himself and Clan up to his disposal; all which, if consider'd, and that this Brigadier had not credit for thirtie pounds in the country, (witness the straites he was put to when Drummond sent him Plenipo to France,) it will look odd

how so many Lords and Gentlemen trusted themselves to him, or that Mar had the face to choose him for such a command. One thing I remember was boldlie averr'd at Pearth, that tho' he carried out of Fife three thousand pound with him for the payment of the troopes, he was not many days over when he wanted monie, tho' he had no extraordinarie charge, and, to my certain knowledge, gave nothing to the boats for the transport; all which was suspected before, and gave those who took the trouble to think but a very bad augur of success. The separating of force is at all times very dangerous, and never to be done but on the solidest of grounds. This separation had every way bad consequences; for by it two thousand men were lost to us. Of the twentieth-five hundred who were designed to pass, eleven hundred got over, and a thousand were so frightned with the terror of the sea and the expedition, that they deserted to their hills. Those who had undertakne to provide the boats, not having got time enough to doe it, Mar's impatience not allowing the least delay; nor was Mackintosh, by the methode he took of embarking, free from blame. But, to recapitulate what I have already said: Huntlie having joyned us, before they imbarckt, with fourteen hundred foot and a hundred and fixtie horse, which, with above four thousand we had before, made us at least betuixt the five and six thousand foot, if not six thousand good, and with severall straglers, who joyned us at that time, about six hundred horse. The Duke of Argyle having got no reinforcement, and about fifteen hundred, one would have thought there was no further ceremonie to be used in passing the Forth in a bodie, the rivers being still low, and before the Duke of Argyle's reinforcement joyned him. The Clans being then in Argyleshire, or at least higher then the source of Forth, had but to marche down the south side of the river, keeping the stronge grounds, and posted themselves so as to favour our passage of the Fords, that his Grace of Argyle, who was even inferiour to them in number, would not adventur'd to attack them, considering his force lay in dragoons, who could not be serviceable to him in hills. And had his Lordship of Mar not opiniated the Clans going in to Argyleshire, on as little grounds as he did the passage of the Frith, the Clans, under Generall Gordon, had been at least three thousand men; for Lochiell and Apin would not joyn in the expedi-

tion againſt Argyleſhire, who are allowed to bring out a thouſand men, and thoſe who marched there were known to be two thouſand four hundred, allowing Captain Clanronnald, Glengarie, and Sir John Maclean, to bring each no more then ſeven hundred, beſides the three hundred of Bredalbine's, who went alonge with them. Can any thing be more evident, that if we had not detach'd over the Frith, we were ſo far from having reaſon to fear what Mar inſinuates in his letter, the Duke of Argyle's attacking us, that he could not, in all humane probability, hinder our paſſage of the Forth, and muſt have decamped, except God Almighty had determined otherwiſe, or our great Generall, out of preſented malice and cowardice, I don't ſee what we had to hinder us; nor doe I think, after the rivers fuelled, and the Duke of Argyle was reinforced, it was ever poſſible afterwards, to ſay nothing of our men's deſerting daylie, and our ſpirits lagging, by ſeeing, more and more every day, into our own confuſion, and the fallacie of Mar's promiſes.

Having now deliver'd theſe letters, with Mar's laſt orders, to Kenmure and Forreſter, and given the true ſtate of our affairs, I ſhall leave them to their own good management, and return to Pearth, where the Marquiſe of Huntlie had joyned us the ninth of October, the very day after Mariſhall came to us. It was very obſervable, in his caſe, how the tongues of a great many honeſt, well meaning, men, can be turned looſe upon an innocent man, without either their knowing for what, or the man's deſerving it, or, at leaſt, leſs then others who are more evidently guilty of the ſame crime they pretend to accuſe him of, and, by any deſigning man's putting a band, devoted to his intereſt, upon it, to begin the cry, the others take it up, run away with it without conſideration, before innocence is aware, or on its garde, and often through that, innocent man ſtab themſelves to the heart, without its being poſſible to open their eyes while the heat laſtes, or till it's too late. Tho' my Lord Huntlie was at twice the diſtance from us that Mariſhall was, and had about fourteen or fifteen hundred men to bring up, and two ſquadrons of horſe, a great many at fourtie miles diſtance from him, and ſpread in the hills, yet, from the beginning, there was nothing heard but complaints of Huntlie for not being there alreadie; and Mar, to my hearing, yea, everie

bodie, and I myself, without knowing him, saying the bitterest things against him that our imaginations could frame, and all that for his not coming sooner; for a month before he came he was in the same case, and would no more be forgiven it than when he came: while Marishall, who was within half the distance to us, and brought not fourscore horsemen to joyn us, was in the same fault, or rather a much greater, by his situation; and having so little to doe, was cry'd up to the skyes as the bravest, forwardest, and most accomplisht gentleman on earth. The reason was plain, tho' what would have made another valued did Huntlie harm: Mar was affraid of Huntly's influence, being conscions to himself of his own littleness, and that Huntlie had given Mar a proof he had more credite with Mar's feu-vassalls then Mar had himself, by making one of them follow him, when all had refused; so could not bear the thoughts of his power being precarious, or depending on Huntley, ruined him earlie in the opinion of all those in Perth, and made way for carrying off his own vassalls from him, in case he shew'd the least uneasiness at that bad treatment, and more, which he'd take care to give him, by constructing all ane aversion or dislike to the cause; and, if a misfortune happned, which he saw certain, prepare the whole to joyn with in loading Huntlie with all; and turn their rage against him and others, who he treated the same, for not depending intirelie on him, and chimeing with him in the destruction of their countrie, and, in the mean time, draw his own neck out of the collar. He, on the other hand, had no jealousy of Marishall, who was younge, and had nothing to loose; he lookt upon him as one who had the same interest in the affair with himself; and not of that extraordinarie influence neither, for of that small number of horse he brought up with him, all were independent gentlemen, and many had more to loose than himself; and a great part were followers of Huntlie, who he engaged to goe alonge with him by letters from Mar, who had now got considerable credite by being the great man at Perth; and by his own little tricks and traduceing of Huntlie, which no younge man can be more capable of, and fitted him to be ane admirable apprentice to Mar, and with that good disposition, and his not being able to subsist himself, render'd him very souple; for, except he had received the publick monie at Mar's discretion, and that

from the beginning, he could not flood his own ground, far less had influence on others. They were not contented with what had been done to Huntlie before joining; but soon made him and those with him, the jeaft of the armie. The truth is, he laid himself a little open to them who were so inclined to make use of everie thing against him, by bringing up a troop of fourtie or fiftie great lubbertlie fellows, in bonnets, without boots, or any such thing, and scarce bridles, mounted on longe-tailed little horses, less then the men, who were by much the greatest animalls of the two, without pistells, with great rustie musquets, tyed on their backs with rope; and those he called light horse. I must own, the grotesque figure those made moved everie bodie's laughter, and soon got the other hundred and sixtie horse he brought along with him the same name of light horse, tho' they did not deserve it more then those who came with Marishall, who were almost all Galloways, as well as those who came with Huntlie. Severalls of those who came up with him, and did not intirelie depend on him, were, on the account of those jeasts, on the point of leaveing his squadrons, and joining others, not being able to stand patientlie that generall reflection.

All those things being improven to the advantage, by Marishall and Mar, he was not onlie discredited in the sight of those who, tho' not his dependents, had otherwise all the respect for him due to one of his weight and rank, but even in the sight of his own vassalls and tennants; tho' it's certaine at that time Huntley gave no occasion for it, and declared he'd take no command, not so much as of his own people, who he order'd to roule in dutie as others did; tho' it was not to be expected he could intirelie transfer his interest or following, and far less to those who aim'd at making him ridiculous, and wresting it from him. However, that was not enough, right or wrong he must be pinioned; it seems they thought no more measures needed be kept, when they attackt him by endeavouring to carrie off his Highland tennants, who are still more subject to him then his vassalls. For Marishall, soon after Huntlie's being in Pearth, set about gaining the MacFierfons,¹ took occasion of some difference betuixt Huntley

¹ A numerous Clan, who, inhabiting the Lordship of Badenoch, were Huntlie's vassals. Being a fierce, mutinous sort of people, they had many differences with their feudal Chiefs, who quartered Gordon of Glenbucket upon them to maintain his

and them about some private right, in which all said Huntley did them no injustice; and gave them a very pleasant reason for acknowledging him their leader and chief, by telling them, that the MacFierfons were the Clan Cattan of old, and his name being Keith, he was their true chief; tho' no bodie can prove by historie that ever Marifhall's familie had a Highland following, but that was nothing; the whole being then unhinged, everie one drew to himself; and a strain'd derivation was pretext enough to those who had nothing but their own interest to consult; seeing all ruin'd, thought onlie of their own honour, before they left the countrie, that at least the name of the pouer they had might give them a greater luster abroad. But this took with a very few of the MacFierfons, and onlie such who were not regarded by that Clan; and, no sooner Huntley was told of it, then he quafht it without the least trouble to himself, or taking any notice of it, and James Keith, Marifhall's brother, [was] balkt of the regiment of MacFierfons, which Mar designed him, who had followed Huntley's anceftours for many hundred years. I never thought of that claime Marifhall hade to the MacFierfons, but it put me in mind of the etimologie of the word. *laquais*, made by a French grammerien from the Latin *Verna*, rediculed by Boileau:—

“ *Laquais vienne de Verna sans doute,
Mais il a bien changé sur la route.* ”

Huntley not seeming to feel this, and a good dale more, which I have forgot, they ventur'd on putting further upon him, and once employ'd myself as ane instrument. Amongst those horse who followed him, there were a great many gentlemen of the poorer forte, his feuers and vassalls, who reallie could not subsist themselves and horses; he represented the thing to Mar, and desir'd him to take it under his consideration. Mar, in the mean time, by the advice, I suppose, of Thomas Bruce, for it was he who came to me, drew up a petition in the name of some gentlemen of my squadrone, without particulariseing any, who, he pretended, could not subsist themselves. In doing so he incurred the displeasure of the Clan, and several of them attempted to assassinate him, and wounded him cruelly in the face with their dirks. He got to his sword, however, and beat them off, but carried the scars to his grave.—See Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland.

felves, defireing onlie a groat each day, which they undertook to live on. Thomas Bruce brought it to me to figne, to make it more authentick, as the commanding officer; at firft fight I was chokt, and could not underftand the meaning of it, and faid, I thank God there was none under my command in that neceffitie, or in the leaft defired it. For if there were any in want, we took care to provide them without their asking it, knowing one another's circumftances very well; which was reallie true, for the gentlemen fupplied the feu of that kind that we had, by taxeing themfelves and me privatelie, and tho' I have often defired them not to fpare me, I muft doe them the juftice to fay they did it too much. Mr Bruce, feeing I did not jump at getting a little monie to difpofe of, for we could taken for feveral, and given it to one, told me the true matter of fact, that Huntlie had been asking for a number of his, and they did not knou but he might ask exorbitantlie, and that they could not fall on another way to moderate his demands. I askt him, Had his Lordfhip fixt upon any fettled day's pay? He faid, No; but they fear'd his makeing it high, and, in that cafe, we'd all blow up in a minute, and everie bodie would ask, and there would be nothing left to pay the foot, and that there was nothing I could do fo much for the fervice. So I was tongue padded into figneing. Before Huntlie propofed any thing, they put that paper into his hand; upon which his Lordfhip was pleafed to fpeak to me, and wondered at the impoffibilitie of fubfifting man and horfe on a groat, especiallie fuch as were called gentlemen. Tho' this was amongft the firft times I had the honour of fpeaking with his Lordfhip, who had been represented to me as ane unreafonable man, whom nothing could fatiffie, I was at a lofs what to fay, but, on fecond thoughts, told him, I took that to be meant for fubfifting their horfes. Upon this the demand fell, and Huntley fubfifted them out of his own pocket for fome time. All this while Marifhall and his Lieutenant-Collonell, and, in a word, all who were Mar's favourites, or who they recommended, were not getting pay onlie, but founes of monie, witnes five hundred pound at one time to Marifhall; and, while they were playing honeft men againft one another, they were carrauing and running away with their fpoile, when ferviceable men were difcouraged, and ftarveing out of modeftie. But thofe who did not err on that fide, were

not satisfied with what they got, but must let us know that we, who pay'd the taxes, and subsisted ourselves, were but little fellows and coxcombs.

To please Marisball, soon after he came to Perth, another project was set on foot to give him some extraordinarie command, for what he brought with him did not distinguish him enough, so it was proposed that two squadrons should be pickt out of the seven, for that was now our number; Huntlie two, Marisball, Linlithgow, Rollo, Southesque, and I, had each of us one. The one was to carrie the Royall standard, and the other, a squadron of grenadeers, to marche on the front of the other. We were not longe of discovering both of them were to be given to Marisball, for he did not like his own by no means; their horses were not so good as those of the more southern counties. This was the old project in the beginning, in favour of Linlithgow, who was now to be kickt out, and footh'd, which they'd find no great difficultie in doeing, revived in favour of Marisball, but still more impudent and grosser; and to break all bands and societies of friendship, or vassallage, such as many of Huntley's were, and, by that jumble, make all depend on Mar and his favourites. Generall Hamilton proposed it to me as a thing extreame usefull, and would be handsome. I said, I wonder'd at people's not contenting themselves with their own, nor could I see what pretence one had to ask that of another; could any think that if I had choice men and horses in my squadron, that I could imagine them any where better disposed of than under my command, considering the officers we had, and if any select number of men were to be called out, I thought I had the best right to command them. But that I had given my opinion of it, in the case of Linlithgow, and was content with what I had, and wisht others would be so, for, they might depend on it they should not get one man from me; and without doeing good to themselves, might breed ill blood. Marisball was so modest as not to say one word, as I think he had reason; for a man must first be persuaded of his own insufficiencie, and of the others superiortie, before a point of that kind can be yeelded. But they thought they'd had us so longe in hands, that with cajoleing one, and banging the other with lying tongues, that we were now tame, and could be moulded into any shape they pleased. For my part, I can't get over it, that those who were so busie brigadeing and fapping,

came out on any other design but that of making themselves fine gentlemen, and must have split and ruin'd us, if we had been in better condition than we really were, besides the dead weight they were upon us, by squandering of our monie. About the time of the passage of the Frith, the desertion of the thousand men from the sea side, of those who were designed to pass, was not the onlie, for the hundred Mar men, under the command of Inderei, begun to doe the same at Pearth, and all deserted; which, as Gordon of Abergeldie, a gentleman of that countrie, said to me, was occasion'd by Mar's vindictive resentment against their Chief, Indercale, by not allowing them to joyn him, and those of their Clan he brought with him; and, finding them gone over sea, lost heart to the cause; for, as he said, tho' Inderei was married to his own niece,¹ and was his friend, he was forced to own they had no regard for him, in respect of their Chief. This disease soon infected the others, like a plague, as it always happens, and a good many out of all corps and clans follow'd their exemple, being soon wearied.

Mr Malcome of Grange, at that time brought up my Lord Balcarres,² his old friend, who was resolv'd to be very cautious, till Malcome assured him the game was sure, and that it was not possible it could faile; I think one instance of the blackest ingratitude to a gentleman who was too old to doe us service with his person, and was to have no share of the consulting part, and to one who had maintain'd him abroad for severall years; but, to make some sorte of reparation, he put my Lord Mar upon making his son a Captain in my squadron, and Malcome propos'd it to me. I was satisfi'd that Mar should give him a commission, but that he could not get a company; because, by former orders, all the squadrons in Pearth were divided into three companies, and we had chosen officers for them already. He said, Mine might admit of four, as well as the others of three, since it was the strongest there. I said, I did not see the need of that; and another

¹ John Farquharson of Inverey, was married to Margaret Gordon, daughter of Gordon of Abergeldie.

² Colin, third Earl of Balcarres, a staunch Jacobite, and author of "A Letter on the Affairs of Scotland at and succeeding the Revolution," which is often quoted. Though now an old man, he was imprudent enough to join the Insurgents, and only escaped by the friendship and patronage of the Duke of Marlborough.

companie requir'd so many more officers, and that would weakne us of so many dutie men; for at that time we were harass'd enough with guards, and pickets, and other commands. He took me up short, and told, If I would not, I'd see him carrie off the greatest part of my squadron. I anfuer'd him, He was ane impertinent lying brute, and always medleing in what was not his busieness; and, since he said so, that gentleman should not have a troop in my squadron, tho' I had as great a value for him as Malcome could have; and I did not believe that Mar, and he, and all the emissaries put together, had influence to doe me harm with those gentlemen I commanded; for, if they did not think it as much their honour to be under my command as I could think it mine to command them, they might choose whom they pleas'd; but if I did, I'd turn out Malcome out of my squadrone, and all his scabbie name. I thought I had said enough, but some others present of my friends said a good dale more to him; nevertheless he went of brigueing underhand to try pulses; but, finding it impracticable, had recourse to Mar, and told what I said, making a griveous complaint. Mar sent to me, and askt me, Why I would not comply with giving Mr Lindfay a companie? I gave him the same reasons I had done before to Malcome. He pressed me, not with the air of a General, but still with ane affectation of authoritie. I refused absolutelie, and said, Because he had sent that fool Malcome to me with such a message, who durst not spoke so without his Lordship's support or orders, and that I had said, it should be put to the tryell. Mar said, Malcome had done the King more service than any man in Pearth. I anfuer'd, I could not conceive what service he was capable of but lying, and if that was service, he had done enough of it, nor would I allow any bodie to meddle more in my affairs than they did with others; and I left him.

Sometime after, my Lord Balcarres spoke to me, and blamed Malcome, and I did it, but not before I had convinced Mar that it was not to be done without my allowance, or till I thought fit. Major Balfour, not anfuering their expectation, in being made a handell against me, they thought proper to make use of some other, and try what influence their detraction had, and how much ground they had gained upon me, which did not succeed to their mind.

We were not long returned to Pearth from Dumblain when another expedition to Fife was fet on foot; but how to find one to command was the difficultie, for they had no choice, except they had takne Collonell Urchard. But he was ane officer, and had served his whole life in regular service, and might acquit himself no better then I had done, by keeping order which intimidated gentlemen, who were never to be improved for that reason, or ever allowed to think they were to doe any thing more then going in a confused bodie from one toun to another to take their diversion. Their business was to levie the cefs of Dumfermling, a Whiggish toun; and neither that toun or the countrie about, which was nearer the ennemie, would pay, being supported by the ennemie. Generall Hamilton made the disposition. The first day's marche was to Kinrofs, a place where we'd alreadie had severall commands, which had gone quite different routes, so that gave him reason to think the Duke of Argyle would not be alarmed with the first days' marche. From that they were to marche in the night, or very earlie before day; the furthest places they designed to goe to not being above eight miles from that, so that their business would be a-doeing or done before the Duke of Argyle could be adverticed, and they, in their marche to Bruntisland, a place of safetie, or in their marche home, when he'd think no more of them; and must have done their work better either by getting hostages or cattle in place of the cefs, by surprizing those who refused to pay.

This disposition did not please Mar, who had a strong inclination, when in his warm snug room at Pearth, to doe very bold things; who, if he had been as bold in the field as he was at home, and weighed everie thing as cautiously at home as he did in the field, and at a distance as he did when present, might have come nearer to the character of the great Generall he so much affected. So, without the least regarde to Generall Hamilton's disposition, he and Thomas Bruce, son to my Lord Kincardine, contrived a disposition of their own. This gentleman was formerlie Muster-Comissarie in King William and Queen Anna's reignes, and at this time no small favourite of Mar's. Being used to business, he had more intrigue and address than most of our folks, supported with a plausible way of speakeing; and knowing Mar, with whome he had been longe acquainted,

and who on other occasions had employ'd him, not capable of bearing controule, or so much as to be argued with in any thing he propos'd, Mr Bruce, not being to risque his own life at any time, did not onlie assent in everie thing to Mar, but would rather outdoe him, and carrie it further; which he did, till the affair turned serious; for he gallopt off that morning of our battle of Dumblain, some hours before we march'd to the ennemie, and never was heard of till he appear'd in Bruffells some months after all was over. And tho' he was one of those who was most instrumentall, and employ'd to engage everie bodie, he had propos'd to himself to run no risque, and by being the first man who sued for a pardon, a certaintie of getting it; which he did the day after he got home, which was the day following our battle; but Mar and he being so very well acquainted, while he stay'd, he got the better of all his favourites. Hamilton's advice in the matter was onlie takne to convince him, and all those who pretended to any sorte of rule, that they were fools, and that tuo men could be found who laugh'd at all rule; and, if they succeeded, which might have happnd for once, tho' they muft have pay'd it dear sooner or later, they pleas'd themselves with carrying the vogue, especiallie Mar, to whome that honour was to redound, by compareing his disposition with Hamilton's, and that the success and boldness of his would soon get him the generall approbation: for Hamilton had been of late uneasy to him, by proposing things that did not agree with his Lordship of Mar's constitution, and he'd let him and the world see that on other occasions he was capable of doing as bold things as he could pretend to, without him, or any of that kidney.

Thomas Grahame, who had acquired the title of Major, in the hills, under my Lord Dundee, in the same manner as most of our commissions were given of late for want of officers, was named to command fourscore horse, and three hundred Highland foot; they were order'd to march to Dumfermling, which is fourteen miles from Perth, but not to goe the direct road, for they were to marche by Dinnen, to pass under the nose of the Duke of Argyle's garnifone at Castell Campbell, six short miles from Stireling, where he had put some countrie militia; and, after making so great a detour to insult them, by marching in their sight, Major Graham was, with his command, to return to Dumfermling, where he was to raise

the cefs, and from that to detache nine horfe to Culros, and fome fuch number to Saline, towards Stirling; and all this detailé by Mar and Thomas Bruce direktion, who, if they did not know that countrie about their own houfes, knew nothing. The gentleman who was to command the nine horfe to Culros was Beatfone of Killrie, one of my friends; had he gone, he faid himfelf, with thrice that number, Black John Erfkine, who was lying in waite, would have pay'd him the cefs in a coine which would not been of great ufe to us, haveing tuo hundred armed men, all Cameronians, readie to receive him, which we all knew. Gordon of Glenbucket, who commanded the three hundred foot, tho' a Collonell, was to be under Major Grahame's command; and James Malcome, without whome nothing was to be done, was fent alonge to mannage the whole, haveing been a warriour at Gillicrankie.

They no fooner came to Dumfermling then all the gentlemen of the horfe feperated into alehoufes and taverns, and after[wards] moft went to bed. Glenbucket put the foot into the Abbey, a place ftronglie fituated, and took up his own quarters in the toun, and placed a fentrie at his door. Major Grahame placed one fentrie at a bridge, a little without that end of the toun which leads to Stirling; for, as we had fupposed when at Dumblain, the ennemie would come no other way but the freight road. Major Grahame and James Malcome fet themfelves down to take a heartie bottle: when it was turning late, Gordon of Buckie, a kinfman of Huntley's, Seaton of Lathrie, and Beatfone of Killrie, who had more thought and judgment than the others, went and found out Major Grahame, and told, by all they had heard or could judge, it would be proper to put out more fentries, and take fome other precautions. He anfuer'd them, Mr Malcome and his nephew Robert, who were prefent, knew the countrie better then either they or he did, and had affured him there was no danger; he drunk on, and they returned.

All this while, Collonell Cathcart¹ was lying without the toun, with tuo hundred dragoons, and had his fpies going out and in, giving him exact information of everie thing, and, finding all to his wifh, difmounted fome dragoons, and fent them into the toun one way, and a captain

¹ The Honourable Charles Cathcart, afterwards eighth Lord Cathcart.

with [blank in MS.] on horseback another way. They killed the poor solitarie horse sentrie on the bridge, after discharging his pistols; and, in a word, were in the middle of the town before anie bodie knew of them; killed Forbes, a captain of the Highland foot, who fired both his side-pistols and drew his sword amongst the middle of them; did the same by Glenbucket's sentrie, who did his dutie, and fired. They took eighteen gentlemen prisoners, of those who were most alerte and run out to the streets, and very luckie their loss was not greater. The foot in the Abbey were surpris'd at the alarme, and kept within, not doubting that the number of the ennemie was greater in town than they really were, and expected to be attackt themselves, which never failes to happen in the dark, except the disposition of the troopes be good, and everie thing well concerted; and confusion will happen sometimes even amongst regular troopes, let the most vigilant officer doe his best; but to imagine a sentrie can give timeous warning to those who are stript and in bed, or spread in different corners of a town, is not to have common sense, or to think that the designe of a sentrie can be any other but that of alarmeing a guard lying on their arms. So far of the storie all agreed to.

No wonder if, after this ruffle, everie one run a different way; some left their horses sticking in dunghills, in the streets; and others, when their horses fell in anie narrow lane, with justling, or makeing too great hast to get away, left them on the spot, and came to Perth on countrie horses, and said they had their horses shot under them; others run to Bruntisland, some to different places of the countrie, some got under beds, others up to garrets, and most of this when the ennemie was gone; who, knowing of the Highlandmen's being in the Abbey, did not stay to dalley in town, and beat their retreat very quicklie after their coming in, for they feisd nobody in houses. The foot had no longer patience there, and went off in order, next day, to Bruntisland. I was standing by Mar when all this was told him; and, hearing him say, That it was a shame to see so many run away from two hundred of the ennemie; I said, without hesitation, It was what I expected, and had often foretold; and I could not see any reason to be surpris'd at it, for I never had been one night out with them that the fourth part of their number could not have cut all their throats,

without loofeing one man, becaufe of their own diforder. His Lordfhip turned upon me with a fpitefull air, and, giveing his head a tofs, faid, I hope not, Mr Sinclair; and run out of the circle, in great dudgeon, into his room, and called me into him.¹ He faid, He wonder'd to fee me take fo much pains to difcourage our folks. I anfuer'd, What I had faid did not tend to difcourage, but to fhew them where their fault lay; that I had foretold this many a time when with them, and had been traduced for it, as it had been a crime. Being at a lofs, as he often is, when in paffion, he had the impudence to fay, I never had been with them. I beg'd his pardon, and faid, No other had but I; and would he have them taught onlie by their dear bought experience, and haveing their throats cut? and then have the pleasure of blameing them, and reflecting on them; for my part, I told him I did not understand him. He faid, That was imprudent. I faid, It might be what he pleafed, but I took it to be my dutie, and would continue to doe fo; and with that I left him, not one bit better pleafed with the Generall than he was with me; but what galled him moft was, my telling what paff to the croud in the next room. I did not know at this time that the whole was his Lordfhip's own ingenuitie that this was oweing to, and that he was baulkt of his great expectation, a favourable article in a Gazet, which, of all things, he coveted; and that clear demonftration he wanted to give us, at Pearth, of his addrefs and courage, by fhewing, from Generall Hamilton downwards, all amongst us who had ferved were fcountrells, and knew nothing; which, by humouring the diforderlie way that fo much pleaf'd the gentlemen, he thought was no difficult matter, if he had once got fafe thorough with it. He was the more vext at the miffortune, that he knew I had foretold it fo often; which was one of the great crimes he and his favourites had to lay to my charge, and would eftablifh my credite, and make thofe concern'd with us give more attention to what I faid at any other time; and, at fame time, reflect upon him for the choice of fuch a commanding officer, who could have nobodie's approbation but Linlithgow's, who I heard take upon him to fay, that Major Grahame was one of the beft horfe officers in Europe,

¹ It is easy to see that the language held by the Master was more used to spite Mar than to serve the cause in which both were engaged.

tho' the poor man had never served but in King James's armie before the Revolution, and some small time a garde-de-corp in France.

When Major Grahame came back he was very well received by Mar, who was never to be found in a fault, and was not to disapprove of his own choice. He pretended to lay the blame on the gentlemen, who, he said, refused going into the Abbey; they all agreed he never order'd them. I am apt to believe the fault was of both sides. But the Major, finding himself not obey'd, ought to have given good example, and gone into the Abbey himself, with his horses, since the greatest part of his command was there, and, in that case, he'd had more to [have] said for himself. Certain it is, that one Chambers, a Scots Dutch Ensigne, who was their Quartermaster, designed the Abbey for them, and there was cover sufficient both for the gentlemen and their horses, and the Highlandmen. But was it to be thought that a commander of that kind durst hazard Mar's displeasure, or the loss of his friendship, and gain a bad character by it, supposing he had known better; when, on the other hand, he lost but a few gentlemen by doing a thing which looked bold; and no great matter, if he had Mar's protection, what others could say or do. Another great oversight he committed, was not having the least garde, either in any place of the town, or in the town-house, which was still the more necessary, since his whole command was not in the Abbey. Had he taken both these necessary precautions, the dragoons had passed their time but badly, or rather, would never enter'd the town; nor could he ever answer what Gordon of Buckie, Lathrice, and Killrie, told him, when over his bottle. However it was, I'm sure that in any other service he had been hanged. Mar had his whim, as it was just; and the worst of it was, but those who were taken being hanged in an attempt to force a character to Mar, that he might, at his convenience, and with his ease, dispose of the whole the same way. Most of other Generalls do their military executions with small parties, Mar was to do his with sound of trumpet, and, as it were, an invitation to hinder him, and challenge the enemy to attack our command in their beds; for the Duke of Argyle being informed, in a very little time after their passing by Castell Cambell, sent out the dragoons to observe them.

The very night which this happened, I supped at General Hamilton's

lodging, with him, my Lord Balcarres, and his son, Mr Lindsey, and about one of the clock in the morning, the discourse rouleing on out commands, I said, I knew our gentlemen's way of doeing, and I was in pain for them, and said, Let it never happen to my Lord Mar to let those people ly a night near the ennemie, for they'll certainlie have their throats cut. This Balcarres remember'd when I saw him laft. Hamilton, who was then picqued, said, He did not concern himself much for Mar, and Thomas Bruce did all without him. That night he gave us to understand that Mar had not brought so much as a spoon or a napkin of his own from England with him, and was serving himself with his; and that he had lost his best opportunitie of doeing service in the beginning, by not havinge some few hundreds of pounds to distribute amongst the Highland Chiefs, on his first goinge there, which would have brought them out sooner then all the stories he could tell them, or what his rethorick was capable of; and that, before he came from London, he had made him believe he had vast sommes lodged already in the hands of some merchants in Scotland, and two thousand pounds alonge with him in his stronge box, of all which there was not one pennie to be seen: for Mar had left the stronge box with my Ladie Lyon, near to where he landed; and tho' he had talkt a great dale of it, did not fend for it till of late, when we had so much in our treasure, by cessing the countrie, that two thousand pound was of no odds to us. This is the stronge box, formerly mention'd, which I sent his Lordship from Fife, which, before that, his Lordship's own friends gave out there was two thousand pounds in. It will be found that the two thousand pounds were given him at London for the service, and was none of his Lordship's; but whether he brought the monie alonge with him or not, few can tell; if he did, he left it in a place of safetie when he went to the Highlands, and, it seems, despair'd of his success, and would not risque it, thinking it would be of use to himself afterwards, tho' the pretext of getting it was that of gaining the Highland Chiefs at first; for sure that small somme was not designed for our subsistence. I am unwilling to think he, who did not hazard a fork or a spoon, brought that somme alonge with him, for even after his being at Perth, and a considerable bodie got together, when the foot mutinied for want of pay, before we could get the

taxes raised, it is to be thought he'd sent for it, rather than by occasioning so great a discouragement, when the affair was so far gone, run the hazard of ruining all, which, if Panmure and Southesque had not suddainlie put a stop to, by givinge each five hundred pound, must have befallen us; and at that time, as at all other times, there was no danger in bringeing it up safe in a feu hours; but his bringeing it up, or pretending to doe so, when we were in our greatest plentie, looks to me very suspicious, as if he had chosen the time of doing it when none could be capable of judging whither it was throun in to our mas or not. These reasons made me believe that the tuo thousand pound was left in England for his Lordship's own use, and if he made this grimace with his stronge box, and spoke of it, it was because those who gave it to him would not faile to tell it, and he had no other way of keeping it to himself, and saveing his credite, and accounting to them by his disposing of it in the service; for it was no sooner brought to Pearth then the whole storie of it dwindled, which would not have passed in such silence if the Treasurer had got it, and at that time would have been called his own free gift, and he valued for ane act of great generositie, out of a disinterested zeale; but to my certain knowledg the Treasurer receav'd none of it. I know, likewise, that severalls of those who are not now in circumstances to own themselves his enemies, accuse him not onlie of this thift, but, it's said, can give very clear evidences of a great dale more. The reader may judge as he pleases; for my part, I need no stronger presumptions to persuade me that Mar ever was and ever will be Mar; that is, in plain Scots, that a son of a whore, who from his cradle had it in him to be a thief, will be so while he breathes; and, according to our proverb, there's no takinge out of the flesh what's bred in the bone.

It was after the affair of Dumfermling that I turned a greater favourite then ever of the generalltie of the gentlemen at Pearth; and all of them remember'd what I had so often prophesied, and own'd how much I had been in the right to take the care I did on out commands, and then more than ever saw the danger they had been in at Dumblain; in a word, the very women in the streets told me that had I been at Dumfermling that misfortune would not happned. But to blot out this misfortune, Mar forged letters from Stirling, givinge account of a great many wounded

dragoons being brought back there, as well as wounded horfes, and that fome had dyed in their returning back, and that others had been killed in the toun, who the ennemie carried away with them, that we might not know what losfs they had sustained, and all buried privatelie in the colepits, to the number of eleven. This was confirmed by different letters, so it was not doubted of, even by those who were at Dumfermling; for he who was under a bed, or in a garret, did not know but he that was running away was killing dragoons, and he who run away did not know but those under the beds were doing the same; and their commanding officer, Major Graham, and the generall director, Malcome, were longe enough out of the way to have killed a hundred, for it was far in the day before they could be found. There was nothing more ridiculous than to see the whole pleased with finding out the knack of killing of men without being at the trouble of it. Thus the dragoons were mauled without their feeling of it, or without any man's having it to say that he dreu a fuord or fired a pistoll; and it was asserted, in the letters, that they had payed so dear for it, they'd not make another attempt of that kind; this was to hinder the onlie good effect of this misfortune, and for fear it should make people wiser and more cautious on command another time.

No bodie talkt nou of assistance from France, or of any other want but the King, and from the beginning, or at that time, not the least care takne to send to buy powder or armes in Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, Holland, Norway, Gottemburgh, or Dunkirk, tho' we had small ships enough to send any where, since France was out of head; and we had not yet had the least account of the King, as if he and all about him had been dead. Mar, on the other hand, had sent off [f] Sir John Erskine,¹ a near relation of his, and one of his creatures, to France; having heard of people's grumbling at his sending off Collonell Hay without communicating it to any bodie, had sent this last in a more private manner, for he was ten days gone before any bodie knew of it, for fear we had demanded the satisfaction of choiseing one whose report we all could trust. The choice of this messenger could not be more agreeable to us than his former; no man having been of a more opposite principle to us all his life then this had been, and tho' it

¹ Of Alva, an Advocate, and a Member of the Union Parliament.

were hard to blame him for having a great hand in the Union, because his capacitie nor influence was not great, yet he gave his vote to each article of it; for it's not his way to hesitate on those occasions, nor dare the boldest of those who promoted it say he bellou'd so loud in that cause as Sir John Erskine, or exposed himself more with grateing the ears of the Parliament with noise and nonfense, or maintain'd so long that the Union was a good thing. For, when the most devoted to the Court had given up the defence of it, he most impudentlie stood to it, and, to my certain knowledge, was of that opinion not one year before, and, for what I know, and have reason to think, continued so till the very day of his joyning his friend Mar; for by that time he had lost all expectation of doing his work with the Whigs, both parties of that set being offended at him for his too great levitie, and his endeavouring to make up his want of sufficiencie by goinge betuixt them; nor had he ever been constant in any thing but being our and his countrie's ennemie. So it may be said, that his Chief was turned out by the Whigs for being so intolerable a knave, and he throun out of expectation for being so intolerable a fool, for he did not want so stronge an inclination to the other as not to been willing to doe them any sort of service, had they found the capacitie in him.

“ *Olim truncus erat ficulnus, inutile lignum;
Cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse deum.*” Horat. Sat.

This gentleman is my brother-in-law,¹ and I ought to know him, nor can I accuse myself of ever having spared him, absent or present, in my life, or during the time of his changes did I ever change my sentiments of him; but not to doe him injustice, I must say, that his darling passion of being fond of desperate projects, was, I believe, none of his least motives: the force of his imagination hinders the streacheing the views of his spirit to make a just judgement of any thing, which depends on the comparing different reasons. He fills his head so much with one, that he gives no entrie to all the others, which resembles him properlie to those who are too

¹ Sir John Erskine of Alva married the Honourable Catherine Sinclair, sister of the Master.

near the objects, and fees nothing but what is preciselie before them. By that reason, it must be, that he imagins he can put a thing in execution sooner then one who has thrice his sense can conceive it; nor has all the different experiments faileing, that he ever tryed in his life, convinced him one bit of his own insufficiencie. He has still the misfortune to imagine he's born to be a great man, and, when all failes, nothing but want of wings can hinder him from undertaking the Voyage of the Moon.

But it was in vaine for any bodie to say any thing, or reflect on this, for my Lord Mar, who was first onlie a messenger of good tideings, next a Generall of his own making by the help of children, fools, and bankrupts, after that a Generall by authoritie which did not know him, was now a most souveraigne and arbitrarie Prince by the force of our monie, upon no small part of us, and great hopes given by his promising to take care of others, and, when neither of those did, he succeeded by his address in detracting, his greatest talent and constant refuge; for which use he made up a pack of deep-mouthed hounds, composed of pensionarie Lords, aide-de-camps (of which never Generall had so manie), bankrupts, and a vast number of others, of all fortes and sizes. Their common chace was Huntlie, who was not easilie run down, and served to keep them in wind, except some fresh game started, and with those he set all the curs in toun of barking, who, tho' they knew nothing of the game, followed the pack, and pleas'd themselves with opening, as well as the best bred hound. There was nobodie, on all those occasions, so often at a loss as Sir Heugh Paterfone, for, tho' a finger-fed dog, and a favourite, and keen enough, yet was of a mongrel kind, and had no nose, and all the lashing could be given him did not cure him of running the counter and babling. So, being now used to the servitude, and the one frightned by the exemple of the other, no publick notice was to be takne, and very little private, of what Mar did; a common jealousie haveing sprung up amongst the whole, and no man trusted his sentiments to another, for everie bodie saw where it tended, and was to be a favourite at the expence of his friend, since he could not doe better. Mar's interest being all that was to be cared for, it was very allowable for him to make use of his own friends; for, certainlie, if the interest of the Countrie had been in view, we would not made so intire a

surrender of ourselves to those we caught in the flagrant fact of selling their Country, and whome we unanimouſly had all alonge called Villains, nor could anſwer to our own conſciences (if there be ſuch a thing left) and our Country for the doing ſo. Or, if all that was ſham, and nothing of it in the caſe, we were like men of prudence, if not like men of honeſtie, to look to ourſelves, and conſider, that thoſe haveing been our avowed enemies all their lives, had not been ſo but for their intereſt; for it would be ſtill a worſe conſtruction to put it on the foot of willfull malice; and if ſo, it was that great god their intereſts haveing changed which brought them to us, and in purſueing that, they'd as quicklie change again, and either ſell us for it, or doe what was equall, tryſle with us. Nor could Mar's hazarding ſo much, in making ſo odious choiſes, have any other intention then not letting the King know in what condition we were in; nor us what we had to expect or truſt to, after his being ſenſible of our haveing found him out in millions of lyes, and never haveing ſaid one true word ſince his comeing amongſt us, to give us the leaſt grounds of encouragement to cheat ourſelves, or to hope that all that went to the King through his Lordſhip of Mar's canale, or came to us from him through the ſame, muſt not be tainted by the minerale it paſt through, the nature of which we knew ſuch, without analifeing it, that it muſt ſtink more than it had paſt through a common fever. But if the Tories and Jacobites are willing to excuſe this; to own that they were neither capable to conſult, or be at all employ'd in their own affairs, and, for that reaſon, all was to be put in the hands of the dregs and reſuſe of the Whigs which they had ſent us, while themſelves were to be coopt up in a pound fold in Pearth, in as great ignorance and unaction as they had been all horn'd beaſts; they muſt acknowledge with me they are a ſad crew, and good for nothing but being bubbled by the firſt who comes, or ſold like ſo many ſheep or oxen. Tho' it's impoſſible to comprehend that all wanted brains equallie, and of ſuch a number of men ſome did not conſult their own intereſts, a talent generallie given in ſome degree by nature to the weakeſt of people; therfor, on a ſtrickt enquiree it will be found, a conſiderable number of thoſe who had influence happned to be children, and thoſe who, generallie ſpeaking, had any ſhare of ſenſe, or knowledge of the world, were bankrupts, and eaſilie bought off

by Mar, to lead the others into the noose, like so many decoy ducks: And had it not been our monie, the condescension amongst men of equall rank, or intirelie independant, would not been so great as to make them neglect the very curiositie of knowing to the bottom what they had to depend on, after being imbarkt in any indifferent cause, for they themselves did not trust him, but being pay'd for that passive humor, and haveing no estates to loose, were indifferent about it, being assured that was the way to deserve something elsewhere, and knowing they could not be more at home then when abroad, haveing no countrie to loose neither.

Mar, in the beginning of our affair, before his own commission came, had taken upon him to make some of those who were not the most distinguished men amongst us Colonells, and others of less note Lieutenant-Colonells and Majors. The design of that was to gain them to him, as if he had undertaken to raise and support them out of friendship, and the value he had of their merit against all young and idle pretenders of greater interest or titles; but they were desired to keep the secret, because it would breed a jealousy if it came to be known they had got the elder commissions, and intreated them to allow those of interest to take upon them and doe as they pleas'd; in the mean time it could be no prejudice to them, for, when it should be proper to declare it, they'd always be prefer'd, by taking their rank from their commissions of a prior date. These fools, who never had been sojers, and but small pretensions to any rank, took it for the greatest mark of favour the preference he gave them, for they never expected a Court so favourable, and conceived great expectations, run about and lyed for him, and did every thing he had a mind, since all tended to their advancement, and believed they were working for themselves. After this, he discovers his intention of giving out more commissions to some of his favourite Lords, who he thought fittest for his purpose, and about the time of his commissions coming, makes Kilfeyth and Marishall Major-Generalls: This set all the others agog; and everie bodie who had either a following, or a title of Lord without a following, run upon him for commissions; which he wanted they should doe, that he might have an opportunity of obliging them all, and, at same time, distinguishing those by greatest commissions

who he wanted to make use of; those who were most reasonable he could easilie satisfie with that of a Collonell, for tho' they deserved better, it was for the good of the service to give them no more at that time, and he knew that was not the designe of their coming out, bid them leave the rest to him, he'd take care they should not be wronged, and make it up to them sooner or later. This he did to people who he onlie wanted to please, but those who were bankrupts, who, for reasons known to himself, from the beginning he had a mind to oblige, he made Brigadeers at once; such as Ogilvie of Boyn, who came with his commission from France, who had not one fur of ground, and had left the countrie many years for debt, and had not one man to follow him, and never had served, who he made a Brigadier of the foot; and he made it almost a generall rule, except some of his very particular friends, no bodie was first and last advanced to any distinguisht post but bankrupts; nor did he give out any of those commissions to those people except Marishall and Kilfeyth, till he had satisfied all the others with being Collonells.

There was indeed a necessitie of giving those of following commissions, for, tho' not officers, there was no other way of bringing them into a form and subordination; (a commission putting them under the obligation of obeying;) and no Clan being willing to loose their name, and join immediatelie under another Chief, every Chief pretending to ane equallitie, they could not well have less than that of Collonell. As to those of the horse, who led squadrons, they might very well been contented with Captain's commissions, or, if it was thought more orderlie or regular to form each squadron into three companies, the character of Collonell was not despicable, when gentlemen as good as themselves, and of much better estates, were troopers. But the improving that necessitie of having some who bore the rank of officers, tho' none could pretend a capacitie for the louest post, to that of Generall of the horse, and Major-Generalls, was very strange; for certainlie those who were not capable to command a regiment, or a squadron, or a company, could have no pretensions to be Generalls, and far less those of no greater capacitie, who had none of those to command, since all the claim they had to any command was founded on our misfortune, and because there was no others, everie one was to doe the best he could with

those who followed him. Having those two Major-Generals of horse, he could not, out of shame, but make the Marquis of Tullibardine Major-General of the foot, having done him more service from the beginning than any body there, and still the most considerable after Huntlie; so it was his interest to force that commission upon him, which he was too modest to ask. As to the other commissions of the horse, Linlithgow, Southesque, Rollo, and I, were made Collonells; for he had made Hary Balfour, who serv'd as Liutennant-Collonell under my command, and Collonell Hay, his brother-in-law, who serv'd in the same station under Rollo, Collonells in his first promotion; so that I, who, of all those who had squadrons, was the onlie [one] who had serv'd, was made the youngest officer of the whole, tho' I was the first who came with any number of horse to Pearth. But, indeed, I believe the fault was my own, for I had all along said that I needed not my Lord Mar's commission to command the Fife gentlemen, and that being the height of my ambition, I wanted no commission from him, nor did I ever ask any, and would scarce accept of it when it was sent me, till I reflected that it was irregular to refuse it.

But some imagining justice was not done their merite, promotions did not stop there; Marishall's claime to advancement being, that he was a year a Collonell of the Horse Granadeers, at London, in the last of Queen Ann's reigne, and Kilfeyth's, that he was Liutennant-Collonell before the Revolution. Linlithgow, who had as great a mind to be a Generall as any, had wit enough to reflect that Mar had made himself Generallissimo, and Drummond Generall of the horse, by plain lying; he pretended he had a commission of Collonell from King James of eight years date, and, by virtue of that, must be an elder Major-Generall then Marishall or Kilfeyth; and tho' he had continued Collonell till now, was very ill satisfied; Mar would not stand to pleas'd him at any body's expence but Marishall and Kilfeyth's, who were to be his principal tools, and durst not venture at once to make too many promotions of that kind till he saw how these took; and seeing Rollo and I easie, he compounded the matter with him, and made him a Brigadeer, and at same time my Lord Southesque, who, I must doe the justice to say, did not desire it, and told me he was in doubt to accept, but that

Pourie Fotheringam advis'd him to it, and faying, there was no harm in takeing; who Mar had sent to him, as I believe, that he might fix the greater obligation on him; for Mar, next to his generall rule of takeing care of bankrupts, was a great admirer of ignorance and simplicitie.

Here I must give way to my own vanitie, to say that many of the gentlemen were surpris'd I was not advanced. I told them I had not desir'd it, and had had already as much honour as I wish'd for, and as great a command as I thought I was capable of. Then, I have been ask'd, If I thought so, how came Linlithgow, Southeisque, and others, to be capable? I said, They were best judges of that themselves; and indeed, they were as capable of it as of any other thing. This last advancement happening a little after the ruffle at Dumfermling, I don't know what spirit moved my Lord Huntlie's two squadrons particularlie, to goe to him, and tell him they'd be commanded by no bodie but I; for the loss of Dumfermling falling heaviest on them, they had a mind for the future to have one to command them who they thought they could trust. Huntlie was satisfis'd with the proposall, and said he'd speak to me; and this was done when I had little or no acquaintance of Huntlie, and had never made him so much as a visite, and none at all amongst the gentlemen. His Lordship bid Iruine of Drum, who he made afterwards Collonell to one of his squadrons, tell me he wanted to see me. I went to Scone alonge with Drum, where Huntlie surpris'd me with the proposale. I thank his Lordship and the gentlemen for the good opinion they had of me, but told him that I had enough to doe already, and more under my command than I could well manage, and wish'd he would give the command of his two squadrons to some other; and said, There were idle Lords enough who would be glade of a less command, to keep them in countenance. He answer'd, That neither he nor his friends would be contented with those, for were there no more in it but such leaders, they had ignorant folks enough amongst themselves. I own'd to him, ingenuousslie, that I did not understand the horse service, for I had serv'd amongst the foot, and that if I was amongst them now, it was not out of choice, but because I did not know how to dispose of myself otherwise, for I could not propose to be of any use amongst the Highlandmen, whose language I did not understand,

or, if I did, who were so savage that it was impossible for any man to bringe them to discipline; and, havinge spoke so in the beginning to Strathmore, who offered to make me his Liutennant-Collonell of Low-countrie foot, I was within amb's ace of accepting of it, and leaving the more honourable command to take that in which I thought I could be more serviceable to my countrie; but, finding that everie bodie was drauing to himself, and the worthlefest formed the greatest pretensions, it being then their harvest, I had continu'd where my lot had throun me, least such should takne advantage of it. (Of this communing of Strathmore's and mine Barasfield is a living witness, who accepted of that post on my refusale.) At last, Huntlie told me, he'd take no denyell, and the gentlemen of his tuo squadrons would not be fatiffied if I was not made a Brigadeer, for they were scandalized at the makeing those superiour officers who were not capable to command ten men, and keep those under who knew service. Then, I said, I had put on a stronge resolution not to be a Brigadeer, or further advanced, nor could he think that if any busenefs happened I could quit my Fife friends. He said, He'd make it so that his friends and mine should be always together, and my consenting to it on that foot would be ane obligation done him, and that I must goe with him next day to Mar, which I at last consented to, rather then difoblidge him. He called me next morning, and we went together to Mar; and he told him that his friends and he would have Mr Sinclair to command them, and no other, on any out command, or at any time; and since he had a mind to put Collonells on his tuo squadrons, for that reason it was proper I should be made a Brigadeer, since I was to have within a very few of the one-half of the horse of the armie under my command. Mar came up to me with a forc'd smile, and askt, If I desir'd it? I anfuer'd, Not I; no more than that of Collonell, which was sent me, but the Marquise of Huntly had been pressing me to it, since I was to command his people, who were to have Collonells of their own over each squadron, to put them on a foot with the others, and he thought that title would make them more subordinate; but, for my part, I did not court it. Mar said, Had he knoun I had desir'd it, he had done it ere nou. I anfuer'd, I did not doubt of it, nor did I desire it then; and in demonstration of it, I never took out my commiffion, tho' that night

I was declar'd so in orders. But to shew his Lordship of Mar's good will, he put the Viscount of Kingstoun¹ before me, who had been with us from the beginning, without any notice being takne of him, or the least commiffion, till then; and, tho' he had no influence, yet had a juster title than any of them to a commiffion, having served in Catalonia. The onlie pleasure I had in this was the satisfactiō of mortifieing the Lords, who, after the exposēing themselves with the vanitie of being Generalls and Brigadeers, had amongst them all but four squadrons to command, when I had three; and I was not afraid they'd have the impudence or courage to come and give me orders at any time, their follie haveing now raised my spleen a little. For, tho' I'd had no other reason, advancement was to me a jeaft, knowing very well hou all would goe; and had I inclined before that, without lying or makeing court to Mar, I could formed as stronge, and, in my opinion, stronger pretensions as any, for if it went by haveing influence on so many gentlemen, I had as good a title to it as any there, not to say better then most; if by familie, I'm apt to believe that by that reason they dare say I had any less title, and it can't be denyed I had more service, otherwise I must have spent my time but very ill. Nor can I believe the Lords flatter themselves they were preferred to anie bodie for their longe heads or prudence. Houever, Mar gain'd his aime by this management; and by his publick and private commiffions, some of which were and are daylie appearing, made such a jumble, and created such jealousies amongst friends and followings, that it contributed not a little to the playing his game.

I found Huntley's people in greater confusion then any of the others, and at that time did not know who to obey as their officers, and I spoke to his Lordship, who knew them, to nominate those he thought proper to be captains and other officers, that they might be divided in troops, and doe their service with the others as regularie as it was possible for them; but to no purpose. Here I don't pretend to excuse my friend, my Lord Huntlie; for, either out of fear of difoblidgeing some, by advancing others, which would give Mar a handle to work in upon him, as he

¹ James Seaton, Viscount of Kingston, afterwards attainted. He had been an Ensign in the Scots Fusiliers in Queen Anne's time.

and Marifhall had attempted with his foot, or out of a fpirit of delaying, he contributed not a little to their diforder.

A ftorie was induftriouflic fpread in Pearth that the Duke of Argyle ufed our gentlemen barbarouflic who were takne in Dumfermling, that Mar might have ane opportunitie of fhewing himfelf a brave fellow, and fpeakeing big, and threatning he would ufe the firft of the ennemie he caught no better, and of writeing a letter to the Duke of Argyle, as he faid, in thefe terms, to perfuade all he fear'd nothing, and that he had a good opinion of the caufe, and of making the meffenger bring what return he thought fit. He fent my trumpet with the letter, to which the Duke of Argyle made no anfuer, but on his return affured us, that he had feen fome of the prifoners, who faid they were as well ufed as they could expect, and that one of the gentlemen,¹ who was wounded, was drefsed carefullie everie day by the Duke's own chirurgeon. Thus far I believed his report; but Mar bribed him to fay further, that Major Cathcart, who was the Duke's Aide-de-camp, had told him, That when the Duke fent out that detachement to Dumfermling, he had no defigne of fhadeing blood, but hindring the countrie to be pillaged, and that he was forrie for what happned; and this laft part was none of the leaft reafons of fending the trumpet² to gull the poor unthinking people, and make them fancie they had no ennemie, and might, for the future, doe as they pleaf'd. But this was not enough; for Sir Heugh Paterfone received a letter from Stirling to confirm it, telling that his Grace had difcountenanced a captain of dragoons, who, he faid, was the man who commanded the partie into Dumfermling, and named him De Curie.

But, fince I am on the fubject of lyes, I muft mention here a letter Mar pretended to receive from Mr Forefter of Bamburie, our Englifh Generall, and intercepted by him. It was a letter wrote by the Prince to the Duke of Argyle, in the manner of ane order, commanding his Grace not to rifque the few troops he had, and retire with them to Berwick, fo foon as we came to pafs the Forth; fo that it was concluded

¹ Dr Gordon.

² The Report of John Maclean, Trumpet, dated 1st November 1715, is printed in the Appendix to Rae's History of the Rebellion.

the ancient Kingdom was our own; and at this time we were so capable of all impressions, that nothing could be told us extravagantly enough; and if any doubted of it in private, or told his reasons for not believing it to one he thought was his friend, ten to one he was a pensioner, or a friend and favourite of some great General, and the whole pack was let loose upon him, and if they overran him, or started fresh game, there was another pack of slow beagles that came yelping on the cold scent eight days after; and there was no remission or forgiveness for a crime of that nature, and as little refuge.

My Lord Bredalbain, who had engaged as soon as any to send us two battalions, of six hundred men each, forgot his promise for a long time, tho' we had refreshed his memory with sending him money to raise them, and, after frequent solicitation, had sent only three hundred to join the Clans, came about this time to Perth, as I was told, seeking more money. His extraordinary character¹ and dress made every body

¹ John, first Earl of Breadalbane, was indeed one of the most extraordinary characters of his time, being possessed of many talents and a profusion of vices. He was a profound dissembler, treacherous, vindictive, rapacious, and profligate to an extraordinary pitch. King William's Ministry, in 1689-90, entrusted him with £30,000 to pacify the Highlands, then desperate from the consequences of Dundee's insurrection. To some of the great Chiefs he gave a small share of the booty, others he pacified with promises, and many he overawed with threats. To the Minister who desired an account of the expenditure of this sum, Breadalbane answered in these memorable words:—"My Lord, the money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting between friends." The unfortunate Macdonald of Glencoe gave Breadalbane some trouble about this money, in revenge of which, and of some other old grudges, the Earl devised, and his regiment executed, that celebrated and most treacherous exploit, commonly called the Massacre of Glencoe. He contrived to keep up an interest with both parties in the State, although it is not easy to account either for his taking so decisive a step as to join Mar at all, or for his escaping out of the matter so easily. He must have been nearly eighty years old when he came to Perth on that hopeful expedition.

"Fortes creantur fortibus:" I cannot help jotting down that this Earl John was father to that second Earl of Breadalbane, another worthy descendant of

run to see him, as if he had been a spectacle. Amongst others, my curiositie led me: He was the merriest grave man I ever saw, and no sooner was told any bodie's name than he had some pleasant thing to say to him, mockt the whole, and had a way of laughing inwardlie which was very perceptible, and that for nere three quarters of ane hour I was by him. He told some of the politticiens, amongst other things, that it was a shame to them to be idle at Pearth, loofeing their time doeing nothing, and, since they did not fight, he advised them to get a printing-press, and if they had nothing else to say, print Gazets;¹ he said it was inconceaveable the good that printing their neus would doe them, and the value of those papers. They took it in earnest, and a press was sent for to Aberdeen in all haste, and spread in toun that we were to print Gazets; and I was not allowed

Donachu Dhu a Churich, (Black Duncan with the thrum-cap,) who was well known in the earlier part of the last century by the name of Old Rag. His son married the heiress of Grey, Duke of Kent, and had a son by her; but [having] predeceased its father, the large estate, which would otherwise have gone into the Breadalbane family, [passed into other hands.] Old Rag was much dissatisfied, and damned his son Glenorquhy for his stupidity. "For," said he, "had he sent the boy to me, he should never have died so long as there was a lad-bairn in Breadalbane." There are curious stories told of Old Rag, but chiefly such as paper will not endure. He was exceedingly hard favoured, so much so, that once upon a time when he was indisposed in a hotel in London, the landlord telling over to him the contents of his larder, the Earl suddenly withdrew his grim countenance from some folds of tartan under which he had shrouded it, and in answer to his host's obliging proffers, said, "I think I could eat a bit of a *poor man*." What he meant was a blade bone of mutton, called a *poor man* in Scotland, as in England it is sometimes named a poor Knight of Windsor. But his face and tone frightened mine host out of the room, who never doubted that his Lordship might have been in the custom of eating a tenant now and then when *chez lui*. Rag died at Holyrood in 1750. In his last paroxysm (he was upwards of ninety) the assistants held a mirror to his face to see if he yet breathed. A servant maid held a candle to the mirror, when the dying man made so frightful a grimace that she dropt the light on his breast. Rag exerted himself so far as to make the most singular remark that ever left the lips of a dying man. They were the last words he spoke, but pen must not transcribe them.

¹ A printing press was accordingly obtained from Aberdeen, and Fairbairn, the printer before mentioned, was created Gazetteer.

to fay I did not believe it, knowing that Mar, on fecond thoughts, would not love to have fo many teftimonies of his integritie ftanding in record againft him; and, indeed, thefe papers would been of very great value to the curious, for, of the many forts of lyes was vented, fome were onlie calculated for the prefent time, and it was as treafonable to repeat or remember them fome time after, as it was not to believe them at firft, and were of that nature that they were to be forgot, and the fame people fhew'd the fame vigour in fuppreffing them which they did at firft in maintaining them, and that with horrid oaths, that never fuch things were faid or imagin'd.

As before, we onlie wanted Huntlie's joyning us to pafs the Forth, and all tongues had been imploy'd againft him for his being too flow, and no fooner he came, had found out ane expedient to excufe ourfelves from doeing it, by fending Mackintosh over the Frith (for that was the true reafon) to be in his rear, as Mar gave out, and faid in his letters, while the Clans were to come down the other fide of Forth. After the conqueft of Argyllfhire, we made ourfelves defign'dlie fo weak that we could not attack his front, and, in a word, in fuch a condition that we durft not look at him in front, flank, or rear, and therefor muft order the Clans to joyn us; which, fo foon as they did, we'd make his Grace of Argyle retire to Berwick, and obey the Prince's orders. The Clans bloodthirftie curiofitie was foon fatiffied in Argyllfhire, by feeing folks in armes¹ there readie to receive them, and nothing to be got in that countrie, for it's ill takeing breeches from a Highlandman, according to the proverb; moft willinglie obey'd, and, in their marche towards us, were joyned by Lochiell, with the Clan Cameron, and Steuart of Apin, with his following. Mar order'd them to cantoon at Auchterarduch; and, tho' it was faid that they were to be followed by Sir James Campbell of Auchinbrek,² with his men, who could not come alonge, becaufe they left him in a fever. They were prittie modeft, and did not brag much of their fucefs, onlie it was

¹ The Earl of Isla, afterwards Duke of Argyle, threw himfelf into Inverary with about a thousand men, and held the place out againft the Clans of the West Highlands, commanded by General Gordon.

² Sir James was indeed in arms, but it was on the other fide.

believed the Campbells¹ might at last be brought to marche down the other side Forth, and favour our passage now, the Clans being to marche with us. Linlithgow was commanded out to Auchterarduch, with the standard squadron and Rollo's, to joyn the Clans, and after being there ten days or a fortnight, he was to be relieved. Mar, as well as those about him, were glade of the occasion to get ridd of Huntley's two squadrons, with whom there was a continuell strugell in doeing their guards or pickets, and all duties; all being in confusion for want of dividing in troops, and they rancour'd, by continueing still to be the jeast of the whole, without the poor gentlemen's knoweing for what; not being so wife as those who had been longer with us, and suspecting that hardships were put upon them, in oblidging them to doe more dutie than the others, which, I believe, was true, but not to be known till put in order. So they were order'd out to relieve Linlithgow and Rollo, and went with pleasure, each being wearied of other, hoping they would get more justice done them where they were goeing. Huntley spoke to me to marche them to Auchterarduch, which I did, and endeavour'd to bring them in to a methode of marcheing regularlie, but I found so many divisions and subdivisions amongst them, that I did not know where to begin with them, for some one or other wanted to be on the right of everie troop, into which they had divided themselves most unequallie; others, who composed such a troop, would have the right in the squadron, or marche in by troops alone; and this had now run on so longe, they were heated against one another, there seem'd no appearance of ane accomodation; and all this proceeded from Huntley's indulgence, out of fear of Mar's takeing advantage if any of them were disoblidged. Some, who were wearied of all that contest, and saw how Huntlie allowed them and himself to be treated, stay'd in Pearth, with a resolution to leave his squadrons; which was all Mar askt of them, and wrought his game. I was forced to tell them my opinion, with a great dale of frankness, which the better forte was pleased with; and was indifferent about the others. At last I got them formed into tolerable order; onlie one troop, which I made the avant garde, would by no means marche in squadron.

¹ The Campbells were much divided during the whole affair.

By the time I got there Huntley was reviewing the Clans, a great part of whom were his own vassals; I thought them as good like men as I ever saw, but no better armed than we. I was civilly received by all, and particularly by Captain of Clanronald,¹ who surprised me with a compliment which I neither deserved or expected, he told me, He wanted more to see me engaged in that affair than any man in Scotland. I dare say he meant sooner than any man who was presumed to be of our party, and indeed that was too much. All of them set upon me, and pressed me to stay at Auchterarduch with them, and assured me they should get the Fife Squadron sent to join us next day, that I might have all under my command with me; and because they had an opinion of that Squadron, I excused myself, under the pretext of saying, It would be a hardship done my friends to bring them out on my account; but the truth was, I was wearied of Huntley's horse. However, I said, Since they expect themselves so much in favours of the Fife gentlemen and me, if ever they marched separately on any expedition, and wanted horse, I'd be always ready to march with them. We had been told they were to be near to five thousand when Lochiel and Apin joined, but they were not more than two thousand five hundred, being weakened by desertion in that fatiguing march, near as much as those two Clans strengthened them.

Huntley, General Gordon, Glengarie, Sir John Maclean, and I, went to Perth that night. On the road going back, I shew'd Glengarie a place of the horse cantonment, which, I said, was exposed to the insults of the Duke of Argyle's garrison at Castle Campbell; not that I believed he'd take more notice of such reasoning than I had seen others do before, who answer'd all with that salvo, No fear, no fear; but wonder'd to see him enter into it, sent back a servant, and order'd thirty Highlandmen to be quarter'd there with the horse. In our returning, Huntley, General Gordon, and Glengarie, began to talk a little obscurely, for I was not then well acquainted with them, about keeping the Clans in a separate body, and of marching by themselves with Huntley's horse, and spoke again oftner than once of bringing the Fife Squadron to join them. Sometimes I imagin'd

¹ Allan Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, a Chief of great gallantry and courage, who fell leading the Highland charge at Sheriffmuir.

Glengarie, who was the leading man, went into it to please Huntley for the time; at other times, I fancied Glengarie had a designe on the plunder of Glasgow, and drea in Huntley to joyn, by his getting the name of that command; but they spoke so obscurelie that I could determine nothing, and often spoke low; only Huntley said, plain enough, He'd have all his people, foot and horse, joyn the Clans. I must say that I was afraid of a separation; and I thought it my dutie to advertise Generall Hamilton of the jealousie which I had, that he might tell Mar of it; for I could call it no other. But I thought it was easier preventing these things in the beginning, then remeading them afterwards, if once takne root; and tho' I knew the state of our affairs too well to pefage good of them, yet a separation of that kind might well make us worfe, it could not better us. I know he told Mar of it. How he managed it, I can't tell; but Hamilton told me, next day, they had made Glengarie maedlie drunk, as he called it, and had broke the neck of that project. However, Huntley insisted at this time and afterwards, to have his foot at Pearth joyn the Clans. It's certain all the Clans, at their first comeing, had no other notion but that of being commanded by Huntley; and Captain of Clanronald, who was the first of them who came to Pearth, said, that he engaged to serve the King, but, next to him, he'd follow no man so willingly as Huntlie; and this in Mar's antichamber; for those were then strangers to us, and were not as yet reconciled to Mar, so as to give him the intire trust. But it was not long ere Mar's address and the common cry changed their minds, and lay'd out all Huntley's faults, so that they had no further regarde to him than to flatter him a little; as to the rest, [they] did what they pleased; nor can I think but the publick monie given in a double portion to Glengarie, who had the key of the others, with everie one's getting his own quota, contributed a great dale to it; for Generall Gordon, then whom no man was a more humble servant of his before, forgot, as soon as anie of them, his obligations to his Chief. What made me find greatest fault, that if Huntley had a mind to anything, why did he not give his reasons, and speak plain and above board, and, in that case, ten to one I'd been of his side; but we'd at least had the pleasure of knowing the meaning of it.

About this time one Robert Douglas,¹ a Borderer, was sent by the Viscount of Kenmuire to Mar with intelligence, and to receive new orders, having, together with Mackintosh, joined the two English Lords Darnwater and Widdrington, and General Forester. This Douglas being of my Lord Rollo's acquaintance, I asked Rollo to make an appointment with him the evening before he went off, that I might have an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity; which he did, and Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, went along with us. Douglas was very close, and I could easily discover the lying spirit of my Lord Mar in him; but being then called out about his dispatches, I asked a young Englishman, who came along with him as a companion, some pointed questions about the number of the English that had joined, and about their horses and arms. He was more ingenuous, and told plainly their number was not five hundred when he left them, and of those few or none well armed, all the greatest part altogether without arms; that their horses were light hunting horses, and hunting saddles and snaffles made up their accoutrements; that there was scarce a cutting sword amongst them all: in testimony of which, he said, That for such swords as we wore he could change each for a horse of 25 guineas. He said more, That several, yea numbers, who had joined, had returned home for want of arms, and if it were not for that want, there would be men enough got. I asked him about the Scots who had joined with Kenmuire. He said, They were about a hundred, and that they were much better horsed for the purpose, because they had stronger ruff horses, and were all very well armed; which I understood, well armed in comparison of the English. He said, That the Scots seem'd afraid, when they should come to action, of the English running away from them on their fleet horses; and it

¹ Robert Douglas, brother to Douglas of Freeland, commanded the Fourth Troop of Horse, levied by Winton and Kenmuire on the southern side of the Forth. He signalled himself by passing, more than once, in disguise betwixt the southern Insurgents and the Earl of Mar, also by his dexterity in searching the country for arms and horses, which (says Patten) "some were pleased to say was a trade he had followed out of the Rebellion as well as in it." He behaved well at Preston, and, after being taken with the others, had the luck to escape from the jail at Liverpool.

was impossible it could happen otherwise, for those who have no armes, and have means of getting off by the fleetness of their horses, will and must doe it; or, if they be shut up in a town, without armes, will discourage those who have armes. While we were talking of this Douglas return'd. We spoke out to him what his younge friend had told us, who, it seems, he had not instructed well enough. He, finding it was so, owned all, and askt us for Highland fuords; Rollo made him a present of one, for none of us had a nie to spare; but, above all, intreated us not to tell Huntley anything, for Mar had caution'd, if Huntley spoke to him, to call the hundreds who had joyn'd them thousands; a strange way of cutting a man's throat everie where, tho' Huntley was, at that time, not in the least uneasie. No doubt Douglas had orders to augment our numbers to the English, who, I must not forget to doe justice to for their good order, and following their hounds, on their marche, as was then told us. I could not hinder myself from saying a short Litanie to myself, "From ane affair founded on lyes, such a generall, such officers, such armies, and such order, Good God deliver me!"

I can swear I never mention'd this to Huntley till at Gordon Castle in the North. The next thing that was done, was the sending Lord George Murray to Dumfermling to leave the cefs, which those sent before had left undone; he had nothing but Highland foot under his command, and his regiment being weak, the Duke of Athole's vassalls deserting home daylie, who, besides the naturell inconstancie of those people, were distracted betuixt the father and the sons, Indernitie was either sent along with him, or followed him soon after with his regiment, which by this time was diminisht by desertion, which was the case of the whole; he took post in the Abbay, and took prittie good precautions not to be served the same as those there before him, being wise at others expence. We were told the dragoons came to pay him a visit, but finding him on his garde, were not further troublesome. As to the cefs, he levied it very effectually, and kept five hundred pound sterling for his own use. When the ennemie made their last attempt on this place, my Lady Erskine of Alva, whose house was on the high road betuixt that and Stirveling, and had a watchful eye on everie thing that passed that way, sent Lord George Murray

the advertifement of their marcheing towards him ; but her fervant getting in to the toun, without being challenged by anie fentrie, ſhe wrote a letter to a friend of my Lord Mar's, deſiring him to tell his Lordſhip of the negligence of our folks ; and wiſht heartilie we might take exemple from the ennemie, who, while they were takeing away her corn and ſtraw, had placed fentries on all the paſſages of the hills, within tuo miles of her houſe, which, ſhe ſaid, was, that they might not be ſurprifed, and made juſter reflections on their good order then I had ever heard any of our gentlemen make. I mention this to ſhew that the very women judged better then our men, whoſe heads were turned, and were not allowed to think or ſpeak but as Mar and his creatures would have them. This lady had takne the ſame care to advertiſe thoſe who formerlie were ſurprifed in that toun, but her fervant unluckilie fell in to the hands of the dragoons in the dark, and they made uſe of him as a guide to bring them nere the toun.

The Clans being now with us, we forgot to marche to paſs the Forth, and reprived the Duke of Argyle, till my Lord Seaforth, Sir Donald Mackdonald,¹ and Frazer,² joynd us ; who we were expecting every day, as we had done ſix weeks, or rather tuo months before, and no greater appearance of his comeing nou than was then ; but now we were charmed with Pearth, and more ſatiſfied with it then ever, and were not in the leaſt impatient about Seaforth's comeing, who we rather excuſed, and ſaid he was comeing, but had been doeing wonders. One would fuore that his ſhape³ had created a ſympathie betuixt him and Mar, if we had not known it was by antipathie he wrought, and was intirelie acted ; for he was ſtill jealous of Huntlie after all he had done him, and thought there

¹ Of Sleat, ancestor of Lord Macdonald, and Chief of that part of the Sept who acknowledge deſcent from Donald Gorme.

² Alexander Mackenzie, Younger of Preſtonhall, assumed the name of Frazer of Frazerdale, on his marriage with Anne, eldeſt daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat. He brought out the Clan Frazer into the Rebellion, but the celebrated Simon Frazer, afterwards Lord Lovat, taking the ſide of Government, the Clan came over to him, as the heir-male and proper Chief, and deſerted Frazerdale.

³ Seaforth, as well as Mar, was ſomewhat deformed.

was no surer way of keeping him under, then by commending the one who he had no fear of, and running down the other, and by that creating a jealousy betwixt them; no difficult thing amongst Highland Princes, who, tho' there be no equality, and admit of no comparison, aspire always to a superiority, especially if they be mere neighbours, and have the title of Lords, and then they are hereditary rivals; tho' it can't be said Seaforth's family or honours has entitled him long to that, for the first time Mackenzie of Kintail was heard of, was his being bailie of a stewardry to Earle Southerland, the reign of James Fifth; however it's certain, it's but reflecting on one Clan or Chief to gain the favour of the other, and, vice versa, but praising the one to lose the other; and the more unreasonable it's done, the greater the resentment to him who thinks himself injured, and the greater the obligation to him who must own he's favoured.

It was said now, in Seaforth's vindication, contrary to our ordinary politick of denying bad news, that Southerland¹ was landed, and had headed several little Clans of the country, who, joyn'd to his own, made a good body, but far inferior to Seaforth and Sir Donald Mack-Donald, either in numbers or goodness of men; and that Seaforth, who was painted to us [as] a Lyon, or a little Alexander, would soon mumble him; and Duffus, who had all the Caithness men already at his devotion, would bring off those of Southerland and Murrey at one pull, for he had promises of all, after his Chief, the Earle of Southerland, was chaffed away, or taken, which would not cost much trouble; and this would bring us, in all, with the Frazers, above five thousand foot, and several hundreds of horse, which, to say truth, was no contemptible matter. Besides that reason of Mar's not being afraid of Seaforth, and his giving such superlative commendations to set him up in opposition to Huntley, by attributing, publickly and privately, to the one what he took from the other, his business was further

¹ John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland, materially assisted the cause of George I, by landing in his own county of Sutherland and raising his followers, with those of Lord Reay, in the rear of Mar's army. The Munroes, Gunns, and other Clans, composed his little army.

to elevate them, with the expectation of so great a man, and so full of fire, and make them hope that there was almost another such hero as himself in him, a character which did not fute any of the Lords with us, in spite of his commissions, for we had known them too longe, and the mettle they were made of; and, according to the saying, It's hard haveing a value for that statue we knew first in a block. However, they still filled up so many places, and continued to be very usefull to him, and he no less kind to them. We were not longe without hearing the Earle of Southerland was prisoner, and his following routed and disarmed, except such who would follow Duffus; but these onlie served to arm the others better, for we did not desire such vast numbers. Lord Strathnaver, son to my Lord Southerland, was besieged in his castell of Dunrobin, which would not hold out many days, and then Seaforth would be with us. Sometime after, it was allowed Southerland was not prisoner, and that he had got in to a man-of-war. Whether Southerland went to attack Seaforth, or Seaforth him, I won't be positive, but they came within a short mile of one another, nere Anes; at which time the MackDonalds, I mean Sir Donald and his brothers, who were there with eight or nine hundred men, proposed to my Lord Seaforth to attack him, and on his refusing, begged Seaforth would allow them to engage him with their Clan alone, and he should look on with his MackKenzies; but he would not grant them that favour neither, but delayed it till next day. In the mean time Southerland discover'd his fault, for his number was not equall to theirs, nor are his men thought so good, especiallie as the MackDonalds; and being in a corner betuixt the Cromartie Frith and a river, had they attackt him, he, and all with him, must been prisoners, or cut to pieces, made his retreat in the night, disperfed his men, and went himself into a man-of-war: Finding he was not able to keep the field, or fight them, thought he did enough if he hinder'd their joyning us; for Seaforth and his vassalls pretended they could not leave the countrie till he was reduced, fearing, in their absence, his plundering their houses. The next remedie was, they threatned to plunder his territories, and upon that a capitulation was made betuixt Seaforth and Southerland's vassalls, that neither should plunder. God knous of what consideration that was in regarde to his looseing his all, and

us with him. However he came off in triumph, marched to Invernes, where he proclaim'd the King, left Sir John Mackenzie in the old ruinous citadell to drink to the peace of the Countrie, and did no more then he could have done tuo months before. Let mankind judge, if our heros that we had all our dependance on, were such, what must the others be? The nearer he came to us the more the name of the thousands Duffus was to bring to us vanisht; but, in revenge, his great number was still kept up. And, for fear people should suppose that the Grants, a numerous Clan, about eight hundred men, might joyn Southerland, in obedience to their Chief, who was Brigadeer¹ in the Duke of Argyle's armie, it was told publickly, but under secrecie, that Grant of Elchies, who had more influence on the Clan then their Chief, had been privatelie in Pearth with Mar, and undertakne to bring them all to us; which was as true as all our other reports, but as little to be doubted of: And James Fercharfon, one of Mar's Aide-de-camps, suore to me, he saw and spoke with him; which I did not believe one word of, and told him no less, knowing that this, and all his other Aide-de-camps, were his principall knights of the post, and had got commissions of Majors, God knous how worthie, and [were paid and fed for it,] and were at same time exempted from all service and dutie, like the Lords, that they might be the more assiduous, and at greater freedom to serve him in that station.

Seaforth being in full marche towards us, and, after his coming, our Generall prudently foreseeing there would be no further excuse for staying longer at Pearth, and that there would be a necessitie of marcheing or making a feint, in ten days or a fortnight at farthest, begun to think it was now the proper time to fortifie Pearth, I mean, make lines about it; and being of a Sunday morning in Mar's anti-chamber, where all used to meet, Generall Hamilton askt me to walk with him when the others went to Church. So soon as they were gone, we went together without the town, along the little ditch to the Iron Mill on the South Inch. In our going thither he sent my servant back for a spade, and askt me, If I understood fortification? I said, No; but that I had read as much as made me understand the terms of art, not to be so very ignorant as I had

¹ Alexander Grant of Grant, afterwards Governor of Inverness.

seen severall officers, and make me comprehend things the better when in the trenches. He said, He had a mind to make lines on that side of the toun. I anfuer'd, I wisht they had been sooner begun, because we'd had more time to made them good. I added, That it was not my fault that they were not begun before my Lord Mar or he came into Pearth; for all that were then in toun could bear me witness that I spoke of no other thing for three-four days together after my comeing into Pearth, and that I had traced a fleth [fleche], or rather raveline, in that individual place, and that I was to make a horn-work on that high ground, nere that post that leads to the Bridge of Iern, which commands the toun as well as the plain about; and that it would been no great trouble after that to joyn'd the tuo; and that I had cut all the trees that grew about the toun, and split them in palliades, and now they were all burnt by those of the post-guarde; that after a great struggle with those who pretended to be great men then in toun, I had got three hundred workmen, and had them at the Iron Mill, where we then stood, to set them to work, but finding Collonell Hay, old Collonell Balfour, and Major Balfour, who all pretended to great knowledge of those affairs, so averse to it, and being often told by Collonell Hay it was discouraging of people who thought themselves stronglie posted without that, I dismissed the workmen, saying, That I found a necessitie of being foole with fooles. All this had been told Mar and Generall Hamilton, and he knew I had insisted on it, even after Mar and he came to Pearth. I understood it then, that was his reason for takeing me out with him, and asking me, If I knew fortification? and, for the same reason, I told him that such lines as we could then make, depended more on judgement then any great regularitie or art; that I had then offer'd my service to advance the work, till a better should come, that in the meantime nothing might be neglected. He took out a pack-threed clew out of his pocket, and bid my footman get him tuo-three stakes of wood. He splite as much with his broadfuord, of what he had tore from the roof of the iron mill, and brought them to him: And, after tracing the tuo faces of a fleche or raveline with the stakes and pack-threed, he made the footman cut a small gutter with a spade, all alonge where the pack-threed run. I told him then, when he was placing the stakes, that he made the fleche too little, for it could not hold above fiftie

or sixtie men; and that fleche being in the middle of the plaine, it would require to be a great dale larger, to flank the lines the better; and the greater he made his fleche, the shorter the lines which joyns it to any other work, and serves instead of courtines, would be, except he had a mind to make more little fleches on that plaine; and those it's not allowed in a regular fortification to place nearer than sixtie fathoms, which in lines I never saw done, because I imagin'd being low we might doe harm to one another. This I told him, according to my weak judgement; but he not seeming to hearken to it, I let it fall, and we return'd to Mar's quarters, where he called for pen and ink, and, as if he had found out a thing of consequence, drew a draught of that fleche, and the lines for a great way of each side of it. That night workmen were commanded out of the countrie, for our Highlandmen, or those at Pearth, would work none. These workmen came in next day at ten of the clock.

About that time Mar was to ride out to take the air, and Generall Hamilton, with a great many of his Court, went alonge in his suite. Hamilton sent twice to me, before he took horse, to bid me get all the workmen together, and set them to work at the fleche, as my footman had traced it the day before, and he would be with me soon, and sent me his draught, as if it had been of use to make a fleche already marked out. I, like a foole, who is glade to be employed in any station which he fancies he can be the least serviceable in, run out in haste, got the fellows together, and set them to work, and was no sooner begun then Mar, Hamilton, and all the suite came. The Generall found fault instantly, before them all; jumped down from his horse, raised the stakes which had been left there, took no notice of the gutter traced betwixt them, and made the fleche two foot larger. I was surpris'd, and told him it was his own doing, and were I to have any hand in it I'd make that fleche three times larger at least, and went away; not doubting it was a trick of Mar's, which he had made the Generall put upon me, because I had insisted so strongly on fortifying that place, and had not dropt it, yea, spoke to Mar himself about it after he came to Pearth. After this Hamilton seem'd to look after it for a day or two, but soon wearied of it, and, to our eternall shame, left the direction of the whole to

a French fellow, who had been a footman of Beaufort's, and had takne up the trade of being a danceing and fenceing mafter in the North, who made the frangeft line that ever was made, which ferved for no other ufe but the jeaft of the ennemie's armie; nor had the fellow fenfe enough to face it up, fuch as it was, fo that a man could lay his breaft to it, or did he know to make a foot-bank, as I have been told by feverall Suiffe officers fince; tho' it came all to the fame, for the froft, and want of time, would hinder'd the perfiteing of it, being fo late of beginning.

I am not at all ignorant that laying afide the difadvantage of fituation, it would been no eafie matter to fortifie Pearth, fo as to defend a longe fiege, for that is a work of art, expence, and time, and not done by the greateft Princes in a fen days; but it's certain it was in our pouers to contrived it fo as obliged the enimie to break ground before it, and coft them trouble and men in the takeing it. By makeing the horn-work I propofed to take in that high ground; and placeing our cannon there, which could be of no ufe to us any where elfe, and carrieng on our lines with fleches, at reasonable diftances, doun to the river fide; and on the other fide of the horn-work joyning it with lines to the old wall of the toun, which might been eafilie brought doun to breaft high, and made proof of cannon, by earth and fascines behind it; makeing ravelines before the ports to cover them, without which there was nothing to be done at all, and makeing ftronge barriers and traverfes crofs the ftreets behind thefe ports, and pallifadeing all the new work; which, I fuppose, by fascines, was to be made proof of cannon, and high enough to have hutted behind our lines and walls; for, we could not have remparts fo high as not to expect the toun muft in a few days been laid in rubbish; fomething like this we ought to have done, if our hearts had bore the leaft proportion to our tongues and big talking.

But the way Generall Hamilton went to work, tho' he had perfited his lines by leaving out that high ground, they had been fo raked that a moufe could not lived in his lines, which any man who had fix grains of judgement faw at firft view; and they were fo nere to the little water ditch that no number of men could have flood in them to defend them; fo that it was eafie to comprehend our Generalls avoided defigndlie and with care

the beginning to doe any thing that could have been of defence, leaft their precipitate flight fhould have been found difgraceful, fo longe as there was a poffibilitie of ftanding, and for that reafon were refolved to put the whole under the abfolute neceffitie of running away with them, when they found convenient to make their efcape. But, till things were ripe for that, their weak countriemen were to be amufed by fham fortifieing; which, in effect, after making the buffle at our expence, was of the fame nature with fome other of their aétions, rather providentlie contriveing excufes to get rid of us than expedients to ferve us.

About this time we fell to work to make carriages for our cannon, which we had pickt up in feverall places, to the number of eleven field-pieces, fix of which were brafs, and five iron; and all thefe, tho' we had neither powder nor ball, were to goe alonge with us when we marched, which time drew near, for Seaforth and Sir Donald MacDonal, being in a feu days' marche of us, there was no pretence to fhift or delay it longer. Their numbers, till the day we faw them, continued to be near four thoufand foot and fome hundreds of horfe, befides Frazerdale's, with his Clan of Frazers, which were augmented proportionallie; and were onlie in all feven hundred Macdonalds, about the fame number of Mackenzies, and four hundred Frazers, and fortie scrub horfe of fervants, and others from about Invernefs, who came alonge with Seaforth; and the great Duffus came in his train, on a Galloway of thirtie fhillings, as poor as he went North, no bodie haveing takne the leaft notice of him, of all thofe thoufands he propofed to bring out, vented his repentment againft none fo much as the Sinclairs of Caithnefs, who, he faid, were all rafcalls; and, as I was told afterwards, had been fo coldly received, that he had been in no houfe of that countie but a widow ladie's, and tuo gentlemen's, of the name of Southerland.

But, leaft we had feen the end of our expectations, Linlithgow was fent to proclaime, in all companies, that fix hundred Low Countriemen, out of the Earle of Errol's intref, were to come to him, becaufe he had married his fifter; and this I was ear witnefs to oftner than once, and heard Marifhall, who was nighbour to Erroll, confirm it, and that they were all extreamlie well armed; when there was no fuch thing,

nor one word of the whole true. The same Peer was order'd to give out that he had received letters from those of Monteith, offering their service to him, being vassals to the Duke of Montrose, because he was his Grace's relation, and that he had order'd them to meet us in our marche towards Stirveling.

Now all hands were set to work about bringing in meale to serve us in our marche; but how that meale was to be carried, or where we were to marche, we did not know. To pass at Stirveling was impossible; the Fords of Forth was the common storie, but I never heard of any man of our armie who knew any thing of those fords except Rob Roy,¹ who, they themselves said, they could not trust; and tho' they could, all they were to depend on him for was, that he had passed these fords with Highland cattle, without taking narrow inspection of the entries or outlets; and no man but an officer could make a judgement of the advantages or disadvantages of the grounds in these passes, which might be more difficult than the fords: Nor was it to be expected that the Duke of Argyle, who had surveyed these fords and passages narrowly, and spoiled the fords by digging, and putting great beams in them, with iron pikes, would let us pass them undisturb'd without disputing the matter; having it always in his power to be there before us, after we had gone higher than Stirveling, where he had nothing to fear, if he left two hundred men to defend the bridge: Besides, it was said he had made lines on all the fords;² which is not to be doubted he did, if he found them practicable, for we gave him

¹ The celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor, a freebooter, about whom so much has been said and sung: his attachment to the Jacobite cause was rather overbalanced by his dependence on the Duke of Argyle, who maintained and sheltered him to vex and harass the Duke of Montrose. In a letter to Marshal Wade, after the war was over, honest Rob owns that his inclination induced him to join the King's troops, but that, afraid of imprisonment, he had been compelled to join the rebels; a false step, for which he endeavoured to atone by rendering to the Duke of Argyle, from time to time, during the Insurrection, information of the strength and motions of the rebels.—See Jamieson's Edition of Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, vol. ii, Appendix.

² It is singular that with so many men in the army from Monteith and the Lennox, they seemed to have been unable to ascertain the real state of these Fords.

time enough to take all his precautions; or, if the ground was such that there was no passing but by force of fire, and attacking, and being repulsed and attacking again, we were not to expect that of our Highlandmen, whose buffiness, all know, is not to stand fire; and if the first were repulsed, the others, without further enquire, would goe to the divill, eventho' they had not been in want of armes. Most seem'd to agree that these foords were onlie passable when the river was low, which we could not expect to find in that season of the year. Another obvious difficultie arose, the enimie having cut the bridge of Doun, not far from Stirveling, our onlie way to the Foords of Forth; nor could we pretend to pass that river which is called the Teith, and rather worse to pass then the Forth, as all who knew it said. At other times we talkt of goinge by the Heads of Forth, but still that river of Teith was in our way, nor could we pass it had we tents to ly out so many days marche in that season of the year, in a wild barren countrie, where there was no manner of cover or provisions, which we had not industrie enough to provide or lay up before hand in Perth, much less to carrie alonge with us. On that consideration, I went officiously to my Lord Mar, and told him, That I thought it wronge to be dragging so many cannon after us, without havinge powder or ball for them, since they must take up the greatest part of our horses to no purpose, that might be employ'd in carrying our provisions, when we wanted them so much for that use. He receaved me civilly, and answer'd smiling, and said, That so many cannon would give us a name and strike terror. I told him, It was true; but two was all we could need, if we had powder and ball, in case any pretended to keep out ane old castle against us; for had we had powder, ball, and cannoniers, cannon never was, or ever will be, of use amongst Highlandmen, who don't goe so regularlie or stouly to work, so as to give time to make use of them; nor could we flatter ourselves to carrie those cannon either to the Foords or Heads of Forth, as they called them, havinge so much morass and so many hills to pass. But he acted in that of a piece with himself, since a name and noise was all he sought.

Seaforth came at last, with Sir Donald MacDonal and Frazerdale. We marched a day or two after, a la bonne aventure, the blind leading the blind, not knowing whither we were goinge, or what we were to doe.

Before this time Mar sent his third message to France, in as private a way as he sent the former. He made choice of one of his trustie aide-de-camps, Charles Forbes, a fellow who had been a pedling merchant, and had been in prison for twenty pound, not long before our rising; the very same who was the engineer at the Castle, and had acquitted himself so well on that occasion that he was thought worthy of further trust. He was ten days gone before any knew of it, and when it was known, it was given out that Mar had sent him away because he doubted his giving intelligence to the enemy; a mighty good reason for being at the expence of sending a ship to France.

The first day's marche we of the horse cantoned about Dinnen, and the foot in and about Auchterarduch. That night all the Frazers deserted us, hearing of Beaufort's being arrived in the North, their other Chief, whom they owned preferable to Frazerdale, whose title to them was by marrying ane heiress. Two hundred of my Lord Huntlie's best men, who were under the command of Glenbucket, deserted us, as his Lordship said, because they had been designedly more oppressed with duty than any other. That first night of our cantonnement, orders were sent to us to be, by break of day next morning, in the moor of Auchterarduch, where Mar reviewed us, and all our army drew up in two lines, and afterwards returned to our quarters. In this review there were squabbles about the posts of our squadrons, and [we] were never so constant in any thing as our being disorderly. I never scrupled taking what place the first who came bid me, tho', as I have already said, I thought the rank of the county I commanded was none of the worst titles, and my being the first squadron at Perth was still somewhat. But Marishall and some others did not know what rank they would have, and were not pleased with their own choice, as if they were discontented to be on the same surface with Rollo and me, who would be glad to hid our selves under ground rather than incur the displeasure of Lords, so fierce Generalls, on a day of review. We halted there all next day, nor did I stir from my command. In the evening we received orders to parade in Auchterarduch moor before day, which we did. So soon as I came to the parade, my Lord Mar sent for me, and told me, That I and the Fife squadron were the occasion of

the armie's not marcheing the day before. I said, He surpris'd me, nor could I conceive how that could be, for I and that squadron were always readie to obey orders, and we had kept at our quarters all that day. Then he told me, That my Lord Huntlie and the Clans, who were to marche before, in a separate body, had refused to marche, except he'd order me and the Fife squadron alonge with them. I told him, I knew nothing of the matter; and that it was the same to me, as well as to the gentlemen, where or with whome we were to marche. He said, It was now resolv'd I should goe alonge with them, to please them; and likewise said, He believed I had ane influence on Huntlie; and spoke pressingly to me to encourage him. I answer'd, I was not well acquainted with my Lord Huntlie, but that I would doe all that depended on me; nor had I then the honour of his Lordship's intimacie.

I joynd the Clans, who, by this time, were beginning their marche. They consisted of Sir Donald MacDonal'd's, Captain of Clan Ronald's, Glengarie's, Glencoe's followings, all MacDonal'ds, Bredalbins, the Mac-Cleans, the Camerons, Steuart of Apins, and the few that were left of Huntlie's Strathdoun and Glenlivet men, who had not deserted, for the greatest part of them had gone home. All were under the command of Generall Gordon, as I was likewise with the three squadrons which I commanded, Huntlie's two, and the Fife squadrons. I marched on the front with the horse, having detached two avant guards; and the foot followed. The gros of our armie, under the command of Mar and Generall Hamilton, were to follow us soon after, to cantoon that night at Arduch, and we were to take post at Dumblaine, eight miles further. It was then the twelfth day of November. We continued in full marche till three of the afternoon; about which time our Quarter-Masters, who had left us a little before, came back with a lame boy, who had run as hard as he could to tell us that the Duke of Argyle was marcheing through Dumblaine, with his whole armie, towards us, and said the Ladie Kippendavie¹ had sent him, whose husband was in the armie with us. I order'd him to be carried to Generall Gordon, who was on the head of the foot; which being done, the Generall came instantlie

¹ Stirling of Kippendavie, whose house is not distant from the field of battle.

up to me, and my Lord Huntlie with him; they askt my sentiment. I said, I was under a great difficultie what to say, because it would look mean to halt such a bodie of men on a foolish boy's storie, and yet it was dangerous not to give credite to him; because, if we continued our march, and they theirs, we should soon fall in with them, for they were not above four miles distant from us, and I did not think it was our business to engage with them, since the gros of our armie was so far behind; at the same time it was absolutlie necessarie to advertise Mar, in all hast, of the intelligence we had got, and send some horse out to reconnoitre, and bring us sure information; in the mean time the Generall might doe as he thought fit. Upon this the Generall sent ane exprefs to Mar, and I detached half a dozen of the horse to goe as nere to Dumblaine as possible, to reconnoitre the enemy; and Gordon order'd me to halt and draw up the horse, and ordered the foot to doe the same, the boy still affirming he had seen the enemy, and saying, he was satisfi'd to be hanged if we did not find it fo.

We had no sooner halted then Peter Smith, the same who was Coll. Hay's great adviser in Pearth, formerlie a surgeon in the armie, and made ensigne in Douglas regiment after the peace, and now our Quartermaster-General, no other being willing to stand the Highlandmen's drubbing, and accept of it, came to Generall Gordon, and told him, that his orders from Mar were to take up our quarters in Dumblaine, and that it was a shame to halt. I always lookt on him as ane out of the way, ignorant, noisie fellow, but was stunned at his impudence, haveing been nothing but a surgeon, to pretend to speak to a Generall after that manner; and askt him, Why he did not put those orders in execution, and what hindred him from takeing up the quarters at Dumblain? However this man, who did not pretend to advise ane ensigne in the armie, had influence on the Generall, and he order'd us to marche on, and the foot followed. As we were thus in motion, we met severall of the countrie people, who said the generall report was, that the Duke of Argyle was of this side Dumblain; and now it was beginning to be dark, and we had marched a mile from the place we halted, when I told Generall Gordon, who rid alonge with me all the while, That it would be of very bad consequence at any time to stumble in our marche, in the dark, on the Duke of Argyle's whole armie, which

must be alreadie posted in some stronge ground, otherwise we must heard more of them, but of the worst of consequences at present, when the great bodie of our armie was at such a distance from us. It was true our intelligence was not intirelie to be depended upon, but if he would think what might follow upon his not givinge credite to it, he would not ballance one minute, since Countrie, honour, estates, and lives, might be lost by a faux-pas of that kind; when, on the other hand, suppose the intelligence not to be true, all they could say was we acted a cautious part; and let them say we were affraid, who was to care for what rogues or fools said, if we but satisfi'd our own reason.

Upon this we drew up again on a rising ground in the moor, and those we had sent to reconnoitre returned, telling that they had heard of the enemy, but it turning dark, they did not care to venture for fear of being kidnapt; amongst those was the Quartermaster-Generall, Mr Smith, who had followed the reconnoiterers. Next thing to be thought of was to take up some stronge ground, where we were to be under armes all that night, or till we heard from my Lord Mar; for now it was to be supposed that the enemy were posted of this side of Dumblaine, and could not be above two miles from us. We were also to think of our horses, which could not be fit for any buisness next day, if we were not near to some farm-house whence forage could be got. I proposed to Generall Gordon to pass the river of Allen, which was within two hundred yards of our right, as we were then drawn up, and told him, That I had observed some very good barn-yards on the other side before it grew dusky; for it was not yet dark. I assured him it would be the safest, and that I was informed there was a ford hard by. He said, It would ruine the foot, who were to lie out a whole frostie night, to make them pass a river. I proposed to carrie them over with the horse, and then to draw up behind the river, and ground our armes in order, and post guards on all the fords, and avoide disorder and surprize. He answer'd, He'd goe and see what was to be done; and rid off, with two-three more with him, and at last found a little hollow, hard by, on the river side, where there were two little farm-houses and corn-yards. He came back, and led us thither. He gave me a guide

to lead the horſe into the ground allotted for them, who carried us down a hollow way, which leads to the houſes, and told me it was the Generall's orders to put our horſes into thoſe caile-yards, which he ſheu'd us, to which we could find no entrie but through the houſes; ſo I lighted, and with my own hands broke down the walls, the lower part made with drie ſtone, and above with turf or faile. The firſt yard not being able to containe us, we broke down the next wall, and did ſo with another, till the three ſquadrons got place. Theſe yards made the bottom of the hollow; all the ground about had a ſudden riſe from the houſes and yards, for two hundred paces, except toward the north, where we were hard upon the river, which was behind us; for it can't be properly ſaid we had front or rear, more than it can be ſaid of a barrell of herringſ. In this uneven ground, with a hollow way in it, to better the matter, were we packt in, and all the foot round us, almoſt as much ſtrain'd as we. What the Generall did that lookt at all like a ſojer, was to call for a horſe-guarde, to ſend patrolles a good way round us.

I, with the gentlemen of the horſe, took up one of thoſe houſes, and the Marquiſe of Huntlie, Generall Gordon, and the Heads of Clans, took up the other. We were not longe got in when Southefque came with the Angus ſquadron, and told me of Mar, with the whole armie's following us; and Mar came ſoon after him, which was then about nine of the clock, for we had takne a longe time to ſettle all in that confuſion in the dark. His Lordſhip of Mar had gone to dine at my Lord Drummond's houſe, ſome diſtance from the armie, at Arduch, where our expreſs found him. So ſoon as he lighted, he came into that houſe which I had takne up. I remember that when he came in, Southefque, and his uncle, Alexander Maitland, and I, were like to turn hot, becauſe they would give nobody out of their ſquadron to relieve the out-guard; which ceaſ'd ſo ſoon as Mar came in, he aſking what was the matter. He turned to me after, and aſkt, What intelligence we had got? Which I told him. He treated it with ane air of negle&ct, as if he had a mind to accuſe us of fear; and ſaid, he'd lay anie monie that it was not true. Afterwards he called for Generall Gordon, who came alonge with Huntlie. And when the Generall told him the ſame, he ſaid, He knew the contrarie; and to this

there was no answer to be made : His Lordship would have it so, because he thought it looked bold, or to gaine credite by giving himself the air of having good intelligence, and as if he, lying in his bed, or drinking his bottle at a distance, could learn more, and judge better than anie of us, tho' in the nose of the enemy. My Lord Huntlie return'd, and took me along with him, and I left my quarters to Mar. I scrambled about after that to see our situation, and heard everie bodie admire the strength of the place, and the contrivance of it, but found the Highlandmen so rude that I was glade to get out from among them ; and, passing where Mar was, I heard that fresh intelligence was come, confirming the former message. I run to hear what was said, and finding it to the same purpose with the former, and that it was ane old woman, sent by the same ladie, returned out of the croude, after hearing Glengarie say, That he'd lay his life that since the Duke of Argyle was come out, he'd give us battle next morning. After that I laid me down in the straw, betuixt Captain of Clan Ronald and Sir John MacClean, and sleept till day.

All that night did our armie ly in that small circumference ; and I believe eight thousand men, for we were about that number, were never packt up so close together since the invention of powder ; and I can take it upon me to defie the most ingenious ingeneer, after a month's thinking, to contrive a place so fit for the destruction of men, without being in the least capable to help themselves. God knows, had we been attackt by any three regiments of foot, posted on the high grounds about, they had cut us to pieces, or drove us into the river, which was just behind, or, for what I know, not tuentie paces from us ; nor could the most regular troops on earth extended their front out of that, or form in any order, so uneven the ground was, and so slippery with the frost, that I did not escape in getting severall falls for my curiositie in looking to it. But by what rule horse were to be put in within walls I never yet could learn, whence they could not get out but by defilleing, one by one, out of the breaches of the walls, and that with difficultie ; and some had three of those breaches to pass, and after that all had another defille to pass, the hollow way which we came down. However, that night, we had the good luck not to be discover'd by the enemy, as I have been since

told, any more than if we had been all buried; and the ground is still admired, which I could forgive Cossacks, Calmucks, or Tartars, to doe, against whom our Generall served in the infancie of the Muscovite service. But even those would not have been so ignorant as to put a river so close in their rear, and, rather as done so, would have gone off] from it intirelie.

Next morning, by six of the clock, we drew out of that ground, and formed in two lines, in the plaine, above that place where we had lye that night. At sun-rising we discover'd a command of horse¹ on the high ground to the south of us, at a good mile's distance, which appear'd to us a stronge squadron; even then we pretended to pass the river of Teith, in order to try the Heads of Forth or the Foords, tho' it was believed the Foords were render'd impassible by the enemy, and agreed to by all, that neither the Teith nor the Forth were to be pass'd at that season of the year, the rivers being so high; nor, without these obstacles, had we any more provisions left to serve us one day's marche in a countrie where nothing was to be got for ourselves or horses, so all that was possible for us to have done was to marche three-four miles further to the Teith, and return, starved, back to Pearth. So soon as that command of the enemy's horse appear'd, reconnoiters were sent out; they came back and told us the enemy were all about the inclosures of Kippendavie. After this we lost a great dale of time. I believe his Lordship of Mar, who did not expect the enemy, not knowing what hand to turn himself to, and being then conscious of his want of ability for such an undertaking, was stunned, finding there was something more requisite than lyes; for it was not with us he was to have to doe, it was with the enemy, and blows must decide it.

While our Generall, as well as we, were thus uncertaine, I went and put Huntley's two squadrons in the best order I could, and went afterwards to the head of the Fife squadron, where my Lord Huntlie found me. He took me aside and told me, He was not of opinion we should marche further; because, he said, if we should pass the Forth, the King, who we expected daylie, would be lost, and all communication betuixt him and us cut off, and, for that reason, thought we ought to goe back to Auchterar-

¹ This was the Duke of Argyle's reconnoitring party, with which he advanced in person.

duch to waite the King's comeing. I told him, I differ'd from him, and had no such apprehension as that of passing the Forth; for the Duke of Argyle's comeing out was the onlie thing could doe our buffiens, and the onlie occasion ever we could have to recover our liberties, or force the enemie to give us a peace on our old footing, I mean'd, to get home again, and we were nou to think of ourfelves; for if we returned to Auchterarduch, the Highlandmen, who were alreadie deserting daylie, would loofe courage and goe home, so that inevitable we must be ruin'd, without haveing another occasion either of ferveing ourfelves or the King, and bring on ourfelves ane eternall infamie; and that we were by no means to go back, if it was possible to attack the Duke of Argyle, and, in that case, to marche straight to him in order of battle; and, in the mean time, if we could think of a way to fend some deputees to him, to ask him, If he had full pouer to give us, and all concerned with us, terms? and if not, to tell him that we would fall upon him that moment, since we had no more left us for our all. What made us believe he had full pouer was ane intercepted letter of my Lord Townsend's to the Duke of Argyle, which Mr Forrester had sent to Mar, and which letter Huntlie had read. Huntlie sent for my Lord Rollo and Major Balfour his uncle, and told them his proposale; and I told them mine, and both went in to it, and Huntlie seem'd satisfied with it himself, and said he'd goe and propose to Glengarie and Sir John MacClean.

I'm satisfied that many will blame me for such a proposale, but am very easie about it. I knew very well that if we did not get terms with our fuords in our hands, we could never expect anie; for it was not to be imagin'd that the Highlanders would stay with us, a great many deserting daylie, or if they did, that we could pay them long; nor did those who were keeneft for Mar's project in the beginning, and before we came out, pretend that we were able to doe our work without England's riseing and the help of France, and without the King's prefence, and generalls, officers, armes, and monie; all which, to bringe us out, we were made believe was either readie at our riseing, or alreadie in the countrie. How oftne were we told of the King's being landed with the Duke of Berwick before our riseing? and if all those aides were thought absolutlie

neccessarie to us, in what condition was it naturale to us to think ourselves in when we had not one of them, and nothing to depend upon but the words of one who we knew all his life to be the worst of men? Who, because he had now trickt us, had usurped the command, which he was altogether incapable of, and which, before we came out, he durst not pretend to. Nor was that all, for we had not so much as heard from the King; and some begun to think that the commission Boyn brought was forged, since he knew nothing about the King; and even his choice of messengers he sent to France to keep us in ignorance, and neither returning, or writing one scrape to us, seem'd very odd: But, above all, it was to be admired that the King, since he did not come himself, did not send one to let us know the reason, and how things were with him, and what we had to expect. Now all that consider'd, we had all the reason on earth to believe, that since we had been so mad to rise without his orders, he would leave us to ourselves, which we would never be let know till it was too late to remedy, and having nothing to depend on but my Lord Mar's stories, whose veracite we knew but too well then, was a slender securitie; not to speak of the impossibilitie of our passing the Forth, which I have already mention'd, and our being forced to return to Perth, where the few that stay'd with us would soon eat themselves up in a little time. Is it then any wonder that a man, who reason'd thus, and is a true lover of his country, was glade to make use of the first opportunitie to save it, when it was deserted by all the world, and visibly betray'd by him to whom we gave so inconsideratlie the trust, and even seem'd neglected by the Prince for whom it was to fall the sacrifice? Nor doe I deny that I had no great expectation of the Highlandmen's standing the fire of regular troopes, and, in all our affair, it was that which I was most deceaved in: and tho' we had more men, they had more fire armes in a condition to fire. I had ferv'd long enough to know what the few officers who were with us were capable of, and did not think, in my consciens, that the country was to be risked on such grounds if there was a possibilitie of avoideing it. But if there was nothing to be done with the Duke of Argyle, by giving us absolute securitie, I saw very clearlie, we had no other chance for our Country, our lives, and honours, but attacking him wherever we could; because,

after that day, the levitie of the Highlandmen would never give us another opportunite, tho' I did not think that a victorie could [have] done our buffienefs, for it was not to be doubted, that victorious or beat, they'd goe home; but it was fill all we had for it.

To return to Huntlie: He went and spoke to Sir John MacClearn and Glengarie, and I continued at my post, without discovering my sentiments to anie bodie. Now it was past eleven of the clock before it seems our Generall took his resolution, and I, as well as everie bodie at this moment, admire what he could be thinking of all that time, for it was not his part to make the disposition, which was done soon; but there he was out of his element. Had he been scribbling in his chamber at Pearth his resolution had been soon takne, and orders sent to the commanding officer to attack, right or wronge, without further consideration.

At last all Lords, Commanders of Corps, and Heads of Clans, were called for to a little round spot of rising ground betuixt our lines, where Mar stood. Being all met, his Lordship, to doe him justice, which I think I am obliged in conscience to doe, it being the onlie good action of his life, made us a very fine speech; where he laid out to us the injustice done our Royall Familie, the miserie and slavery of our Countrie by being under a forraigne yoke, such as that of England occasion'd by the Union, and since, to his certaine knowledge, we had been longe languishing after ane opportunite of retrieving our ancient libertie, he conjured us not to let such ane occasion slip, which seem'd to offer itself, as it were, by providence of Heaven, when, in all probabilitie, we could not meet with another so favourable, and concluded it was his opinion we should attack the enemie, who were so near us, and enlarged on the whole in very stronge and moving terms. If he had made this harangue some hours sooner he had done it with a better grace, for it was, of all things, the easiest to told him, that had the bridge of Doun not been cut, it was impossible to defilee over it in the fight of the enemie, who had such a superioritie of horse, and who would attackt us in the passing; and to retired back to Pearth, with a wild undisciplin'd mob as we had, was not to be thought of, and a much greater risque then givinge battle. My Lord Huntlie was the onlie man who spoke in our Council of War, and, I think, havinge own'd the truth

of what my Lord Mar said, askt, If the gaining a battle would recover our liberties, and give the decisive stroke to our affair, as we were then circumstanced, and w[h]ither we could pretend after that to resist the force of England and its allies without forraigne aide? ¹ That he did not doubt but my Lord Mar knew, what encouragement we had to expect that forraigne aide, which we had been so long flattering ourselves with the expectation of, since he had so latlie received a letter from my Lord Bollingbrook; and that everie bodie present might judge of things as well as his Lordship, desired the letter might be produced. This was the first time ever I heard of that letter, which afterwards made a noise amongst us. Mar took no notice of what my Lord Huntlie said, and desired the vote to be stated, Fight or Not; and all unanimously, to doe them justice, with an unexpressible alacritie, called out, Fight. And the moment most went to their posts. I spoke to Generall Hamilton to put some bodie who had less or more a notion of the service, on the head of Huntley's two squadrons; for, since they were order'd to the right and the Fife to the left, I assur'd him I'd take my fate with my own. What orders he gave to others I know not; all I can say, I got none from him. Before we separated, that command of the enemies horse on the high ground sometimes made a great front, and sometimes a little; and I heard Captain Clanronald say, That, give him forty horse, he'd take them all prisoners. I dare say he meant it, for he was a modest man on all other occasions, but wonder'd to see a man who, I was told, had served, ² so positive, when they appear'd twice forty, and bid Major Balfour observe if, the moment any of them turn'd, they did not seem, as it were, to fall out of our fight; and askt him, If he did not think the enemies whole horse might be there, since, behind that ridge, it appear'd there was a hidden ground?

We were no sooner got to our posts when a huzza begun, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and run through our whole armie, on the hearing we had resolv'd to fight; and no man, who had a drop of Scots blood

¹ It must be owned that Huntly, from the beginning, seems to have been very lukewarm in the affair.

² The Captain of Clanranald had held a commission in the French service, and made several campaigns under the Duke of Berwick.

in him, but muſt been elevated to ſee the cheerfullneſs of his countrymen on that occaſion; and, for my own part, in ſpite of my reaſon, I made no manner of doubt of gaining the victory; and by that unaffected livelieneſs that appear'd in everie man's looks, I begun to think that Highlandmen were Highlandmen. I have already ſaid, we had been formed all that morning in tuo lines; Marſhall's, Linlithgow's, and Huntlie's tuo ſquadrons were on the right of the front line, and South-eſque's, Rollo's, and mine, were on the left of the rear line, by orders. From our meeting at our Council of War we did not looſe half-an-hour, when Hamilton broke our lines each in tuo colloms, and order'd the four ſquadrons of horſe on the right, with tuo thouſand Highlandmen, who compoſ'd the collom of the right of the firſt line, to marche and take poſſeſſion of that high ground where the ennemie's horſe appear'd. My Lord Drummond, who is always glade to be employed, and to take upon him, put himſelf on the head of thoſe four ſquadrons; ſo he and Marſhall commanded them, and Generall Gordon commanded the foot. Tho' never people marched ſo faſt as they did up to the top of that riſeing ground, I ſaid to Major Balfour, who was on the head of the ſquadron with me, That I expected to ſee them come as faſt down as they went up; believing ſtill that all the ennemie's horſe were there, for, as to their foot, I never dream'd they were, becauſe all who were ſent to reconnoitre, to the laſt, ſaid, they were in the incloſures of Kippendavie, a great way from that ground; and the Laird of Keer's great friend, John Stirling, aſſured they were there. This was the man we were all to truſt to when formerlie in Dumblain, and he, as well as all who were ſent out, never went within fight of the ennemie, return'd back to us with what they had pickt up from the firſt countrie fellow they met, and no wonder if ſo now, when the whole time they found themſelves more valued for telling of lyes then doing their dutie. The ſecond colume on the left of the firſt line marched likwiſe by the right, and followed the other at a great diſtance; then the firſt colume of the ſecond line marched by the right, as did the ſecond colume of the ſecond line, ſo that the three ſquadrons fell into the rear of that colume which marched laſt off the ground, and had orders to follow that colume, which, it was ſaide, would

carrie us to the left. Rollo was next the foot, and Southesque next him, and I last, which was given me that day as the post of honour, being to be the left of our whole armie, as we were told, tho' I never could conceive why we should followed the second colume of the rear line.

By the time we begun to move off our ground, the four squadrons of horse with Drummond and Marishall, and the first colume of the foot, with them who had made so great haste to the top, were nere the ennemie, and beginning to form ; but Drummond and Marishall, instead of formeing on the right of that colume with their four squadrons, formed on the left, which made the center of the foot,¹ it seems not knowing their left hand from their right, thought themselves well there. We observing them form so quicklie, and all the other three columes, who were marcheing most irregularlie at some distance, the one before the other, mended all of us our pace, and followed as fast as we could run, the three squadrons continueing, according to order, to follow the last colume of the foot, who kept us at a gallop, inclineing towards the ground our left designed to take up. When we had advanced prittie well that way with the haste we made, an Aide-de-Camp of Kilsyth's came to Rollo, who, being nixt the foot, was on the front of the three squadrons of horse, and order'd the three squadrons to the right of the whole armie with all possible expedition, as did with the same breath some one from Mar, and one Lewis Innes from my Lord Huntlie, by Mar's order. Rollo's squadron obey'd at once, and went off at full speed, and gave the order back to Southesque's, who did the same to me onlie with a cry, and went after Rollo ; haveing no time to reflect, I followed a little, and seeing some herds comeing quick towards us, calling out horse to the right, and a confused cry of the Highlandmen, which the one colum had communicated to the other, and so handed to us, for they can speak Scots when they pleas'd, I imagin'd Rollo and Southesque had gone off upon that, and halted my squadron for some minutes, and spoke out to Major Balfour before them all, saying,

¹ This mistake, by which the left of the Earl of Mar's army was left unsupported by cavalry, occasioned the loss they sustained, the Duke of Argyle being thus at liberty to outflank their infantry, and charge them with his dragoons, which he could not have done had they been protected by cavalry of their own.

It was more than our necks were worth not to follow our first orders, except we had seen an Aide-de-Camp, and was going to the left alone; but, dreading misconstruction, thought it best to follow the others, having taken witness that I foresaw the consequence, and galloped as hard as I could after them, who I could not overtake till they were posted on the right of the whole foot, Major Balfour calling always to me that I would ruin the squadron, we rode so hard that our horses were sunk by that time. I can't tell who posted the two squadrons, but whoever did it, did well;¹ they, with the line of foot, made an obtuse angle; for, having a little hill near our flank, we did not know whence the enemy's horse of the left wing would come; if they came with their foot on the fourth side of the hill to our front, it was easier for us to make half a wheel that way; or, if they came on the north side of the hill, we had no greater wheel to make, and could not be attacked in the rear; all I can say, that it was the only thing I saw done there with judgement, and took my post as they were drawn up upon their right.

On our first coming we saw the enemy's colours, and their heads, and several bajonets, all marching in haste towards our left along our front, within two hundred yards of us; but the gentlemen would not believe it was the enemy, and some cried out it was my Lord Strathmore's colours. I was both grieved and angry to see them still in that humor of not believing their own eyes, and told them they were Union colours which they saw, and that they knew that Strathmore's regiment and colours were left in Perth, and asked them, If any of our folks had granadeer caps and bajonets, or red coats, and whence they thought these could come? And named them some of the regiments, whose liveries I thought I knew, and particularly the Scots Fusiliers, with their caps; and put them in mind they had been long seeking to fight, and desired them to lay their account with getting a belief of it, and only bid them mind their honours and mine; and shewed them, that for my part

¹ General Wightman, who commanded the centre of Argyle's army, says, in a modest and distinct account of the action, "I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable."

I was mounted on so heavie a horfe that I could not run away, and that no pretext should carrie me from their head, and they should judge if I did not give them good exemple. I put all the officers into the squadron, except myself and other tuo, and tuo stanche old gentlemen in the rear, with piftells in their hands, saying, God damn them, if they saw me turn my back, if they did not shoot me through the head; and gave the same order with respect to everie other bodie. I told the gentlemen, Not that I doubted them, but it was the practice. I intreated the gentlemen to be silent, and not look about them, and by that means they'd easilie keep a streight front, and ride clofe, without which they'd be ruin'd and disgraced. On the other hand I told, If they'd be regular, and obey orders, I did not doubt of the success; and order'd them to observe my motions, and to be prepared to follow my exemple in saluteing the enemie with their suords a little before we chockt; for I knew nothing could show a more intrepid air, or a greater contempt of them, the affectation of which seldom failes to doe good.

While I was about this, I saw and heard a gentleman come up to Generall Gordon, calling to him, with great oaths, To attack the enemie before they were formed, and was told it was old Captain Livingston, of Dumbarton's regiment. Gordon excused himself, as I was afterwards told, till he had spoke to Mar; but on Mar's not being to be found or seen, he soon consented, Livingston representing to him that he'd loose his time. The order to attack being given, the tuo thousand Highlandmen, who were then draun up in very good order, run towards the ennemie in a disorderlie manner, always firing some dropeing shots, which drew upon them a generall salvo from the ennemie, which begun at their left, opposite to us, and run to their right. No sooner that begun, the Highlandmen threw themselves flat on their bellies; and when it slackned, they started to their feet. Most threw away their fuzies, and, drawing their suords, pierced them everie where with ane incredible vigour and rapiditie, in four minutes' time from their receaving the order to attack. Not onlie all in our view and before us turned their backs, but the five squadrons of dragoons on their left, commanded by Generall Witham, went to the right about, and never lookt back till they had got near Dumblain, almost tuo miles from us; while the

Highlandmen pursued the infantrie, who run as hard as their feet could carrie them, a great manie of whome threw away their armes to enable them to run the faster, and were sabred by the Highlandmen, who spared few who fell in their hands. Those of the enemie, draun up before the four squadrons in our center, commanded by Drummond and Marishall, stood firm, after givinge their fire, upon their not advanceing to attack them, neither before nor after their firing.¹ So these Generalls thought it not adviseable to contest the matter with rogues who seem'd so opiniatre, and were so impertinent as not to run away on the sight of them, choose to make a wheel to the right, and fall into the pursuite with the Highlandmen, as if they had been goeing to skin those who the Highlandmen butchred, and, in the twinkling of ane eye, after the enemie gave way, did they come by us all broke and scattered, everie man for his own hand, rideing as hard as his horse could carrie him.

Their exemple put our three squadrons on the right in such a stir, that it's onlie known to God Almightye the paine and trouble I had with mine. Before this they had been all staring and speakeing, but now they begun to break on all hands of me; seeing that neither prayers nor intreatie could doe, I did not spare the givinge names, and saying the worst natur'd things I could imagine, such as telling them, That if the ennemie had stood firm, they would not be so readie to advance, and biding them take it from me, there was some more to doe, and we'd have occasion to see their talents; for Major Arthur had called to me in the hurrie, and told me of our left wing and center running away, and he'll doe me the justice to say that I answer'd, S'wounds, keep that to

¹ Notwithstanding the credit which the author afterwards takes for keeping his own three squadrons steady, *i. e.*, inactive, while Drummond's and Marischal's joined the pursuers, nothing seems more certain than that, if the cavalry of the right wing had charged immediately after the Highlanders' success, the whole of Argyle's left wing,—which, as it was, had a narrow escape,—must have been destroyed, and his right put in great danger. The troops he describes appear to have been the three regiments of Argyle's centre, commanded by Wightman, who, receiving no check from the rebel cavalry, marched on to support the Duke, who was pursuing on the right.

yourself. But nobodie hearing but myself, they pressed to disband, so I was forced to tell them, That, by God, since they had chosen me to command them, they should obey, whether they would or not, (for there was no time to be lost in compliments,) and suore solemnlie, That the first man who offer'd to move should die that moment. The tuo squadrons on my left, observeing the care I took to keep my squadron together, and both seeing and hearing how earnest I was about it, those who commanded them did the same, but not so successfullie, for severalls of their people broke off from them; and some of the gentlemen who belonged to these squadrons told me, That if it had not been for me, they'd had no regarde to their own officers, and followed in the pursuite, in imitation of Drummond and Marishall's four squadrons.

While we halted there, Mar came and stood a little time in our front. I wisht him joy of the victorie, though I knew what had past, but his Lordship was then in a wood, and rid off, without pretending to give orders. My labour still continued; swearing, and cursing, and spurring, till I had sunk both myself and my horse, and lost my voice with downright raileing. I told one, who was a captain amongst us, That they had much to answer for who made him so, for it was cheating both King and Countrie. It's to be thought that such rebukes, and much worse, would make gentlemen think and look grave, or take notice of what they were doing, especiallie since it was so much for their interest; for I was obliged to tell them at last, that I had too good reason for what I did, but nothing could, for if I got so much the better of them as hinder them to disband, it seems they had resolved neither to keep a straight front or ride close; and they remembered afterwards, when I was able to speak no more, I rid at them, grinning and pushing with my sword, within an inch of some of their noses. All this past in a great hurrie, and in a very short time we, at least I, for I can't tell what the others thought, expecting the enemies left wing of horse, for who could thought that the Highlandmen had chased them away, we had never seen them because of the round hill on our flank, when all of a suddain a squadron, or a number near to it, begun to appear on the top of that little hill, within three hundred yards of us, and having pickt up some of Marishall's squadron, surround them, and

shot them in our fight, seeming to form there; but, on my making a sign to advance the three squadrons to attack them before they could forme, beleving it the enemie's left wing of horse, we made towards them at a trot, they run, and left some of our's dead, or mortallie wounded. While they were doeing this small execution, some of our wise people run and found out my Lord Mar, and told him, That the dragoons were fighting amongst themselves; and tho' I saw what it was as clear as any thing could be perceaved, the whole was of that opinion, till the very last they were resolv'd to cheat themselves. I never could yet learn nor judge, by the notion I conceived of the enemie's disposition, whence that squadron came, for we were no sooner on the top of that little hill then we perceaved their left wing of dragoons forming, as they return'd from the flight, above Dumblaine, but could see nothing of all the enemie's foot and our own horse and foot, betuixt them and us the ground was so hollow and waded, except a few scattred here and there, at great distances. At first coming up to that little hill, our three squadrons were carried in to a small pound fold, I don't know how or by whose order, where, instead of making a large front to intimidate those above Dumblain, we made no greater than that of one squadron, so that no man could stir, far less wheel in squadron. I represented to them the risque they run if attackt from any hand, for then all knew the enemie was in our rear as well as our front. We defiled out of it at two openings, one by one; and, having extended our front, to keep them in awe that were now formed above Dumblaine, we were told the Duke of Argyle was coming up in our rear, from the pursuit of our left wing. I sent off two, at different times, to inform Mar of it, and begg'd of him to endeavour to bring back the horse and the Highlandmen.

All this time, from the beginning of the action, no mortell sent or gave us any orders, but hearing the Grey Dragoons, who made two squadrons, were advancing near our rear, I againe sent to my Lord Mar to get the four squadrons of horse and the Highlandmen together, not doubting that the enemie's whole right wing, with the Duke of Argyle, was following them; and marched on with the three squadrons softly towards them. After being within two or three hundred paces of them, in

a fair field, they halted first, and we halted. Where they halted, they were within fiftie paces of the prisoners of their foot, which we had takne in the beginning, and were all got about a little house, looking on. I must doe our gentlemen justice to say they called, Advance. I bid them have patience, and leave it to me, suspecting there might be some more on the sloping [ground] behind them; for we had seen them appear all at once; nor did I know how near the Duke of Argyle was to them, and, for another reason, thinkeing it very possible they might pierce us, because we neither would marche close, or with a streight front, and if they beat us, they'd neither allow our foot or horse, who were all strageling, to get together; no difficult matter for a few to doe to those who were all spread over the face of the earth; and then, shewing themselves on the high ground, was enough to make the five squadrons above Dumblain advance to them, and they'd had all betuixt them. But I gave the gentlemen no reason, and took all on me. Had they advanced to me, I had nothing left but goe on at a full trot, which I took care to instruct the gentlemen to doe so soon as I gave the order; for it's a certain rule, that whoever have the quickest motion, give their horse weight by that motion, and have ane advantage in the flock, provided they can keep a streight front; besides, all men who are in motion have more courage, their spirits being roused with it, and haveing less time to think, which is ane observe of Cæsar's in his Battle of Pharfalia. After lookeing at one another for some time, our foot begun to assemble and draw nere, at least some hundred, I believe three or four; and some few of the horse, who came back, drew up in the rear of my squadron, as if they design'd making a fourth rank. On seeing the foot, I order'd to advance to the enemy, and they wheel'd and went off, for the little time they were in our fight, at great leasure, but after they got upon the descent made great haste back to the Duke of Argyle, who we observed comeing to meet them with a bodie of horse and foot from pursueing our left wing, a large mile from us, and nearer Pearth then where we were draun up in the morning. The infatuation was so great, tho' they knew some hours before that the great part of our armie was beat, and sau the dragoons marcheing down to that bodie, they would not believe it to be the enemy, and called out it was Lord George Murray and Indernitie, who had orders

to follow us from Bruntisland with 500 men, and had joyn'd the Macgregors and MackFierfons; as if they had laid it down for a fixt principell not to believe their own eyes, or be persuaded there was ane ennemie on earth. How to expect anie bodie can conceive this, as well as many other notions we had, I can't tell. Our foot and horfe being almost all return'd from purfueing, we formed into tolerable order, the one half of our horfe being draun up on the right of the foot, and the other on the left, and marched to that bodie which was joyned by the Gray Dragoons, and marcheing to us in order of battle, and were then scarce persuaded it was the ennemie, and when we yielded that point, we saw ane imaginarie corps of ours following them at the heels. The ennemie made the first halt, and we, in complaisance to them, did as much, and stood lookeing at one another about four hundred yards distance, for half ane hour; our horfe upon the wings advanced before the foot a hundred yards, I believe without order, by common consent, for I saw no mortall pretend to give orders that day, the one following the others exemple. I remember Linlithgow, whose squadron was next mine, and the whole time had got before the tuo squadrons on the right, and was still advanceing, as if he had been going to doe all the work himself, when I called to him twice not to break our little line, but he was so vaine of that days behaviour that he scarce would take advice from me. We halted in expectation that the tuo thousand foot would advance and take up that void betuixt us, which would formed our whole line, having gone so far to encourage them, but lookt longe in vaine over our shoulders, for they stood like flakes. I went and put Huntlie's squadron in order, who I saw straitned in their ground, and gave them the best directions I could, for both made but one in the evening, which I shall account for afterwards, as well as for Marishall's being intirlic loft.

The night coming on, the Duke of Argyle seem'd first to make a feint as if he was moveing towards us, and inclined after to Dumblain, and, it being almost dark, we soon lost sight of them. It's certain that Mar told the gentlemen, That the Highlandmen were so fatigued they had lost spirits, and would not attack; and to the Highlandmen, That he could not find in his heart to risque the gentlemen. If it be allowed

to judge, from the regarde he had to both first and laft, it wont seeme ane uncharitable conftruccion to fay that Mar had no mind to rifque himself; for of all the opportunities at that time, the gentlemen, who had no bread to expect out of the countrie, missed the favourablest that ever offer'd of getting out of the danger he had plunged them in,¹ haveing at least ane equall number of horse, and more than double the number of foot; for I never heard that he was above eight hundred foot, and it was never denied we were above tuo thousand, and we were onlie spared to be guard-de-corps, to bring him safe back to Pearth, till he thought convenient to get off; to which he had no small grudgeing, being mightilie satisfi'd that now he had done enough to convince the world what a great hero he was. A duarf is soon glutted, and a giant can drink more then would [have] dround him. Now he had come off safe, he was not to be caught again, words and lyes would make up the rest, and his fortune was made. Had he been takne, he had lost the honour and profite of all, and no bodie would find it their interest to lye for him, for, I am morallie sure, he'd never stood killing. Nor can it be said for him that he did not know the advantage of numbers we had over the ennemie; the prisoners told us their strength, and we saw then that the Duke of Argyle had draun up his foot in tuo ranks, by their haveing few colours for so great a front, and we had seen by the Gray Dragoons that his horse was so, and all did not bring him to ane equall front with us, who were huddled together. But we fuore to phantomes at one time, and would not believe the strongest appearances, yea demonstrations, at other times, when it did not make for his Lordship's purpose; and, upon the whole, forgot ourselves. We were told our cannon were lying very near where we then stood, haveing been left there when the rest of our armie run away; some of their carriages were broke, and our powder-carts overturned and broke, and the little powder we had, tread in the wet moor

¹ The inactivity of the rebel army was so great, that they neglected all the advantages of a most excellent position on the summit of a rising ground, round which Argyle was obliged to march, and when, if they had but thrown down stones, they might have disordered him. It was on this occasion that Glenbucket exclaimed, "Oh for an hour of Dundee!"

by horfes, which, I believe, was a barrell or tuo of a hundred pound weight, tho' we had carts proportionable to our cannon. Some were difmounted to carrie of[f] what cannon were leaft difabled. I propofed burieing thofe which we could not carrie of[f], and it would been eafie to [have] faved them afterwards, but it was not gone into. Having left, I think, five, we carried the others in to the highway, a quarter of a mile from that place we found them in.

It was a fhame to fee how all difbanded after that, as if they had thought themfelves too longe there. Orders were fent to me to make the rear guard, and bringe off the cannon, being the common drudge; which I obey'd willinglie, never in my life havinge refused the poft of honour, and never yeilded it where I thought it was my due, but to keep peace, and pleafe fome Lords in revieus, knowing that on other occafions they would not interfere. I fent to defire four or five horfe out of each Squadron put to the cannon, for thofe we had were too few, but by that time it was dark, and everie one fhifting for himfelf, fo I got no anfuwer, there beinge nobodie either to command or obey. I moiled with thefe cannon till it was very late, and till I could carrie them no further, the horfes beinge jaded and funk, and fome of their chatter'd carriages breakeing, they were at laft all left in the highway to Arduch, fome near, and fome further off, whence all that were recommended to my care were carried in afterwards to Pearth. I came to Arduch about twelve of the clock, and nobodie could inform me where Mar was, to whome I was to make my report, nor was any quarter-mafter to be found to direct me where to find quarters. After rideing a great part of the night in a moor, I difmiffed my Squadron, who ftay'd with me till the laft, to doe as they thought beft, feeing no probabilitie of getting cover for them; and had I not, by accident, met a gentleman who carried me to Urchell, I had been in a bad enough fituation.

Next morning, we were told that our armie was affembleing at Arduch, where, after a fhort fleep, I got there by eight of the clock, and I found Mar on the field, with fome of his creatures, but few of the others with him. So many as came there made a large front to amufe three Squadrons of dragoons we fau on the field of battle at a great diftance;

and then, by the weakness of our number, we discover'd visible the effects of our mismanagement the day before, and that the great bodie of our Highlandmen were gone. In what manner our three columns¹ run away, none of those amongst them could tell, nor where the flight begun, everie corps putting it off themselves, on each other, as is usuall. Most agreed that few of them had ever formed, and those who did, begun to fire at a great distance; that the three columns fell in with one another in that running up the hill, and when they came within fight of the Duke of Argyle's right wing, which was already formed, they were in disorder; and the last confusion, when his dragoons made a mine [an attempt] to attack them through the morasses, which happened to be betwixt them; and happy for our foot had they known to make the right use of such an advantage and situation; but instead of that, and falling into forme, they fell into greater confusion, calling for horse against the dragoons, and General Hamilton being the onlie officer amongst them, it was impossible for him alone to bring them into order; so they turned their backs that minute we gave the huzza to advance, the Duke of Argyle pursuing them.² I have often wonder'd to see so few killed on all that ground over which he pursued with the dragoons. The onlie reason I can conceive was, his being obliged to goe about the morasses, which gave our people a great advantage in the flight down hill, and that the frost was stronge enough to bear them on foot, when the dragoons' horses sunk deep in the moor, our's in the mean time getting over the river of Allen.

Two regiments of the ennemie's foot, and some divisions, or a part of another, followed the Duke of Argyle, with his right wing of dragoons,

¹ Meaning the three columns who formed the left, who were outflanked by Argyle's cavalry, under Cathcart, who, crossing a bog which the frost had rendered passable, put them completely to the rout, and drove them as far as the river Allan.

² Some of the best of the Clans shared in the rout:—

“ The Camerons ran as they'd been caught
Lifting their neighbours' cows, man;
Mackenzie and the Stewart fled
But filabeg or trews, man.”

for they had stood firm, not having been attackt, from opposite to those four squadrons commanded by Drummond and Marishall, who were so civil as not to disturb anie, quited the ground to them, and fell in to the irregularitie of the Highlandmen, and went of gleaning after them, without taking notice of those who they naturallie had to doe with, and had given them their fire, and neither did the dutie of foot or horse; for had they advanced with the Highlandmen they had swept all before them, as they did. The gentlemen of those squadrons excused themselves, by saying they obey'd orders; for Drummond, who did not think it was enough for him, as Liutennant-Generall of the horse, to take care of his own command, had left it to give his orders amongst the foot of the right, the weight of all the affair lying heavie on his spirit, for no bodie can imagine that he left his own command upon any other score; nor doe I say that he did not return to his command because the ennemie stood firm before it, and for that reason flourished his keen cutting sword, as a signall to them at a distance to follow that conquering arme of his; and, to shew them he was not to stop there, went off before them. These poor gentlemen, on that signall, wheel'd the four squadrons to the right, on the ground betuixt the ennemie's line and that where our's was draun up, and, in wheeling, came with their flank close to the ennemie's foot, who gave them a fire in the flank that brought down eighteen of Huntlie's two squadrons, or of the whole, but the loss fell most on Huntlie's, and all this to doe nothing, for it had not cost them one man had they attackt those after their first fire, and not given them time to charge, as the Highlandmen did; but not to attack at all is still worse. This fire and the former made the two rear ranks of Marishall's squadron make volt face back to Perth, and occasion'd Huntlie's two to make but one in the evening, a good many of them taking the same route. Those of Marishall's, who followed in the pursuit, fell in amongst some dragoons, who did not retire so irregularly as they followed; their standard was taken, and nine of them killed, which was justly imputed to the presumption and ignorance of him who commanded them—next to Drummond's conduct, who, in that, surpassed all human race.

On our left, the brave younge Strathmore was killed, after being

wounded and takne; he commanded a battalion of the Athole foot, which the Marquise of Tullibardine gave over to him; being to doe the dutie of a Major-Generall, he would by no means stay with his own regiment, which was left in guarnifone at Pearth. I can't help wishing he had kept his promise to me, to honour me with being under my command that day, and joyning my squadron. When he found all turning their backs, he seized the colours, and persuaded fourteen, or some such number, to stand by him for some time, which dreu upon him the ennemie's fire, by which he was wounded in the bellie, and, going off, was takne and murder'd by a dragoon, and it may be said in his fate, that a mill-stone crusht a brilliant. He was the younge man, of all I ever saw, who approached the nearest to perfection, and had a just contempt of all the little lyes and selfish tricks so necessarie to some, and so common amongst us; and his least qualitie was, that he was of a noble, ancient familie, and a man of qualitie. Fortune seems to be invidious to those of worth, since she gives a long life, with ane incapacitie, to some, and joyns a short life to a great merite, in others. Those whose life are of any consequence faile earlie, and those who never will be good for any thing are eternell; either that they appear to be so, or that, comparativelie with the others, they reallie are so. Chance and Death agree in forgetting one who is good for nothing. Auchterhouse, uncle to Strathmore, a Brigadeer of our foot, a man of very great honour, was killed in the retreat.

We lost Captain of Clanronnald, a very gallant, brave man, who was the onlie [one] who attackt with the foot on horseback; who, it was said, dyed, leaving his curse on his follouers if ever they deserted the countrie's cause: He was, without dispute, one of the best men we had.¹ The Earle of Panmure was takne, walking at his own leasure, and so very ill cut in the head that he was left for dead in a house by the ennemie.² The Viscount of Strathallen, and his brother Logie Drummond, Murray of

¹ When Clanranald fell, the Highlanders hesitated in their attack, till Glen-gary, rushing forward, waved his bonnet, and cried out, "Revenge! revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!"

² When he was retaken by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.

Auchtertire, Barafield, and a good many more gentlemen; but in all, our prifonnors did not amount to one hundred. Of thofe of our right, who carried all before them, there was no more then tuentie-five Highlandmen killed, and fome few wounded. Eighteen of Huntlie's tuo squadrons, and nine of Marifhall's, were killed, I have alreadie mention'd how, and Iruine of Drum, a younge gentleman of good hopes, who command[ed] a fquadron of Huntlie's, was ill wounded. The ennemie loft the Earle of Forfar, Collonell, and a number of Officers, killed and wounded; of the laft was Generall Evans, and the Earle of Ifla, a volunteer, brother to the Duke of Argyle. We took about fifeteen officers prifonnors, the chief of whom was Collonell Laurence. Above tuo hundred private men were takne, but fome efcaping in the night, and others dying of their wounds, we carried only that number to Pearth. As to thofe who fell in the field of battle, I did not fee above tuo hundred; tho', if the moft moderate of our accounts we receaved at Pearth be true, there was near to eight hundred killed. I never heard it difputed that we got twelve hundred armes. If they were mafters of our cannon, by our three colums giveing way, we were mafters of theirs by their left wing doing the fame, but could not carrie them off that night for want of horfes, and nixt day had been forced to abandon them, as we did our oun, tho' our Highlandmen had come back to us, becaufe of the want of provifions; and had they fought as near to Pearth, as we did to Stirveling, they muft have left theirs if they had not been better provided then we.

People raifon'd differentlie of the caufes of our not gaineing ane intire victorie, as is ufual on fuch occafions, and the lefs they know the more their reafons differ, and very few of our's knew where the mifmanagement lay. But all at laft fell into Mar's cant, who induftriouslie gave out, by his fycophants, that it was Generall Hamilton's couardice, who he had neglected all alonge, after he had dipt him, in cafe, by anie luckie hit, he had gain'd too much credite, in which Hamilton had fuffer'd in common with others who he ufed in the fame manner. But now was the time to found a reputation on his ruins, knowing he did it without danger; and that Hamilton, who had no more influence amongft us then his carafter of Generall gave him, which he took this opportunitie to rob

him of, muſt be more ſubſervient to him. So it was given to know, that had we had another Lord Mar on the left, our victorie had been compleat, and that it was impoſſible for him to be everie where. This was no leſs neceſſarie to Drummond, Marſhall, Linlithgow, and Killyfeyth's purpoſe, who arrogated, each of them, a ſhare of what was takne from Hamilton and others, and carried away people from making a narrow ſcrutinie into their behaviour and conduct. Beſides the old motives of ſerveing Mar, they now more immediatelie ſerved themſelves, and every fool applauded himſelf for having it to ſay he did not run where a Generall run away; ſo it is difficult to tell who were moſt fond of it, tho' Hamilton's character, in the whole courſe of his life, was ſo different from that charge laid to him, that no man who knew him can ſuſpect him of it.

It may appear to be the hight of arrogance in me, and falling into the ſame crime I ſo often accuſe others of, to condemn one in a trade, whoſe longe ſervice and experience, advanced to ſo great a character, and ſo diſtant from what I had in the armie as ane apprentice; but I hope the giving my reaſons for that day's bad ſucceſs, deduced from matters of fact, won't bring me under the ſuſpicion of pretending to determine againſt fo old ane officer as Generall Hamilton, except in ſuch things as, I am certain, were directlie oppoſite to all the received rules of war. His breakeing us in columes, and marcheing all the four columes off by the right, was the looſeing of time; our left, as we were formed that morning, being next to the ennemie. His ſending the colum on the right of the front line, with the four ſquadrons of horſe, to the ennemie, on the top of that riſeing ground, when he halted the other three, could have no other conſequence but that of their being too earlie there, or we too late; when he might have gained time by marcheing the tuo columes on the right of both lines by the right, and the tuo columes of both lines on the left by the left, and advanceing the heads of the four columes equallie, and, by keeping a reaſonable diſtance, could have formed his tuo lines at once, and joyned in the center; and, in that caſe, Rollo's, Southefque's, and my ſquadron, muſt have marched upon the head of that colum which was to make the left of our front line, and cover'd them in the formeing, as well as by taking poſt on the left of all, to

cover them from the dragoons when formed. But Drummond would still [have] murder'd the whole by running into the center with his four squadrons, and the same necessity would have happened for our three squadrons to take up his post on the right, and the left being unfurnished, and wanting horse, would still run away at the approach of the dragoons; or, had we continued on the left, the right must have run away for the same reason, for even regular foot, with bajonets, and all their order and battalion quarré, have not given many instances that they can stand horse in a ground where they can act; I never heard above two or three, so it was not to be expected of Highlandmen, who had sense enough to find out that excuse for their running away, and called for horse before they run. Hamilton excuses himself by saying, Drummond and Marishall broke his whole disposition by running, contrary to his orders, so precipitantly towards the enemy; and that he sent two-three aide-de-camps to them, ordering them to halt, which he can prove they would not do, imagining they'd have to do with only one or two squadrons of the enemy, who, in their fancy, they had already fualloved up with their great numbers: very strong presumption in them, who did not know their right hand from their left, as they themselves shew'd, to disobey their own General, a man of service, and imagine they were capable of taking the other napping: Great God! what is not folly capable of! Tho' this was a visible fault in them, as well as the other, in forming the horse in the center, which had both bad consequences, yet, in my weak judgement, does not intirely excuse General Hamilton, whose order of marching with the other columns was not so very regular. I am of opinion, we ought not to broke our lines at all, since the ground allowed us to marche in a straight front to the enemy, and there's no need of being a General to know that never army gave their flank, or marched in columns, to an enemy, when they could do it in line of battle, and the hazarding that with a mob makes it the more inexcusable. It's often, if not always, of the worst of consequences for Generals to dispence with the received principles, except in cases of absolute necessity, or when the reasons are not very strong for acting contrary to them; otherwise, I could have told General Hamilton that two lines of Highlandmen was nonsense, if I had thought that one

who had served all his life could had so little regard to forms as he, who derived his onlie merite from them, for he was never suspected to be a man of head. I have often said, before the battle, that two lines of Highlandmen was loosing the half of our front to no purpose, for, if the first line pierced the ennemie, all the world could not hinder the second line from pursuing, to get their share of the plunder, and if the first line be repulsed, nothing will make the other line stand, to be sure they'll run, so that it seem'd our buisiness to out-flank the ennemie, and to leave onlie the three battalions of Low Countrie foot for a corp-de-reserve, being more under command.

What contributed not a little to our misfortune was, that such as my Lord Seaforth did not throw themselves on foot at the head of their own Clans; for it's takne for granted, that the best half of a Highlandman's courage consists in his love to his chief or master, and him he will not easilie desert, and methinks that recipocall love I ought to have for my Clan, were I a Highland Chief, would make me take my chance with them, even in a very indifferent quarrell, much more when the King I pretend to serve, my Countrie, and my all, is at stake. And, by that rule, I can't but think that Tullibardine would been of more use at the head of the Athole-men than a Major-Generall of the foot; which, had not Mar put upon him, I am sure his naturall modestie would never allow'd him to ask, haveing said to myself and severall others, that morning of our skirmish, after it was determin'd to fight, That had it been in affairs of sea, haveing served in that element, he would given his judgement, but being intirelie ignorant of the land service, he was glade to acquiesce to whatever any who had the least experience or knowledge should advise him; and no man in all our buisiness had more good will and less affectation. Then, I would ask, What talents could recommend my Lord Drummond to be a Lieutenant-Generall of the horse? I can be positive nothing but his eminent follie and ignorance; the first is sufficientlie proven in all the course, and in every action of his life, as well as the last, which he gave no small demonstration of in his conduct at the battle, or that those of Pearthshire would not allow him to command their squadron; and, since all he could value himself for was his following, which in reallitie was nothing

without Lord Strathallen and Lögje, and some more of his friends, as independent of him as I, who allowed him the name of their folks, his Lordship could be no where so well as on their head, who were good for nothing without him; and a very wonder if a thing so worthless as he could have made them good for any thing, since they must not be imposed on the world for Highlandmen,¹ no more than his Lordship as a General, tho' he had put them in that mask. But of all engaged, Seaforth acted the scandalous part; who, in place of putting himself at the head of his Clan, as all agreed, stood off in the rear, on some little rising ground, with fourtie scoundrels, on horseback, with him, I can't say a cool spectator of the fate of his country; and when, as it was generally reported, my Lord Duffus went to him, and those about him, to intreat them to joyn some one squadron or other, his Lordship took no notice of it, and his guards satisfied themselves with saying, They came there to waite of my Lord Seaforth. Whether Duffus made use of this as an excuse for leaving his command, and for his not going back to it, I can't tell; but this I know, that they accommodated that affair on the road, since Seaforth² and he were the first two of distinction who got to Pearth, and they, it would appear, failed before the wind; for they got there by four of the clock, which old Collonell Balfour told me, who had been left Gouvernour at Pearth, and put everie one in prison who brought the news of our deroute, till, as

¹ What? the Glenartney, Loch Katrine, and so forth, no Highlandmen!

² The old ballad unites Huntley with Seaforth in a charge which in fact attached to both:—

“ Two Generals from the field did run,
Lord Huntley and Seaforth, man;
They cut and run, grim death to shun,
These heroes of the north, man.”

And again:—

“ There's no one can tell, save our brave General,
Who first begun running awa', man;
Save the Earl of Seaforth, and the Coek of the North,
Who on Florence ran fastest of a', man.”

But Sinclair had his own reasons for sparing Huntley, while he stigmatises Seaforth.

he said, they turned too great for him, having respect for their peerage, and, after returning to themselves from the great fright, they begun to lament us, who, they said, were all cut in pieces; who, in spite of the worst of events, had it been as they said, and we capable of compassion, had more reason to pity them.

These are the effects of making a Highland Chief a Lord, and the thanks the Royall Familie has got for dignifying Seaforth with the title of Marquis; for those, by the adoration of their little vassals, are idle enough to imagine themselves above the common level of mankind without that character to flatter their vanity, and make them believe their persons are sacred, and render them so insupportable that they turn intirelie useless to their King and Country; without that, no creature could be so impudent as imagine, he could be excused to look on with fourtie guard-de-corps when the cause he had undertaken required his and their assistance; nor would I pursue a misfortune of that kind so far, if we had not been deaved with the noise of the great feats he was to perform, both before and after. It would be endless to give an account of that day's escapes and mistakes. Mar committed another, not inconsiderable, in not ordering Lord George Murray and Indernitie, with their five hundred men, from Bruntisland, to marche in time to joyn us; nor the MacGregors,¹ and MacFierfons, who made up no less number, and who, he knew, were posted onlie four miles from the place where we lay the night before the battle, and were believed to be as good men as any in the Highlands; but that was one of the least of our mistakes and wants, for we had men enough, and had we onlie had four cool-headed serjeants in the place of eight Lords, who it would be easie to name, we had, in spite of ourselves, come off that day with honour.

Next to Mar, Drummond, Marisball, and Linlithgow, attributed all to themselves, and had not the least regarde to circumstances, or that it was the consequence of the first fault Drummond and Marisball themselves had committed, and all those leaders or people of note, who went

¹ The Macgregors, it was supposed, or at least Rob Roy, had no special goodwill to the work. When commanded to advance, he made this cautious answer to the messenger, "If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me."

off with the croude, were severelie lasht, not onlie by those Lords, and others who could value themselves for not doeing so, büt even by those in whose companie they run away, who consented readilie to throw the blame on any, provided it should not be laid to their door. Huntlie, who never would take a command upon him, but came up to the field with the others, was more malicioussie and unmercifullie traduced than any,¹ after Generall Hamilton, to whose bad disposition, it must be said, there was too much oweing, tho' not more then to some of their conducts who stay'd. Tullibardine had more favour shew'd him than any; and here Mar distinguisht his friends, by covering the shame of some whose easie temper, or whose necessities, render'd usefull to him to carrie on his wicked project to the last, and, in a manner, rewarded the one for the trust they reposed in him, and punisht the others diffidence; for that was the generall rule he laid down to himself, except there were some particular reason for doeing otherwise, such as that of discrediteing Generall Hamilton, for fear it should be thought, either abroad or at home, that Hamilton had been capable of rendering him any service, and that he had not done all. In that case he'd sacrificed his father, or the best friend he had on earth. Seaforth's affair, tho' of all the most inexcusable, was extreamlie mitigated, haveing more use of him.

But after all that Mar, Drummond, Kilfeyth, and Marishall had done (for Linlithgow was but a by-sleeve, and onlie followed implicitlie, without either designe or judgement,) in giveing, and takeing, and dispenceing with people's honours, they thought they had done nothing so longe as I was not brought in, who, they had no manner of hopes of gaineing, and was not altogether so stupid as not to know what part they and I acted; and tho' I hope no less honourable then theirs, yet I could not find in my heart to value myself upon it, being what would occur'd

¹ It is always said, and seems here to be allowed, that Huntley fled at Sheriffmuir. There is a ballad in Hogg's Jacobite Reliques severely reflecting on the Gordons in general. Sinclair seems to admit that the Marquis fled the field. In the same pasquinade our author is termed—

“ The Master with the bully face,
And with the coward heart.”

to any man of common sense and the least service. They attempted to make me pass for the man who carried the three squadrons to the right, contrary to orders, tho' I knew nothing of the matter, and the manner of our marching told itself; but soon let that fall, upon the things being traced up to Mar and Kilfeyth, and its being only a consequence of Drummond and Marishall's bad conduct. Then it was found out that if I did not run away, I ought to have done it, by telling the gentlemen I commanded they were to lay their account with having a belief of fighting, which tended to discourage them. For my part I differ from them in that as well as in many of their other ways of thinking, believing it high time to let them know they were to fight, after having declared war so long, and being then within two hundred yards of the enemy; and if, from the beginning, their heads had not been turned by lying and artifice, was it possible for people not to believe their own eyes? or needed there any argument to persuade them. Surely if Mar and his abettors had any shame left, they ought to [have] taken no notice of this, for nothing make[s] so strongly against them, nor serves to prove more clearly the safe methods taken by them to deceive their poor credulous countrymen to the last. An infinite of examples can be given of Officers, and Generals, and Princes, having told the worst to those who they commanded, that they might not have the least dependence on anything but themselves; but the persuading people to the last there was no enemy, I believe is without example, and the assuring there was, when on the field of battle, a new crime, never laid before to any man's charge; and it can only proceed from the having a very mean opinion of their countrymen, to imagine it must frighten them, or that they were glad even to persuade themselves they were to do all, without fighting, the thoughts of which created a horror in them. Cæsar, who knew almost as much of that story as his Lordship of Mar, finding his army terrified at the report of the great numbers Juba was bringing against them, he called them together, and assured them, that their numbers were much greater than the report they had of them and then they really were; which was the opinion of Cyrus, in Xenophon, that the surprize is not so great to find the enemy weaker than people expected, as to find them stronger, after judging them

very weak ; but the finding ane enemie where none was expected muft still add to it. “*Simplex illa et aperta virtus in obſcuram et folertem ſcientiam verſa eſt.*”

The next thing that diſpleaſed them was my not purſueing ; having acted in the whole directlie oppoſite to them. All I have to ſay for myſelf, that I both ſaw and knew them ſo incapable of good, that I was reſolved to rectifie, as much as depended of me, the evils brought upon us by their follies. I’d gladlie aſk Drummond and Marifhall, Where was the courage of running away from the ennemie’s foot oppoſite to them, in the plain field ? Could they not have pierced them as well as the Highlandmen ? And had they borne down all before their ſquadrons, as the other did, Would not the Duke of Argyle purſued our left wing with a very ſmall number ? And had not their follie and ignorance occaſion’d the running away of their’s, Would we not had more to oppoſe to him in the evening ? And did they not, in effect, looſe as many, if not more men, then [if] they had done it ? But then Drummond muſt have been at their head, who was gone off before, and not caring to come back, gave them the ſigne to follow, and leave that place, which was too hot for him ; or, perhaps, underſtood nobody to be enemies but thoſe who run away from the Highlandmen, and had turned their backs. Their purſueing likewiſe puſht the Highlandmen, feeing themſelves followed by the gentlemen, to goe on further, which is one of the greateſt faults they have ; and had General Witham advanced with his wing of horſe or dragoons, which, we ſaw, he formed very ſoon above Dumblain, and attacked all our Highlandmen and four ſquadrons ſtrageling, what muſt [have] becomed of them ? Would they ever known where to aſſemble or make head, if they had not had the three ſquadrons I was with, to come to ; and happie, if having once turned their backs, they had ſtopt there.¹ I can’t as yet wonder enough their goeing ſo near to him in the manner they did, did not draw him upon them. It can’t be thought it was the fear of them ; and, if any thing, it muſt be the three ſquadrons who he ſaw in good order on the high ground above him. All agree, there’s nothing to be done with Highland-

¹ Wetham or Witham never thought of advancing, but retreated to the ground behind Dunblane, and thence to Cornfoot [Corntown], near Stirling Bridge.

men without a bodie of regular troops, becaufe, after they break the enemie, they run the certain rifque of being deftroyed by their irregular, hot way of purfueing; and if they have nothing ftanding firm, to whom they can retire to when preft, its impoffible for them to form again. And if he who fupplied that defe&ct or want did not a&ct the part of ane officer, let any man judge; and the more, that we had the enemie in front and rear, and did not know where we were to be attackt firft by them, as the Grey Dragoons feu'd us foon after. I challenge thofe Lords further to fay if their fquadrons and mine were of the fame force in the evening; for Marifhall's fquadron did not appear, and Huntlie's tuo made but one. Linlithgow had his fhare of deferting; and, to be plain, there was none but my own who had not fome who run away. I don't think that lookt like difcourageing, or any proof of it.

For Scots gentlemen, tho' of all thofe in Europe, at prefent the moft ignorant of war, if they have any confidence in him who commands them, don't readilie turn their backs; and nothing but the prejudices, that were fo carefullie born in upon them, made them fo ungouvernable. I am of opinion that if a man has a mind to fave his bacon, the beft way that he who commands can take, is to give thofe he leads, on fuch an occafion, their full fuinge, and let them run out; and after their loofeing him, or he them, which is foon done; being well mounted, he can goe where he pleafes, and pretend ftange adventures, when, in the mean time, he might be in a place of fafetic, without any fpies on him: and if then that tumultuarie way fhould fucceed with thofe people, haveing judgement enough to keep within diftance, he has but to joyn, and talk bigg; if it goes wronge, he takes his meafures, and makes his efcape, and, it may be, complains of thofe he was with. But it's prefumeable that he who keeps thofe under his command together, and never ftirs from their head, refolves to ftand firm, and fhew good exemple; otherwife, he muft be a fool, and keeps fo manie fpies on his conduct, and a dead weight upon him, which he won't get fhaked off when he would. It's not in our armie alone that fome have pretended to be everiewhere but where they ought to be in a day of a&tion, that they may have occafion to be nowhere. I have heard of fome of note, elfewhere, of whome that

was observed. These Lords ought to be contented with that impunity given them by Mar of doing what they pleased, and assuming all to themselves, however worthless they are known to be, without putting people to the necessity of proving them wretches capable of nothing but bringing disgrace and misery on their Country.

I shant argue further with them from the practice of war, but shall leave it to [be] judged from their own mouths. Can Mr Areskine, Aide-de-Camp to Mar, deny that after the enemy had turned their backs, and the Highlandmen in the pursuit, his General order'd him to goe to the Master of Sinclair, and command him to marche to the end of the longe causey of Stirveling with the three squadrons, but Areskine, assuring him of our left being beat, he changed his mind? This shews, that if our left had not been beat he approved of the conduct, since I must have been of use in executing these orders he thought necessary, but, being beat, I am sure it was still of more service. This order, which was soon flyed, was the onlie [one] that ever I heard his Lordship of Mar took upon him to give that day, except that of calling the three squadrons to the right from their march to the left; for then his heart was up, and his courage raised, like Drummond's, at the enemy's running in the beginning. When the business had a furly aspect he happened to be out of the way, and could not be found to give his orders for attacking. Had he been on the front of those two thousand men who stood, it was a plain surface; and draun up in three ranks, as they then were, and don't take up much ground, he must have been seen, being on horseback: If he had been amongst the three columns who left us, it's presumeable he had taken the same route with them, as all did, except Mr Arthur; but his knowing nothing of their being gone, is a sufficient proof he was not there; nor was he with the other four squadrons of horse: so I may say positively, that before the fire, and the three or four minutes it lasted, he was behind the hill, and very snugly posted; and his Aide-de-Camp, Mr Areskine, the onlie man who was with him, a little higher, with his head up to see what would come of it: And, upon his telling him the good news, or calling to him, his Lordship gallopt up, as if it had been he who had done all; falls, open mouth, upon Captain of Clanronnald, who he

met coming back, wounded ; for, being loft, that was the foonest he was found again ; and seeing all the Highlandmen gone in the pursuite, challenges him for not following. The divill's in it, if a hero, on such an occasion, should not find something to say ; and, as it was reported by my Lord Mar's own friends, and particularlie told to myself by that Aide-de-Camp alonge with him, who did not think of the consequences that could be draun from it, and had no further notion than doing Clanronald justice, that he answer'd his Lordship, tho' in the pangs of death, with a disdainfull smile, and, putting his hand to his breast, said, He had got his share, and dyed some minutes after. His Lordship's horse happned to throw him soon after, he following in the pursuite, and it being easie to him to draw an advantage out of everie thing, he gave it out that his horse was shot, and that occasion'd his falling with him, tho' severalls saw the horse run away. I myself heard Mar say, to justify what he had first given out, That the horse was found on the road by one Baillie Caddell, who rid him some miles, till he fell under him and dyed, but he would send north to him to get back his furniture ; when ther's nothing more certain then that his white horse, with one eye, was found in Stirveling, without the least wound.

I don't say that a Generall, on whome so much depends, as he'd have the world believe did on him, ought to hazard his person too much ; but then, having run no greater danger than a fall from his horse, he ought to scorn the affectation of it, and is bound to let people know where he is in time of action, if he is not skulking ; that, since they were to depend on him, they might have recourse to him, and had time enough to get off after giving his orders to attack ; but neither having frankness nor daring to assume it, nor patience enough to look on, knowing these particulars to be certain and undeniable truths, I will affirm his Lordship was of hiding, that he might dispose of himself according to events. Both his horse and he were very safe, in the time of the fire, behind the hill, nor needed not been far out of the way to be so, and that his business was to fight with lyes, and not armes and powder. If it could be said for our Generall that he minded any thing but himself, the loss of our baggage might be imputed to him, for it was left in our rear, contrarie to all

custome, without anie guard, on that ground we lay all night, when we could have sent it to the House of Breco, a garnifone we had, within four miles of us, where it would have been in safetie. And what helpt to make the loss the greater, was the Highlandmen's taking it, who wanted no more to determine them to go freight home. They found it in the way where they past, in the retreat, who took baggage-horses and all to help them with it on their road, it being equall to them whither it was our plunder or the ennemie's, since that is none of the least of their motives for coming out.

My Lord Drummond had a favourite secretarie and trustee, his valet-de-chamber, who he used to send ambassadour to France, and passes under the name of Lightie William Drummond, who the whole armie accused of sharing largelie of that plunder; and that very day afforded us another instance of his solid judgement in the choice of his confidants: One Laurens Drummond, who, everie bodie knew, must be let in to all his secrets, deserted from us to the ennemie;¹ but what made it worse was, his being known to be a spie all his life, and, when with us, severalls offer'd to prove that he was still muster'd a Lieutenant in the Scots Fusiliers at Striveling, and all the letters which came from thence bid us take care of him. Tho' all this was known, and told by the fellow's own relations, who had caught him playing such tricks in other affairs before, my Lord Drummond was not to be persuaded of it. He was so impudent a fellow he would take service in no corps, but kept himself loose, and about my Lord Drummond, as an Aide-de-Camp, that he might have the better opportunitie of pumping all out of him; which was my Lord Isla's designe in sending him, knowing how shallow a creature Drummond is. He went two-three days' marche to meet Marishall; took upon him to range his people, and counted them, and, as Huntie and his folks told me, did the same to them, that he might give the juster and earlier account to those who sent him. And this was complain'd of when with us; but Drummond

¹ This is the man whom the old song calls "Lawrie the Traitor." There was a belief that he carried to General Hamilton an order to halt the left, instead of the order to advance, with which he had been charged, and thus contributed to the defeat of the left wing of the Insurgents.

would still support him, as if no man there had any thing to loose by him but himself. It was averred that this fellow called out, All was lost; and begun the running away: but there were reasons enough to be given for it without that. If you'll allow to add to this choice of confidants another, who passes under the name of Lightie James Drummond, no less a counsellour and favourite of his Lordship than any of the former, who has been of late the common evidence against great numbers of gentlemen, you'll say with me, That my Lord Drummond has not belied the character of his familie, nor the opinion the Scots Nation had of him and it; and that of his father and uncle. All this while Mar had takne speciall care of his own baggage, and had sent it off to Breco, but was in great apprehensions for his papers, that afternoon of the battle: this his Secretarie told, to prove his Lordship's preference of mind; for we then thought that all had fallen in the ennemie's hands, and he was affraid murder would out.

But to return to our situation after the battle: We found ourselves without provisions, powder, and men; and tho' we had been near to eight thousand that morning before, and double the ennemie's number, and sensible that we had discouraged the Duke of Argyle's infantrie by so rude a rebuke which we had given them; we could not make use of our advantage because of the loss of the five thousand of our foot which we never saw again; but tho' they had not left us we must have returned to Perth for want of provisions. From that ground where we paraded that morning after the battle, we marched back to Auchterarduch, and cantoon'd in and about it that night; next day we marched near Perth, where we cantoon'd another night, and the day after marched into town; where my Lord Mar printed an Account of our Battle, in which, with his usuall modestie, he did not a little exaggerat and extoll his own valour; and to support the better what he'd have believed of himself, gave each of those champions, who depended most on him, a proportion of the honour of that affair, as he thought fit, by which, and putting a fair gloss on their behaviour, they'd readily consent to vouch what he said of himself. But, that others may judge of it, by comparing it with the plain matters of fact which I have told, I shall insert it here. I imagine, from a conjecture I made on the Printer's bringing that paper to me before it was printed,

and asking, If I was pleased with that slight mention it made of me?¹ for at that time there was not one word in it of Brigadeer Ogilvie's commanding the horse, that his Lordship was then very humble, and was seeking to make friends, and had sent him to see if I was satisfied; for he durst not [have] hazarded to shew it me publickly without his Lordship's order, at least I understood it so; and, taking little notice of what he said, for I was then at dinner, told him, That, if he satisfied the Lords, he need give himself no trouble about me.

All this narrative being intirely of a piece, I shall onlie observe one thing very particular: After giving account, in that paper, of the Earle of Panmure's being wounded, who, from his whole conduct in that affair, deserved honourable mention, and because of a singular modestie, tho' he had not been Mar's uncle, he makes an outrageous compliment to his other uncle, Mr Hary Maule, who, with his servants, he says, rescued his brother Panmure in the evening. Would not one believe that Mr Hary Maule had broke a wing of the Duke of Argyle's armie in that action? and that he must have done as much as ever anie of King David's worthies, or that he must have ane infinite number of servants?² When all he did was to take care of his brother, who the ennemie had left in a house, being so badly wounded that he could not goe alonge with them? I don't mean to detract from Mr Hary Maule in this, who, of all the men of the partie, has had one of the best characters; but, I may say, he had as little a share in the action as any man there, nor never pretended it, or, I believe, to take his post any where, having observed him some time that day in the rear of my squadron. So that it's evident the slight mentioning of some, which was equall to none at all, and the attributing so much to others who had no share at all, was a stronge affectation to give all the honour to himself, his relations, and Lords, and others his devoted slaves, that by keeping up their characters they might be enabled

¹ The Master of Sinclair is only mentioned as making one of the vanguard of cavalry designed to take up quarters at Dumblane.

² Mar's official account states that Lord Panmure, being wounded and taken, was left in a village, and, upon the hasty retreat of the enemy, was rescued by his brother and servants.

to keep up his. He continued still playing his old tricks, for he could doe nothing without them; and got the Ladie Keer by the means of her husband, who found it both the easier and surer way to make his court in that manner than by fighting, for he had run away from the battle, to write us accounts of very great havock which we had made of the ennemie, who dyed daylie of their wounds, as if Mar had a mind to persuade us there was no more of them left; which letters were read publickly in the Court; and, by her accounts, the number of the killed and wounded in the battle was greater than the regiments themselves, tho' there was nothing so easie as judge the number of wounded must been few or none, for who were wounded were wounded with sabres, and not many of those escaped.

Seaforth stay'd onlie one night in Perth, and came out to meet us in our marche thither, with the news of Southerland's¹ having takne Inverness, who obliged Sir John Mackenzie to give him up toun and citadell, after a vigorous defence, which onlie cost the life of one man, who was cruelt betuixt a wall and a door, without any blood shed. I was present when I heard that very thing prophesied to Mar six weeks before, that Sir John would give it up to the first who demanded; this past the tenth of November, and is a most remarkable siege. Seaforth, who had seen enough amongst us, undertook to quash that storm which did not a little threaten us from the north; for now Southerland had got together seven-teen hundred men, of Grants, Frazers, Rosses, Monroes, Mackeys, Guns, and Southerland, and was threatenng to marche southwards. Tho' Mar did not allow this to be true, yet he permitted Seaforth to return, after being about a week with us, upon his promising to doe great feats, and took his garde-de-corps and trumpet, the marks of souveraintie, alonge with him, for all his Clan had gone off from the field of battle, and were well advanced in their way home. This ended in nothing, as will be seen afterwards, but talking big, after that countrie way. It was more for Mar's purpose to send him north than keep him, it furnishing him ane occasion of promising great things in his name, and flattering our hopes; and that

¹ Sutherland was not present, but Duncan Forbes of Culloden, with the famous Lord Lovat, had certainly taken this important place.

was the great reason of keeping up Seaforth's character, tho' he expected nothing from him. However, it must be said that his going north was a check to Southerland, and, with Gordon of Glenbucket's following soon after, to raise Huntley's men, who had all gone home, made Southerland, who had advanced to Elgine of Murray, twenty miles south of Inverness, return back to it.

We sent the greatest part of our prisoners from Perth to Dundee, with a garrison. We still seem'd to work hard at our lines, under the direction of the French dancing and fencing master, tho', like Penelope's web, it never advanced, and did not do near so much with a month's labour as I have seen four regiments do in twenty-four hours. I can't imagine it was the frost which retarded us, it not being then so strong. The greatest part of our two thousand Highlandmen, who stay'd with us at the battle, went home with the enemy's plunder, and the Chiefs of the neighbouring Clans were sent out to bring back what they could of their men, but with very bad success. However, the getting arms, powder, and money sent us from France was trump't up again; and the certain, tho' private account Mar had of these things being sent us, and the King's coming, with officers abundance, would soon make us reap the advantages gain'd by our battle, for all that the Duke of Argyle could do would never make his infantry pass the Bridge of Stirveling, or look us in the face, so long as there were any number of us together. I have been told of late, by my Lord Mar's Aide-de-Camp, Mr Aerkine, that Mar being mightily affected with this desolate state, sett himself down in his chamber, and onlie he and Mr William Aerkine, brother to my Lord Buchan, present, burst out in tears, and, after a long silence, said, with a dejected countenance, I have been consulting myself; I find I will be the sacrifice, and that I can die. This David Aerkine thought necessary to be told on a certain occasion, where he endeavour'd by it to prove that there was caballing amongst us three days after our returning to Perth, at which time this should have happened, when I am positive there was no such thing; tho', if there had, I don't think it ought to be denied, for nothing but a lethargic occasion'd by an utter ignorance and incomprehensible stupidity, or a voluntary ignorance, which is yet worse, can excuse our not falling on some methods

then, to extricate ourselves out of that abyss; but so far to the contrary, we still continued to trust what had so long deceived us, and plunged ourselves every day deeper. But the telling, with tears, he could die, was no great sign of a firm resolution, after consulting himself. I never heard that the poorest child had not all that resolution and resignation to weep when they thought of death. There's no odds betwixt death and death, but in the manner of dying. But this is the hero unmasked, and in his natural dress. "Heu quam difficile est animum non prodere vultu." He was not heard to regrave his Country, which would have been the first and great concern of a man of the least honour, if we can suppose any such capable first of selling it, and next, after he could profit no more by the sale, locking in, with false promises, so many well-meaning men into their certain ruin, and acting so unfairly and treacherously with those who he engaged, at their own expense, to undo what he himself ought to have done by his villainy, and for his interest. What man, who had been guilty of any part of this, but would be glad to expiate their crime with his own blood, or could entertain a thought of living, without having that too honourable occasion, for him, of sacrificing himself for those he had betrayed? No: his meaning was, that after examining his conscience, he formed in it his own condemnation, and the fear of that violent death and eternal damnation, which, he knew, was a sudden and unavoidable consequence of the other, struck him with horror, not doubting but those who he had so grossly imposed upon, would make him the sacrifice; and, I am convinced, ever after lookt upon those who he thought saw clear, or who shew'd the least concern for their Country, as his enemies, without having any more ground for it than his own fear of the "pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam," increased by his guilty consciences.

[Ergo exercentur] poenis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt.—Virg.

And from that time changed his first motive of raising us, which was bread and a reputation, which now, he thought, he had got, into that of self-preservation; and his whole care was employed henceforth to save himself, by keeping up our sinking spirits with fresh packets of lyes, more vigorously

supported than ever, which the circumstance required, never imagining that the business could succeed. For, after our battle or skirmish, he did not allow us our sham meetings, which, before it, were thought so very necessary, such as the Court of Generall Officers, as it was then called, composed of Generalls Hamilton and Gordon, Lord Drummond, on all occasions a necessary man, Brigadeer Lyon of Auchterhouse, and myself, an unworthy member. And here I must doe Generall Hamilton the justice to say, that I have heard him propose, in those meetings, all that, in my weak judgement, could be proposed in our circumstances, which was always minuted and communicated to Mar by Collonell Clephan, our secretaire, and his gouvernour, without the least particular ever being taken notice of, or any thing being put in execution, or reduced to practice; which power he reserved to himself from the beginning. That of arms and ammunition, another Court, which I was named of, with Brigadeer Lyon and Alexander Maitland, and some others who had been officers and surgeons, where all the methods of getting and mending old armes were proposed, as searching for powder, and providing lead, and casting ball of different calibers, making powder-horns or flasks, to preserve the little powder we had the better, and absolutely necessary, had our magazins been filled, making flints of those flint stones in great plenty on all our sea coast, under the want of which we laboured as much as of any thing; making patrontaches,¹ or leather purses in place of patrontaches, for the foot to carry their ball, and a great many other things of that kind, and all given in to his Lordship, as he order'd, by memorials, and ever after sunk in his pocket, I suppose, till he had certain occasions of making use of them. It was not to be expected he'd send any where for powder, when he would not allow of powder-horns; which, I may say, we could [have] had for nothing, having enough of that trade² with us, and no want of sheep and oxen's horns, and no making use of powder without them, which must be wet when a man is on sentrie or in marches, and broke and wasted in purses

¹ [Patrontaches,] *i.e.*, cartouche boxes.

² The Scotch tinkers and gypsies are usually also horners, *i.e.*, manufacturers of horn, and [this] observation contains a slur on the composition of the Insurgent army.

or pockets, as the Highlandmen carried it ; the same may be said of flints, having stone enough to serve Europe, if cut, and leather purses to be got for a small matter : Nothing of that kind being ever done, it may be judged what was intended.

I'm convinced all was neglected willfullie, to give the more excuses for our Generalls deserting, and whoever prest such things, or put his Lordship often in mind of them, was thought no good man, and would be unheard. But had any man come to Mar to tell him that he had got a litter to bring up some old decrepid man, and had found out a friend who wanted prohibie, and had influence on the old man to put him in to it, and make him joyn us, such a one was the best of men, and the bravest fellow in the world, to whome the King and Countrie ow'd a great dale, and he, or such as he, the onlie capable of doing good ; and his Lordship fet about it the moment. Or, which was more excusable, if it was impossible to transport the old man, and dip him, to inform his Lordship he had a hundred, or tuentie pound, which was the same, to be shure there was no peace till it was got ; and tho' we knew the man to be our friend, and that it was only want of strength that hindred him from joyning, it was willfullie spread, and in the most publick manner, That he had given us monie freele, to make him think himself discover'd, and come to us if he had one spunk of life left ; and this leacherie of dipping everie man, without regarde to the incapacie of service, in all stations, by age or other naturall defects, continued till the last day of our affair, and he got into a ship ; as if all had consisted in the ruine of everie familie, and every living creature that wisht us well, and extirpateing and rooteing out the Nation out of the Nation. And, if he must be a politician, for he can pretend to nothing else except to be a villain, I can suear that his whole pollitick consisted in that.

Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, had been our Trefaurer from the beginning, and had charged himself with all the monie which came in from the Countrie. A Councill of Finance was then fet on foot to fall on ways and means of leveiing money, and giveing him warrants for the necessarie payments ; which last pouer Mar soon took from them, and Mr Frebairn, the Trefaurer-Depute, in whose house the monie was kept,

was order'd to take warrants from nobody but his Lordship of Mar, and fricktly enjoyned not to communicate to any bodie, not so much as his master, the Treasurer, who was bound for all, how the monie was disposed of, or to what Lords and Gentlemen he gave it; which Mr Francois Steuart, who was not simple enough to be so treated, was very soon aware of, and told it to me, and that he'd draw himself out of it as softly as was possible; so that our Councill of Finance continued onlie to fleece ourselves to furnish his Lordship with monie to bribe the bankrupt Lords and Gentlemen amongst us to lie for him, and cheat us; nor can it be thought that my Lord Mar, who, till then, never had forgot himself, did it on that occasion, when he did not think one man amongst us worthie of knowing how their own monie was disposed of; a most singular instance of our insufficiencie or self-deniell, and, no less, of his bad designs. If none of us were good for anie thing we had nothing to doe there; if good for any thing, some of us ought to been employed in what they were good for. Certainlie we are the first who ever made war out of no other view but ruining ourselves and posteritie, without knowing how or what we were doing.

The Committe of Intelligence, or Secret Committe, was another amusement given to some, who thought they were in the highest trust, and valued themselves upon it; when all they did was to seem usefull in busieing themselves in scribbling to engage some poor gentleman with lyes, (for the strefs of all turned upon that,) who had escaped before, or keeping a correspondence with some woman, or poor tool, who return'd them some of Mar's idle stories, echo'd back to Pearth from Pearth. For, after examinencing who their correspondents were, and what they were capable of, he made use of a third hand to inform that correspondent indirec'tly of everie thing he'd have his Secret Committe believe or spread, and that, for want of other news, was return'd to them in a day or two to Pearth; or, when any one pickt up any thing new, to please Mar, he went to him with all the formalitie and air of importance, as if he had got a letter from Monsieur De Torcie, Secretarie of France, and, however frivolous, his Lordship receav'd it as if it had been of the last consequence; for he was no less glad than they, to impress it in them, that they were

doeing fingular fervice. The Committe of Fourage and Vivers was what stood its ground longest, for neither horfes nor men could live on wind; but either he choose such who knew little of their buffinefs, or he designedlie, to give him pretexts not to goe too far, delay'd the execution of their orders, so that we were always from hand to mouth. All the others were, from the beginning, thams designed by him for amusement. Tho' his own motives for erecting them were very good, the principall was to make the whole believe he did nothing without the consent of those amongst themselves fit to advise him in these different capacities; which was directlie Jethro's advice to Moses, tho' our deliverer did not follow it in the true sense that the good priest of Midian gave it; for, in place of able men, and lovers of truth, hateing covetousness, his choice fell on fools, lyers, and bankrupts, who must doe anything for monie; and few or none of any other sort admitted, except his own particular friends, or such who he was ashamed to keep out, who were not stronge enough to carrie anything against the greater number of others, and understood one another, having got a hint to take care of them, and often met in a corner without them, kept them in ignorance of what they were doeing and not doeing, and of all their resolutions, and where the execution stopt, for that was not to be inquired into; and they were at last, if not docile enough, whipt and last, by saying they were disaffected, and punished, by shewing their neglect of them, and, in effect, turned to nothing but so manie lying schooles. Few being willing or able to resist all those calumnies, were glade to knock under, having it not in their pouer to help themselves, being so far dipt; and not careing to loose their expectations in case it succeeded, by raising up against them so malicious and pouerfull ane ennemie, when a blind complaisance and lying, which, like the Priests, they excused in themselves as a *pia fraus*, was all that was askt of them, and brought them honour and monie; without which and his Lordship's protection, from his favourite Lords and Generalls downwards, most had made a scurvie figure, and he was no less necessarie to them than they were to him, and the obligations no less stronge and pressing. So the whole intent of these mock meetings were to gain more friends to himself, by distinguishing so many, who were to be helpfull in decoying others, and in

the maine, gull the unthinking part of the world, who are infinitlie the most numerous, by making them believe that there were great matters always in agitation in those Courts, when all center'd in his Lordship of Mar.

Those gentlemen thus employed had another motive, which was, their being exempted from all commands and militarie duties, I mean those who had feats in the Civill Courts, and were very sensible they had both the ease and the profit; nor did it deroge from their valour, while those of honour and note were marcheing in the cold all night, or doeing guards, and standing sentries, and the whole fatigue throun upon them; but what was worst of all, and ruin'd their horses, was the carrieing Mar's letters, which was declared militarie, and all took it in their turn, at all hours, as if it had been a tour of honour, and must have ruin'd our cavalerie, tho' they'd had nothing else to doe but run about with letters, that he, and all the fooles and knaves about him, were continuallie scribbling; as if there had been nothing more requisite but that, when that idle and needless drudgerie could be done on countrie horses, fitter for the purpose, by some trustie fellow's postillions, since he would not employ in these messages that rascalie pack of Aid-de-Camps about him, who we did not know whence they came, or out of what dunghill, or what they were good for but lying, back and fore, in Pearth, and liveing upon our spoiles, haveing got horses either out of our pockets or estates; which, without any desfigure of service, were still pampere'd in Pearth, for they were as incapable of carrieing orders in action, as his Lordship was of giveing them; and, reallie and trulie, except Clephan, when we were in action, all run away, not to speak of Mr Arekine, who had not much more to value himself on, while the danger lasted, but his being in the quiet place with Mar. How his Lordship contrived it to get rid of all the other's spies, for they turned upon himself on that occasion, I would gladlie know? and what orders he had to give them? tho' he valued himself afterwards on their goeing off, by civillie complaining there was none with him to give his orders to.

Nor was this the onlie hardship put upon the gentlemen; for not onlie these Politiciens were exempted from fatigues, but their servants, and all the Lords, and their servants, for their very grooms and footmen were priviledged, and their persons sacred; and, when it's narrowlie lookt into,

the dutie fell very hard on the feu who were not exempted, and the reallie usefull and serviceable gentlemen, being reduced to a small number, were themselves oppressed, and their horses ruin'd, and they, in a manner, slaves to those monstres, unfit for any thing but confounding of every thing, talking big, and running away, or felling them. When these generall pretexts for exempting did not include enough, particular ones were invented; such as making a King's Phisitian and King's Surgeon, and giving them commissions, when the King knew nothing about us, or of our being in armes, at least it was soon enough to do it after his coming. Many other examples of that kind can be given; as that of Lords having one or two Aid-de-Camps out [of] the gentlemen, who were free of dutie, as their domesticks. I must confess, if all that crew could have fought as they talkt, the enemie would have had but a bad time of it; and the others, who did the drudgerie, might have excused the care they took of themselves.

Before we fought we were daylie deaved with accounts of the English Generall, Mr Forrester's progress and success; that he had frightened Generall Carpenter; that his numbers had increas'd every marche; and that he was, at least, eleven thousand men strong; and that the Gouvernement had nothing to make head to him, or oppose him, till he got to London. These things were told with circumstances that I have forgot. But [we] were not long in our old quarters, when the bad news of our friends misfortune at Preston was brought us, which, no doubt, his Lordship of Mar knew amongst the first; for I had received letters of it by the same canale that he used often to get his, and I, as the others, kept it a secret; but a day or two after, on its beginning to burst out amongst us, Mar made Hary Craufurd, now Sir Hary, send him a letter of a victorie obtained at Preston. This news came at two of the clock in the afternoon. Cannons were fired before four, and bonfires and illuminations were order'd through the whole town; bells were rung, and no demonstration of joy omitted. At five of the clock I happened to goe to Court, and finding General Hamilton sitting very pensive in the big room, as close as possible to Mar's chamber door, I set me down by him, and, after talking some time to him, I askt him, Why our Court of Generall Officers did not meet? He said,

Mar had discharged its meeting becaufe he was affraid that he and we fhould enter into the detaile of the armie, and come to know our number, which, it feem'd, he'd onlie have knoun to himfelf. Then I askt him, If he was to goe that night to the bonfire on the market-place? He faid, *Regis ad exemplum*; meaning that he would follow Mar's exemple. For my own part, I knew too much to be there, and was present at none of the mirth.

In a day or tuo the melanchollie account was confirmed from all hands. I never expected better; it was not to be imagin'd that a handfull of raw, undifciplined men, without armes, care, or thought, could marche fo far into a countrie, without anie man of authoritie or knowledge at their head, without falling into a fnare. Mr Douglas had told me enough of them to judge what fhould happne; tho', I muft fay, had they been armed, and any man of authoritie and fervice at their head, with a few officers, they might have given fuch troops as they had to deal with worke enough. But their mock Generalls and Lords, except Wintoun, Darnwater, and Nairne, being not good for much, no more than our own, by what I have feen of the one and heard of the other, it was not in nature that they could fucceed, and the fpirits of the beft men on earth muft be broake by fuch leaders. Their pollitick, as fome of themfelves have told me, was the fame with ours, which confifted in lying, no order, and making them believe to the laft there was no fighting; and, when the ennemie was within mufket fhoot of their barrier, they were not allowed to believe it. They agreed to furrender the fame day we fought.

If I thought that it were confiftant with my honour not to difcover the madnefs and follies of my councitriemen to themfelves, fo that they may not again commit fuch blunders, fo contrarie to common fenfe and reafon, or that being fo much traduced as I have been, I could betray, with a criminal filence, my own innocence, I'd fay,

Excidat illa dies ævo, nec poftera credant
 Secula! nos certe taceamus; et obruta multa
 Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.

Stattius.

When moſt at Perth were in great joy for this victorie, I never was more uneaſie, and looked on thoſe cannons as a militarie ceremonie at the funeralls of my Countrie and friends, but thought it very extravagant to doe ſo, when we had no more powder left, tho' that was not the onlie time, for the ſame was done at the funeralls of the Earle of Strathmore, who deſerved it, and more, had we had it to ſpare. Mar's inclination to deceave was ſo ſtrong that the very cannons were imploied ^{to} lie to us as well the ennemie, and make both think our magazins were full when we had but a few pounds left either to defend ourſelves or make that great conqueſt of the world, which was not yet to be doubted of; but the buſſineſs was to be done by retireing, and the leſs powder we had the ſtronger the excuſe.

If, from the conduct of the whole enterpriſe from its beginning, it be permitted to reflect, on the diſtant and confuſed vieus of ſending a detachment over the Frith, into Engeland, on the foot Generall Hamiltone firſt told me, before Mar came to Perth; and on his ſituation and the ennemie's at that time; and the ſending the Clans, on their firſt riſeing, into Argyleſhire, on no manner of foundation but to tryſſe, when it retarded Cameron of Lochiell and Steuart of Apin's joyning, who, with the other Clans, would have made a great bodie at once, of at leaſt four thouſand men; and, in the meantime, complaining ſo bitterlie of Huntley's not joyning, and that it was onlie he who hindred us from making a breakfast of the Duke of Argyle and his handfull of troopes; and tuo days before Huntlie came, the ſending away, hand over head, Mackintosh, with the detachment, to paſs the Frith, ſo unprovided; and, if poſſible, more undetermined, as Mackintosh's management fullie demonſtrate, tho' Mar's intercepted letters to Kenmure and Forreſter did not, where theſe looſe expreſſions and contradictions are deſigned for ambiguities; but for want of ſtile in the great Miniſter, or Secretarie of State, turn to the other, and [this] proves clearlie he did not know how to diſpoſe of Mackintosh after he paſſed, and that his principall aime was to get rid of him and ſo manie men, and determines him in nothing, but lays the high roads before him, as if he oued them to him, ſo that, If Mackintosh went eaſt, and was ruin'd, Mar was not to blame: If he went weſt, and had the ſame fate, nothing could be laid to his

Lordship's door, for he had shew'd him the other way. But if his happie star led him where he was to succeed, Mar was to have the honour of it, for he had shew'd him the route, and then the busifeness was done, without his Lordship fighting, who was to keep himself at Perth. Next, he excused his marcheing till the Clans had joyned him, after that, on the pretext of waiteing Seaforth and Sir Donald Macdonald, the last of whom had joyn'd us earlie, with seven, or rather eight hundred men; if Mar had permitted him, and left Seaforth in possession of Inverness, to deale with Southerland, who would be very angry anie should think that, with his Mackenzies, he was not at that time capable to manage Southerland before the Frazers and others joyned him, a great many of whose keennes, if not their courage, roase on our ruine and Seaforth's absence. To anie, I say, who will reflect on all this, and his Lordship of Mar's unwillingness to goe out of Perth, towards Stirveling, to relieve Mackintosh, when invested, and, after his marcheing, his stopping short at Arduch, when, upon the horfes advanceing to take quarters in Dumblaine, it was agreed, that Generall Hamilton, on his pressing it, should be allowed to take post with the foot on the longe caufey at the Bridge of Stirveling, where he was positive he could post himself so that the Duke of Argyle would have as bad attacking us as we had to attack him, and lye there till the Clans had come down on the other side of Forth, and tyed his Grace, with his whole bodie, to the defence of Stirling, while Mackintosh could easilie have found means to joyn the Clans, when the Duke of Argyle durst not detache, the ennemie being of both hands of him; the shamefull excuse Mar made at that time, all of a suddain, by saying Linlithgow and Marisball had refused to doe it, when they were alreadie gone forward with the horse, and have denyed since, in Mar's face, that it was true, will make out clearlie all I pretend to prove. Supposeing it were so, their pouer with us was very little, or rather nothing, without Mar; since he gave them it in a great measure, and their intire subsistence, is this then to be taken for a relevant excuse? or is Mar so simple as to think this could pass? Is it not then evident, by those shifts and delays, and by sending off the Clans, and keeping Sir Donald Mackdonald back, that his Lordship would by no means hazard, where he himself was present, and fell in love with that warm corner

behind his table, in his little room in Pearth, under the pretext of waiteing till Seaforth, the laft man who he had to expect, came up. When he could not evite marcheing, the affair admitteing of no more delays or excufes, tho' he fau and was told we loft more men by daylie defertion than we had reafon to expect from Seaforth; but before Seaforth could or would joyn, he was in hopes Mackintosh fhould either fucceed or be ruin'd, any of which did his bufinefs; without endangering himfelf their miffortune exoner'd him, and their fuccefs made him a hero, and on that he depended, and hunge an arfe. The pleafore of this, tho' not the malicious, couardlie defigne, is well expreffit by the poet Lucretius—

Suave, mari magno turbantibus equora ventis,
 E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem :
 Non, quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
 Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.
 Per campos instructa, tuâ sine parte pericli,
 Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri.

If, to what I have faid, be joined the hopes he had of Highlandmen's deferting on their hearing of bad fuccefs, and his refufeing, in the meantime, to fortifie Pearth, and makeing a jeaft of it afterwards, it can't be doubted that his Lordship's meaning was to kindle a great fire of ftraw, which, tho' violent, does not laft long, and kept at a diftance not to be findged, and, under the cover of that fmoake, whatever way the wind blew, was to get to one of his three fhips, which the whole time were readie in different ports. What fortifies me more in that opinion is the characters of the Leaders, or Generalls, his Lordship intrufted thofe unluckie gentlemen to, I fhan't difpute with any that my Lord Kenmure was a very honeft man, but as unfit for that province as any man of that rank can be fupposed to be. Mackintosh was yet lefs qualified for it, for he had neither rank nor any diftinguifhing thing about him except ignorant prefumption, and an affected Inverness English accent, not common, indeed, amongst Highlandmen; and if I may be allowed to quote the character that a Ladie gave of him, who I wifh moft of our men had refembled either in fenfe or any other thing, I mean my Ladie Nairne, who, regrateing heartielie her

husband's being concern'd where Mackintosh was Commander, said, He had been herding of Highland cattle this eight and twentieth year, that he was turned ox himself. If these, and Mr Forrester, were to do the work, who could not make a better General than our own Lord Drummond? I must say the English army was much changed, and that Old England stood but on a bad basis; and had it fallen, they'd been crushed under its ruins, and could not be supposed to have wit enough to extricate themselves.

Those of Preston being reduced, some regiments of dragoons were ordered from thence to Stirveling, and we had the accounts of the Dutch troops¹ being embarked for Scotland, and that artillery was shipped in at London, to be made use of against us at Perth, where we were very calm; the thirteen of November having been the day of the crisis of our great fever. One might imagine that all this storm threatening to break upon us, at a time when we were abandoned by all the world, and even by our own Highlandmen, of whom we had not above a thousand remaining, and no hopes of having them back again, who, like the Numidians of old, mentioned by Sallust, when they once turned their backs "*Quo cujus animus fert, eo discedunt; neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur, ita fe mores habent,*" or the least hopes of getting powder or arms for those we had, in an open place, that gentlemen of numerous families and estates would not open their eyes and see their ruin inevitable, except they fell on some sudden expedient to avert it. No, there was not one soul spoke one word of it, or, I believe, thought of it, even tho' we had several alarms of the Duke of Argyle's coming to attack us, with the feu he then had; which frightened us prodigiously, till we were undeceived; but so soon as that rumour ceased, we were all merry, expecting the King every minute, and yet we had not at that time the least account of him; but from my Lord Mar's forged letters, without any other authority, nor so much as a scrape of a pen from Collonel Hay and Doctor Abercrombie, Sir John Areskine, and Charles Forbes, who we had sent to France. In a word, the King's coming alone was enough to recover all; and with that enthusiastick cant did we please ourselves. If there were any who now or

¹ Six thousand Dutch Auxiliaries landed from Holland.

after loft hopes, they went home without faying any thing ; as a good manie gentlemen did, and depended on the good management of thofe they left at Pearth, without any further regarde to themfelves or countrie. In this infatuation we continued without either brigue, caballing, or any uneafinefs, or endeavouring in the leaft either to fall on methods to fupplie our wants, or fave ourfelves.

Whatever I thought, I can be pofitive I never fpoke to anie bodie of what I faw clearlie, except to Marifhall, who, I believe, was fent by Mar to pump me ; for Lords who want, will be made ufe of on fuch occafions. He fpoke firft of it to me, walking in the King's guardens at Pearth ; and, after telling me that he fear'd the worft, I told [him], He needed not fear it, but depend upon it, for I was fure we were ruined. He afk't me, What remedie I could propofe ? I faid, There was no other to be propofed but to endeavour to get terms, and make a fair capitulation with the Gouvernement, without which, I was not for giving myfelf up. I was furprifed to hear him anfuer fhort, That he'd rather be hanged. I faid, It might be fo ; but I did not believe the generallitie of the gentlemen who had either eftates, wives, or children, would be of his opinion ; and, for my own part, Tho' I had neither, I had been fo long a ftrouler, back and fore, in the world, that I was wearied of it ; and, fince I had a fmall expectation at home, did not care to throu it away to no purpofe, if it could be faved. But my concern for myfelf was not fo great as for the great numbers of poor gentlemen, fince I had a trade that, I believed, might get me bread in one ftation or other, haveing the languages ; but I could not fee the leaft fhadow of reafon for loofeing thofe poor gentlemen and their families ; nor could anie man, in his right fenfes or reafon, tell me it was poffible our affairs could be recover'd. He bid me, with a laugh, Lay afide reafon, younge man, that's ane edged tool at this time of day. I faid, I thought it was the laft thing to be laid afide, and was forrie there was fo great a neceffitie for it ; and then, to amufe, propofed we fhould fhut ourfelves up in ane old houfe of his, the Caftle of Dunnotre,¹ which, he faid, Drummond had told him was very

¹ The ancient family feat of the Earls Marifchals, very ftrongly fituated on the coast of the Mearns. It is fingular the Earl feems to fpeak of [it] only by report.

stronge; that we might have the honour of resisting last, of the whole Nation. But this went no further; onlie, I suppose, it was told to Mar, who himself fell soon into a methode of rouzeing us out of that lethargie, by proposing his Association; but it will not be proper to enter on that subject until I mention some things that happned before it.

After our returne to Pearth, those Highland Chiefs, whose followings were in the neighbourhood, were sent home to bring them back; which was not to be done, for both the lesser sort of Highland gentlemen, if it is not a crime not to call them all so, and the Commons, could, by no intreaties, be persuaded; their curiositie was at that time intirelie satisfied, and thought they had done a great dale in staying so long with us; and, if they forced fortie or fiftie to return to us with them, they return'd home the day after; their neighbours and those of their name not being there. Mar was himself so much convinced it was so, that he did not send Glengarie, or Captain of Clanronald's brother, who succeeded him, nor Sir Donald MacDonal, Sir John MacClean, Lochiell, and Apine home, whose Clans, lying at the greatest distance in what we call the far Highlands, he ought to send off first, to bring back their men, it requiring more time, and their followings the most considerable both in numbers and the goodness of men, as we commonlie judged. No; he rather choose to keep them to be his guard-corps, with the inconsiderable number that stay'd with each of them, and pay'd them suingeinglie out of our treasurie for their pains; for he knew who he was to oblige. Notwithstanding, most offer'd, if not all, to goe and bring their people, and leave the command of the feu who stay'd to the next considerable of their Clan, till they came back to us; and it was certain, if they were to be brought, nothing but their masters going could [have] done it, for these are less tainted with the neighbourhood of those of the Low Countries, and are thought more faithfull and obsequious to their masters; which was what all said from the beginning, so that it was certaine we had more grounds to expect them then any; for the Duke of Athole's vassalls would no more obey the Marquise of Tullibardine, or his brother Lord George, his Grace having takne care to shew them where all was going; and the loss of their friends at Prestone, who they lookt on as already hanged, by following the orders of Tullibardine, stun'd them, and,

as it was very naturall, made them give great attention to one who, at all other times, they had the greatest respect for, and to whom they knew the Act of Parliament had given the proprietie of their estates, without further prosecution; a great many of those vassalls having small estates to loose, and, without ane earlie submission, were everie way in a worse situation then any of the Highlands, not havinge so much to hope as a protection at home for their lives; dreading the Duke more then the Gouvernement, for he could find them out in everie corner of the Highlands; their tennants under them could not misse followinge their exemple, and had the same terrour on their spirits, both for their little herds of cattle and lives. So it was to be fear'd, some of them might, to recover favour, turn against us, tho' I am convinced very unwillinglie; yet the temptation on those poor people was very stronge; and not longe after, some were actually in arms, and came to attack a magazine of ours, in a house of the Duke's. While we were in success, as we thought, none was so maltraited with petulant tongues as that great man, which, with regarde to his interest, he must be our'd to be; which Mar encouraged from the beginning, for reasons I have already given; and being so agreeable to his Lordship, continued to be the jeast of all the mob during our affair, and many a lye said of him, so that our diversion was like to cost us dear. The Laird of Weems' vassalls, who had joyned Struan, were now more against than for us; and Struan's, betuixt the Duke of Athole and Weems, durst not move, tho' they'd had a mind. Garntullie's vassalls were in the same apprehensions of the Duke of Athole.

Not to goe further into that detaile, betuixt exemple, fear, and the inclination the whole had to stay at home, the tide turned upon us, oueing in a great measure to the influence the Duke of Athole had on his neighbourhood; for of those who Mar called his own vassalls, and run away before we came out of Perth, of that hundred men, for that was all, not one ever came back to us. Nobody ever pretended Drummond's would, for Lord Strathallen, and Logie, who had given him the name of their folks, were now prisoners, and neither his Lordship of Drummond's own or their's would stir at this time, not being Highlandmen, and only forced out in the beginning by Tullibardine,

and had not stay'd longe with us. Could they have kept his Lordship of Drummond at home, we could easilie dispensed with both him and them, for any benefit we had by either. Bredalbine's three hundred men were on the same foot with the rest, they were gone home; and his Lordship, too cunning not to see through the whole affair, we could never promise much on his friendship. His undertaking to send us twelve hundred men, and his taking monie for the whole, when he never sent but three, taught us what we had now to expect from him, tho' the character of his whole life did not; his business was to trick others, and not to be trickt. Mar excused himself to one of my acquaintance, but said, It was better to give then irritate, and make him send the other nine hundred to the Duke of Argyle. In the mean time, our purses paid for it, and we grinded. I am assured that my Lord Drummond, who was intrusted by the Court of St Germain's with the whole Scots affairs, had orders to communicate all to Bredalbine, and take his advice. I not onlie desie all Brittain to find such two, of so different talents, to couple together, but all mankind, to shew me that, since the creation, there was ever such a trustee and such a counsellour. James the Seventh himself, who of all men had the knack of that, fell short of this choice. But this was not all of Bredalbine; he put Campbell of Glenderule upon us, a man who had been evidence and informer in that forged plot against Duke Hamilton and the Duke of Athole, and God knows how many others of our party, of the first rank and dignitie, but was happily discover'd. This man, who had always lived on his wits, Mar having himself had a hand in employing him in that former plot, was now, and continued, in all our business, to be one of the principall men of his Council; a very cunning fellow, and, like his Lordship, had neither estate nor reputation to loose, but would serve him, nor no man, for nothing. His great and more particular province was to waite close upon those Chiefs to whom we gave the name of Clans, to find out their doubts, that Mar might prevent everie thing timeously; and no doubt but he was employed in everie thing, being more with Mar then any bodie, tho' an eye-fore to the whole. Nor can his Lordship say he was sure he did not serve against us; but for that we must take Sir Heugh Paterfons word for it, who assured us, with a grave air, that Mar knew

him, everie one of those being readie to support others characters, and run down the men of honour, who had but a forrie time of it. Auchterhous being killed, there was nobodie to bring out the Aboyn men, tho' their inclination had led them to come to us, no more then Ogilvie's, that younge Lord being sick; not one of Strathmore's stay'd; I believe the same might be said of Panmure's, for, if any, they were very few, and he not in a condition, being badlie wounded. Not to make a further enquiry, or say more, we could not so much as form a plan or scheme to bring any bodie out. This was visible to many gentlemen, who had seen how treasonable it was to speak their minds, when the Lords, Aid-de-Camps, and penignes spoke otherwise, and dropt off without saying one word; and this was the case of those of Marishall and Huntley's squadrons, a great many of whom went off home, and returned answers that they had no more money; talkt before their leaving us as big as ever, and continued doeing so when at home, and left us to manage the rest; when they had their own view in it, of having to say for themselves that they had stay'd as short while with us as they could, after being threatned and forced out; and imagining they were to be overlooked by the Gouvernement, and too little to be takne notice off, the onlie way to encounter Mar, when the others of more note would stand the brunt. It's impossible to detache man from himself; some have greater views, and some lesser; some well digested, and others raw and undigested; some intirlic pernicious, and others innocent; some directlie opposite to what they profess, and others consonant and agreeable to it; but few or none want their back-game, which nothing but time can discover.

The more our misfortunes thickned upon us, the more need there was for lyes, which, when Mar had got time to recover himself, for I observed a dead calm for eight days or more after our getting back to Perth, sprung up of fresh, with more impetuositie then ever, as if he had open'd a neu sluice, and that torrent, having had time to feel pulses, and get neu assurances, and confirm all his friends in their dutie, carried all before it. Tho' these were still the old lyes, for man's imagination could contrive no more than what we had already heard, yet they had neu vigour; and every man was to doe his best to deserve his

penſion or pay. What ſtruck me moſt, being intirelie neu, and ſurpaſſed all I ever heard, was a ſermon which was pronounced by one Barclay, a Scots-Iriſh prieſt of the Church of England, chaplain to Mar, if I'm not miſtakne, on a day of thankſgiveing, or the firſt Sunday after our return to Pearth, I won't be poſitive; who, after raiſeing our hopes by the great advantages gain'd in our battle, turned to Mar, and took up the greateſt part of a longe ſermon in expoſtulateing, exorting, and begging, and praying him, with expreſſions full of more zeale and paſſion than he addreſſed himſelf to God Almighty, not to hazard on another occaſion, as he had done ſo latelie, that ſo dear, ineffimable, and invaluable perſon of his, the loſs of which nothing could repair to his countrie. I muſt confeſs I don't pretend to paſs for the moſt devote, and can allow myſelf freedom enough, but this made my hair ſtare, to ſee God ſo viſible mockt, as well as men abuſed, the Church profaned, and the chair of veritie prostituted, and that by one of a Church who has the pouer of ordination. Believe me he was in the right who ſaid, Prieſts of all religions are the ſame. How little doe they ſtand, on all occaſions, to make ane ingratiating libation of the blood of their countriemen, and without the leaſt ſcruple! This parſon was very uſefull to him, and as active in the ſtreets, in ſpreading Mar's ſtoories, as he was impudent in the pulpit; and it was he who wrote ſome little papers that were printed at Pearth. He had a bloodie tongue before we fought, and, being a thuacking fellow, no man became a broad-fuord better, or threatned to make more uſe of it. His air and carriadge was much liker that of a dragoon than a prieſt; but when it came to earneſt he run away, and franklie oun'd he was miſtakne in his man, and, not knouing himſelf, believed he had more courage, which, I confeſs, was very honeſt of him, and the virtue, next to courage; to own the want of it.

Marſhall, havinge loſt not a feu of his Squadron by goeing home, he endeavoured to recruite out of Huntlie's fourſcore horſe; for, of both his horſe and foot, that was all which ſtay'd with him. Gentlemen haveing nou drain'd their pockets, it was thought they'd be glade to joyn him, who could procure them pay, and emiſſaries brigued amongſt them. Duff, the onlie of Seaforth's equipage who was left behind, there being more monie amongſt us then in the North, ſet about plucking Huntlie on the

other hand, as he pretended modestly, to raise a troop, did what he could to carry away those about Elgin from him; attacked me, and was at pains to persuade one David Sinclair, who I had armed, and came along with me from home, and, like a good recruiter, drunk hard, and offered good pay, tho' that gentleman, as he told him, was in no want. His Lordship thought he had better pretensions to every body of that name than I. Were it not out of respect to some others more than his Lordship, I could tell where his small pretensions that way are founded, which, if possible to disgrace such a monster more than he does himself, would do him or his family no honour. Mar's friends endeavoured to debase the very servants, to weaken the squadrons of those who they thought were not as well affected to Mar as themselves; witness Sir Heugh Paterson's promising to get a gentleman, the Laird of Forset, the commission of King's Fauconner, if he could procure him a servant who was with a gentleman in my squadron, when he could not persuade the fellow himself. This was the short way of turning all loose; and I told Sir Heugh, That if such things were done, we could not be long of going into confusion; that servants would too soon know their value, and things of that kind were directly destructive; nothing hinder'd him to get hundreds, if he'd pay them, either in town or country, without debasing those who were engaged. Upon his blabbering some stuff or other, I told, I did not desire to convince him of the reasonableness of what I said, but, by God, neither he nor Mar should get that man, and advised him to rest content with what I told him, which he thought fit to do. Many such little methods were taken, without any success; for neither Marishall, Duffus, nor any of them, could ever recruit one man; and, from the beginning to the end, I had the strongest squadron, without any receiving of the publick money; and, at that time, Sir Alexander Benneman of Elfick, one who had credit for more money, three times, than Marishall, had offered, more than once, to leave him and join me, not being longer able to bear his insolence: He was turned so great a man, by Mar's protection, that he scorned taking any notice of the gentlemen, or returning a salute in the streets, which, like a young man, he had done from the beginning, tho', before he got them out, no man was so submissive or humble; and some

were not wanting to tell, that with all his Lordship's little pride and vanitie, which, they said, he had got out of the fine familie of Drummond, that they should be forrie their circumstances were alike; and most under his command complained griveouslie. I told Sir Alexander, it would doe no good, but widen breaches and create more uneasiness amongst us if he came to me. Sir Robert Gordon, before we fought, offer'd to joyn me, and bring nine or ten with him; but, on my desiring him not to doe it, not being willing either he or I should disoblidge Huntlie by his leaving him, he joyn'd Marishall for that day onlie, which made him, for one day, stronger then me; but from the beginning, to the last that I left them, in spite of Mar and the publick monie, I was the strongest, and none ever left me; and, if ever I disoblidged any of the gentlemen, it was in points of service, which they soon forgave me.

It was easie to see, by no complaints being made of those gentlemen who left us, and as few endeavours to bring them back, and our recruiting onlie in Perth from one another, that our dissolution was drawing near, I may say without the great reason, the fear of ane ennemie; for a constitution like ours was very valetudinarie, and liable to thousands of diseases; all was so depraved and vitiated; so many bankrupt Lords, as many botches and boils. Amongst the many instances can be given of those who deserted; Thomas Bruce was the first who despaired of the countrie, and ran away that very morning of the day of the battle, and never appear'd more amongst us: Till then the greatest favourite Mar had, and the most instrumentall by lyes, for that was all he could doe, in bringing his countriemen out, and one of those sent by Mar to myself; the boldest man on earth while with us, as I have already mention'd, but would by no means come back, which Mar would not [have] desired of him, but that he was his own man and usefull to him, tho' all knew he run away from us like a villain; and, from the minute he got home, which was that night before we got off the field of battle, for he was met riding very hard, he endeavoured his peace: Yet Mar saved his character as much as was possible, by giving out that he was doing us more service where he was, then with us, and that he had sent him away; while all the letters Mar and Mr Hary Maule could write, had no

influence upon him; and all who went away were never complain'd of, but excused. Mar's buffienefs, and the others who honoured themselves, as they thought, with being as guiltie, or at least next guiltie, were afraid of the honest men who stay'd, wishing heartilie they'd slip away quietlie, without saying anything; and encouraged them to it, by letting them see they excused those who did it most scandalouslie, and were the greatest of malefactors; that the whole villanous gange might have it to say, that they were the last who deserted their Countrie, and build a character upon it, and have it in their pouer to dip their Countrie as unreasonable and unwarrantable at another time as they had done at this, when their onlie game was to desert it, haveing nothing to loofe in it; but so longe as those stay'd, did not know if that could be done so convenientlie. But if they went away, they might draw another advantage out of it, by haveing the characters of the whole in their pouer, and they in full libertie to give and take, complain of and excuse, whoever they could hope at another time to make tools of, for their ends; and in the meantime, instead of stealing or sneaking away, which they must doe out of fear of them, and even of some of their own, who were bubbled by them, goe off triumphing and vaunting what could they doe, for they were deserted by all.

Those not going off, there was a necessitie to recruite, to weakne them if it was possible, and strengthen themselves with making their own guard-de-corps stronger, at the expence of those who they looked on as their enemies, for they could have no other reason; and whither Duffus or Huntlie commanded, the same men, I believe, will be found not equall to the cause; and, if there be anie odds, they are very great of Huntley's side, since they naturallie desired to stay with him, and could not be bribed out of his hands; and, certainlie, a man of the greatest rank and consequence was not to be brought unto the levell of a fellow who was a vagabond, without a cottage in the Countrie, and never cut out for anything but spending ane estate in plain drinking, if he'd ever had anie; and, ever since his ship was takne from him, going about begging, for no mortall was fool enough to lend him. Was not the trust of the countrie, or its honour, safer in the one's

hand than the other? or can such a man admit of any comparison with the least of Huntlie's vassals. But, when monie could not do to gain a servant, what stretch was that of offering a commission to an old gentleman who came to see us, to gain that servant, his bastard son; it may be judged how commissions were given in the beginning, when, for such slight reasons, they were offering them at last; or that they were very much pressed, and damnably afraid of themselves. As to our constitution, it was so bad, that what we complain'd of as our greatest misfortune was our present life; for had our Highlandmen come back to us, we had not subsisted eight days in Perth, or very little longer. In that time both our provisions must have been eat up, and our whole stock of monie spent, not to speak of other wants; and if, without these two, Mar could have subsisted so many men, he has found out a secret which hitherto has been much wanted.

While in this state, Keppoch,¹ a Highland Chief, and vassal, or rather tenant of Huntlie's, came to Perth with two hundred and forty men.

¹ The situation of MacDonald of Keppoch was very singular. He and his ancestors had disdained to take any charter or grant of the extensive valley of Glenspian and Glenroy, and other possessions, which the Clan had possessed from time immemorial, according to their disdainful expression, that they would never hold their lands by a sheep-skin. Thus, upon the Record, the Duke of Gordon was possessed, by all apparent title, of the Keppoch country before the year 1745, when the sheep-skin prevailed over the sword. The Keppoch family was at first better off than other Insurgents; for the Gordon family, although now in possession of their lands, gave the attainted Chief very beneficial leases. But when the forfeited estates were restored to others, the condition of Keppoch was worse than that of any one; for no part of his property having ever come into the possession of the Crown, there was nothing which could be restored to them. The Gordon family, however, continued to be uniformly generous towards this distressed family, until the last of them, a gallant young officer, fell in Portugal.

The MacDonalds of Keppoch were always a very independent and untameable Clan. They gave distinguished proofs of their courage at the battle of Glenroy, one of the last clan battles fought on a great scale, when they defeated the MacIntoshes, though assisted by a regular body of soldiers under Mackenzie of Suddie.

Like their neighbours the Camerons, they were considered as particularly ad-

He had never been with us before ; but, hearing of a battle, and that there was plunder, got his men together, and robbed the other Highlandmen who were goeing home fragling with the pillage of our baggage, and what they had takne out of the Low Countrie; and, haveing secured it, he and his folks took ane itching to fee that countrie where so many good things were got, being so often invited, and being told, before he left home, that we were in a very good condition, haveing banged the ennemie. Mar was extreamlie civill to him, and, knowing him to be the man of the Highlands who is no lefs famous than the others for his adrefs in robbing and love to monie, struck instantlie up with him, and he, in a day or tuo, took no more notice of his master^e Huntlie than any of the others. Hou much of the readie he got I can't tell; but Colin Simpson, who had the delivering of the bread, told me Mar had ordered him to give him bread for five hundred, if he called for it, and by no means to stand with him, and please him at any rate. The leader stay'd and received a good pay, but the men went home, the greatest part of them, in few days after, and not longe ere all were gone, took what they liked beft on the road, that they might not return emptie handed.

dicted to depredation on their neighbours, and claimed as an honour the character which others, and Lowlanders especially, imputed to them as a reproach.

Patten, who probably had the account which he has given us of the Keppoch of 1715, from his rival Mackintosh, for he mentions the claim of superiority claimed by the one chieftain, and successfully resisted by the others, censures him for what he terms his emulation to MacIntosh; and goes on to say that he was a man of great subtlety and cunning, but never supported his pretensions to serve the Stuart cause by a single act of bravery, but "at Gilley Crankey, Cromdale, and Sheriffmuir, he always shewed his face, but never drew his sword." It appears plainly that Keppoch was not at Sheriffmuir at all, and the rest of that picture seems dictated by the hatred of a rival chieftain, who, being along with the division which joined Forbes, had an opportunity of making what impressions he pleased on Patten. The author is probably correct enough when he states that Keppoch's people "are expert at nothing more than stealing and public robberies, for at Perth they made a good hand in this way of business among the country people, and others of their own party."—Patten's History of the late Rebellion, &c., pp. 97, 2d Edition.

The reports of the Duke of Argyle's paying us a visit terrified from time to time; but when these went over, we knew to make some pleasant lye succeed to them, which again elevated our spirits. To make all ready for our retreat we had sent the horse to canton over the Tay, in the Carfe of Gourie. The reason given for it was, since we had a mind to defend the town with the foot, in case of the Duke of Argyle marching to us, it was best to make our disposition before hand; but the real reason was, a disposition for running away, in case the Duke of Argyle had made a quick marche; the getting our horses over the Tay in the hurrie, in small boats, would have retarded our retreat, and created great disorder and confusion; it put the gentlemen out of the town, where, they being together, might have brighed and caballed; but, being separated in the country, they would loll away their time without reflection, and he send them fresh packets and hinder them from intire languishing. The French dancing master was still at work, but never advanced; and did not compleat one part of his lignes, which, if he had, would have been to no purpose, as they were contrived. Mar having so disposed of things, and being sensible that there were some amongst us who he could never detach on any pretext from the true interest of their Country, and who did not want his monie, or he or his abettors could ever gain one inch upon by all their efforts, and saw as clear as himself through everie thing, and what all tended to, and were not without friends, all whom he lookt upon as disaffected to him, and who, when his monie was at an end, which was then very near done, or, when the danger prest, which he did not know how soon, might infect his own adherers, he bethought himself of an Association upon honour and conscience, a stratagem which, if it passed, would bind those who he gave out he suspected, but in reallitie feared, and at same time be stronge fetters upon his own, and the onlie he had left, having little more monie; by which sacred ties both were to be hoodwinked into a blind submission to his arbitrarie will; and if any of either happened to pronounce one word which he could construct contrarie to his designs, he being the judge of all, it was in his power to declare them impious and infamous. If, on the contrarie, those who he was affraid of refused joyning in a thing which had so specious a pretext, it was easie to raise such differences

and animosities betuixt his own and them, while his monie lasted, and scrow them up to such a pitch that afterwards they'd never lay them aside, or hear one anothers reasons with patience, and, being thus heated, could never cement to look to themselves, while he was to work his own point by their divisions, by takeing away as much as possible all credite from those he dreaded, and, if possible, make them decamp, and leave the unthinking blind part to him and his abettors to manage, who he hoped to lead over the precipice without the least difficultie, while he himself had made a path to escape and save his own life, with the destruction of the whole, and, at same time, free himself, and those hungrie, cowardlie, bankrupt villains who stuck to him, from the load and reproache of all the miseries they had brought upon their Countrie, and lay it on the shoulders of those who, after denouncing, and proveing his and their onlie desigine was to betray it, would willinglie laid down their lives to save it. This is not the onlie snare which his Lordship had set to catch us; of the great number there was one very remarkable, which, haveing forgot in its proper place, I shall insert here before narrating what past about the Association, being almost of the same nature.

Some time after the passage of the Frith, his Lordship haveing then got his commission, our numbers in different places being considerable, and the hopes great to those who lookt no further then the outside of things, and thought the weight of mob was sufficient enough to doe our buffiness; haveing then made his Generalls, and formed his partie, he fram'd an Oath, I believe the longest that ever was heard of: not content to have ruin'd our estates, families, and persons, by the trust reposed in him, and giveing credite to his promises, but, haveing plunged us out of our depth, as if he had been a professed agent of the Divill, attempted the damnation of our soules; and, without consulting with anie bodie but his master Satan, thought to steal it upon us by surprize, drew out two Regiments, the one his uncle Panmure's, whose plainness and ingenuitie he took advantage of, and the other my Lord Ogilvie's, a minor, who could not faile to follow the other's exemple, and tendered it to the two Regiments without the least preamble, or any of them reading it. I, happing to hear it, went to the place where they

were to give the Oath, and came there before it was begun; the croud was so great, and I at such a distance, that I did not hear it all distinctly, but by the time it took up in reading, it was a large side of a sheet of paper that it was wrote upon, if not more. I heard distinctly enough that it was ane Oath of fidelitie to King James the Eighth; and, in the end, every man was bound by it, in his severall station, to give dutiefull obedience to the superiour officers, and never to desert the cause; and severall other clauses that I have forgot. In returning I met with Mr Archibald Ogilvie and Sir Robert Gordon, who had been hearing of it read; they askt me, How I liked it? I said, I did not love it at all; and, in testimonie of my not loveing it, I never would take it, and would hinder as much as I could all my friends from takeing it. I wondered at Mar's impudence to pretend to surprise us in putting a thing so arbitrarily upon us, without communicating it to any bodie, and which no King ever attempted without consent of Parliament; that I could put no other construction on it but that Mar was turned both King and Parliament, and we brute beasts; and that, in the main, it was more ane oath of fidelitie and alledgiance to Mar, and the Generalls he had made, then any other thing. I askt, How it could be expected I should sweare to obey Drummond, Marisball, Linlithgow, Southesque, and a great many others, as unworthie as they, who were either children or worse? I did not envy their commissions, but I could not, in my conscience, so much as promise to obey them, and what I heard of the oath carried a contradiction in itself. To obey them, and serve the King faithfully, I could not reconcile; besides, Mar might make his footman Will generall next day; that it was time enough to take oaths to a King when he came; but to doe it before, or there was either a visible fund to support us, or powder, or armes, and while we were intirely left to ourselves, was downright damning the whole willfullie for Mar's diversion; for if no assistance came we must be ruin'd, and swearing would not hinder, and onlie put so many unluckyie people under a necessitie of perjureing themselves; and that no oath could bind the common fellows. As to the gentlemen, it was hard to suspect the worst or meanest of them of comeing there with no worse disposition both to King and Countrie than his Lordship of Mar, who, by proposing an oath to others, presumed, perhaps, to be exempted

himself, ſince fidelitie was to be ſuore to him; nor would his takeing of it be any motive to others, knowing what uſe he uſed to make of oaths; and, in a word, that if the King was with us, I did not think I'd take anie, haveing ane averſion to oaths, and they were barbarous, in my way of thinking. The gentlemen I have named fell into my ſentiments, or rather had been ſpeakeing to the ſame purpoſe before, and ſaid they'd goe ſpeak to Mar. I bid them mention me, and that I was reſolved to hinder all I could from takeing, and that he'd doe better and let it fall, without driving it farther, for it muſt certainlie breed a rupture amongſt us. They went to him, and repreſented it in their own name and mine, and ſaid his Lordſhip would find more of that opinion. His Lordſhip either pretended or was a little ſurprized at firſt; but, without hearing more of their reaſons, haveing recover'd himſelf, told them, He wonder'd any ſhould ſcrupule at it; that it was onlie a militarie oath, and it had been always the cuſtome; but, ſince it was not well takne he'd drop it, and there ſhould be heard no more of it. Which, when they told me, I ſaid was falſe, for I ought to know militarie oaths and the cuſtomes of ſervices ſome better then his Lordſhip, and, except in England, where the oaths officers take can't be called militarie, I never heard of oaths tender'd to any but common ſojers when recruits, and it is in few words, never to deſert their colours. Mar kept his word, believing it for his intereſt to doe ſo; and we were no further troubled with his oath. I am of opinion, thoſe who took that oath did not reallie know what they ſuore to, haveing never ſeen it, or heard it read, before it was tender'd them. As for the hindring deſertion, thoſe of the tuo Regiments deſerted amongſt the firſt.

Being baulkt of this attempt upon us, before the criſis, he had recourſe after it, to his lyes, by which we never recover'd any ſpirits, and are like certaine aliments or cordialls which phiſitiens give to ſick people; for, as theſe cordialls neither reſtore health nor vigour, and have no other effect than hinder preſent death, ſo were lyes too light to ſuffice in our wants, or eſtabliſh a ſolid happienefs, and onlie ſerved to divert people from turning their thoughts another way, and nourisht our lazienefs, haveing had no little opium in their compoſition, which increaſed the lethargie, and hinder'd us from makeing uſe of advantages which we might laid hold

of. But so long as we had the least breath in us he did not think himself secure, not being able to persuade himself of our insensibility in an affair of the last importance.

“*Oeculum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?...*

Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.” Juvenal. Sat.

“*Perfecto demum scelere magnitudinem ejus intellexit.*” Tacit.

And seem'd to own the greatness of his crime by the jealousy he had of those he had cheated.

While we were languishing, and falling out of one fainting fit into another, he attempted giving us the extreme unction, under a charitable pretext of saving our souls, since he could not our lives; for I can't tell what else to think of it, if it was not the designe of saving his own. This experiment had the common effect that the throwing cold water does in faces of those in our weak state, and, contrary to his intention, roused us a little. That day Mar designed to make this operation, he thought himself obliged to give the sham reasons for it to my Lord Huntley, which Huntley communicated to me, and told me he had seen the forme of an Association that Mar designed to steal in upon us that evening, by way of surprize, and that all those of any name or note amongst us would be called for to signe it; and, if passed through them, the others needed not be prest, but would run to put their names to it. I said, For which reason I hop't his Lordship would be there to shew his dissent, since, as he spoke of it, I saw it was a thing intirelie destructive. He said, He neither would signe it, nor would he be present. I told him, with all freedom, That if he thought it a good thing he ought to be present, and give his good example, being the man of the whole who was of the first rank, and had greatest power; and, in that case, he would be very angry if any body, except Mar, who he had made General, should pretend to signe before him; and, by the same reason, he ought to shew the first dislike of it, since he thought it a thing of bad consequence, that, with his authority, he might crush it. God forbid that any honest man should think they did their duty by a criminall silence, and far less he whose power and rank put him above all insult; and which

he could not imagine was given him to be a cypher, a crime which I thought was not pardonable in the least Scotsman who was capable of comprehending the nature of it. I bid him reflect in whose hands the Country was in, and if he, at the meeting of Aboyn, had not given it up to Mar and his bankrupts, and whether or not he had that to answer for, and if it did not still bring new obligations upon him, if any thing could give strength to the former; for my part, I had not that great following which his Lordship had to support me, nor that immediate call, by being of the first rank, to shew my abhorrence first of such methods, but I flattered myself I had as great an influence as most, which I lookt on as a trust reposed in me, and of a familie which neither threats nor sufferings had ever made deviate from the service of their Country, and no earthly thing should make me either connive or condescend to what I thought so destructive to it; that, if his Lordship thought it a duty that could be dispensed with, I did not, when the least wrong resolution must infallibly end in its ruine, and it should never be said that there were none amongst us who durst speak truth; for happen what would, I was resolved to do it, and never would conceal from my countrymen what was so much their interest to know. His Lordship persisted in his opinion and would not be present at that meeting.

I went to inform my Lord Rollo, who was sick in bed; and, after that, spoke to severall others, who I thought the most moderate. Without any further advertisement, it was given out in orders at three of the clock, that all Lords, Commanding Officers of every Corps, Chiefs of Clans, with one of the most considerable gentlemen of every county, should be at Mar's quarters before five of the clock that night; which last was very hard to determine of, because almost all the gentlemen were quarter'd out of the town, and till they met, none would be ready to take that character upon him, or could he have a power requisite to be obligatorie on the others, and impossible they could be got together in so short a time; nor could they, tho' they had met, give instructions, for, except such as had heard of it in the manner I did, [they] knew not what they were called for. But all that was done to surprize the better, and he had his set ready; who, if they had Mar's countenance, had no scruple of calling themselves the

most considerable, in imitation of his Lords. This was the fourth time Mar had been pleased to call a generall meeting. The first was, after he had in all probabilitie lost Mackintosh in the citadell of Leith, by his own willfullness, to read us the letters, and tell us he was lost, as if he had wanted our advice onlie to repair what to himself seemed impossible: The next was, by a surprize of the same nature, to signe the Petition to the Regent: And the other, in the morning of the battle, when there was no great need of deliberateing, and the necessitie of fighting seemed absolute. At this time we were brought together onlie to inflame us further.

No sooner we were met then Mar threw down tuo draughts of ane Affociation on the table, telling us that it was thought fit, by those who knew our present circumstances, that we should enter into new ties and bonds, oblidging us never to desert one another, and that the verie shew and appearance of unanimitie and firmitie, as things stood, would be of no small consequence to us; and, for that reason, had called us to signe either of these tuo draughts of ane Affociation, which he order'd to be read, and begged of them not to shew the least mark of difunion, since the enemie must certainlie know all that passed there.

My Lord Huntlie, who had seen these draughts that morning, finding them very inveigling, sent, by a gentleman, a draught of his makeing, which was both shorter and plainer. Mar took this draught out of Tanachie's hand, and, reading it with ane air of disdain, said, It was a very prittie draught, and did not doubt but the meaning was good, but that it was neither English nor grammar; which past easilie in a pact meeting, but most impudent in his Lordship, who, of all men, knous the least of either. My Lord Mar's tuo being conceived in very dubious terms, he hoped, if he threu out Huntley's, we'd fall in to one of the tuo traps he had laid for us, tho' equallie dangerous; yet we could not evite both, and put it on the foot of a choice. I spoke first, and took exception at that clause of both where we were bound, on honour and conscience, never to accept or sue for terms without the consent of the majoritie; and desired to have it explained what was meant by the majoritie, whither it was the majoritie of the signers, or the majoritie of the whole gentlemen at Pearth, or onlie the majoritie of such as my Lord Mar pleased to call. Sir John MacClean was

not longe of takeing of[f] the mask, and, very haughtilie, said, That if it was not left to the majoritie of those my Lord Mar pleased to call; his Clan were all gentlemen, and they had as good a title to judge of things as others. It being not at all safe, and of no manner of good to contradict a point of that kind, it was dropt, since it reached the whole common Highlandmen at Perth, Sir John haveing explained it very clearlie; onlie some took the libertie of thinking it very hard that a Clan, who, amongst them all, had not one hundred a-year, should pretend to seven or eight hundred votes in ane affair of that consequence, which neither related to their Chief or them; and by that means the Highlandmen, who we durst not dispute were gentlemen, must hencefurth determine us. My Lord Viscount of Kingston made a proposall, Whither it were not proper to be informed of the state of our affairs before we went into ane Association; and if that could supplie us the want of powder, ball, men, monie, and other necessaries of war? In that case he thought ane Association would be of the last consequence, but, otherwisle, he could not see the use of it. It was answered, by my Lord Mar, That it was true that the King's affairs were not in so good a state as he himself could wish, but that they were not so desperate as some might imagine; nor was it proper that every bodie should know the state of them; which was a plain contradiction; for, if they were not so bad as people might imagine, there was nothing so easie, yea requisite, as solveing doubts by a discoverie; and if things had not been desperate for want of all, what was the need of keeping the secret, at least from us, who could resolve nothing without knouing all?

I objected, that there was another want, which perhaps his Lordship did not reflect on, and that was, that the gentlemen's pockets were now drained, or very near draining, even those of the best estates, who, coming out on such a surpris, had not time to make sufficient provisions, and had all of them, more or less, servants and horses on their hands. My Lord Killfeyth answer'd, That nobodie had ever asked and was refused; which, as to his Lordship's particular, was true enough, since he had lived all the time on the publick, without, for what I know, bringing out tuo horsemen, or having the least appearance of interest with any gentleman

there ; but at fame time very well known, that when Huntlie asked monie for fome of his poor gentlemen, it was with great difficultie agreed to give him a groat a day, and that not well payed when he contented to their receiveing it : So that I anfuer'd Kilfeyth, That it would be very pleafant to fee a gentleman who wanted monie receive a groat, and give his fervants tuo, even tho' my Lord Mar had that to give, which was not at all proven. Then I asked, What if we were obliged to leave Pearth, fince I was not ignorant of the weaknefs of the place, as well as the want of everie other thing? Would ane Affociation afforde us a place to make a halt in and keep firm? or, fuppofeing it could, Was the countrie northwards capable to fubfift us? To that it was anfuer'd, We could fubfift every where, and make head at Aberdeen. But Glengarie faid, In the worft events, we could keep firm at Invernefs, where we had Murray to fubfift us, the plentiefulleft corn countrie in all Scotland. Sir Robert Gordon anfuer'd, That he knew Murray very well, fince he had his fortune there, and affured us that it was fo fmall a ftryp of a countrie, that, tho' a good foile, it could afford us but a very few days' maintainance. So I faid, It was ane eafie matter to caft our horofcope; for, in a little time, we muft certainlie be drove to the hills, and afkt Glengarie, If we could find maintainance there at that feafon of the year, or at any other? He anfuered, after his way, That it was to be got at all feafons, provided we found out the contrivance of carrieing it alonge with us; and this, tho' told in a way of banter, [was] the onlie ingenious thing faid on that occafion by any of Mar's partie.

After this, Major Balfour, who was the gentleman there who came in name of thofe of the Fife countie, faid, He had onlie fpoke with a few of thofe of his countie, fince their quarter was out of toun, and that he did not think it fit for him to figne till they were informed, becaufe this feemed to bind all. On which Mr Hary Maule, brother to my Lord Panmure, and uncle to Mar, faid, He was furprifed Major Balfour fhould take fuch a commiffion, and wonder'd any man fhould come there with it. Upon which the Major begged pardon, and offer'd to retire, being a very modeft man, and, tho' one of the firft of that countie, had takne it upon him on my perfuafion; but Mar called him back, with a laugh, faying, Stay

Hary Balfour. It's observeable that Mr Hary Maule himself had takne his commiffion from tuo, thefe being all the Angus men present in toun, their quarters being at a diftance, and that thofe tuo had limited him not to figne till they were informed of the nature of the thing; which Sir James Kinloch, and Ratre[y] of Craig-Hall, told me that night, and I think I can be pofitive the laft was one of thofe tuo conftituents, if both were not; and further added, That Mr Hary Maule had promised to doe nothing without advifeing with them. This was aftonifhing to me, from a man of that character.

In the beginning of thefe popular maladies, the found are to be diftinguifht from the fick; but when they continue, as ours did, the whole mafs of the blood is tainted, neither head nor foot, or any member is free from corruption, for ther's no air that's fuallow'd down fo greedilie, and fpreads and penetrates like licentiousnefs. I laugh at the villanie and meannefs of ambition, and to fee by what abject methods thofe muft gain their aimes, but nothing fo moveing as to fee thofe who had all alonge fupported ane honourable character, corrupting every day, either out of fear, or to get the management or the command in that confufion. Longe fufferance breeds custome, and custome consent and imitation. We had good-for-nothing people enough amongft us without perverting the men of honour. Had we fucceeded it would [have] been a very difficult matter to found out in whose hands to [have] entrusted the State. My Lord Kilsyth asked, What the Duke of Argyle would fay if any number of the officers under his command took that freedom of raifoning with him? To that I anfuer'd, That if he fent for them to deliberate or confult with them, it was a Councill of War, and then the whole ftate of the affair would be laid before them, without difguife, and they at full libertie to tell their fentiments, and raifon with the Duke of Argyle, or any Generall; and it was of a very different nature from a command, for it's to no purpofe to come to a meeting if all that is to be done is onlie to obey the inclinations of anie one man; and all that's to be faid is, To ask his pleafure; nor did their cafe and ours, for many reafons, admit of any comparifon. Sir James Kinloch, who all his life had been a great affterer of the rights and pouer of Kings, faid, He did not like the Affociation, fince it put him in mind of the

Solemn League and Covenant, by not taking the least notice of the King. Mar laid hold of that greedily, and said he'd soon help it. And after he, and the judicious Drummond, who pleased himself with thinking that an advantage was got by inserting Sir James Kinloch's clause, for no other reason but that he saw Mar laugh, and appear fond of it, had whisper'd to one another. Mar owned his neglect, and said it was very just the consent of the royal authority should be added, so the Association was wrote over again, and that clause inserted, "Never to ask terms without the consent of the royal authority." All this while my Lord Mar seem'd very uneasy, sometimes very haughty, and at other times very submissive, still recommending unity, and telling the danger of the enemy's knowing our disagreement, and wishing to God that it had never been started. I did not doubt but a great deal of what he said on that head was true, and it raised an emotion in me; and I believe few men who mean well are strong enough to resist the thoughts of a dismal division in a juncture like that, even tho' no answer had been given to any of our objections; and I went aside with Mr Ogilvie, brother to Boyn, who undertook to go to Mar from me and himself, to tell him, in his ear, that if he would leave out the consent of the royal authority, which, we thought, gave his Lordship too much power, since it was lodging it intirely in him, for we did not expect the King would come, in that case, rather than our differences or divisions should be known, which was the best argument for signing it, now that he had proposed it, but no reason for his having proposed it, or keeping up to every clause of it, both he and I would sign it. My Lord Mar did not vouchsafe him the least answer, and began the signing himself in great heat and fury, which indeed fortified me sufficiently, and I went out, as did Sir James Kinloch, who, tho' he had got his clause inserted, did not like the thing in the main, and likewise Mr Ogilvie, by much one of the best men there; and the others, who were against the Association, and aware of it, followed our example. But, before I went out, Marishall, after his little truckling manner, took me aside, and pretended to give me the secret reason, and that was, as he said, to hinder Huntley's making a separate peace, which he knew he was of doing. I begg'd pardon to differ from him, since I

knew Huntlie too well to believe any such thing of him ; but that I could tell his Lordship the secret springe was to divest ourselves of a pouer we naturallie had, and deliver ourselves up to the majoritie of bankrupts, Lords, and others, who Mar thought convenient to call, or sacrifice us all for Mar's own peace, since all would be done without our knowledge, with more reason then hitherto. I said, I thought at same time he'd be a villain, and the worst of men, who could entertaine a thought of a separat peace. More was said too and fro in argueing, but I dare say I have omitted nothing materiell, except some learned speeches made by Drummond, which pointed at nothing, and so frothie that there was no laying hold of them. Those who went out appointed to meet ane hour after at my quarters, and separated to inform their friends in town of what had passed.

I went to my Lord Rollow, who lay in bed, where I was followed by Drummond's secretarie and valet-de-chamber, one of our greatest statemen, and soon after by Drummond and the Association. He soon found it to no purpose to offer it to Rollow. In the mean time, Sir James Kinloch, Sir Robert Gordon, Major Balfour, Mr Archibald Ogilvie, Smith of Methvine, and a good many of the Fife gentry, and others, met at my quarters,¹ and were unanimouſlie of the opinion that a capitulation was more suitable to our circumstances than ane Association, which they could not find one shadow of reason for, since there was no other mean to save us ; for not one word being kept to us that was promised, it was very naturall, being in want of everie thing, and no possibilitie or view of any aide or support, to look to ourselves ; nor could it enter in any man's head that the King would ever come, since he did not come four months before, as was promised, or in all that time when his affairs were on a better footing. And was it not strange, that in all that time we still knew nothing of him, except by forged letters, pretended onlie to have come from a third

¹ The Master of Sinclair was accused of being President of the Grumbling Club, as they were called. But, surely, notwithstanding the spleen which he manifests, it is impossible to deny the reasons on which he seems here to have acted. To the eye of common sense the game of the Insurgents was up so soon as they had failed, first in exciting a general rising, and then in obtaining a decisive victory.

or fourth hand, which Mar had read to some, after writing them himself at Pearth? and after feeding us with an infinite of lies, which we now saw he never had the least ground for, he could challenge no belief from us; and we could not doubt that Coll. Hay, Sir John Areskine, and that little fellow Forbes, who were sent to France, were all prisoners; which we believed was the King's case. For how was it possible to imagine that had he been at his freedom he should not be with us? and that, if he even designed now to come, it was certain he'd sent some body before him with arms and ammunition; for it was impossible for him not to know we wanted, supposing our messengers to him had told him nothing of it; and it would not be safe for him to come till that was in the country, as well as other supplies of all kinds: And, in the mean time, before that happened, or if it could at all happen, our ruin was inevitable, having seen clearly, some days before, on an alarm of the Duke of Argyle's coming, Mar, and all those trusted about him, bore the omen of our misfortune in their countenances, and had order'd the little money we had to be put up in chests, and horses to be ready to carry it, on a minute's warning; which order James Freebarn, Mar's treasurer-depute, and the man to whom he confided it, told me soon after receiving it, before Doctor ¹, who had been governour to Methven; and this in Hardie's the vintner, over a bottle. And if this was our state before the Dutch troops joyned, what must our condition be if joyned, which was to happen in a week, for we knew of their marche from their first setting out. Besides, I told them I had gone in that morning of the alarm to see my Lord Panmure, who had got the hint from Mar, and had his chair ready before the door, to go away, being very ill of his wounds in his head, and incapable to serve; and found my Lady Panmure, a woman of spirit and good sense, in tears, regretting her lord's being obliged to travel in that condition, in such frosty weather, without knowing where to go till he should be cured. While his Lordship said, with a very contented air, It would be all nothing, provided he could follow the others to the hills. My Lady said, She wist it were so; but, in the state he was in, he neither could marche with the others or hide. I told them, I believed a ship was the best expedient;

¹ Sic in MS.

but it was anſuer'd, He could not bear it; and, ſays ſhe, Give up, he'll be hanged.

Mr Hary Maule, his brother, came in, and ſeveral reflections paſt on Mar's prohibie, and his way of tricking of us. It being impoſſible that this, and a great many other things, ſhould not take vent, and confirm thoſe who could judge, as well as Mar, that no place is tenible without men, powder, and armes, far leſs ane open village; and ſuppoſe the beſt that Mar depended on, tho' his Majeſtie ſhould come, now ſince England had not kept touches, and our people ruin'd there, the Gouvernement had thirtie-four or thirtie-fix thouſand regular troopes in Brittain to fall upon us: And what force had we to oppoſe only to the Duke of Argyle, when joyned by the Dutch, who muſt be at leaſt ten thouſand? Onlie a thouſand foot, without armes, and about four hundred horſe, without carabines; and, I may ſay, both foot and horſe without every thing; for all had gone home and deſerted us except that ſmall number. On the other hand, we had not to expect that great mob would return to us, ſince the ſame reaſon that carried them home would keep them there; which is a Highland inſtinct, that always produced the ſame effect; or, if it was poſſible they could change their nature ſo much as to be willing to return to us, the Duke of Argyle could attack us, being onlie tuo days' marche from us, before it was poſſible for them to joyn us from ſuch great diſtances, and over ſuch impracticable mountains; or could we maintain them tuo days if joyned, for want of monie, and meall to ſubſiſt on ten days if we had monie, the countrie being intirelie exhausted? and that it was hard to ſay what we wanted moſt, that the queſtion was, what had we? not, what wanted we? We had indeed numbers of Generalls who were not capable to know the dutie of common ſentinells, and not willing to learn, and capable of nothing but lying and miſleading their countriemen in action and every where elſe: Except Generall Hamilton, who they had takne care to brand, ſo that nobody was to have more regard to him; and if our armie was in three times better condition than ever it had been, they muſt unavoidable ruine us. Better to us to have had Generalls of ſtraw, as bankrupt machines called Lords, and others who were ſtuffed with nothing but pride, emptineſs, and ignorance, even tho' it had coſt us the expence of maintaining

them at home, as we did with us; for their gratitude, when present, tended to nothing but our utter ruine.

So, in the certain view of certain ruine, and no view of hopes from any hand, it was determined, if possible, the Countrie was to be saved; and we agreed, with one voice, that there was no way of doing it but by sueing for terms from the Gouvernement; for if, in philosophie, that maxime be true, "Ex nihilo nihil fit," that nothing is made out of nothing, so it must be in war, and in every other thing. We knew Southerland had got ane armie together double our number, and had no ground to doubt he'd soon be in our rear; and before that his number must increas in his marche; that the Duke of Argyle could bring alonge with him as many Highlandmen as we had with us, and were now actuallie in armes, and great numbers of other militia, if he needed them; so that we could not conceave any reason for falling in to that wild enthusiastick error of imagineing ourselves able to resist not onlie all Brittain, but to conquer, or cast the ballance of Europe; when those who we expected to be our friends had not connived at our getting one pound of powder; when they and all the others were readie and willing to assist our enemies, that if there was not that madnes in it, there was something worse, a downright treacherie and perfidie; the betraying their Countrie under trust; a crime that no name can be found black enough to brand those wretches with who were capable to entertain a thought of it, but the persisting in it was so horrid, execrable, and heinous a sin, that no man could think himself worthie to live to form an idea of it, except on so clear demonstration as these fine gentlemen had given us of their designe; and to add to their crime, if they had not had the same thoughts of it as we had, they durst not adventured to impose so very far upon us, however stupid they had found us; but the impossibilitie of suspecting them of that crime was what they intirelie trusted to. We concluded, whither villanie or follie, the effects of either were equallie destructive, and the same to us as if they were both fools and knaves, and that it was absolutelie necessarie to set a treatie on foot, but were resolved to doe it in the discreetest way we could think of; so it was proposed, and agreed to, to send for Mr Hary Maule, Mar's uncle, and Carnagie of Boyseck, tuo of his politticien friends, and

consult with them what method they thought most respectfull to let his Lordship of Mar know our inclinations. Mr Ogilvie was sent to desire them to speak to us, and gave them a hint of our designe, and I took it upon me to goe and inform Huntlie of what had passed both at Mar's Association and since.

Mr Maule and Boyseck came to the meeting before Ogilvie returned, and finding him absent, the moment they enter'd, said, What, gentlemen, we hear you'r to send a trumpet to-morrow to the Duke of Argyle without consulting my Lord Mar. Those present were not a little stunned at that way of speaking, and askt, Who said so? They said, Mr Ogilvie, believing he was not to return, thinking to pump some mightie secret out of those that were met, who told them, Mr Ogilvie surpris'd them, since they could all feare they had not dreamed of it as yet. In the mean time Ogilvie came in. They askt, How Mr Ogilvie could say they were designed to send a trumpet to-morrow to the Duke of Argyle? He answer'd, Whoever said so were damned lyars. On which they own'd their mistake. They were told, That they were so far from takeing that method that they were sent for to make them privie to their whole designe, and to inform them of what had passed, and take their advice, which would be the agreeablest way of letting Mar know their sentiments? After being informed of the substance of what had passed, they would not advise them, and went away, nobody doubting they would tell Mar all, haveing informed themselves, before they went out, what had become of Mr Sinclair. It was answer'd, He was gone to Scone to speak with the Marquis of Huntlie.

I returned soon, and we agreed that next day Major Balfour, Sir James Kinloch, and Mr Ogilvie, should aske leave to speak to Mar in the name of a great many gentlemen of distinction; which Mar granted. To be short, they told him all our arguments against his Association, and, amongst others, That they did not believe any man could be bound by honour and consciens, who had neither; and to those who had both, it was no further obligation on them, and could, in our circumstances, be onlie usefull to rogues to lull honest men asleep while they were to doe their own work. That ane Association in itself was nothing, without the means to support

it; it was a difficult matter to tell what want must first occasion our separation, tho' the ennemie did not press us; and if they did, we'd be all drove to the Highlands, where ten men could not keep together for want of bread; and to what end if they could? that was not sufficient to make head against the ennemie. Had they taken fifty Associations these could not supply the least of their necessities; it would neither make a bed of snow, nor a dinner of the roots of heath sufficient nature to those of the strongest constitution; that necessity had no law; nor could any Association work impossibilities; that there were so many inveigling and ambiguous clauses in his Association, they neither could sign it, nor did conceive the designe of it; and having proved to his Lordship, by a multitude of reasons, that he had not the least shadow of reason to defend it, they proposed a capitulation in the name of the whole: And his Lordship answering, You can't get it; it was said, It will be no small satisfaction to be sure of that, and then we'll know what to expect; and nothing can sement us so strongly as a refusal of that kind. Then his Lordship demanded, What security we could give him, that in case dishonourable terms were offered us we should not accept of them? The gentlemen answered, That they wonder'd his Lordship could suspect them of anything dishonourable; and that their honour and common interest was security enough; which Ogilvie expressed in better terms than I can, and said, to shew him their honour was all the security, If it was not for their honour, there was nothing to hinder any man who pleased to make terms underhand for himself, even tho' he had signed his Lordship's Association. Mar asked, What should become of the King? They answered, His Lordship could solve that question better than they, for they knew nothing about him, nor what had or what would become of him; they hoped he was well, and would continue so, but that neither they nor his Lordship, they believed, expected him; or if he designed coming, or his Lordship in the least suspected it, they thought his Lordship, by what they had told him of our present circumstances, must be sufficiently convinced that his coming must only endanger himself, without being of use to us, and required of him to put a stop to it. And Mar, being hard pressed by them, and heated, and in confusion, own'd to them he

wisht the King would not come, and that he had sent to stop him.¹ But so soon as he dropt, that expression was checkt, and desired them not to speak of it again, which they did not think convenient to obey his Lordship in, and told it afterwards to our whole meeting, with all its circumstances, Sir James Kinloch saying, Since he had not promised, he was not obliged to conceale it, nor did he think it would be acting fairlie with those who sent him: That, meeting Mar the same day, in another way of reasoning, he called these gentlemen and order'd them to contradict themselves; which they laught at, and told us of it. When Mar recover'd himself he fell into a cant,² his arguments being too weak; and, as if he had been superiour to them all, without regarding what had been already said, he upbraided them, and askt, What men these must be who could desert their King and Countrie in such a manner? They told him, They thought they had demonstrated that there was no other way of saving their Countrie, and they did not believe it was deserting their King, having no reason to believe he'd come; and, if he did, they thought both his Lordship and they had explained themselves sufficientlie about it; and it was unanfuerable, that if he did, it would be to no purpose, but endanger himself; and that he could not have the least grounds of blameing them for not willfullie ruineing their Countrie, themselves, and families, without doeing him the least service; that, on the contrarie, it was doeing the King the greatest service they were capable of to save the Countrie, their families, and themselves, if possible; and that his Lordship gave them a worse idea of the King than they could imagine, that nothing could satisfie his Majestie but our fruitless destruction, after doeing all that was in our pouer; and said, God forbid any bodie should think so of the King. By that, and other things his Lordship had advanced, they believed he might have other views which they did not understand, but till his Lordship could convince

¹ This was probably true; for, though Mar may, in his first sanguine hopes, have desired the presence of the Chevalier St George, it is plain that by this time he must have seen that no degree of animation which his arrival (without men, money, and ammunition) could give to the cause, could promote any favourable issue of the adventure.

² Meaning a rhetorical and enthusiastical tone of speaking.

them by reason, their own reason was to be their rule. By this time Mar's reason being intirelie lost, he had nothing to say to Sir James Kinloch but, That he used not to be so talkt to ; and to Ogilvie he said, He argued very dogmaticallie. Which tuo fine sayings were mightilie applauded by Sir Heugh Paterfone, Mar's brother-in-law, and, to his great honour, often repeated in the antechamber. Sir Heugh's business lying mostlie that way, he was always about Mar's door gapeing to pick up extraordinarie things that struck his fancie most, and seldom or ever admitted further. Those of our deputation askt, What answer they should give to their friends who sent them ? Being wearied of them, and above all seeking to gain time, he desired them to come back next day at six in the afternoon. Having heard of Sir James Kinloch's freedom of telling what his Lordship had said, he sent to let us know he'd not admitt him any more. In the meantime he used his outmost endeavours to break us, by sending for most, one by one, flattering and coxing, and plying them hard by his partizans, who were now more eager then ever ; but in vain, for I never heard that above four of the Fife gentlemen signed his Association, and feu or none of Huntley's ; most of the Perthshire refused, and a good many of Marishall's ; so that very day they had recourse to threats, and most who did signe were the easie, good-natured people, who durst not stand the torrent ; or such as had nothing to loose, and were intirlicie abandon'd. The others were honour'd with the name of mutineers, and I distinguisht as the chief of them, for it was said I had carried off[f] Huntlie, and was the main instrument that poyson'd all the others : Tho' I can't but thank them for the good opinion they had of my adrefs, yet I can't pretend to say my talent lyes much in intriguing, but rather in speaking out bold truths, which lays a man more often open to his enemies then it gains converts. The difficultie was not great to give the whole the best advice, but to have got the secret to make it take, and to determine them to follow it. Perhaps those gentlemen who were against following that good advice, according to their views were in the right, but I should [have] been in the wrong not to know that with them it's more dangerous to undertake to redress faults than to have been the occasion of them. I had been taught, in the whole course of the affair, to expect that the least check which disturbed

them, the great part would not be at pains to look back to the first cause; and far from entering into a just resentment against those who laid the foundation of their misfortune, they'd turn all the bent of their passion against those advisers who could not divert it; so much were their heads turned with lies. My age and temper put me in the most dangerous rank, thinking myself obliged at least to answer every body in their own way; and, on these occasions, such as I suffer all the wrath, and bears all the iniquity of the events. However, I would not betray my sentiments, and, whatever might have happened, was resolved my private safety should not be put in the balance by me with the public good.

That morning I went to Court, and fell in amongst a crowd of Mar's aide-de-camps, and other favourites; they buffed themselves to point some lies at me, as if I had been to be bam'd, and mixt them with little reflections against unbelievers. I bid them spare themselves the trouble of telling their great hopes to me; that I had all along observed the Scots proverb, which said, That if a man cheats me once, it's his fault; but if he cheats me twice, it's my fault. But what men must those be who have done nothing but cheat every minute of the day, for four months together? and what men, who are satisfied to be cheated till their necks are brock, which I believed very nigh? They said, They did not understand me; and askt, Who I mean'd by those that cheated? I said, Their Generall. Neither they nor Marishall, who was one of the next to me, answer'd one word. Lord George Murray, some minutes after, thought fit to attack me, and said flatlie, That I was doing things that if his own brother did so, he'd call him a traitor. I answer'd him, He advanced too much on so small grounds; but, were I his brother, I'd take him and lash him; and told him, It was less his buffiness than any bodies to speak so, for it would be hard if a lustie young fellow like him could not find an ensigne's commission somewhere, for that was all that in reality he risqued; and bid him beware of that way of talking to me, for he'd gain little at my hand. Lord George was contented, and so was I, being as unwilling to have to doe with any of a familie I respected so much, as I should been glade to have had the half of that occasion with some others. This was the greatest liberty that any

took with me at Pearth; I mean to my face. This was he who, being sent to raise the cefs of Dumfermling, kept five hundred pound of it, which, I believe, was by much the greatest part of it, if not all. These were the great friends to King and COUNTRY, who were robbing it when at its lowest ebb.

The mutineers, as they called them, met again at my quarters, to consider of Mar's answer. His saying to our deputies, when forced to own what they brought so close home to him, That we could get no terms, was very different from what he was giving out to the others, That we were still superior, and had nothing to fear. The fallacie of the last we knew as well as he; but could not find out his reason for being so positive that terms would be refused us; it appear'd to us his ground for it was the facility the enemy had to reduce us, which we ourselves were afraid of, but still a bad argument for our not asking terms when brought to that pass that either we must die of hunger in the hills, or goe and embrace the kinder halter; and in both we saw our COUNTRY's ruine, our own extirpation, and that of our families: We thought, that saying of his implied our being too long of asking terms, and was a sufficient excuse for our loyalty, but none at all for our folly of being so long misled by him; and we were not to expect that he, who had by his eyes lulled us into all security, untill he himself seem'd to acknowledge that we had slip't our tide when we had confided ourselves to him, and had in it committed the greatest breach of trust; and knowing the man, and every action of his life, and his present prevarications, which now appear'd in the strongest colours before us, we could not think that if we had not loosed our time he'd ever allow us to think it was time, when the onlie reward he could propose to us for following his advice was utter ruine. That those who had COUNTRY, families, or consciences, could not satiffie themselves in such a case, with a positive saying of such a man as his Lordship, and could not be answerable to either of these not to try all lawfull expedients; and that it needed not be binding on those who neither had COUNTRY, families, or consciences; they might doe, as they ever did, and ever will doe, which is, as they thought fit: if they pleas'd they might signe Affociations and break them next minute, or treat and break it, or doe neither, according to their

oun will, provided they'd allow us to acquit ourselves of the dutie in nature the most indispenfable, so longe as we had a countenance which gave us a pretence to ask terms; and the onlie remedie we could see to repair our delaying it too longe was to doe it soon: if refused, we knew our fate, and hoped God would give us the grace to stand it with firmitie, and like Scotfmen, and not fullie the honour of our ancestours; and then, if Mar pleased, we'd signe ane Affociation conceaved in other terms then that of his Lordship, and binding ourselves, by the most solemn and strongest oaths and tyes, yea, takeing the Sacrament on it, that no man should give or take quarters, or give himself up, or desert the Countrie by leaueing it; and none of those, on any pretext or reason whatsoever, suppose want of bread, powder, armes, and all the necessaries of life; and when we could not have it in our pouer to throw ourselves away in reuengeing the intended injurie of oppressing and dishonoureing us, dye gnawing the ground, that tho' we raise like fools, posteritie might say of us, We waft it off by dyeing like brave men, and that, while we lived, none durst either insult us or our Countrie.

As to his demand, What securitie we could give him in case dishonourable terms were offer'd us we should not accept of them? We thought that of all humane race his Lordship of Mar was the last who ought to pose anie bodie on their honour who never had one grain of honour in his life, and had so often changed faces when we had always kept the fame, and all alonge suffer'd for it, when he profited by all those changes, and selling us; and did he now pretend to question us, or to teach us principles of dutie to our Countrie or ourselves? we took that to be the hight of impudence from a man so well known to us as he, and of whose honour we had a million of times more reason to doubt than he had to doubt of ours. We knew very well the terms we had to ask, which were our lives and fortunes, and be reinstalld on the same footing we were on before. We could not comprehend that Mar needed suspect us of betraying our our lives; as to our estates it was not of him we'd learn to take care of them; haveing, generallie speaking, no worfe estates or expectations, but rather better, than most of those about his Lordship, we had no notion what he'd have us expect more in our circumstances, for we could at any time give ourselves

up. But this securitie muſt have ſome other meaning, as if he fear'd our getting terms, and implyed a contradiction of what he had ſaid firſt, That we could get no terms. By his Affociation, and his being ſo refractorie to allow us to fue for terms, and the noiſe his partizans and agents made in clamouring againſt us, we verylie believed he was afraid, and the more he fear'd, in that caſe the leſs reaſon we thought we had to fear, and the greater reaſon we had to hope and ſet a Treatie on foot. His queſtion about the King was very extraordinarie to people who he'd never allow to know anything of him; by giving us the ſatiſfaction of ſending one of our own choiſeing, who'd been back ere now, and then both we and he had known what had become of him. He might be dead for us, tho' we hoped it was not ſo, yet there was too much reaſon to fear it; ſince he did not come ſooner if alive, we thought there was no reaſon for expecting him; and if Mar did not think that the ſame reaſons would keep him at this time which had kept him all the while, Mar, who had taken all upon him, ought to ſend ane expreſs to him, to inform him that his coming could doe no more but endanger himſelf, and doe us harm, by extinguishing our hopes; which was all we could ſay to the King, when we did not know what would become of ourſelves. His opbraiding us for deſerting the King and Countrie, after owning he had ſent to ſtop the King, was admirable, and nothing more wonderfull than that new light of his, which had made him ſo determined a hero, ſo good a countrieman, and ſo loyall a ſubje&t, all at once.

It happens often enough that conjunctures and events don't anſuer our wiſhes, therefor we were not to think of making our neceſſities yeeld to our caprices, but we ourſelves were to yeeld to our neceſſities; that was what we were to believe in our ſituation. As to his ſaucie, impertinent anſwers, the one was the onlie truth he ſpoke, and nothing more true then "That he was not uſed to be ſo talkt to;" for he never had given us, nor any others, ane opportunitie of talking to him, except ſome bankrupts, who he maintain'd at our expence, who were to know no more of the matter than he thought fit they ſhould; whoſe dependance was ſo great upon him they dar'd not argue with him if they could, and much leſs enquire into any thing, and whoſe whole merite conſiſted in their ſubmiſſion. That we

regretted our haveing given him that pouer too longe, of acting, and speaking, and thinking, all himself; but that we had not made such a surrender of ourselves as not to reassume the libertie to speak our mind to him, and much better men than he, when the publick good required; we resolved to bear that tyrannie no longer; and forrie to say that there were too pressing reasons for it, and we'd for the future take his word for no more then what we saw; it was now time to be plain.

All present told that they had been attackt different ways by Mar's trustees or himself, and that they were flatter'd by some, and threatned by others, to make them desert that wicked band, as they were pleased to call it; and fear'd some unluckie thing might happen from the Highlandmen, who were ignorant and savage enough to doe what Mar might prompt them to, and the danger the greater, that if any man should have to doe with one Highlandman, the whole Clan would fall upon him at one time, yea, the whole Highlandmen, for all their Chiefs were engaged in that quarrell, and that all their rage would be turned against us. We saw very well that the Highland Chiefs imagined themselves secure, nor did they care one fixpence if they were drove out of Pearth next day; they had laid their account with that, and never designed standing it in Pearth, and trusted onlie to their hills, where cannon, which is their great terrour, could not harm them, and to fatiguing the troopes in those inaccessible mountains, more then fighting them; so that the true cause of their courage may be properlie said to have lyen in their heels at that time; and haveing it in their head that they never could be conquer'd, because till then nobodie had thought it worth the pains of doing it, and never doubted they had their terms in their own pouer in the mean time, were pleased with Mar's high pay, and cared not what became of us of the Low Countries, who, if forced to run after them, they'd not given to any of us a night's quarters, of which too many instances can be given in the like cases.

After a good dale of raifoning to this purpose, we resolved to answer Mar's positive demand in these terms: "The gentlemen who made the propofale that a Treatie should be fet on foot, haveing consider'd the demand of securitie from them that dishonourable terms be not accepted

of, are of opinion, that their honours and interests, which they have already engaged, are all the securities they can give, or ought to be required of them; and insist that my Lord Mar, or others, may recede from that groundless demand, and that a General Treatie be still set on foot without loss of time; and as their demand is for a General Treatie, they can conceive no grounds for so idle jealousies." This was given in writing to those who were to be sent to Mar, and they order'd to tell him, That whatever number of Delegates he'd send to the Duke of Argyle to treat, we must, for our satisfaction, have the choosing of one. I desired to goe with Major Balfour and Mr Ogilvie in the place of Sir James Kinloch, but the others said Mar was so rancour'd against me in particular, and I so hot, that it would doe more harm than good, and choose rather to send Smith of Methwin. At four of the clock in the afternoon I went to walk about the streets, and saw about five hundred Highlandmen drawn up. Knowing that we had no occasion to send out a command which required so great a number, or, if we had, considering how small the whole garrison was, it was not proper; nor was it the time of relieving the guards. I askt of them, What they were commanded for? Some said, They could not tell; others, They were to be at Mar's quarters by six of the clock. I went in to my Lord Rollou's, and let several of those concerned with me know it, for they were order'd to be there at that very time our Deputies were to be admitted. I sent for one David Sinclair, a friend of mine, who spoke Irish, and desired him to pump some of the Highland Officers of his acquaintance; who regrated the Master of Sinclair more than any body, but could get nothing of the designe; only that they believed he and some others were to be taken prisoners. These two days bygone all the bankrupt Lords, and the scoundrels about Mar, had been running up and down Perth, with all the furie imaginable, and imployed by him to spread the villainous lies he and they could invent against the Mutineers, as they called them. In a word, there was no other discourse but their treachery, to blind the unthinking part, and hinder them to give ear to the justice of what we proposed.

Both parties took freedom enough with one another behind backs.

While Rollo, Major Balfour, Sir James Kinloch, Methvin, and Mr Ogilvie and I were together, the Marquise of Huntlie came in from Mar's quarters, and said, He left all there raging madd, and spoke to me to take care of myself; and said, Their spite was chiefly levelled against me, and that there were men to be draun up there, and something extraordinarie designed. I run and took my hat, and said, I'd goe there, and take my hazard; but the others assuring me the Highlandmen would be turned loose upon me, and what honour could I propose by it? Then I fuore I'd never goe there more. They askt me, What I had been saying? I answered, It was not time now to be silent, when I saw such methods taken; that I had said everie where all that I thought, or could say, but I was sure I had spoke truth, and would not goe back with it. Mr Ogilvie, Major Balfour, and Methvin went to Mar at the time appointed, and, after giving him our answer as to the securitie he required, and repeating the arguments we had made use of, his Lordship said, He saw no reason for a capitulation more then in the beginning; seeming not to take notice of the whole former reasoning, and all that had passed. Mr Ogilvie answered, That if he had no more reason for raising us at the beginning than there was at present, he humbly presumed his Lordship had done very rashly and unwarrantable, and that his Lordship own'd by that, his having had no hopes of England's assisting us from the beginning; which, he was sure, was now extinct, as well as the hopes of help from France, with powder and armes, since we had not had the least account of the King for nere four months, nor so much as a return from any of those who were sent; and that we could have no other notion than of the King and their being made prisoners, if my Lord would have [it] believed, what he said at first, that he expected him daylie; that his brother Boyn, who was the onlie [one] who had come from France, had not seen the King for six months before he came to us; and, on his coming, people had of a long time taken umbrage at the writing the Petition to the Regent, as if he really had been prisoner; and by hearing nothing of him then, and no more since, they believed him prisoner. After the assurances his Lordship had given us that the Regent, to his certain knowledge, was at least as willing to assist the King as we were to serve him, his Lordship's

choise of fuch meffengers as we could neither have thought of, or in the leaft approven of, and for that reafon fent in fo clandestine a way to France, was what riveted thofe jealousies. That now we had a great armie nere us, and, if it were poffible for thofe in their right wits to conceive a notion of making head to that armie in the circumftances we were in, we could not but be fatified that thrice that number would be fent againft us, fince King George had nothing elfe to doe with his troops. But we needed not extend our views fo far: we had found, by sad experience, how little we could rely on Highlandmen; and, befides their naturall bent of running home, having met with fuch discouragements and difappointments, neither would or could be back in time; at fame time begged of his Lordfhip to refle&ct that all our other wants were endlefs, and that we were not one day fure of thofe thoufand or twelve hundred Highlandmen we had; nor could he conceive the reafon of ane Affociation if his Lordfhip himfelf had not found a change in our affairs. Methwin attackt him on the frivoloufnefs of an Affociation, whofe arguments I have forgot, but appeared very ftronge to me. My Lord Mar interrupting them very often, in great paffion, his little head turning round, which it will always be found to doe when in the leaft preft, confented to try for a capitulation, but affured them, He knew it was not to be procured; and afkt them, What methode they'd propofe? They faid, They faw no difficultie in that, and the moft naturall way was to fend a trumpet to get a faufe conduct for anie tuo or three, as it was thought fit; but they were order'd to tell his Lordfhip, that the gentlemen who fent them would have the choifeing of one Delegate for their greater fatiffaction. This ftun'd him more then any thing, and made him fall out into bitter but generall refle&ctions againft the whole for deferting their King and Countrie; the old cant, becaufe they let him now fee what truft he had further to pretend to; and, in his rage, made difcoveries, and faid, That for his own part he was refolved never to be a Brittifh fubje&ct, for he could make his peace when he pleaft, fince he had a fhip always readie, and that it was not the firft time his familie had been facrificed for the Royall Familie, and did not care tho' it went again to the divill. To this the gentlemen anfuer'd, My Lord might doe as he thought fit, but they knew their dutie to their Countrie, themfelves,

and families. Mar told them further, That his being too communicative had done harm, and he'd know to whome he'd shew his intelligence for the time to come; and desired them to come back to-morrow morning; and they returned and made their report to their constituents, met in my quarters, who could not find out Mar's reason for being so much against trying for a capitulation, since he was so positive it would be denyed us, for still he had his aime, and that refusal would put us under a necessitie of fementing more then his Affociations; but, on the contrarie, they imagin'd he must have some reason to think it would be granted us, since he went so unwillinglie into it. And they remembered, that it had been buzed about some time agoe, that a letter from the Lord Tounsend to the Duke of Argyle had been intercepted by Mr Forrester, and sent to Mar, telling my Lord Argyle that the longe lookt-for indemnitie was at last near expeaded, they onlie wanted the names of those it would be proper to except; and we did not doubt but this letter was one of his greatest reasons for his Affociation, and being against the capitulation. The first putting us intirelie in Mar's pouer, and bound us up, without haveing the least such effect on him, since, to our sad experience, we knew his pretensions either to honour and conscience were none at all. But after all that scene of villanies in his whole life, and the innumerable lyes and forgeries, the impudence of such a wretch as we knew him, and represented him to ourselves, was of all things the most insupportable; nor did we know what he was not capable of, after all he had done, for the same impudence was a salve for all he could doe. We knew whence his unmannerlie reflections proceeded; it was a stronge signe the Countrie's monie lasted, and that, for that reason, the Highlandmen were at his command; otherwise, we thought we had friends enough to curb that freedom, or rather that his Lordship durst not have takne it; for his accusation was no less than cowardice, and was no argument to us of his Lordship's being a hero. He is not the first scoundrell who has done so when he thought he had pouer. His makeing the discoverie that he never would be a Brititish subjeēt was no surprize upon us; we had seen it from the beginning, and his haveing a small estate to loose, in the manner he had fettled, was no loofeing at all, when he was to goe abroad to reap the fruites of his betraying us; for, properlie

speaking, loofing in that manner was to gain. As to his familie's being facrificed for the Royall Familie, few of the old families in Scotland but can shew greater proofs of their zeale to it than his, except he valued himself on his Father's merite of hanging himself for betraying the Royall Familie; which he insinuated, by saying, He did not care tho' his familie went again to the Divill. His ship confirmed us of what we knew very well some months before, and he had spoke greater truth had he said he had three ships readie all the time, for the greater securitie; which his own partizans have, since that time, franklie own'd. But we did not think that his deserting the Countrie was ane argument for our deserting it; no more than his felling it formerlie was an argument for our felling it, knowing his circumstances; nor, if we could entertain any thoughts of that kind so longe beforehand, we could not pretend to have the way so well paved for us, and the arches of that bridge he passed over would soon after be cut, and we'd leave it to him to take the start, no doubt he'd choofe his time. We could not understand what he meant by his being too communicative; for he had never told any of us one word of truth, and we had no reason to thank him for his lyes, which were onlie necessarie to himself, and told to us with no other desigine than that of ruineing us, and serveing him; so he must spare himself the trouble for the time to come, for we were to beg leave to be excused from believing one word he said. They told us, that when he consented to the Treatie the tears came in his eyes; that his great foule was like to burst for fear.

In the mean time David Sinclair, my friend, came in, who had been at Mar's quarters the great part of the afternoon, and all that evening; he told, that it was takne notice of that Mar's quarters were never observed so thin as these two evenings; that he had watched all the Highlanders motions; that the five hundred men were soon dismissed, who, they gave out, had been under armes on account of a buriell; that about fortie of them had been kept to goe, with their armes, about the quarters, in as negligent a manner as they could, and being there some time, were dismissed by Glengarie; that he called eight of their officers, and brought them up to the great hall where all the companie used to be, and after posting them there, that Inderye, Mar's Highland vassall,

whose little familie, I'm told, has been intercommond for these three generations,¹ said, It appear'd odd to him that people could think of asking terms, since we had yet such ane armie on foot in England. The Viscount of Kingstoun,² who, when a second brother, had served King James the Seventh, and followed him in his bad fortune into France, and served him, as he said, a great part of his life in raggs, and had given the greatest proofs of his fidelitie, and certainlie no man to his pouer a more zealous fervant, said, He could not believe there was any bodie in arms for our cause in England; for that [it] was too well known, near a month by-gone, that all our poor friends there were prifoners. Indercy anfuer'd, haveing had his lesson, or been prepared, Whoever did not believe their Generall, whether Lord or Gentleman, deserved to be kickt down stairs. And he no sooner spoke than all the Highlandmen advanced to Kingstoun; and, as they brag'd themselves afterwards, Had he said one word, he had been cut to pieces that moment; which, particularlie one Major Maclean, said to Major Balfour. But what surpris'd Kingstoun most was, that Southesque had the courage to say, He seconded the member who spoke last: And no wonder, for Southesque was never believed to have either the brains or soule of a mouse; and happie for him that Kingstoun, who used rather to err on the other extrem, took it on that foot, and forgave him afterwards, out of pitie. Mar hearing of the bustle, came out; and the matter being told him, as it pass'd, Mar said it was his own opinion, that he did not believe we had any armie on foot in England. But it was believed generallie that the misfortune fell on my Lord Kingstoun by chance, for, tho' he had doubted in signeing the Association in the beginning, yet complied after, and was readie to joyn in all they propos'd. I had reason to think, haveing said a great dale more in the same place in the morning, and by the hint I had got from the Mar-

¹ The Farquharsons of Inverey were a very rough people, and had committed repeated raids and slaughters on their neighbours, particularly on the Gordons. The murder of Gordon, Baron of Brackley, by one of these Invereyes, a celebrated freebooter, is the subject of a Scottish popular ballad.

² James Seton, third Viscount Kingston, attainted for that Rebellion. He died without heirs-male, and in him terminated the male line of his own family, and, it is believed, the second male line of the Earls of Winton.

quife of Huntley, that the snare was laid for me, who was the rankest of all the Mutiniers; and, in my way of thinking, the calling me so was the greatest honour could be done me.

That evening Collonell Laurence¹ came to town, and had been called for by Mar betuixt eleven and twelve at night; which, with what followed, gave occasion for speculation, tho' it was given out that his coming at that time was accident, and that Mar had allowed him to goe from his confinement at Dundee to London about his private affairs, which he had been desiring from the beginning: the cause of his getting it then was very visible from what followed. Our three Deputees returned to Mar in the morning; and his Lordship proposed Collonell Laurence as the fittest man to be sent to the Duke of Argyle, and said, It would be the gaining of time to send him, because if they employed any other, they must first send a trumpet to get a safe conduct. Mr Ogilvie, Major Balfour, and Methvin, desired leave to talk with those who sent them; and came and told us of the proposal. It was a surprize to hear that Mar, who had been so much against the thing before, appear'd, all of a sudden, to shew us the most expeditious way of doing what we were so fond of: it put us on doubting and diving into the advantages Mar could reap from such a choice. Some said, He designed by it to hinder our getting terms; for Collonell Laurence, having the libertie of the whole town of Dundee, was as well informed of our circumstances as we ourselves, and would inform the ennemie fullie of them; but it was answer'd, If Mar designed doing so, he'd find tuintie ways to inform the ennemie, and would still let Collonell Laurence goe to Stirling, and from that to London. Another consideration Mar might have, occurred to us, that since he was to goe to London, Mar would oblige him to give him the return from Stirveling in writing, and, by that means, could tell us anie storie he pleased. The result was, that these three gentlemen should return to his Lordship, and tell him, That ane ennemie, who must know our circumstances, was not a proper messenger; but if his Lordship would have it so, they were order'd to insist that he should take Collonell Laurence's word of honour to come back and make his own report; otherwise, they desired one of their own

¹ The officer of highest rank made prisoner by the Insurgents at Sheriffmuir.

number to be joynd to anie other my Lord Mar pleafed to choofe. Who, finding himfelf tyed up fo clofe, promifed to prevaile with Laurence to return; which he did. Laurence was difpatched with offers of a fubmiffion, providèd the Duke of Argyle had pouer to give us fuch a capitulation as could fecure our lives and fortunes. He returned next day late, and went to Mar, to whome he made the report. He was brought the morning after into a meeting of Mar's calling, where Huntlie had propofed he fhould make his report himfelf; which was, That my Lord Argyle had no pouer to treat with the Generall or the generallitie, but with particulars. Huntlie asked, Why Mr Sinclair was not called for? And a certain Lord, whofe name he never would tell, tho' often intreated, faid, You may as well bring in the whole toun. When Huntley told me of it, I faid, I was fure it was one of thofe bankrupt villains, Drummond [or] Kilfeyth. I went about to inform myfelf at fome others of that meeting, who would not difcover, and to all I fpoke I gave them the fame names, and fhould been glade they had given me ane opportunitie of venting my wrath on either of them; and had it not been for their Highland guards, I had readilie takne the occafion.

But to come back to the ftorie. That very morning Collonell Laurence was fent to Stirling, the Affociation was ftill carrying about the toun, which, tho' they gain'd no ground, fheu'd their inclination. But that was not all; for there muft be got a ftronger barrier againft all terms, and a full demonstration. Mar was affraid of terms, by makeing Marifhall's Squadron, at leaft fo many of them as could be perfuaded to figne it, addrefs him, as if he had been a potent King, Never to admit of terms till the King was reftored, the Union broken, and the Church eftablifht. But that appear'd fo ridiculous, that inftead of paveing the way for others, many of that Squadron, efpeciallie thofe who had eftates, did not figne. It's true, Glengarie and fome of the Clans made another to the fame purpofe, at Mar's defire. This fineffe, coufue de file blanc, confirmed everie bodie that he had no mind to terms; or rather, that if he found himfelf excluded when Laurence returned, by thefe addreffes he was to have it in his pouer to put a flop to all terms, and would facrifife the whole.

We were not ignorant of the reafon the Heads of Clans had for keeping

the affair on foot as long as possible, for they were masters of what monie they were pleased to call for, or we could give; and false musters were made by most of them everie day. They thought it was nothing to them to be driven out of Pearth, so long as they had their hills to retire to, which is their strongest bulwark, and after their common fellows had enriched themselves with the plunder of the Low Countrie, who they'd fleece when at home; when it came to the worst, they flatter'd themselves they'd get monie to lay down their armes, as they had got no other occasions.¹ At same time, some bankrupt Lords, of whom Mar was the soule, haveing nothing to loose, being of desperate fortunes, thought they could not find a better occasion then leave their Countrie with honour, rather than starve and be despicable at home, and were to pin themselves on the King; and could Drummond imagine that a man of his merite, composed of the quintessence of volatile spirits and vanitie, could be worse treated abroad then his father;² and haveing already done his work at home, by leaveing himself no more credite, and interditeing himself in favours of his son, he could not doe better than goe to France, where he had before him the support of his relations, and would have occasion to flatter his vanitie, "ayant agie en homme d'honneur, et en heros, et ayant toute perdue pour son Roi." The other Lords, in his circumstances, had the same way of thinking, and tho' they could not plead the same merite, were convinced that he must be a very idle tool of a Lord who would not have some care takne of him, preferable to all others; for, where all were to be equallie strangers, a title must have weight.

There were too many gentlemen whose wants had put them on the same foot, and their present necessities being supplied daylie by Mar, like the Lords were all at pains to buoy up those who had to loose; whose zeale, and ignorance of affairs, with Mar's artifices, soon perswaded to doe what he had a mind, joyned to the impossibilitie of getting terms, which was so carefullie inculcated in them; and if they declared themselves once for

¹ Particularly at the Revolution, when a large sum was sent to bribe the Highland Chiefs to submission.

² The Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland in the time of James II, and fled with his Master at the Revolution.

terms, it was the being loft at both hands ; and were not ill pleased that I and others pressed for terms, for if we succeeded in getting terms, they'd accept with us; if not, they had not declared themselves, and had still kept their court : notbing so easie for those to be cheated who are willing to impose on themselves. However, my Lord Panmure, who was at a distance, and in Dundee, hearing of the opposition Mar made to asking terms, pressed him to yeeld to so raifonable a demand, by a letter sent to him by Mr Ogilvie. But to shew farther impudence, and how mean ane opinion he had of all engaged, he spread a storie, so soon as the capitulation was proposed, that a ship was landed at Dundee, with fourtie thousand pounds Scots, and thirteen hundred armes, as if it could anfuer our wants in any measure, tho' true ; but this might have been calculated for his pensionaries and the Highlandmen.

Mr Hary Maule, who in his heart was for terms, but durst not adventure the drauing Mar's wreath upon him by declaring for them, said in jeast, to Mr Francois Steuart and me, some days after, in Collonell Balfour's room, while we were talking to this purpose, That the ship was sunk betwixt Pearth and Dundee. But to end the negotiation of Laurence : His Grace of Argyle bid him tell us, He'd employ his influence at Court to get a capitulation, and was to send one to London for that purpose, who, Laurence said, was my Lord Roxbourough ; and Argyle further promised, When he got a return, he'd let them know.

Those of Mar's own creatures who had signed the Association with him, pretended now to take it very ill that Mar should [have] sent anie bodie to sue for terms without their consent ; which, indeed, they had grounds for, had they been in earnest, for he was bound, on honour and conscience, to doe nothing without them ; but this was onlie a copie of their countenance, to make others believe that they expected he was to be bound as well as they.

Tho' it was but calling them together to make them doe what he pleased, yet he thought it was of dangerous consequence to allow them that way of thinking, while he had a different use to make of them ; and in case terms had been granted, and any clause unpleasent to him in these terms, they were to address him beforehand, to stand to points that none but such as were

determined to ruine their Countrie, and had that game onlie to play, or people out of their fences, could have dream'd of. Nor would Mar himself, however abandon'd, made so open and publick a breach of honour and consciens, if they had not been intirelie his slaves, and he had not thought himself necessitate to keep up the divisions amongst us. They likewise complain'd that Laurence, ane ennemie and a prifonner, should been employed. He said, It was the mutineers who obliged him to make that choice; which, by what I have already said, may be easily believed a damnable lye. But all occasions were to be takne to blackne and ternish their character, for fear truth should be discover'd, which was so incompatible with his Lordship of Mar's views.

By this time Mr Francois Steuart, brother to the Earle of Murray, returned from Fife, where he had been sent by Mar some days before he had presented the Association, to prevail with the Countess of Murray, his sister-in-law, to goe to Stirling to the Duke of Argyle, her nephew,¹ to try what terms could be got for my Lord Mar, and for the whole. I don't know how it came to be spread in town, that he was gone to make his own terms. I believe the necessitie for terms appear'd so great that the least movement a man of so considerable a fortune, and so great expectations as he made, set all the bankrupts and Lords in town on suspecting, knowing that their own pretended blindness, or firmity, as they'd have it believed, proceeded from their despair. They could not imagine that a man who, in all probability, should one day have as much as would make a dozen of such as Mar's Lords happy,² could have longer patience; being convinced he saw at least as clear as any of them. Tho' I knew him too well to suspect him, yet it alarm'd me a little, hearing everie bodie speakeing of it; and the rather that he had gone without telling me, who thought myself one of his intimatest friends. So soon as I heard he was returned, I went to him. I no sooner enter'd the door, than he said, By God, I'm rarely treated. How? what's the matter? said I. What! ha'n't you heard through the

¹ The Countess of Murray was born Lady Anne Campbell, eldest daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Argyle, beheaded in James II's time.

² Francis Stuart was presumptive heir to the earldom and estates of Murray, in which he afterwards succeeded his brother.

toun that I have been at Stirling, makeing my peace? But, by God, it's the wisest thing I can doe; for it seems we are all madd. Why, says he again, ther's no more bearing this false villain Mar, who, while he has been making his Association, had sent me to my Lady Murray, (and so told me his message,) and, in the mean time, spread in toun that I have been making terms for myself; and sent me this morning one of his emissaries, naming Harry Bruce, who, as it were to put me to the test, tells me, that whoever will not signe the Association deserves to be piftled, and this before I have made him my report; and continued, It seems his Lordship of Mar is not content to make a fool of me hitherto, but he must make a knave of me too, or, at least, appear as such. I told him, Nothing surpris'd me in all that affair; he knew what was my opinion of Mar from the beginning; and told him over the storie of the Association, a great part of which he had heard the night before. He said, He'd shew me how we had been treated, and read to me my Ladie Murray's answer from Stirling, to his message; for he stay'd in Fife till he had got her return; and read her letter, which begun with her journey, and her being received by Major Cathcart, and some other officers, within a mile or two of Stirling, by the Duke of Argyle's order. She told, She was civilly received by him, but she did not expect to find Collonell Laurence there at same time, with, as he thought, a more ample and more generall commission then her own; that she could not understand what was the meaning of it, except to expose her to the jeast and laughter of the Duke and Ilsa; to whom, I think, she said she had discover'd nothing of her message, or the designe of it, for they'd reproach her for pretending to serve people who, tho' she thought her friends, [had] put no confidence in her, since they sent a stranger, and even an enemy, with more authentick power then that given her, in the very time they employ'd her; however she had done, without discovering herself, all she could. But the Duke would not hear of Mar, (which had been her first preliminarie,) but that he wisht he could be capable to serve any of the other unluckie gentlemen; that she found he had no power to treat with the generallitie, but with particulars; above all, desir'd it might not be takne notice of that she was concerned in that message, for she had given it out that she was at Stirling to waite of Ilsa, who was still bad of his

wounds, and she was to stay there some days; and this is all that I remember of that letter.

We had no sooner done reading it then Mr Hary Maule came in, who took him to make his report to Mar, as Mr Steuart told me afterwards. I went to find out the Marquise of Huntley, to let him know what I had learn'd, but missing of him at Scone, for he had gone from home that morning, I left it to Mr Ogilvie to inform him. Huntlie had difficultie to believe it, but at last spoke to Mar of it, who could not denie the truth; and said, It was to satisfie his uncles, Hary Maule and the Earle of Panmure, he had done it; as if that had been enough to justifie him, or the shadow of an excuse, while he was binding himself and the whole, on honour and consciens, not to enter into terms, or ask terms, till the majoritie were satisfied; except he could prove, that he and his two uncles were the majoritie. Nobody believed he had the least regarde to either of them in it, and it was himself allendarlie which he was takeing care of, as he had always done, which it certainlie was: And before the return came back, in case terms could be got, and he excluded, he had trumped up the Association upon us, by which we were to be bound up from asking terms ever after, being jealous of the whole who he had so grosslie imposed upon, and resolved to ruine all, rather than he should run the least risk, and take his measures afterwards, according to the answer. Thus he directly and notoriously forfeited both honour and conscience twice, to all men's conviction, in a week's time, and we continued to be called the worst of men for not signing with him.

When Huntlie told us of the answer, after all we had seen of him, we could not enough admire him who had so lately opbraided us for deserting our King and Country, so considerable a number, who, at last, he durst not refuse; and did, for his own satisfaction, what we had so great difficultie to persuade him to do for the securitie of the whole, on the most solid grounds, and by unanswerable arguments. Mar and his partizans begun again to pluck up a spirit upon the refusal, as if the danger had been over, and the battle gained; and thinking themselves in securitie, now said, openly, That had they known we were so few in number who had obliged Mar to ask terms, they'd laide us in prison; and that

Mar was vext he had not done so to all [who] met the first evening in my quarters. And some called to hound the Clans on us; for the animosities was still to be kept up, in case the Duke of Argyle had got new powers from Court to treat with the whole. These wise gentlemen pulled off the cockards from the hats of severals of the fourscore horse who staid with Huntlie, and treaded them in the kennels, and said all the injurious things that can be imagin'd.¹ This was no more the Lord Mar who Alexander Maitland, one of his favourites, and always about him, told me, after our sending the deputation, That, by God, he was weeping,² and we had broke his heart; and said, For God's sake yeeld to him. When I said, I'd not yeeld to him, or any man ever was born, in that quarrell. He had not then spirit enough to keep up common decency; for, when he dismissed Collonell Laurence for the last time, he had not recover'd courage. He fell of weeping before him, and, being asham'd of it, said, It was out of affection to his dear wife, and was sure no man in England loved a wife as he did her. This Laurence told at Stirling, and it spread over all how resolute a Generall we had. It's certain no man was ever more resolute in the ruine of his Countrie and countriemen, and so tender of himself.

¹ The abuse heaped on the Gordons is accumulated in a song beginning—

“ From Bogie-side to Bogieght
 The Gordons did convene, man;
 With all their might, for battle wight,
 Together close they join, man.
 And oh! as the Marquis rade,
 And oh! as he ran;
 And oh! as the Marquis rade,
 When the battle it began.

“ Out came the Knight of Gordonstoun,
 Thus stepping on the green;
 He had a wisp in ilka hand,
 To dight the Marquis clean.”

With much more to the same effect.

² Mar's unfortunate master, the Chevalier St George, also shed tears on evacuating Perth; but to his General, as well as to him, might be applied the speech of Prince Eugene when he heard the circumstance, “ That weeping was not the way to conquer kingdoms.”

I shall give one instance more of the terrour that was on his spirit, in a letter wrote by his Governour, Clephan, to the Laird of Pourie,¹ Governour of Dundee, one of Mar's confidants, on the Association's not going thorough to his mind, and dated the very night it was proposed and rejected. Clephan told him expressely we would be rent to pieces in a very little time, and there was nothing left to the King's fast friends but to see to themselves; and this was signed with his name and Adjutant-Generall, which Pourie, having kept correspondence with him, justlie observed, He never signed but when he wrote by order, and told Mr Ogilvie his nephew so, when he shew'd him the letter; and askt him, Could Mar [have] blamed me had I gone off in a ship on the receiving this? If such a hint was to be so constructed by the Governour of a place, may we not conclude, without great breach of charitie, that those who imagin'd themselves the King's fast friends were very much on the wing? And, reallie, I all along observed that those who were of the most desperate fortunes believed they were nearer of kin to him than any others; tho' I must doe Pourie justice to say, it was not the want of estate that brought him into that class. Mar had always four Highland sentries on his house, besides a stronge garde of Highland foot, and a guard of horse near to it; the two sentries who were next to himself he changed that night from Highlandmen to gentlemen out of the horse-guard. Sir James Kinloch and Methvin came in to me next morning, and told me of it, before I had got out of bed. Mr Hary Maule was pleased to come in a little after. I said to him, I saw the reason of that change, Mar was so much affraid of himself he did not know whither to trust Highlandmen or the gentlemen, since he was to have both sentries on his sacred person, but nothing could quiet a guiltie conscience; which I did not doubt would be told his Lordship.

The heats still continued betuixt the parties, tho' neither could tell for what reason; and tho' we had nothing left us but to pitie our Countrie's and our own common misfortune. Our former stupiditie, by being quickned for some days with an unusefull agitation of spirits, turned into a violent rage, which, on other occasions of that nature, use to vent itself against the

¹ Fotheringham of Powrie, an ancient family, commonly called the Saxon Fotheringhams.

ennemie, the dregs of lyes still fermented with new yest, turned our furie against ourselves, and tore out one another's bouells; a monstros war, which could not faile to end in the dissolotion of its oun bodie, tho' neither ennemie nor want had pressed us; designedlie fomented for the present securitie of one villain, and to lay a plan for both his escape and his further excuse. Our Phisitien thought he had no other interest but that of poysoning us, under the specious pretext of ferveing the Countrie and the King. "*Nihil in speciem fallacius quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen pretenditur sceleribus.*"

While Mar was still blowing the coale underhand, he was not wanting in shewing civilities to all of us, giving us encouragement to have recourse to him for redrefs, which never any of us did, and were not at a los how to receive everie thing that came from his Lordship. Haveing observed I had not gone near him for a week, he sent for me, as he was going to dine. I had difficultie to persuade myself to goe to him, haveing put on the resolution of never going where he was, but could find no excuse for disobedience, so long as I was under his command, which might have given him and his friends too good a handell for keeping up the differences, which I wisht heartilie were let fall; so I obey'd. He desired me to dine with him. I askt to be excused, and said, I was engaged. He took me into his oun room, and told me, as if in confidence, That he could not understand my Lord Huntlie, who was so fretfull there was no doeing with him; and continued, Tho' God knows, I have treated him with all the respect and civilitie in the world, he is not commonlie civil to me; for these tuo days past he has made me such furly returns to tuo letters I wrote to him, that I cannot understand his meaning, nor can I persuade him to come to see me; and said, I find he is going North without giving me any adverticement. I said, As to the first, it was not my buffienefs to enter into it, but could not conceive how his Lordship could be ignorant of the last, for I believed the whole armie had known it, and I had heard Huntlie say, he had told his Lordship of it, and the necessitie there was for his doeing it, since Southerland was advanceing fouthward.¹ Mar made me a complement, without takeing notice of what I told him, and said,

¹ In which case Huntley's country were sure to be sufferers.

He believed I had a good dale more to say with Huntlie than anie bodie, and did not doubt, if I would take the trouble of goeing to Huntlie at Scoon, I could persuade him to stay eight days longer, tho' Glengarie and Generall Gordon could not prevaile with him. I told my Lord, His Lordship did me no small honour to believe I had ane influence on Huntlie, but that I would not deceive him; and said, I did not believe I had anie, and that I had heard the Marquife of Huntlie [say] positive, he'd goe North in tuo days; but there was nothing so easie as to try what was to be done. So, leaveing Mar, I went to my Lord Huntlie, after dinner, who I found mightilie out of humor with all the indignities done him; I told him plainlie what Mar had said to me; and his Lordship was pleased to read to me both Mar's letters, and his anfuers, which, I thought, afforded Mar no occasion to complain of him. I assured him I did not enter into Mar's reasons for his staying, but that I thought both the publick good and his own required it, since there seem'd some faint hopes left us of the Duke of Argyle's getting full pouer from Court; and till we saw what answere he was like to get, which, I hoped, might come soon, the onlie thing we could doe was to keep a countenance, and keep together; for the ennemie, on fo considerable a man as he leaving Pearth, to goe north, would construct it either a ruptur amongst us, or necessitie to put a stop to Southerland's progress; either of these might be pernicious, and begged of him, till ane absolute necessitie preffed him, to delay it, and send orders to get his men readie, in case of a suddain call from that corner, for, as I have already said, all the foot that had followed him had gone home. I put him in mind that if he went he left the whole, and himself, at Mar's disposal, who designed no terms. His Lordship, having ane opinion of my probitie, or having designed to doe it of himself, consented to stay eight days longer than the time he had set, provided Mar would order the payment of eight days' arrears to some of his poor gentlemen, and give them as much pay as carrie them home, when he marched. I returned, and made my report to Mar, and told him Huntlie was surpris'd that he did not remember that he had advertic'd him often of the necessitie of his goeing north, since the Earle of Southerland was grown to such a head, after takeing of Inverness; that he fear'd the difarming of his vassalls, and garnifoneing his houses, and after

that, he had nothing to hinder him from paying us a visite at Pearth. But that argument, tho' often made use of, was never to be admitted. I laid hold of that opportunitie to tell him, That when Huntlie went North I was resolv'd to goe with him.

It's scarcelie to be believed that Mar, while he was making his outward applications to my Lord Huntlie to stay, wanted he should be gone, and did all he could, for the ten days he stay'd, to exasperate him, by rancouring all the old fores, to increase the gangrene. His affociats again attackt Huntlie's follouers to leave him, and did not stand to say, That no honest man ought to have the least regarde to such a man as he, and would allow none of these gentlemen who they durst attempt, to bear his cockard, which was the liverie, as they said, of a very ill man; and this tho' they knew they could gaine no ground, and all would be told him. The others, who they still called mutineers, were not more favoured than he, except that Mar used to send for them, one by one, and wonder that so worthie a man, as he who he spoke to, should been misled by some others who had treacherous designs, or were acted by fear; and, when he thought convenient, named some, and desired them to believe that the cause was not desperate; he had got good news, but that it was not proper to tell them so soon, for he had done himself harm by being too communicative; and missed the entertaining very few of them in this manner, and speakeing ill of the one to the other, while some of his emissaries were employed to act the same part which he did, and confirm people, and tell everie man in private, who they spoke to, that Mar had a great value for them; and used to exprefs himself in their favours; tho' the greatest part of his accomplices breathed nothing but revenge against those who had betrayed their King and Countrey. This procedure, when we had not given the least umbrage, and had not any meetings, except when tuo or three of us met by accident, which we shunned as much as possible, not to have it constructed caballing, put us upon our garde, not doubteing he'd excuse some, provided the one-half would give up the other, and agree to make them the sacrifice to his malice and safetie; for so long as there was the least fear of our getting terms, he was not secure, for those might be impudent enough to make head to him again,

if favourable offers came to us, and then he'd be no more matter of a number of his own, who the incertaintie of getting terms, had kept silent; so the alternative was clear, either to remove all of us from Pearth, or concur in making ane exemple of some of ourselves, as a further proof of our staunchness to him, and fix his followers to their own and Countrie's ruine, which was a crime to say was not their dutie. His being so bold with his Countrie, left us no room to doubt that he'd make the least scrupule of murdering some of us. The facilitie he had of forging letters, and the numbers of hungrie knights of the post about him, would soon give a legall pretext, provided he could once divide us; (*"De beneficiis oblitus, non ferocissima tantum, sed ignavissima quoque animalia timeri, ob virus malum."*) (Senec.) And on these considerations, resolv'd to give no credite to any thing that should be said of any of our number; so that those of honour, who had adventured to oppose him with those difficulties betwixt the ennemie and him, were involved in such labarinths, that they had a great dale to doe to support themselves, and stand the shock of all these calumnies he rais'd against him; and, by that means, allow'd neither them nor his own adherers to see any way but over the precipice. He knew, at same time, to make his complaints to all their relations, friends, and others, who they had the least dependance on, if any had such, who were not engaged; represented them in so black colours to those at a distance, tho' neutrall, could not but have abhorrence of treason or treacherie to anie partie. And not having heard one word of truth from the beginning, and no opportunitie to see it, no wonder if they were impos'd upon by a popular error and generall depravation, and believed him a new man, and changed from darkness to light; and being capable to judge onlie from what was told them, if they did not blame their friends, they did not pretend to defend them; and his Lordship of Mar never failed to make a speech for them, (many instances of which I can give,) and if a younge sister, and not supposed to be capable of a heroick speech, but of a just reflection on the action of a brother, he kept the vray semblance, and made her dye of chagrine. He enter'd in to so low and mean practices that everie man, tho' willing, was not capable to withstand him when he dissolv'd the strongest ties in nature, and made the tendereft part of the creation pronounce the cruellest

sentences againſt their neareſt friends, to juſtifie him beforehand, in caſe he found it requiſite to murder their perſons as well as he had done their reputations, and robb them of the ſupport that the greateſt of malefactors have, when never men to their pouer deſerved better of their friends and Countrie: He allowed no more of a medium, and ſheu'd us, by what he had done, what he was capable of, and that there was ane urgent neceſſitie to compound with him and buy his favour, or redeem ourſelves from his virulent malice by betraying our honour and our Countrie by makeing ſo many tributarie lyes. He went yet further; it was ſufficient to have a reputation to be the butt of his and his abetterors' mercenarie tongues. Ther's nothing ſo eaſie as to doe evill; and to doe well, where ther's no danger, is not uncommon, but to doe well where there is danger is the proper work of men of honour.

I thought I had recover'd a little of his Lordſhip's favour, or at leaſt deſerved ſome ſhort ſuſpenſion of his calumniouſ profecutions, after effectuating a comiſſion, which he ſaid, Nobodie could doe but myſelf; and ſince I was to goe North, to be out of that hell, feu or none but myſelf, being ſo teafed, would; but I was treated worſt of all, while he was making his complaints to my friends. Upon my ſaying, I'd goe North, and in appearance extreamlie preſſing to ſtop me, he order'd me to be turned out of my quarters, which I had in Pearth from the beginning, and gave them to Glengarie, who had ſatiſfied himſelf with a tavern till then. I can't tell what other end he could have in it, except he thought I was madd enough to engage a whole Highland Clan, or rather all the Highlandmen in Pearth, and give Glengarie the ſatiſfaction of ſending to tell me he'd ſend tuentie Highlandmen to turn me out. I ſaid, I had friends enough to reſiſt thoſe, and a greater number, who were not affraid of Highlandmen, but none to riſque in that quarrell. I flattered myſelf that it would be the hardeſt command that ever was put upon any of Mar's Lords to [have] attempted it, and that they'd executed it but badlie if they had. Whether Mar deſigned it as a ſnare, or to oblige me to owe the obligation to him of continueing ſome days longer, I can't tell; but I evited the firſt, and as I never had ane obligation of him, would not owe him one then, and

ſheu'd him I could ſtay in Pearth, ſo longe as I pleaſed, in ſpite of him, and denounce him publickly, in everie ſtreet, a villain, who, I knew, was afraid of terms, and that he and his accomplices had no other deſigne but to betray and deſert their Countrey; when all they durſt doe was to flander me in corners.

I dare ſay ſome ſtill remember, that I often wiſht the Countrey could be redeem'd, with the loſs of any fix heads, and if any of theſe miſerable Lords were afraid of himſelf, I'd oblige myſelf to goe, with a rope about my neck, to Stirling, in his place; and that I thought no man's private ſafetie ought to obſtruſt the publick good; on the contrarie, I took it to be the dutie of every honeſt man to embrace the occaſion of devoting himſelf for his Countrey. I was ſo far from knocking under, or taking any guilt upon me, for what I had done, that I openlie, and in everie companie, avoued and maintained it; and that, happen what would, nothing could excuſe thoſe who had oppoſed aſking terms, who could have no earthly thing in view but the ruine of their Countrey, and by that, and everie other ſtep they had takne, could mean no other but curing its diſeaſes and theirs by a generall overthrow and deſtruſtion. If I had done what was unbecomeing ane honeſt man, it was ſtrange that I was allow'd to maintain it ſo publickly. I ſaid, Traytors did not uſe to ſpeake ſo high as I did, and that all engaged were witneſs to my treaſon; and I had loſt no opportunitie to tell the whole both of it and the reaſons. Or, if that was not ſtronge enough evidence againſt me, I deſired to be called to a court-martiall, where I was readie to own and defend all; or, if not content, for reaſons of State, to doe ſo, I'd put it to another tryell, which was, to ſend him who they thought the beſt man of the number of the favourites to accuſe me to my face. Freedom is at all times the diſtinguiſhing mark of honeſtie, as hypocriſie is of falſehood; and no honeſt man who has firmitie but can claime hypocriſie as ane homage to be payd him from the moſt elevated knave, which, to me, after the inward ſatiſfaction of doing well, is the onlie pleaſure amongſt thousands of pains that a man of honour has. They flander'd me privatly; I accuſed them in publick. I owned their charge; they denied mine. The event ſheu'd which of us formed the juſteſt accusation. The

load of their calumnies had not the least influence on me, or did I keep up the least thing from my countrymen which was their interest to know, and rather choose to displease them at my expense than please them at their own, nor could I ever entertain any other way of thinking that I ought not to hazard as much to undeceive my countrymen as they did to cheat them, and if that was a crime, I confess myself guilty.

About this time, going with my Lord Huntly one morning to see Sir Donald MacDonald, General Gordon was pleased to talk to me in a civil manner, and wish I would not speak so freely; that he had seen a letter, in Mar's hand, from a certain man in London, who he named, giving us great hopes of the King's coming with supplies necessary, and he could procure me the reading of that letter. I told him, If a letter of that kind had come to himself I'd given credit to it, but when he said it was in Mar's hands, it was sufficient reason to me to give none, and to believe it forged; and so long as Mar continued to slander and deceive, I would undeceive. I became at last so much the butt of their malice that I drew the great share of the burthen upon my own shoulders, and few of the other mutineers cared to be seen on the streets with me; they lookt on me to be in so desperate a condition that they imagin'd I was to be cut down. I was adverticed, both by friends and foes, that I was in danger. One evening Mr David Sinclair came from Mar's quarters, and said, He had been thorough all the taverns in town to find me out, and that, as he called for me, he observed some Highlandmen do the same in every tavern he was in, and that they were now in the house with him. He had no sooner told us, for we were severally present, then one of those intruded himself where we were, in a brutish manner; being on our guard, one run out, and saw nine or ten of them in the next room; he propos'd some idle healths; after some shrewd insinuations, and seeing him a little fellow who was sent to pick a quarrell, left him the room. The two friends who were with me, before Sinclair came in, were the Lairds of Orrock and Killrie, [who] told me the necessity I had to take care of myself. I assured them I was as well provided as I could be, and that I was in no want of the same utensils Highlandmen

wears, tho' they were not so visible,¹ and was determin'd to bear what was allotted me. I believed Mar knew his own circumstances too well, and the friends I had, to think he could gain by my murder, which must certainly do him more harm than good, except he could bring it about by my indiscretion, and then throw the blame on myself. They pressed me to allow them to see me home, being late, and believing I'd be intercepted; which I absolutely refused, telling them, If I was to be attacked by Highlandmen, twenty would not be enough to escort me, and must have their throats cut, for the whole Highlandmen in town would be upon us, and I'd rather they'd live to bear me testimony afterwards of my zeal to my Country than fall in my quarrel; and forced them to leave me, saying, I'd do my best, and was resolved with the worst. These gentlemen were so persuaded of the hazard I run, that they followed me at a distance, and told me of it next morning, and I am sure remember it, and are not thought visionairs. Sir Donald MacDonald, who has as much honour as any man, and more religion than all the Highlandmen put together, bid Sir Alexander Bannerman tell me, that I needed to take care of myself, for there were designs against me.

It was agitated in Mar's Cabinet-Council, amongst those bankrupt Lords, (who were very angry I took the freedom everie where to give them that name,) whether I should be sent to Dunnotter Castle, or some of the Western Isles; but seeing the gentlemen of the Countie of Fife so much my friends, that neither threats nor calumnies could ever disunite us, Mar did not know what might be the end of so desperate a course, and was now as much afraid as ever of the tide's turning upon himself; for everie day served to enlighten us more, and he had now but little monie, and the Lords, and Highlandmen, and aide-de-camps would either turn upon himself, and, like Acteon, he'd be eaten up by his own dogs, or deserted by them for hunger, and forsworn he might fall in bad hands, for the King was not like to come to carry him off. Mar had another consideration, which was the fear of disoblidgeing the Marquise of Huntly, who he knew to be my friend; and aکت Mr Abercrombie of

¹ Pistols, doubtless, which make part of the Highland garb, and are worn at the belt.

Bruntfein, one of the Marquise's favourites and trustees, who told me that he was askt a strange question about me, and insinuated plainly that it was, Whither or not he thought my Lord Huntlie would take it ill if I was made away with? but begged I should not enquire further into that affair; for, as long as he lived, he'd tell no man more of it. One may easily believe this made me look about me; tho', since there was no end of their backbiteing, I continued to speak the same truths, being more than half persuaded they durst doe nothing by publick authoritye, however willing. I wisht any of the Lords or favourites would [have] taken upon them to chastise me; but must confes I did not like the Highlandmen, who are dangerous enemies where they are the greatest number; and did expect to be assaulted by them, whose unrulie humors nobody pretended to answer for, and the cause of the quarrell laid at my own door.

Mr Francois Steuart, some days after making his report, had returned to Fife. He told me, before he went, of his uneasiness, and how impossible it was for us to escape our ruin; that for his part, he'd goe home and put his affairs in the best order he could, and that he did not like these threats of pistolling; nor could he understand the meaning of an Association where Mar, tho' equally bound, without the least regard to decency, had defaulted so impudently both his honour and conscience; and more impudently, continued to make his abettors slander and threaten those who would not devote themselves, families, and Country, to his pleasure. To that he added, He had been very ill used, and tho' Mar had made him Tresaurer-General, and tho' he was bound for all the monie, yet his Lordship had given private orders to his substitute or depute to give all the poor Lords, and a great many others who pretended to be great men, considerable sommes, with a caution not to let him know of it. He went home, (and never joyning the armie after, it was said he made his peace,) I firmly believe being wearied of the many millions of lyes, as every honest man was, and seeing they were to end in nothing but our destruction, of which no man had a deeper sense. I went down to the country some time after, to take my long farewell of some of my friends, who I had never seen from my first going out, tho' within half a day's journey of them. I found my good fame had got there before me:

“*Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri.*” (Virgil.)

I did what I could to undeceive them, and, as a further proof of the truths I told them, my spirit of prophesie moved me to assure them that so soon as the thaw came¹ we were to retire from Pearth, and my Lord Mar was to take a ship; and desired them to form their judgement of me from that event.

Before I went to the countrie I sent one of my servants to Mar's secretarie, to bid him tell my Lord I was going to Fife, and if he'd order me a pass, it was well; if otherwise, I'd find the way without it. His last messenger to France, Mr Forbes, had returned to him that morning, and he desired I'd come to his Lordship; which I did, and was received with a most gracious air, and found Forbes there, who promised fine things about the King's coming, and that there would neither be want of armes, or any other thing, very soon. And Mar added, That officers were coming to us from different places of the world, and told me a longe storie of the King's being to be murther'd in France. All I answer'd was, That it was a stronge signe the Regent had not been so much our friend as had been given out. Mar bid me tell all I met, They'd see their Master soon, which I did not give the least attention to; for, to repeat nothing of Mar, Charles Forbes was known never to have said one true word in his life, or, if he had, Mar would not have sent him that errand; so these news were carried no further by me.² On my return Huntlie was to leave Pearth, the time he had set being nere elapsed, and being everie day more and more urged to goe North, by letters from thence, to put a stop to Southerland's progress, who had been at Elgine, within six miles of his house, with fifteen hundred men, and was to be supposed would not be

¹ The long-continued frost prevented Argyle's advance, or, more probably, he saw the snowball of insurrection was about to dissolve of itself. Meantime he gradually straightened their quarters, and accelerated the necessary separation of their forces.

² He spoke truth on this occasion however, for James actually arrived. It seems to have been the final hopes which Mar had founded on the Chevalier's arrival giving a new impulse to his undertaking which made him throw so many difficulties in the way of a treaty.

longe of guarnifoneing his houfes, and difarming his tennants and vaffalls, who could not be got together without his own prefence; which, if he did not give a check to in time, there was nothing to hinder Southerland to cut off our communication from all the fea-coaft touns, and attack ourfelves at Pearth with ane armie four or five times greater than ours; for his numbers muft have fuelled on the road, where there were enough difaffected to us in that longe traët, who might readilie joyn the gaineing fide; for all who would fee, faw what the end muft be, and even thofe who would not allow themfelves to fee, faw it in fpite of themfelves. Tho' it's inconceaveable how far men's difguifeing their fentiments from one another tends to cheat themfelves as well as others, and perfuade themfelves of fucces contrarie to all probability, yea, all poffibility. I don't comprehend how any that did not feell it and fee it can form the leaft idea of it, for I myfelf could not, if I had not done both; nor would all the teftimonies on earth convinced me of it; fo much ought men to be on their guard, and fo little doe they know themfelves, and what they can be lead into; and fince the Creation I can't imagine fo fignall ane exemple of it can be given; for I doubt, if terms had been offer'd at this time, that we could be brought to accept. "Iis per fimiles qui in magnis doloribus mente laborantes, vim morbi non fentiunt." (Hippocrat. Aphoris.) "Ut[que] in corporibus, fic in imperio graviffimus eft morbus, qui a capite diffunditur." (Plin. Epift.) And yet we knew the Dutch troopes were in Scotland, and fome of them advanced betuixt Edinburgh and Stirling.

Huntlie went North a day or tuo after his appointed time, and I ftayed fome days after him, to talk with thofe gentlemen who had put themfelves in my hands, and with the command of whome I had been honour'd. I put them in mind of what I had faid to them before their going out; and challenged them to fay that, in all the courfe of that affair, anie thing had happened which I had not fortold them. They now faw to what ftate they were reduced, and the confequence of their incredulitie to what I told them; and their credulitie and complayfance to bad men, when their zeale render'd them fo infenfible as to give no ear to the truth, authorifed me but too much to reproach them. It was evident, from the ufake of thofe who of late endeavoured to wake them out of that infenfibilitie, even when the

danger was fullie in view, that those traytors, who had cheated them so grosslie from the beginning, had now laid a new plan, which was to end in the extinction of all concerned; and were paving the way in time, to make them look on those as the authors of their misfortune who were the faithfullest of their fellow-subjects, and prepare them for a further cheat in time and need. To turn them loose in pursuite of the innocent, who they were to throw in their way, in place of the guiltie, when despair, rage, and furie would seize them and blind them, more than their zeale had done in the beginning; while they themselves, with that address, were to escape their just resentment; and that was the reason, if they did not know it, of the griveous complaints against the mutineers. Was it not then liklie to happen, that when these heroes have takne the start, which they'd take care to doe earlie, and be at a distance before their chagrine and rage could rise, that they'd turn all their resentment against the good councitmen who have exposed themselves to repair their misfortune, the effects of their own bad management and lyes. For we saw everie day the greatest part, without putting themselves to the trouble of distinguishing the reall authors of their ruine, desire no more but to satiffie their rage, and discharge it on the first they meet with. While, then, those things were fresh in their memories, I begg'd them to reflect and remember who those good men were to whom they knew we and our Countrey owed the great obligations of being forced to abandon it, which must happen very soon, or give themselves up to be hanged; and who those who had dealt with them with candour and probitie, which was now become the greatest of crimes. They had been witnesses to my doing my dutie honourable, and in what manner I had been treated; and that neither the threats nor the virulence of the calumnies of my aggressours had ever silenced me either to betray my Countrey or my own innocence, who I never failed to answer in plainer and higher stile than they durst accuse me. Now my Lord Huntley was gone North, it was in vain to struggle; and, as I had told them, I designed to follow him, having given so much umbrage that I could be of no further use to the cause, which now was not onlie desperate, but sunk; or to my friends, but rather bring them into inconveniences. The dye was alreadie thrown and destruction turned up, which, tho' there were a possibilitie of eviteing, their rulers

would not [have] allowed them; which was sufficientlie discover'd by the usage of those who endeavoured to open their eyes, and by everie step that was taken, by their fomenting and raising differences to such heights, upon the least dissenting from them, after being fed with lyes for four months by-gone, and when all credite was exhausted, if ever it could be; as if, when they could not put a bar in its way, they designed shewing the ennemie our weaknes, by widening our divisions; the most infallible method they could fallne upon to bring about their wicked designe. It had been objected to me, That I had nothing to loose.¹ I said, I was the first who told that myself; and I pretended by that to shew my accusers that I had love to my Countrie and honour, which was more then they had, by which I could stand the brunt of all their malice, and, when they pleased, run the risk of my life to serve my Countrie and friends, when it might be as easie for me to act the bravo at others expence, as they did; for I had been abroad ever since I was capable of any thing, and had learned the languages, and a trade which had inured me to hardships, and served amongst strangers, where I had reason to hope I could still get my bread, being younge enough, and perhaps have some other supplies, which many engaged had not reason to expect. I recommended, warmlie, to them, the care of themselves. I represented to them, That since I was to leave them they'd find very few who either would or durst tell them the truth, after the persecution and tryells I and others had suffer'd for it; that all that was now left them was to think of themselves and families in time; that they could not possible doe any service to their Countrie by their own projected ruine; on the contrary, it was rather their Countrie's interest that they should be saved; and I could see no manner of tyes they could have to them who had resolved both their and their Countrie's destruction. They had but to think whither they ought to have greater consideration of their children, wives, estates, and themselves, than of those, for that was the present state of the case; nor would their continueing with them save them. I could not see what they had left them to doe but make their application to get their own terms where they best could, and in a way not to doe harm to others; which I did not doubt everie honest man would take care of. That bankrupts,

¹ His father, Lord Sinclair, being alive, and in possession of the family estate.

knaves, and fools, who supported Mar, and were supported by him, might say what they pleased; but so soon as the frost was gone, their ruine was certain; that I'd lay all that was dear to me upon it—my honour, which I had given sufficient testimonie I valued more than my life. I thought it ane indispenfable dutie upon me to tell them what I knew, since they had been pleased to trust me; and a necessitie upon me to clear my own reputation, since Mar and his abettors had been at such pains to blacken me, that they might judge by what they'd soon see, whither I had not reason to doe what I had done. And now, since we were to seperate, and I could not bear to stay and be present at the miserable catastrophe of my poor desolate Countrie, I begged they'd doe me the justice to remember, that whatever happened to them it was not the effect of my lyes or ambition that had brought them out, which might be very well objected to others who pretended to be leading men; and that there was none of those who I commanded who could say but his own zeale had done it. As I did not care to bear the blame for any bodie, I would not rob them of the glorie; for all I askt was to have it said, as I told them when I came out, I came to sacrifice myself with them, and run all risks in the service of my Countrie; but all hopes being extinguisht, I had no further to doe but retire, and leave the finishing of that great work to those enterprisers who begun it. I neither had estate nor children: I did not see why I should give myself up to the Gouvernement to be hanged, which my rank and character might readily procure me. Their case was different, they were bound to run all hazards to save their estates, to keep their children and wives from begging; and repair, at their own expence, the follie they had committed: that it was the same to their families whither they were hanged or gone over sea; but not the same to them, for they'd live to hear nothing but complaints and miserie, when they themselves would have too much to doe to bear the load of their own misfortunes; whereas, if they stayed in the countrie, and submitted in time, none of them being very distinguisht, they had reason to hope for the best usage, and they'd not all suffer; and if, in that number, some lost their lives, and the others escaped, so many poor women and guiltless children would be redeemed from miserie; the Countrie would still gain. That it was very

difficult to advise in such cases; but if I were in their circumstances, I'd doe so. That in extremitie, where a hard necessitie imposes the law, desperate remedies are used, sometimes with success; and intreated them to believe it was their case.

“*Talibus atque aliis in que dolor ipse disertum fecerat.*” (Virg.)

Having render'd them this last dutie, as I could convenientlie meet with them, severalls of them went home before I left Pearth, others spoke of going North with me, which, I said, was to no purpose, except they thought to leave the countrie. Some pressed me to stay. I told them, If they were convinced there was no disease they needed apply no remedie; for my part I would not be accessarie to what was designed. All I can say is, that we seperated with regret, and, I was told, most of these gentlemen went home, and a very few have suffered by the loss of their estates, and none at all by the loss of their lives. Whither this has happned them intirelie by the particular lenitie of the Gouvernement to them, and the generositie of ane ennemie in the same countie¹ with them, which can never be enough commended, or in some measure is owing to my poor tho' zealous advice, which put them in the way to receive that favour, never having heard from them I can't determine; but I flatter myself that I contributed the great pleasure and onlie resource in my misfortune, and I doubt not that having profited by it, they are no less thankfull then when I gave them that harsh, tho' well meant, counsell; if otherwise, I am satisfied with having had a good intention.

Some time before, Mar had disoblidged a good many of those gentlemen by sending for John Carstairs, and, in a jearing way, asking, before the whole company while at dinner, What, John, are all the Fife folks gone home? and are they at all to come back? It being their tour to mount the horse guard that day, they had not mounted the full number, tho' they had mounted twice as stronge as the Pearth and Angus squadrons, who had [been] given to that guard the two days before; and never any from the beginning used to mount the full number but themselves, for on those occasions I seldom failed of being Agitant and Corporall,

¹ The Earl of Rothes is probably here intimated.

and took care not to commit the same crime I found daylie fault with in others; and that Squadron had been remarkable for doeing their dutie with more exactnes than anie, and I and they knew there were more of us then, in and about Perth, than of both those Squadrons mentioned. But their refusing the Association, and to give implicite faith, was ground enough to Mar to put some mark of his displeasure on them, right or wrong; after having tried all expedients, he could not master his temper so much as not to make petulant reproaches.

Mar still persisted for my staying, or at least seem'd to doe so. I believe he suspected my carrying off most of the Five gentlemen with me; which I never thought of, nor had they monie at that time to subsist in the North, having lived at their own charges ever since their coming out, and could not leave the neighbourhood of their own countie.

Doctör Abercrombie came to me in John Carstairs' chamber, being onlie a day at Perth after his return from France, and, as I supposed, sent to me from Mar to make me a soothing compliment, to try if that would soften me, being so uneasy that he did not know whether to blow hot or cold. The Doctör told me, before the companie, He came to tell me he had been to waite of the Queen at St Germans, and that he brought me the Queen's thanks for my takeing the arms and powder out of the ship at Bruntisland; that she had been informed of it much to my advantage, and tho' she never doubted of my familie's fidelitie to the Royall Familie, yet she was pleased that the onlie successfull thing that had been done had fallen in my hands, and that whenever it should be in her or her son's pouer to shew me favour, or my familie, I might depend upon it. The Doctör told me likewise, That he was glade to hear, at Aberdeen and in the North, that it was I who saved the armie at Dumblain,¹ and that everie bodie did me justice on that head, and own'd, that it was by my conduct those Squadrons were kept together. I said, I was happie to have done anything to deserve her Majestie's takeing notice of, or might make me known to her. I believed she had reason to think well of my familie, since no familie in the Nation could give greater proofs of their firmitie to the interest of the Royall Familie. I askt the Doctör, What

¹ It would be difficult to make out that point.

had become of the King? He said, That he did not doubt we should see him very soon, and that the Queen had fastned him away to be in Scotland before him. But this passed for words of course, and added nothing to my hopes; we were so furnished with lyes, that there was no more belief left. Tho' the Doctor had always had the character of a candid, honest man, yet there was no hindring one to think that he was poyson'd by Mar. He was askt, If he had brought any thing with him? He said, He had brought gold, but he could not say the soume was great; which, indeed, was very modest. Whither it was the effect of the Doctor's naturall veracitie, or of Mar's finding that his hyperbolicall way of speaking begun not to take, I shall not positiveliè determine; but I am apt to believe it was the last; since he, as well as others, must [have] said what he bid him. Then it was askt, Why not powder and arms? He said, It was not possible to bring any from that place he came from, there was so strickt ane eye kept over them. We were told that he had brought four thousand pistolls, the same soume Generall Ecline and Forbes had brought in their ship, which arrived some days before at Montros.

The night before I left the armie I went to Mar, and told him of my going North nixt morning; that I had given so much umbrage, I thought I was of no further use there. He said, I'd see the King before he saw him; and I left him, without making the least ansuer. When I came out from him, Generall Gordon said, My Lord Huntlie would have ane easie purchase of Southerland, for those with him were sheepherds. I said, I did not know what they were; I thought they had been Highlandmen. All I met will bear me witness that I told them their fate, and particularlie to Struan, the last man I saw. I waited of my Lord Balcarres, who was quarter'd betuixt Pearth and Dundee, who told me Mar had sent to ask a strange question, What his son James was doing in Fife? For he had heard he was gone with a designe to employ some bodie to make his peace. Balcarres ansuer'd that demand with more ingenuitie than old courtiers used to doe, and owned that he sent his Son with instructions to his Mother to goe to Edinborough, and make use of all her friends' interest, that, in case of ane indemnitie, he might not be excepted. All who were most remarkable or distinguisht of those called Mutineers

had now left Perth. I found Sir James Kinloch at Dundee, who being sensible of the irretrievableness of our affairs, and to be out of clamour, had retired there. I went from thence to Aberdeen, after seeing some friends on the road, where the Magistrates and Univerfite did me all the honour I could expect, and having stay'd there some days, I found they had got a bad account of the Mutineers, and because I was sufficientlie known to be one of that number, I thought myself obliged to tell true matter of fact, and undeceive them; which I found was laid afterwards, for want of other pretexts, as a heavey crime to my charge; as if his Lordship of Mar might assume a priviledge of taking away a man's reputation, with that perfidious designe of invalidateing his testimonie, to ruine more innocent people, without its being allowed him to justifie himself, or advertice his nighbour that his house is undermined and falling, that he may escape the being crusht under the ruines. I value myself on it that I set the day, and forswore it, and I have the consolation that I durst fortell it. For nothing could avert our ruine except God Almighty had wrought a miracle, which He does not seem to take pleasure in these many ages. "*Sed homines inertissimi, quorum omnis vis virtusque in lingua fixa est, forte, atque alterius secordia dominationem oblatam insolentes agitant. Nam, quæ seditio ac dissensio civilis tot unquam illustres familias ab stirpe evertit? aut quorum unquam victoria animus tam præceps tamque immoderatus fuit?*" (Salust.) If I han't been found right in my conjectures, and have raison'd like a man who was struck with a panick fear, or whose head was turned, I consent that I may never more be believ'd, and lookt upon as a visionarie or ane extravagant fellow.

It was told me at Aberdeen that Seaforth was carrying all before him in Southerland's countrie, and more then ordinarie care was takne, by those posted there for the like services, to make the world believe that Seaforth was still ane Alexander; and everie day packets sent up to Perth, and things represented there and every where so easie, that it was said, except Huntlie would ruine that affair wilfullie, the Earle of Southerland must render himself prisoner, with all his people. But the verie day I came to Castle Gordon, which was on Christmas Day, I found what was wanting. I told my Lord Huntlie, That the reason of my coming to him was to have

a quiet refuge, after being wearied to death with fighting that monster with many heads, many hands, many feet, and, which was worst of all, many tongues, which St George's dragon was a jeaft to; nor could his conflict be fo well proven as mine. I had ftuggled with as much zeale in Pearth, for my Countrie, as St Paule could doe for his religion with thofe beafts at Ephesus; and fince I found I had gain'd fo little ground, I was glade to wafh my hands of them, and retire where I could live in peace. I begg'd of him never to rely on any thing I faid in that caufe, for I faw there was no ferveing it longer, and intreated him to follow his own way. I told him a ftorie that I have oftne heard from my father, of his predeceffour the Earle of Huntlie, and of the Earle of Caithnefs, refugeing to mine, after killing the Earle of Murray, and burning his houfe at Dunnibirfell, which, tho' not altogether fo juftifiable as my cafe, was found to be done by James the Sixt's order;¹ and that my anceftour, who was well known in the countrie by the name of Batee,² which the King had been pleafed to give him, becaufe he told his Majeftie all his faults, and was a man of the greateft franknefs and honour, made his anceftour and the Earle of Caithnefs the naive Scots compliment, that they were very welcome to come to him, but they had been much welcomer if they had gone by,³ and eforted them up to the Highlands, and put them fafe in the hands of their oun people. If that was my prefent cafe, I faid, I'd deliver him foon of the trouble, for I'd goe to the countie of Caithnefs, where I knew I'd be well received; but I was not fond of doing it, becaufe it would be badlie conftituted afterwards by thofe who I fau nothing could fatiffie but the ruine of all, and perhaps get no great thanks from thofe I endeavoured to fave. But what I wanted moft was a fhip to get out of the countrie to

¹ This calamitous event is well known from history and from song. The Royal warrant went only the length of arresting "the bonnie Earl of Murray." Although, either from his resistance or Huntly's feudal hatred, he was slain.

² The common name of a village cur, as if Lord Sinclair had possessed its qualities of barking and snarling on all occasions.

³ Lord Sinclair's strong castle of Ravenseraig lies on the shore of the Firth of Forth, within a few miles of Dunnybrissell, where Murray was murdered, fo was the readiest and safest place of refuge for the actors in that affair.

any foraigne porte, for I forfaw that my being alonge with him would make me lyable to their calumnies, ſince things were not like to ſucceed, and they glade of ane opportunitie to lay no ſmall ſhare of it on my back, which would not lighten him much of the burthen. His Lordſhip received me with all the civilitie imagineable, and ſaid, I was nowhere more welcome than to his houſe, and if any thing was to be done at Inverneſs, he believed I could be nowhere more uſefull. I pray'd him not to think of me in that affair, for my fire was exhausted with wreſtling ſo longe, and beg'd of him to doe as he thought fit without me, for I had got enough of it.

I had not been long there, when Huntlie aſkt me, If I knew what had happned to Sir Robert Gordon?¹ I told him, I had heard a fooliſh ſtorie, a day or tuo before I left Pearth, of Mar's giving out that he had intercepted a letter of Sir Robert's, going to the ennemie; but I imagin'd it of a piece with all the reſt of Mar's lyes againſt the Mutineers, Sir Robert having been all alonge one of them, and none of the leaſt forward in telling bold truths. I put his Lordſhip in mind that from the beginning we had reſolved to garde againſt forgeries, and not to believe raſhlie of one another, ſince letters of that kind would readilie be produced to make ſacrifices of ſome, to give Mar more authorite, and juſtifie everie thing he had done againſt the whole, and ſplite us by throwing jealousies amongſt us. He ſaid, All that was true; but Mar was ſo poſitive, and had ſent him a copie of the letter. I anſuer'd, That was no great argument; for it was by that very poſitive impudent way of his he had impoſed upon the whole ſo longe. But that I was not to juſtifie Sir Robert: if he had done any thing

¹ Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonſtown, unqueſtionably the moſt important perſon of that family, after the Duke of Gordon and Marquis of Huntly. The ſtory of the letter after mentioned is alluded to in a ſong againſt the Gordons—

“ The ſecond Chieftain of the Clan,
 For fear that he ſhould die, man,
 To ſave the honour of the name,
 Raised firſt the mutinee, man;
 And wrote a letter to his Grace,
 The great Duke of Argyle, man;
 And pray'd he'd grant to him his peace,
 And Tories he'd beguile, man.”

let him answer for himself; only, that I had reason to suspect every thing which came from Mar's hand. Huntlie went and brought me that copie of Sir Robert's letter to Argyle, inclosed in a letter of Mar's to Huntlie, desiring him to secure Sir Robert, and telling him he must not ask how he came by the inclosed letter. What surpris'd me most in Sir Robert's letter was a foolish overlie intelligence which it pretended to give the Duke of Argyle, while he's asking terms of him, which, if true, discover'd a bad inclination of making his peace at others expense; for it would been no great surpris, at that time of day, to see a man of one of the very best estates engaged, who saw very well all was ruin'd, doe for himself, after givinge so fair adverticement to his fellow subjects, who requitted him so badlie. But as to the letter and the intelligence, which was, The Highlandmen's deserting daylie, and of monies being come from France, how great the fume he did not know, was purelie tryfleing; and I have often thought, that if that younge gentleman had designed to given intelligence, he could have given it as full as my Lord Mar, for he has a great dale of spirit, and was one of the clearest-fighted amongst us, and knew all that was to be known; nor could I imagine him capable of such a mean thing. Huntlie said, He'd fend for him and question him, and if he was guiltie, he thought he'd not come, and would stand to his defence in his own house, which was stronge; and reallie no man more readie to doe a thing of that kind, if he had suspected. Sir Robert came at first call, and seem'd not a little startled, but put his Lordship in mind we had foreseen that such tricks might been play'd to make us give up one another, and hoped he would not believe it. The letter was ended by telling his Grace of Argyle, That there was one who had formerlie served Queen Ann, who wanted terms likewise. This Mar constructed James Murray, a cousin of Sir Robert's, who had been a Liutennant in the English service, and the letter was supposed to be written in Murray's house, within three miles of Perth, where Sir Robert had been before his going North; and, as I have already observed, it was dangerous to converse with those Mutineers; and because Murray gave his cousin countenance, he must be brought in. Sir Robert desired the favour of my Lord Huntlie to write to Mar for the originall, which he pretended he had, which Huntlie did more then once, but never

was anſuer'd. It ſeems Murray, who they were perfecuteing at Pearth, was no leſs anxious to have the originall, and preſſed Mar ſo very hard to fee it that he was forced to ſay, He had ſent it to Huntley. Upon that he ſent his brother North to Huntlie to ſee the letter, and, till then, Huntlie was never fullie convinced of the trick; for truth can't have tuo ſuch oppoſite faces.

Some time after, Apholke, a broken Laird, who was one of the number of thoſe who Mar ſent about with full pouers to clear all exigencies, and write him letters to be ſheun, and give a wronge turn to everie thing done or ſaid by anie bodie who he knew Mar did not like, and wanted to deſcredite, ſaid, He knew what had become of that letter, and that Mar had ſent it to the Duke of Argyle after intercepting it, that the ennemie might know, as well as we, what man Sir Robert was. This is what I was ane eye and ear witneſs to, but not all the deſigne of the letter; for the whole Mutineers were to be blackned by that letter, and particularlie myſelf, who profeſſed a friendſhip for Sir Robert, being a younge man of nineteen years old, of great fire, courage, and good ſenſe, and with whome I chooſed to take lodgeing in Pearth, when turned out of my quarter, till I found another.

One of thoſe tuo days I was with him, Mar had ſent for him to coxe him, as he thought. He anſuer'd his Lordſhip ſo patlie, that he had ſoon enough of him; fair words were no equivalent for ſo good ane eſtate, to content himſelf, as he ſaid, to throw it away willfullie, without anie reaſon, but meerlie Mar's pleaſure. I doubt if, at the Union, where his Lordſhip did not riſque the half of it in reall value, that he'd been pleaſed with ſuch ane equivalent. I told openlie at Pearth that I'd ſtay ſome time with him when I went North, being nere nighbour to Huntlie, as well before as after I had heard the murmureing about the letter, which I lookt on as one of their ordinarie lyes, which was to goe no further; and I believe now, by the uſe which was made of that letter ſome time after, it was to pave a way for uſeing me no better, and that I was, in ſome meaſure, the occaſion of that younge man's miſfortune; and with his haveing moſt of his relations Whigs, would be the leaſt regrated ſacrifice Mar could make firſt; and, knowing Huntlie and Sir Robert had little differences, Mar

thought the easiest attained to; and, if he could once enter in at that breach, he'd make the Mutineers detest one another; take all advantage of it; and there needed no more to the great part of mankind to exculpate him, and wash off his stains with their blood, under a colour of justice. For, after having exclaimed so much against them as traitors, he could not think that could afford him any excuse for the whole he had done, no further then to his own abettors for the present time; for how could he afterwards [have] laid the load on their shoulders of ruining all, since he who was the incomprehensible great man allowed them to speak to himself and others so publickly, when he knew them guiltie? He could excuse it no other way but by his remissness, fear, or want of power, which are not relevant for a hero; and for that, some one was to be trussed up or cut down, and more if possible, that at least some sort of satisfaction and reasonable ground of the miscarriage might be given both to those at home and abroad; and the victims would bear witness of it, and the crime fixt upon their memories, who were not to speak for themselves; those concerned with them must stand convicted and condemned, run and take guilt upon them, and hide for fear, and there would not now been a testimony against him either abroad or at home. This, in my opinion, was his design, and not to be doubted of in him who had already done so much; while he overlookt the greatest faults in his friend Thomas Bruce, and others, of worse consequence, being worse timed than that charge laid to Sir Robert Gordon, supposing it true. As to me, I never saw that gentleman before I saw him in Perth, and never after but once in Castle Gordon; and have taken here Mar's permission to say what I can prove of it, and what I reasonable conjecture. I forgot to mention that at Aberdeen the Provost had told me that letters were then in their hands from Mar to the King, which, they said, were likewise at other sea-port towns, as he thought to stop him from going further, and that William Areskine, the last designed messenger to France, having been beat back by a storm, was recalled to Perth. What the occasion of these things were I leave to the learned to judge; I suppose the result of a hasty resolution while the struggle lasted, and before we left Perth.

But to return to Huntlie: So soon as he had got home he set about

raifeing his men, and makeing a strickt enquireie after armes and powder. As to armes, he found moft of thofe who had been at Dumblain had left their armes there; as for powder, except fome feu pounds, which doe not deferue a name, and which, with a moft exact fearch, he found in little countrie chops, there was no fuch thing in that place of the world; and fet all hands to work in the nighbouring countrie, and got fome few arms in and about Cullen of Boyn, and being old and ruftie, without locks, had fmiths repaireing them. Haveing done his outmoft dilligence, all he could mufter of arms were feven hundred. In paffing through Aberdeen he had ordered fome pices of iron cannon to be fent him; and thefe were all the warlick ftores he had. This, with his goeing North with his fourfcore horfe, made Southerland, who was alreadie got the length of Elgine of Murray with feventeen hundred men, retire back to Invernefs, his Lordfhip's old poft, thirtie miles northward. What Seaforth was doing when Southerland made that marche I never could learn, but if he had been the man of fire that we were told, it's obvious to [be] expected he'd marched up to Invernefs, for he had been longe enough at home to have got his men together, or ought at leaft to made fome feint towards it. By all I could learn of my Lord Huntlie, he undertook nothing on his goeing North, and don't believe he made any promifes to Mar of attacking Invernefs; he had perfifted till the laft that terms might be accepted of, if offer'd, which he and many others faw Mar thought it his buffenefs to obftruēt. In the mean time, upon the Earle of Southerland's advanceing to difarm his vaffalls, and guarnifone his houfes, there was ane abfolute neceffitie to goe North and put a ftop to his carreer in all events, and even in that of Mar's making his efcape, which he oued to Huntlie; for, as I have alreadie faid, nothing was to hinder the Earle of Southerland from cutting off our communication from all the fea-port touns, which, in Mar's oun way of fpeakeing, muft have cut of [f] all his oun hopes, for he did not then pretend we were to recover all without forraigne fupplies and fuccours, which Huntlie, nor no thinking man, expected. But his goeing North ftill kept things in the beft fituation that was poffible, and if he faw any light into getting of terms, he was refolved to accept, and fet a generall treatie on foot which Mar fhould not frustrate; or if he did,

by the help of so manie who had nothing to loose, the Marquise was to endeavour to comprehend all who would be saved, to hinder the intire destruction of the Countrie if possible; for it appear'd inevitable, and so nigh that it depended on the snows melting. Believe me, it's naturallie very difficult to determine what is to be done in such circumstances, and so straitned with time, when you expect the stroak everie day; but the nature of our polittick made it yet more difficult. This reasoning did not hinder my Lord Huntlie to make all the necessarie preparations he could for attacking Inverness, as soon as weather would allow him, in case the other view he had did not succeed, and, from the beginning, wrote to Mar telling of his want of powder, more then once; which he did not think fit to take the least notice of, but repeated his orders to attack Inverness, which was impracticable at that time because of the snow, even tho' there had been no other hindrance.

Generall Cadogan had been in Stirveling from the twelfth of December; and the six thousand Dutch joyn'd the Duke of Argyle some days after, as other reinforcements had done before, from those who had been at Preston, and that armie was composed of tuentie-two battalions of foot, fourteen squadrons of dragoons, and eight hundred Highland-men.¹ My Lord Mar, who did not find it for his purpose to allow of any thing to open people's eyes, till it came upon them at once like a clap of thunder, which he was expecting everie day, as the true tide to get off and win his head, when all would be overwhelmed with a dreadful consternation, choose to retire the garnisone of Bruntisland on the Dutch troopes comeing to Leith, and without ever being so much as threatened, which lost him that countie soon after, which was so great a support to him; for the ennemie² took possession of that castle on the precipitate retreat of ours, who left it very well provided with meall, beef, butter, cheefe; and the ennemie advanced further into the countrie, and guarison'd the house of Leslie, which crusht all, and cut off his communication at Perth from the coals, which they were in miserie for the want of. There can be no

¹ To which is to be added, a complete train of artillery, sent down from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh.

² Under Robert Montgomery of Skellmorlie.

reason given for these suddain orders, but that he'd not venture the least accidents opening those poor people's eyes; while he was taking care to glut his hungry pack at Perth with the eight thousand pistols [pistoles] which came from France, and gave them new life; which appear'd by his Lords spewing up, all of a suddain, nothing but French pistols, both at the basset tables and in the taverns, and their triumphing on the signal victory gain'd over the Mutineers, being now masters of the field of battle.

I forgot to tell, that before I left Perth Mr Forbes, Drummond's engineer and ambassador, one who I have often had occasion to take notice [of], and who came so lately from France, had given it out, that by Mar's order, who he had served lately in the last character, that Fletcher of Saltoun¹ was turned spy to my Lord Stairs at Paris. Charles Forbes' testimonie was enough to make it believed, and everie bodie repeated with pleasure what this pitiefull little rascal gave out, by his patron's orders, no better man than he. Tho' Mr Fletcher was then at a distance, and intirle out of Mar's way, yet his Lordship had heard he had been regrateing and deploreing the Countrie in his hands, who being a great judge of men, knew him perfectly, and, to be revenged of him, must give him the meanest of offices. I must say I, nor no-bodie, has a title to complain of bad usage, when he, whom none of his Countrie was superior to in knowledge, and in true zeall to his Countrie yeilded to none of the old Romans, was so served; and whose life extinguisht very soon after, with his hopes to serve his Countrie, not being able to outlive the ruine and disgrace our follie brought upon it.

But to return to Castle Gordon, where I then was. My Lord Huntlie received two letters; one from Collonell Hay, and another from Mar. The Collonell's, on his return from France, gave him assurances of the King's landing in a few days, and an account of his having brought a patent of Duke for Mar; who, in his letter, gave him an information of his writing to his Grace the Duke of Argyle about terms, and that Argyle had answer'd him most civilly, and own'd he had not as yet got full powers, but would communicate them so soon as they came to his hands. Mar ended this letter in saying, that they at Perth

¹ The celebrated author and patriot.

had been obliged to the storm of snow, which had allowed them to eat their Christmas's goose there; however, he hoped to have it in his power to return his Grace of Argyle's civilities in a little time, since the King would be soon with us, and by his presence all our wants would be made up. This letter being of a different stile from all his former letters, and so different from what he himself gave out at Perth, Huntlie did not know what to think of it. His writing to the Duke of Argyle about terms was a fair owning, for the second time, a breach of honour and conscience to those with whom he had signed the Association. His confessing that the storm had been the reason of their continuing in Perth was only telling what we before had told him, (for this, vide notas,) and for saying which he had spoke of some of the best men engaged as traitors, yea, of Huntlie himself, and we could not conceive his reason for owning it now, nor could enough admire his impudence: it seems he had made use of it to make suitable divisions. Collonell Hay's letter we had no regard to it, only I said to Huntlie, "My Lord, ce Duchè nous coutera bien de Comtè."

Before these had come to Huntlie, the King was already landed at Peterhead, the twentieth-seventh day of September¹ [December], and was in his road to Fetteresso, where he halted. We were not long of hearing from those who came from the South that a young gentleman had passed Aberdeen with Captain Allan Cameron; that they had gone straight to Fetteresso, and it was thought that young man was the King; Cameron was gone on post to Perth, and the other was left at Fetteresso privately. This made Huntlie send a gentleman to Aberdeen with orders to go on till he got the certain account. By the time he got there, he was certainly informed the King was arrived, and that Mar was already at Fetteresso. To do Huntlie justice, being present when he received the news, he said, "Now there's no help for it, we must all ruin with him: would to God he had come sooner." There seem'd still some faint hopes to remain, which were, that since his Majesty had stopt at Fetteresso, and kept himself incognito there for two days, till Captain Cameron had informed Mar of his arrivall, his reason for it could only be that he wanted to know the state of his affairs before

¹ It should be the 22d of December.

he'd goe forward to Pearth; for what other reason could have hinder'd him to [have] declared himself at Aberdeen, or from goinge streight to Pearth? And by all that could be learned since, we found we judged right; for it's said, that if his affairs were on a bad foot, he was resolv'd to return without los of time, and leave his poor subjects the freedom of making terms for themselves; a very just and reasonable thought. Whatever was in it, as his declaring himself at Fetteresso, and afterwards goinge up to Pearth, put a stop to all thoughts of terms on our side, so it's not to be doubted that the Gouvernement, however inclineable they might [have] been before, could ever intertaine or allow of any such proposales from those inclined to mercie, or the moderate people of their own side; nor is it naturall to think that anie, however much credite he might have, durst offer a thing of that kind.

My Lord Mar, who, as we at first supposed, would [have] met his Majestie privatlie, spread the neus at Pearth of the King's happie landing, and brought a numerous train with him to Fetteresso, out of a view, I believe, to put it out of his Majestie's pouer to goe back, haveing alreadye publisht his being there; and to confirm him of the certaintie of his affairs succeeding, by the approbation of all those villanous, weake, miserable, deluded dependers of his Lordship, who he brought alonge with him. Nor durst Mar have left Pearth but with a cavalcade, and in a very publick manner, for the whole would have been at his heels soon after, imagineing he was to make his escape, and he'd run no small risk, or got to the King with a very bad grace, with the discovering all the weakness of the affair; not to goe to the King himself would be undutiefull, and he must give this for his reason, which would not answer his end, and bringe his Majestie up to Pearth. Thus that unhappie Prince, intirelie a stranger to his own affairs, as much as he had dropt out of another world, or from the clouds, as things flood, was brought in eminent danger of his life, without its being possible that it could have any other effect but that of the certaine ruine of his friends, and drivinge the naile to the head, and riveteing the miserie of those who had so generoullie sacrificed all to serve him. It's certain, that he was made believe that his affairs in generall were on a good foot, at least, very retrieveable; that there were twice as

many in Perth as there really were; and that there was no more needfull to be done but the takeing of Inverness, which intirely depended on Huntly; and when that was done, the King would have a great armie from all places of the Highlands before the Duke of Argyle could attack Perth. As for powder, I suppose it was never spoke of, since there was no want of it at Fetteress; that the news of his Majesty's arrival would no sooner spread but all would return, and great numbers who never had joined would then come from different corners. Tho' they knew very well, except four hundred of the MacCleods, in the Isle of Skie, there was not the least shadow of expectation of any others coming from the Highlands, who had not joined us before; for all the others had sufficientlie declared themselves, and were actually in arms against us. As for gentrie, all who either would or could had already joined us; nor, after a strict searche I myself saw made in a great part of the North, was there a horse, saddle, or pair of pistols more to be found, except in Caithness, where they had about sixtie tolerable good horse, well enough accouter'd. But all this being told in gross, to no small advantage, the Highlandmen were represented so wonderfull men, and so swift runners, that the snow, which was deeper than ever it had been seen in that countrie, could not stop them, and they'd be at Perth from hundreds of miles distance, over hills, before the Duke of Argyle could marche eighteen miles in the plain. Plutarch (Apothegm.) and Tacitus, made use of in that place by the translator: "*Monstrabo tibi cujus rei inopia laborent magna fastigia, quid omnia possidentibus desit. Scilicet ille qui verum dicat, et hominem inter mentientes stupentem, ipsaque consuetudine porrectis [auribus] blanda audiendi, ad ignorantiam veri perductum, vendicet a consensu concentuque falsorum. Ibi fides in obsequium servile submissa est, dum nemo ex animi sui sententia suadet dissuadetque, sed adulandi certamen est, et unum amicorum omnium officium, una contentio quis blandissime fallet.*" The King was carried triumphinglie up to Perth. Generall Hamilton, who for some time had been very uneasy, was allowed to see the King, and immediatlie sent off to France. It was said to the King the Highlandmen could not endure him, and Mar had done his best to make it so, that he, in any extremitie, might always have some one readie to glut the rage of the people; but

the specious pretext given to the publick was, that he was sent to the Regent of France, to inform his Royall Highness of the King's arrivall, and ask assistance; this gave the generallitie hope that the King, who had come so latelie, expected still succours from France: but the realitie was, Hamilton was glade to get off at any rate, and no wonder; and Mar no less glade to get rid of him, for fear he had pluckt up a spirit, and shelter'd himself under the shadow of the King's wings, and told him the real state of his affairs; and after he was gone, another storie was handed about privatelie, as if there had been grounds to suspect he kept correspondence with the ennemie; I suppose another of Mar's reasons for sending him that message, or to hinder people's finding fault with his being sent away. It's to be admired that all concerned were so simple, that even the sending him away did not demonstrat that there was no designe of defending Pearth, or doing any thing; he alone had seen and knew more then all these present joyned together, and whatever mistake he had committed, to everie bodies' conviction, must be allowed to be a very brave man, for that he had shewed in every occasion of his life. "Connivent fabulæ et intra conscientiam veri fidem prementes, malunt pro vero celebrari quod pectoribus humanis fingentium calliditas infundit." (Macrob. Saturn.) How is it possible that some one of better sense, or more probitie than the common, did not tell his Majesty that the Duke of Argyle had betuixt ten and eleven thousand regular troopes at Stirveling, onlie eighteen miles distant, two short days' marches from Pearth? Where they were not above the thousand foot, and the others disperfed at hundredes of miles, who it could never be imagin'd could joyn him before the Duke of Argyle must beat up his quarters at Pearth; which was at no time tenible, far less when he neither had arms, men, nor powder, and when monie and all necessaries of life were equallie wanting. I can't think but one might [have] judged, without conjureing, that Huntlie could not attack a place without powder, where there were more men then he had, and much better armed; and if it must be owned that it was the storm which hinder'd his Grace of Argyle to attack Pearth, which, as I have said, was so near, and where his armie was already together, is it not hard not to allow Huntlie to be sensible of the same storm so much further North? who had his folks to bringe together

from great distances over the hills, and when joyned, had thirtie-seven miles to marche them to Inverness, through that violent storm; when, because of the longe frost which had stopt the mills, there was not one grain of meale in all that countrie. What ground they had to imagine that his Majestie would be joyned by great numbers who had never joyn'd before, I can't find out. Thus far I knew, and am sure, that except the MacCleods, who could not be more helpful to us from the Isle of Skie than from Madagafcar, and the Caithness folks, who could not joyn because of Southerland if they would, and were at a hundred and fiftie miles distance, there was no liveing soule to joyn him who had not joyned before; and could it be thought that those who had gone home discouraged by all our wants, after so many great and specious promises, would ever trust more; not to mention the naturall levitie of those who, if we had wanted nothing, we never could have kept, and knew they had no form of peace to make, but sit at home; and had their inclinations been as stronge then as they generallie profess, it was not in their pouer to cros these impracticable hills in so great a storm.

But tho' this is own'd since, and was true in fact, it was treason to say so at that time, for it would not [have] served his Lordship of Mar's end; because he had ground to think, had the King been fullie informed of the irretrievableness of his affairs, and the certaine ruine he brought upon his true friends and faithfull servants, he'd choosed to leave them to make their own peace, rather than run himself into eminent danger, onlie to ruine them, and put it out of their pouer ever afterwards to be of use to him. Had he done so, Mar must have gone back to Perth without him, where, God knous what would have happned to his Lordship, his expectation and great promises from the succour his Majestie was to bringe them being vanished into smoak, and that to his own conviction, as well as theirs: If this last resource of the King's presence, and the miracles it would work, was takne from him, the bauk would be too great; and humane imagination could not frame another lye to amuse them. Better the King had not come, and they'd still expect him, till they were chased out of Perth, and then he'd still had a pretence, with the assistance that his Majestie was to send, to stand firm in the Highlands; in the mean time

would gain one of his three ships, and save one. But to allow the King to goe back was to confes, in exprefs terms, he had cheated them, and there was no hope left ; what the Mutineers had fortold would be remember'd, and death and damnation must follow. But if the King was brought up to Pearth, there was a glorious foundation for a great scheme ; the whole at Pearth would be madd with joy, and their imaginations would of new frame hopes of succours from France, by dropeing some hints to them, while a run from the nighbouring Highlands, out of curiositie to see the King, would raife his Majestie's hopes ; and if the others did not come, and things did not ansuer, he had Huntley, Mr Sinclair, and all the Mutineers, to blame for it ; not forgetting Seaforth ; tho' not of that band, yet he had reserved him all alonge for that judgement. The King would see it was not his fault, and his pensioners, and the whole who staid with him, would fall into the accusation with him against those gentlemen, haveing timelie laid down that plan to load them with all, in the worst of events, even tho' the King had not come ; and in end, the respect all had for the King, when there should be a necessitie for his Majestie to return to France, would cover his shame of deserting those he had so treacherouslie imposed upon, when it was said he was admitted into the same ship, which was equall to ane order ; if any found fault with it, they found fault with the King. These were the decisive reasons which made Mar carrie the King to Pearth.

No sooner did Huntley get the certaintie of the arrival then he sent Doctour Gordon to give his Majestie assureances of his fidelitie, and a true account of the state of his affairs. About that time a letter came to him from the King, when at Fettereffo, ordering him to make all heast, and did not doubt that, with the help of Seaforth, Southerland would soon be made prisoner, with all those that were with him. At same time told him, He'd be glade to see him after that was done ; and insinuate so much that he did not desire to see him till then. This letter came, with a copie of it, wrote in a fair hand by Mar's secretarie, inclosed with a letter of Mar's to the same purpose. As soon as Huntley read the letter, he saw that the King was abused, and true matter of fact kept up from him, and did not doubt but the whole

was as much misrepresented to him. Huntlie loosed no time in answering those letters; in that to the King he complain'd to his Majesty, in a modest way, of Mar's injustice to him; represented things as they really were; and told him of the want of powder, which, if sent him, he'd doe what he could. His answer to Mar was in the same strain. Gordon of Glenbucket was sent with those letters to lay the whole before the King, and to bring powder. About that time a pleasant enough storie happened, which did not a little disturb us: a partie of Southerland's folks had stole a marche out of Inverness to Forres to seize a ship with corn; and no sooner they seized the ship then they sent ane express of their own, with a letter, to the Magistrates of Elgin, telling them, That a great many red coats were debarking there out of men-of-war, as well as cannon; and they gave out they'd soon have that great rebel Huntlie by the neck; that the inhabitants of Forres were barbarouslie used by them, but threatned those of Elgin worse, where they were to quarter that night; and added, that they were a thousand men. The fellow who brought the letter to Elgin swore all was true, and that he had seen a great many landed; and, as it generallie happens in confusions occasion'd by surprize, got away. The Magistrates of Elgin sent a gentleman with all expedition to Huntley, who added some circumstances to it which had been pickt up at Elgin. No wonder if it did not disturb us a little, but I must say for Huntlie, he carried as well as any man could doe in such a surprize. He askt me, What I thought? I answer'd, ingenuousslie, If it was true I could think of nothing but mounting my horse and rideing as far through the snow in the hills as I could, and when horses could goe no further, leave them, and take me to my heels; but if his Lordship could tell me any expedient, I'd be glade to doe anything. The twelve piece of cannon talkt of in the letter made me suspect it a trick, done by ane ignorant hand, for I never heard of so manie sent with a thousand men; but if found true, the best thing he could doe was to pack up his papers and things of value; if he had powder, he ought to leave a garnison in his house, which being very open, would not resist longe; and goe to the hills himself and raise his men. But the sputter was soon over, tho' not before it occasion'd a good dale of reasoning. Tho' I was under

the protection of one of the friendliest and best natur'd men on earth, who did me at least all the honour due to me, yet we had the lyes so fresh from Pearth, and the reasoning of those about him so extravagant, that I imagin'd myself still there. .

I took ane opportunitie to visite some gentlemen of Cullen of Boyn, who were engaged with us, in hopes to be some days free of that melancholic subject, but I found my case the same with those who are sick and tofs in bed, tho' I changed situation, I carried my distemper with me; the memorie of what I had seen stuck close to me, and the certaintie of what I forswaw teased and tormented me; and the concern for those families who were using me so civilie, still added to my pain, so that I had no hopes left of recoverie so long as I was in the Countrie, when I could look on no Scots man, woman, or child, but as ane object of compassion, which raised and fermented my grief; and the more I found them insensible, the more I pitied them. "Nam quid miserius misero non miserante seipsum?" (Divus Augustin. Lib. I. Confess.) This put me on speakeing to my friend Mr Ogilvie about hiring a ship and getting out of the Countrie. He was no less inclined to it than I; but after a tryell alonge that coast we found the difficulties so great, betuixt the terrour of the English men-of-war, the ships being laid up and unrigged, and ane imbargo laid on by Mar, who was resolved none should goe till he had finished his work, that no monie could bribe any to faile. This I mention at large, because in that ten days I was in that corner of the countrie Huntlie struck up his first truce with Southerland. When I returned I found he had mett with Lord Ree, Chief of the Mackeys, Beaufort, who called himself Lovet, Collonell Monroe of Foulis, and Captain Grant, brother to the Laird of Grant, who all came to meet him at Elgine, in Southerland's name. They had been a night together, and made a fortnight's truce. Huntley's reasons for makeing that truce were, as he was pleased to tell me, that, havinge disburst the little monie given him, or he had, in keeping some of his men together in case he had been attackt by them, or takne in his own house, and haveing expected powder so long in vain, especieallie when it was otherwise impossible to attack Inverness in so great a storm; and, tho' the weather might change, yet he was sure his truce would be out before

any thing could be done, for the thaw that muſt follow ſo great a ſtorm of ſnow would make it no eaſier; or, if it did, he was more in danger from them than they could be from him, having greater numbers, and he ſo unprovided. Beſides, he propoſed no ſmall advantage by it; for the Mackeys deſigned home; and they, as well as moſt of Southerland's men, being heartily wearied, and their curioſitie ſatiſfied, being of the ſame nature with our Highlandmen, would not be fond of coming out on the firſt call, or perhaps not come at all, at leaſt could not be back in a fortnight; and if powder was ſent him, if the ſnow thaw'd he'd attack Inverneſs before the MacKeys and Guns could joyn, who were Southerland's beſt men. Another of his reaſons was, that he had got ane information of Seaforth's having made a ceſſation of arms on another foot, and with a very different view; and to leave him no place to doubt, they laid the contracts before him, and gave him copies of them, contracts betuixt Southerland and Seaforth, which he was pleaſed to communicate to me. I don't pretend to give them literallie, but am ſure the ſenſe of them was as follows: "That my Lord Lovet, in Southerland's name, ſhould oblige himſelf, on honour, to ſend ane expreſs to the Court at London to interceed with his Majeſtie King George to procure a pardon for my Lord Seaforth, and, on the faith of that obligation, till ane anſuer was returned from Court, Seaforth was to commit no hoſtilities againſt Southerland, or any of thoſe joyn'd with him; (which was ſigned) SEAFORTH and LOVET." The other was, "That my Lord Seaforth having obliged himſelf not to commit hoſtilities againſt Southerland and his confederats till the return came from Court, Lovet obliged himſelf, in name of Southerland and his friends, not to moleſt Seaforth, or invade his territories; (which was again ſigned) SEAFORTH and LOVET." The contracts betuixt thoſe Lords were conceived in terms as ſhort as theſe, if not the ſame, and in no better ſtile, tho' I am not ignorant enough to have ane opinion of my own; but one of the parties¹ was no fool, and, I believe, drew them to his own mind, for how otherwiſe could Seaforth goe in to ſo looſe a contract, to leave it in Southerland's power never to give him ane anſuer till he could be of no further

¹ Meaning Lovat, doubtleſs, who was certainly no fool, though he had a ſpice of the madman about him, as well as much of the knave.

use either to himself or the Countrie, by fixeing no limited time; and he was treated accordingle, for they never sheu'd him the return of that message till the King had retired from Pearth, when there was no occasion of dallieing longer with him. What the result of it was I shall account for in its own place.

All this while, to palliate what he had done, by what I could learn, he¹ promised very fair to the King at Pearth; and to convince him he had no reserve, and would keep no secrets from him, he sent his Majesty a letter which Huntlie had wrote to him in confidence and friendship on his coming North, giving him the true state of affairs at Pearth when he left it, and laying before him the necessity of capitulating, which, since he was in no expectation of the King, he'd set on foot so soon as he could, or saw light into it, or any possibility of doing. In the mean time, more letters passed betwixt the King and Huntlie, all in the same strain with the former. While I was with my friends in Cullen of Boyn, James Fercharson, Aide-de-Camp to Mar, passed Castle Gordon in his way to Caithness, to endeavour to raise the gentlemen of that countie, who, it was believed, were very well affected; he gave it out at the little town near Gordon Castle, to severall of Huntley's servants, That one Innes, a dependor of Huntley's, who commanded a regiment of his, was to carrie me up prisoner to Pearth; and to those at Elgine, he said I was already taken, which was the easilier believed that I was some days absent. On my return I was informed of it; and it had passed so current, that all about Huntley stared at me; and tho' I knew I was in no danger, yet I could not imagine that such a scoundrell durst ventured to take those freedoms of himself, or say any such thing for his diversion. But whatever might be in it, in my first rage I resolved it should cost him dear, and to follow him to Caithness over the Murray Frith, and break everie bone of him, and at same time put myself out of everie bodies reverence by throwing myself on the Sinclairs,² the onlie Clan of that countrie; but, on second thoughts, the old reason occurred for not going there, since I must be obliged to tell them the

¹ The Earl of Seaforth.

² There is a powerful Clan of Sinclairs in Caithness, the Chief of whom (such I suppose him) takes the title of Earl, from that county.

whole; and as I would not be accessarie to raise them, which I knew must be the certaine ruine of my kinsmen; on the other hand, I thought it needles to draw more reflections on me for stoping them, when it was liklie they were not altogether such fools, especiallie when Southerland could put so great obstructions in their way, and that people don't incline to rise but when they have some shadow of greater views of success as these to flatter their hopes. The storie Fercharson had spread came to Huntley's ears, and a day or two after I had returned, he asked me if I had heard of it; and not being able to contain my passion, and keep my second resolution, which was to say nothing, or seem to know nothing, till the fellow had returned, and treat him as he deserved, I told his Lordship I had heard of it, and had resolved to regale that gentleman with a sound banging on his coming back, and send him up to Mar with the mark of my cudgell on his shoulders; and wish, for the fellow's sake, that my anger might not carry me further, for one who forsook he was to leave the Countrey was not to be irritated; and I should not now regrate my having sacrificed him for an exemple. He intreated me not to think of it, for I was to look on that fellow as not sent from Mar, but as one who had the King's commission, and employed in his service; and the blame would fall on him if any thing happened in his ground. I said, I should not inform myself whose commission he had, nor did I see how he could hinder a man from doing himself justice in his ground. I was to have no regard to a fellow who had loosed his respect to me; but to please him, I'd not touch him till he had passed Strabogie in his return.

Gordon of Glenbucket was not longe of coming back, who told Huntlie how much he was blamed at Perth, and that everie bodie was crying out against him in a strange manner, and said the King was the onlie modest man there, and hearkned to reason; but said nothing of Mar, not being willing to widen breaches; and having obligations to Mar as well as to his master, Huntlie, he acted the discreet part, tho' he told him enough to let him know what opinion the ignorant world there had of him, and that it was labour lost to pretend to undeceive them. He likewise brought him letters from the King and Mar, which were to the same purpose with their former, without anie variation. He confirmed the account of Gene-

rall Hamilton's going to France, and said, It was given out he was sent with a letter to the Regent. But the true matter of fact was, he was sent away so soon as the King came, for fear he should [have] given him a just and true account of his affairs, having of late turn'd more uneasy; and the reason that was given the King for it was, that the Highlandmen could not endure him, which Mar had labour'd, ever after the battell, to keep him at under; and I believe it was for that reason likewise that it was spread underhand, a little before he went off, that he was betraying their councils to the Duke of Argyle, that it might be ripe to trump up against him the moment he discover'd the truth to the King; which he forswore, and has since told, and was glade to get away at any rate; otherwise, how is it possible he could allow'd himself to be made use of as a letter-bearer, where there were so many useles people to be employ'd that way, and he of so great consequence?

I know General Ecline, who had come from France a month before the King, imagin'd that Mar had much the same reason for sending him North to Huntly, after the King's arrivall; for, having been impertinent enough to ask into the details of the armie, which was never allow'd him, notwithstanding of his repeated orders to the Majors of Brigade; at last, threatening to clap them in arrest, so soon as Mar went out of Perth to meet the King at Fetteresso, when the entire command was left to him, these good men, by order, gave him a return of four thousand five hundred foot, when there was not above one thousand, if there were so many. The suspicion of that, and other neglects he met with, made him uneasy; and, finding himself intirely useles, design'd, three or four days after the King's coming to Scone, to ask leave of the King to return to France; which I have heard from himself. Whither Mar had smockt this, he did not know; but I believe Mar had, for his spies were at that time narrow observers of the least gesture. But he said, that morning he was to speak to the King about his returning to France his Majesty told him, That he must goe North, and take the command of Huntly's following at the taking of Inverness. The honest gentleman, who, as well as the King, believed he might be of use there, was very fond of any commission to serve the King and the cause, not doubting that all

was as his Lordship of Mar represented it, as well as all the bravos at Pearth; and that there was nothing wanting but to infuse a little spirit in my Lord Huntlie, and have a watchfull eye over Mr Sinclair, who, as he confessed to myself, was painted to him a very ill man: and no wonder, for it's as impossible to reconcile light and darkness as his Lordship and I, since lying and truth are so diametricallie opposite. Fraughted with the good hopes of success, since there was nothing wanting, and onlie a mob to encounter, when Huntley's were brave fellows, the old gentleman came jogging North through the snow in the time the storm was rudest, and at last, with paine enough, arrived at Castle Gordon, where he deliver'd the King and Mar's letters to Huntlie; which, to avoide repetition, were the same old songe over again. He shew'd his Lordship ane order from the King, and signed by him, to send me up prisoner to Pearth, in case I would not goe up willinglie to my command. He was not longe of perceaving that no force was to be used, and as to my goeing to my command, that I'd rather be hanged then obey his Lordship of Mar in any one thing, after what I had seen of him, so he'd doe as well and not mention it to me; nor did Huntlie ever speak of it.

He had another order to seize Sir Robert Gordon, and send him up alonge with me; for no bodie was to doubt of his treason, and being sent together would confirm the world of mine. With Generall Eckline the King sent tuo Aide-de-Camps, the one Cameron, youngest brother to Lochiell, and another, Gage, ane Englishman. Mar did not think them enough, and order'd his friend Aphoske¹ alonge with him; a through-paced toole of his, and, as Huntlie thought, sent alonge to be a spie upon him, to give a wronge turn to everie thing he said or did, and write up lyes to Pearth, that his Majestie might be convinced of the truth of what Mar said; for that was his way of supporting his lyes: so he was dismissed, to hastne the cannons comeing up by sea from Aberdeen, which were already at sea, and on some other sham pretexts he order'd to stay at Aberdeen. Huntlie loosed no time in informing Generall Eckline of the impossibilities of attacking Inverness for want of powder; which was no small surprise to him, but more still when he heard that Southerland could bringe together tuo thou-

¹ Perhaps Burnet of Fasque, in Kincardineshire.

land five hundred men for the defence of Inverness, and those well armed; and before he could get his men together, and marche thère, who were not seven hundred foot, for want of armes, and one hundred and sixtie horse. He askt Huntley, if he had informed the King of it? who shew'd him copies of the letters he had wrote and the answers. Eckline vouch'd he had been told that affairs were on a very different foot from what he demonstrated to him; which evidently shews that Mar had brought the King to believe that all Huntley had wrote to him was false, and onlie a pretext for betraying him, as he publickly gave out on all occasions; but on the other hand encouraged his Majesty that Eckline would drag him into it.

After this, the first thing thought of was, that Huntley and Eckline together should write to the King and Mar, to expostulate with them to send him powder; and all that was asked, in case there happen'd not to be much at Pearth, was two hundred pounds; they told them of Huntley's having two pieces of brass cannon mounted, and that carriages were ready for the cannon that were come half-way betwixt that and Aberdeen; that Huntley had raked together all the rusty arms that could be got in the country about, both from friend and foe, and had gunsmiths at work dressing them, and when he had done his best, could pretend to arme no more than seven hundred, since his men had thrown away most of their arms at Shirrif Moor;¹ but since he had one hundred and sixtie horse, or a number near to that, which would be a terrour to Southerland's Highlandmen, tho' he had two thousand five hundred men armed by the Gouvernement, which could joyn at Inverness before they could goe there, they'd doe their best, if powder were sent them from Pearth, to dislodge Southerland; for they had difficulties enough to encounter without that want. No notice was takne of this more then of the former, but in answer, a fresh order, commanding them to marche to Inverness with the foot; at same time order'd them to send up the horse to Pearth. On this Huntley, as well as Eckline, were mightily displeas'd, and sent Cameron, Eckline's Aide-de-Camp, with all expedition, with letters repeating what they had said before, and gave the King and Mar a list of those Clans against them, which was as follows: Earle Southerland had 800 of his vassalls; Grant, 700;

¹ A bad account of the Gordons gay.

Frazers, 500 ; Rosses and Munroes, 200 ; Mackeys, 300 ;—in all 2500 ; who could be in no want of arms, since men-of-war had been going back and fore, and one was then lying within cannon-shot of the town, and afforded them gunners, powder and ball for fourteen pieces of cannon, which they had mounted ; that the Government had been so provident they had sent them mattocks and shovells. They insisted, that if the horse were taken from them they could not be safe at Castle Gordon, much less attack Inverness ; and Huntlie took occasion to beg of his Majesty, since no regard was had to his frequent letters, to allow him to join him at Perth with all his following, or allow him to wait of his Majesty without his following, which he would resigne willingly to any of those able Generalls about him, who made that business appear so easie.

But before this message was sent by Cameron, my Lord Duffus arrived, who had set out from Perth before Eckline, and, as it's usual to sea captains, liked a safe harbour and a boule of punch better than beating the maine in a storm ; and, like himself, without thinking of the business he was going about, providentially took in quadruple, or rather more, provisions of punch (in case of accidents,) to carry him to the next alehouse or town, where he never failed to be severall days of carousing, till a neep tide, which was want of liquor, or want of credit, obliged him to weigh anchor and set sail for another port, where credit was fresh or liquor abounding. And by this means he was ten days or more on the road then Eckline, with, I think, two aide-de-camps and a secretarie order'd to wait of him by Mar, and himself mounted on a galloway of thirtie shillings price ; tho' it will be found he had got more monie from the country then might afford drink abundance, and bought a very good equipage : but that, and a great deal more, could not quench his drouth ; but I must say for his nagg, tho' he did not promise much, when dispatch was his master's business, few horses of value run harder, and, except Seaforth's war-horse, none could keep up with him that day of the skirmish at Sheriff Moor, and was the first at Perth. "*Haud aliter Nabathæa petens Semeleïæ proles.*" Duffus brought with him letters to Huntlie set to the same tune, and one from my good Lord Mar to me, ordering me, in the King's name, to goe

to Perth. After some discourse with Huntley, I suppose telling him what orders he had about taking me prisoner and Sir Robert Gordon, and shewing him the King's written order for it, being ane affair of so great consequence, it was to be reiterated, in case one order had not done it. He carried me along with him to the village near Castle Gordon, where, after making the punish, without which nothing was to be done, he took me aside, and gave me this letter :

SIR,—His Majestie havinge resolved that all who have been in his armie should forthwith repair to their respective posts in it, he has order'd me to signifie to you, that, it is His pleasure you come immediatlie up to the armie at Perth, or where it shall happen to be for the time, without any delay. Your punctuall obfervance hereof is expected. And I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

MAR.

After reading the letter, Duffus told me, with a positive air, he wanted ane answer of it to-morrow. I answer'd him short, that what answer I had to make I'd give it to Mar myself with the first who went to Perth; and his Lordship of Duffus never required more. I suspected there was more under it, but was more confirmed when Huntley sent two of his principall servants, one after other, telling me to be on my guard; which sometimes made me think that Duffus designed to quarrell with me, tho' I could not persuade myself that any could propose to himself to have ane advantage and did not expect to run half of the risk. When I saw my Lord Huntlie I askt him the reason of these two messages. He said, knowing the freedom I used to take in telling my mind, he was afraid a quarrell might happen; he did not know what I had to doe with those people, who he lookt on as mad, and would not faile to take a great dale upon them, because of Mar's countenance, supported by the King, but did not speake one word of the commission to make me prisoner; told of Duffus havinge brought ane order from Mar to receive some hundred pounds of the cels of Murray, which his Lordship said, he'd find a better use for, if he marched to

Inverness, then allow him to receive any of it to be converted into drink, and that he should have none of it. All this while Huntley and Eckline were projecting how to make Seaforth and his following usefull at the enterprize of Inverness; for, by all that Huntley could learn from Sir John Mackenzie, the poor man who had been Gouvernour there, and had deliver'd it up, and had been at Pearth excuseing it, and, in his return North, waited of Huntlie, who interrogated him about the situation of the town. Both he and I found that Seaforth could be of no use to us at the attack of that town, since Sir John, who was the onlie man of that Clan who pretended to be a fojer, assured, that they must attack on their side a longe narrow bridge, with a gate upon it, upon which the ennemie might raise severall traverses, and force them to buy everie foot of it very dear; and, at same time, was flanked by houses on both sides, and both the outlets and entrie of the bridge flankt by the cannon of the castle, which was very near to it; and if so, as Sir John represented, it was to be believed they were to expect no succours from Seaforth, who could be repulsd by a very few men posted there, if ever he brought his Clan to attack there; which is too liklie he never could.

Houever they were very glade that Duffus was come, who pretended to know all, and made it very easie. After discourseing with him about it, they determined, Generall Eckline should pass the Murray Frith, and goe to Seaforth, for nothing less could doe, since Huntley had sent twice to him, without any return, but in generall terms, and speakeing big, but could never fix him; nor would he keep up the correspondence, tho' Huntley, in one of his letters, begged of him that the Catholicks, who ought to be the King's best subjects, might not be out-done by the others in loyalltie, and that they might not give any just ground of imputeing miscarriages to them. Eckline had got on his boots, and his horses saddled to goe, when the resolution was changed, to which I contributed; and it was thought that Duffus, who was his couzin, and the man who gave himself the airs of bringing out Seaforth at first,¹ was, of all men, the fittest to bring him to this again; besides, Eckline being intirelie a stranger, and neither knowing him, nor any of the ministers or favourites about that

¹ His wife, Lady Margaret Mackenzie, was Seaforth's aunt.

Court, nor being able to answer the objections they'd make about the situation of Inverness, it was not to be thought he could do any good with him.

Duffus undertook all willingly enough in appearance, I believe, in hopes Huntlie would order him some of the cefs of Murray, for he was in so great want that he owed in the alehouses about; but made the King the compliment, tho' he had come there about other business, which was to pay Thundeston sixteen thousand pound for a mortgage he had on his father's estate, since the King's service required, he'd goe. But the stress of all being laid upon himself, he began to find a difficulty in attacking the place of that side; besides another difficulty suggested by Eckline and me, and which I told my Lord Huntlie all alonge, and that was, the impossibility of concerting matters so, at such a great distance, that Seaforth might not be there before Huntlie: and if he was, having but a thousand men not half armed, (for his men had lost their arms at the battle,) and who were never much esteem'd for warriors, nor having any amongst them who ever bore the name of an officer, Southerland would route them; and if he came too late, the business would be over of our side; and, being considerable weaker in number, it was to be feared not to our advantage, and Seaforth would be of no use to us. For, by the description then given of Inverness, as far as I remember, it's situated on a river, unfordable above that town, which comes out of lakes, of vast length and depth, onlie three miles above the town, and discharges itself at once into a large lake or arme of the sea, which is straitned by two promontories four or five miles below Inverness, one of which is named Ardrefire, and gives the name to a ferrie or passage of two miles breadth; and all passages being guarded, there was no correspondence but over the Murray Frith, from the Brough, or that coast, which, for what I know, is tuentie miles broad. For that reason I propos'd that Duffus, who was the man of the world who must know that coast best, his father's estate having been all alonge the one side, and the Brough that could afford most boats, formerly his father's, and, as I had heard him say, he having been often on the other side seeing his relations of my Lord Seaforth's familie, besides having had occasion of knowing both coasts, since he was captain of a man-of-war, and

had been there, he could not faile to guefs near what number of boats could be got alonge the whole coast, to bring over Seaforth and his men to our side, and the best ports for imbarking and debarking, as well as the best method to put the whole in execution, from the advantages he had, since otherwise, it was demonstrable, Seaforth could be of no use. Duffus, not being present then, was spoke to by Huntlie and Eckline, and made no great difficultie of all this, and was sent off with great expedition, promising himself success; and, to satisfie them, was to send them ane ansuer very soon, that all might be readie againt the time that the powder came from Pearth. This propofall of mine was oueing intirlic to my being privie to Mar's expedition of sending over Mackintosh, and to the whole concert, otherwise I had never dream'd of it.

When the fortnight's cessation was nere out, Huntley renew'd it for eight days longer, tho' Southerland desired it might be made for another fortnight, which Huntlie refus'd, in expectation powder would be sent, and things brought to bear againt that time. Duffus, instead of goeing where he was so earnestlie desired, and had promised to stop no where, stay'd a day and a night longer in ane alehouse, within pistoll shot of Castle Gordon; where, after endeavouring to deboatch severalls of Huntlie's horse to give their words to engage with him, he went six miles further, to Elgine of Murray, where he, by the help of some of his drunken companions, flatter'd himself he'd detache a whole troop from Huntley, called the Elgine troop; and, as if he had nothing to doe, stay'd there idling away his time, and following his fottig humour, and in his whole discourse lessning and reflecting on Huntlie; and no man but one, who had so much good nature, and so great respect for everie thing that pretended to bear the King's commission, could have bore it, especiallie being told of it. I doe own, without the least respect to his peerage, I'd taught him civillitie, by laying him in stocks, and teacheing him to drink water without brandie,¹ had I had Huntley's pouer; and if that had not satisfied

¹ The author certainly misrepresents Lord Duffus, who, upon several occasions, manifested a courage more undoubted than perhaps his own. In an engagement at sea he defended his frigate against eight French vessels, until he had received eight balls in his body.

him, so soon as he got his feet loose he should have had all the reparation he could ask, which I'm apt to believe would have been ane ancre of brandy, or some such thing.

This stay he made in Elgine gave us occasion to think better; and by what could be judged of Seaforth's humour, who seem'd to be led by his mother, and had nobodie about him to advise him, that if Duffus could prevaile with him to get onlie five hundred of his men, who were best armed, to pass the Murray Frith, and joyn Huntlie, it would be enough; the less the demand the easier granted, as well as the easier executed; and that he might doe it in such a way as to persuade his Lordship and his mother that it was proper for the King's service he should stay at home, and, with the rest of his men, take care of the countrie about; all which would be the sooner yeilded to, that his life, being her onlie son, was not to be in danger, and his honour covered; and Duffus would be more anxious about it, because it gave him a command. I was sent to him to hasten him away, and to communicate to him this reform of the first scheme. I found his Lordship drinking brandie in the morning with his Aide-de-Camps, and some little people of the toun; he seemed pleased with what I told him, and said he was to set out in ane hour; went to take his leave of severalls in toun, took a morning draught with each of them before he mounted his horse to goe to the Brough, whence he was to take boat to goe to Seaforth.

While he was takeing his leave in toun, one of his Aide-de-Camps, called Murray, a Caithness man, with whome I was acquainted, told me, That Lord Duffus was goinge to Caithness to raise those of that countrie; and that he had been there ere now, but he had a jealousie of my following him at the heels; that Duffus had undertakne a great deale to Mar, to raise those of Orkney as well as Caithness, which he did not believe he could perform; and that Mar had order'd him to goe alonge, being of that countrie, tho' he was not fond of that errand. I told him, I wisht we had witt enough to put those who were allreadie dipt to the best use; I did not think it a proper time to dip more: But I did not know these gentlemen if they took any notice of Duffus, haveing better men amongst themselves then his Lordship; for when he returned from

thence before, he did not brag much of the honours done him; none of them taking notice of him. Murray said, He trusted now to the King's letter sent to them by Fercharfon, Mar's Aide-de-Camp, together with the commission of a Brigadeer given to him of late; tho' his opinion was, whatever they did, they'd not receive him; that they'd rather choose one of themselves; and the King had forseen it, when he told them in his letter, they should choose their own leader. In the mean time [Fercharfon, who] came in to the house, kept himself private till Duffus was called to him, and after consulting with him for half-an-hour, came out, and told us the success of his negotiation, in a publick room, where by that time a great many were met to hear the news; which, as usual, Mr Fercharfon made very great; told of a hundred horse being already lifted, and fifteen hundred foot; that Orkney would bring out many more; in a word, that there was a considerable armie on foot in those two counties; and not one word of the whole true. He told likewise of the King's being proclaim'd at Wyck, in Caithness; which was matter of fact; but nobody appear'd there but himself, with the mob. I stood by, all the while mightie impatient to speak to Mr Fercharfon; for I had heard confirmation of his proclaiming at Aberdeen, and everie where on his road northward, that I was to be sent up prisoner. I took him in to the next room, and Duffus followed. The moment I spoke to him he turned pale, and fell of trembling, and suore he never had said or dream'd such a thing. Upon seeing this poor wretch's fear, my anger turned to compassion, and told him, It was happie for him he said so, and that I had met him in a town, for had I met him on the road he'd not got the time to clear himself, which, in my opinion, he did but badly; and whatever libertie others might take, I'd not allow such a little fellow as he to loose his respect to me, and that he was to blis his stars that such a villanous lye did not cost him his life; bid him tell Mar, his master, that, by God, I was not to be treated so, and that I'd take the first opportunitee of letting him feel it. To which Major Fercharfon, for he had got that title, answer'd most humbly, That he would not carrie such a commission. We came out of the room together, and I told the whole companie I had forgiven Fercharfon most graciously, since he thought fit to forswear all.

Fercharfon made what hafte he could back to Mar, and I return'd to Caſtle Gordon, after delivering a commiſſion to the Magiſtrats of Elgine about makeing wool ſacks to carrie to Inverneſs. I aſſured Huntlie that Duffus was gone at laſt, and that I had ſeen him on horſeback, and that he had promiſed to goe to Seaforth; but that I had learned enough from Murray to make me doubt of it, ſince his great deſigne was to make a figure by raiſeing Caithneſs and Orkney, and had made a ſtandard at Elgine. Huntley ſaid, It was very liklie; and that was the reaſon he was ſo anxious about my going to Pearth; but, by a letter he had got from that countrie, which Fercharfon brought him, he could not find they had any thoughts of Duffus, and he'd perform no better then he had done before, and as he had done in his undertakeing to bring of[f] the Guns and Southerlands from his Chief, the Earle of Southerland, and of late Huntley's own horſe from himſelf. I began to remember that ſome friends had told me of Duffus his being inquiſitive about my going to Pearth, and wonder'd what anſuer I made to Mar's letter. A day after, Duffus returned to Caſtle Gordon, to everie bodie's ſurpriſe; told, he had diſcover'd, by Mr Gordon of Clunie, that I was deſigned for Caithneſs, and inſiſted that I ſhould be ſent up priſonner. Huntlie kept up this from me, and told Eckline; and, for their ſatiſſaction, ſent for Clunie, who told them, He neither had heard or ſaid ſo. Duffus went back to Elgine, as if he had been to goe to Seaforth, and aſkt Huntlie again to allow him, on Mar's order, to take up the ceſs of Elgine, (for that was a very materiall point to him,) which Huntlie was poſitive he ſhould not doe. Eckline did not know what to make of this procedure; and, indeed, no man who was a ſtranger to that noble Lord but muſt been puzzled. We all thought he might have ſuſpended the payment of the fixteen thouſand pound for one month, till he ſaw further about him, without robbing the countrie, when monie was ſo much wanted. Huntlie ſaid, He knew Duffus to be a lyer all his life, but did not think that he, or any man, could aēt ſo poorlie, and ſuch a diſingenuous part in that criticall juncture; for no man, who had ever heard of him, could give credite to his having any money, or fo great a ſume. In the mean time he had ſent his ſecretarie, David Anderſon, a little rafcallie clerck, who he had pickt up at Pearth, becauſe he uſed

to doe buffienefs for the Caithnefs gentlemen, and his Aide-de-Camp, Mr Murray, to pave the way for him in that countrie; and one Pitcairn, to Orkney, to carrie his fame there; and flaid himself in Elgine, either for want of monie, or that he was afraid to goe, out of fear of my following him. We found out his reafon for not goinge to Seafort by a fervant of Huntley's, who was fent there, That Seafort had been informed he had attributed to himself the honour of bringing him out, and valued himself on it; and faid, over his cups at Pearth, That Seafort was not old Earle Kenneth; as if nothing was to be expected of him: that the principall gentlemen of that Clan could not endure him for takeing fo much upon him when with them, tho' they found him as ignorant as themselves; but what rancour'd them most was, that being with them at Sherrif Moor, and making volteface from the head of Applecrofs regiment, before that regiment did, which severalls offer to attest, and particularie their Major; yet he thought a man of his worth must make some extraordinarie excufe for himself, by throwing it on the whole Clan; and for haveing done [fo], durst as well put his head in a fire as goe near them. What I shall say of him is, That if all had been true which he faid, and all performed which he promised, he had indeed been a very considerable man, since Seafort's engageing must have been oweing to him; and he would neither allow it in the beginning or the end to be doubted of that he could bringe over all the Guns and Southerlands from his Chief, my Lord Southerland: Then the Sinclairs of Caithnefs, by his way of speakeing, were devoted to him, tho' all the tye betuixt him and them is founded on a great freedom and familiaritie some of them have with his sisters, and had I had the honour of their acquaintance, his Lordship might have laid the same claime to me: A great many of Huntlie's people were to be at his beck; and the Orkney gentlemen would have no other but he, because he had pickt up ane Orkney man to be his Aide-de-Camp. I am sure these are all the reafons he could give; except his haveing not one friend in all those places who would lend him five pound, and tuo brothers, much more scandalous persons then himself. I can't think these, with his own conduct, were presumptions stronge enough to give the least hopes of his doeing fo great matters. But the case was plaine; Mar did not believe it himself, onlie methods were

to be fallen on to amuse the King with great expectations, and this was the greatest. The aptness of the choice of the handle makes it evident on what it was grounded; if, to crown all, Mar had not another reason, which is known to my Lady Duffus, I won't say known to my Lord; in the mean time his Lordship was fond of any pretext of deserving drink-monie. This may seem too mean a detail, but there's no conceiving a just notion of that affair without knowing upon what hinges all hung, and by what springs it was moved.

We were revived, from time to time, with vast numbers of the Suisse deserting to Perth; with news of Mar's having intelligence from numbers of the Officers of the enemy's army, who were to come over on his call: and Eckline averred, as well as Duffus, and all who came North, that the Duke of Athole was to join, and that Dentrune, who call'd himself Viscount of Dundee, was order'd, before they left Perth, to meet him with a hundred horse. When Rob Roy Macgregore surpris'd some of the Suisse, near Balgonie in Fife, it was made a victory; as was the loss of some of our own men, who were sent there for coals, when intercepted by a party from Bruntisland Castle, which place Mar had evacuated to let the enemy seize it, to give the Suisse an opportunity of being nearer, that they might desert to us; which, it was said, they could not do over Stirling Bridge; which all pass'd for good coin, tho' it was certain it was done before the King came, with a view to retreat upon the first movement the enemy made towards Perth. We heard likewise of Lord Tinmouth¹ and Sir John Areskine's arrivall from France, with great stores of monie; which we did not hear was lost, tho' it was told us the ship was stranded by the fault of the last. Whether there was monie or not I don't pretend to determine, amongst so many false reports. We were also told that horse furniture, and many other things, were lost in the same ship. On the back of that another ship arriv'd at Aberdeen with forty Irish Officers and servants, from France, and were followed by another which had the like number, and landed about Montrose; but, before they could inform us, from Perth, of arms and powder being come in them ships, for the source of lies was there, we were told that

¹ Son of the Duke of Berwick.

those Officers were most of them gentlemen from about St Germain, and no greater warriors than our own; and gave out they had not one grain of powder along with them, and no arms but what each brought for himself. All this only served to confirm me more and more of the ruin of my Country; and having been so long certain of that event, I began to accuse myself of an unpardonable weakness in not informing my friends in Caithness to take care of themselves. Having had too clear demonstration that the same impositions were put upon the King which had been put upon us from the beginning, and being fully assured of it, I'd askt the most outrageous loyalist, who has common sense, (for the others I don't much regard, tho' their number be great,) Whether he could look on coolly and see the entire ruin of so many gentlemen who were come of his familie, not to say friends and countrymen, when it depended of him to put a stop to it, and when their perdition, and posterities, could contribute only to palliate a lye which Mar made to the King, in promising great succours from that corner, when it could not advantage his Majesty or the common cause, except it be made out, that the blood or estates of so many more martyrs were necessary? I shall allow the case to be stated as Mar pleases; and am certain neither loyalist nor casuist can give me absolution of such a crime, contrary to all the laus of nature and Christianitie. The greatest barbarian on earth may judge of it at the first glance, and so must every man who is not armed with rage, which he mistakes for zeale, or a counsellour like my Lord Mar, who can tell a King, and establish it as a principell amongst mislead people, that

Sanctitas, pietas, fides,

Privata bona sunt: qua juvat, Reges eant.

(Seneca in Thyeste.)

Sure never man made use of so hellish a politick as Mar did on this occasion; and all he had done was not so barefaced wickedness as this.

As Huntly and Eckline grew very impatient on Cameron's not returning, they proposed to me to send one Sinclair, a friend of mine, to Perth, if I'd undertake for his speedy returning. I said, If they did not take him prisoner, I'd promise for his being expeditious. Accordingly

letters were sent to the King and my Lord Mar, complaining of no notice being taken of what they had so often wrote to them, and retarding Cameron, who they had sent. He had not gone two days' journey when the Grants had spread through the country that our folks were all drove out of Perth; so good was their intelligence from Stirling, that they named the day of the Duke of Argyle's march. I had no difficulty to believe it, for the thaw had continued some days, which was the term I had set to them from the beginning, and the snow, as I learned afterwards, had begun to melt sooner with us than at Perth, and said, If they were not drove out then, it would soon happen; and some few days, sooner or later, would make no odds. Next there came a running footman of my Lord Cromartie's, who was overtaken in his way North by a gentleman, who he named, who confirmed the same news.¹ This made no impression on any body but myself, for all were willing to persuade themselves it was impossible, by a long course of speaking, and thinking it so; and if at any time they had doubts, they soon checked them, to make themselves easy to themselves, and the more acceptable to others; for all agreed in that. We heard no more but flying reports till David Sinclair came back. He met a party of our army near to Montrose, and being informed the King was already there, it being early in the morning went first to Mar, to whom he delivered his letters from Huntly and Eckline. Mar asked him, If he had any for the King? He said, He had. Mar desired him to lay them down on his table, being in bed; which he refused, telling him he'd deliver them to his Majesty himself. Mar called one Stewart, his valet-de-chamber, who he ordered to wait of him, under pretext of his being a stranger in the place, but in reality to make him a sort of prisoner, either to give the world a jealousy of him, because of the place he came from, or that he feared his returning to inform Huntly what he had seen. He delivered his letters to the King, who asked him earnestly, at his first coming in, What is my Lord Huntly doing; and won't he march to Inverness? He answered, The letter would show his Majesty. He was led about like

¹ The Duke of Argyle began his march on 29th January, and Mar evacuated Perth, marching across the Tay, over the ice, on the 31st.

a prifonner all that day, under the care of one or other Irifh Officer there, and, tho' he preffed to return, was kept, without any anfuer given him. In the evening he was called to the King, who afkt him again, What Huntley was doeing? and fpoke it with emotion. Mar gave him a packet of letters, fome minutes after, in the next room; and called him back from the door, took the packet from him, and gave him pofitive orders to follow Generall Cook north, and take his orders from him, to whome he was to give the letters, fince he was to goe that way. He was kept all that night and a part of the next day. He had heard one Forrefter, who commanded the fhip the King went away in,¹ fay he was to faile that night, and that a man of diftinction was to goe with him. He afkt, with fimplicities, Who it was? Forrefter faid, It was of no confequence to him to know. All this while everie bodie's difcourfe was raileing at Huntlie; admireing that Eckline did not fmoake Southerland out of Invernefs with ftraw, which Mr Cook threatned to doe; and moft fpoke of me as the guiltieft perfon of the whole concern'd; and, tho' a prifonner, the Highlandmen juffled him on the ftreets, and pointed at him as they'd been willing to eat him.

That afternoon, Generall Cook left Montrofs, and he [David Sinclair] alonge with him, with thirtie Irifh Officers, or Irifh gentlemen, come from St Germans, for there were not manie Officers amongft them. He pretended he was to goe to my Lord Huntley; he went alonge with them till they had paffed Aberdeen, and finding them take the wronge road, faid, It was not the way to Huntley. Ogilvie of Boyn, who was there with them, faid, They were to goe the coaftway. He anfuer'd, It was fourtie miles out of their way, and would goe no further with them; he thought it hard they would not allow my Lord Huntlie, and thofe with him, to know what had paffed. When Cook found him opiniatre, he took a letter out of his pocket, and bid him give it to Huntlie, and tell him, He'd be with him in three or four days, and deliver to him, with his own hand, the King and Mar's packet. He brought us the firft certain neus of our armie's retreat from Pearth; for all we had heard was but a flying report; and tho' I had longe been certain of it, did not expect it fo very foon, there

¹ A small vessel, of about ninety tons, called the Maria Theresa, of Saint Maloes.

being still so much snow on the ground, which even then I imagin'd might render'd the ennemie's marche impracticable. Mr Cook, in his letter to Huntlie, assured him he would be with him in three days with the King's letters and instructions, and begged of him, in the mean time, to get his men together, and have all in readiness, that he and the officers with him might have the honour of serving under his Lordship at the reduction of Inverness.

David Sinclair return'd to us late at night, a little before we were going to bed. After hearing his report, and reading the letter, we askt him, Where it was thought the ennemie was when he left Montrose? He said, It was believed their avant-guard was not very far from that place when he left it; and everie bodie said they were close in the rear of our's in their marche north. I told my Lord Huntlie, I did not understand Cook's going so far out of his road, and the loosing so many days when he had not one minute to loose; and his going with Boyn towards the sea coast lookt not a little suspicious, whose estate, before he had sold it, lay on that coast, and no man more fit to make these officers escapes, since he knew all the ports; and what confirmed me more of it was, their keeping up all messengers and intelligence from us, and at the last would have carried Mr Sinclair along with them. Next morning Huntley received a letter from a gentleman, who was too wise to dip in our affairs, which unriddled the whole, telling of the King, my Lords Mar, Drummond, and Melford's being fail'd from Montrose, where they imbarckt late on Saturday's night.

About eleven of the clock that forenoon, there were above the hundred gentlemen of our routed armie, who had ridd all that night, and came to Castle Gordon and the village near to it, not one of them knowing where to turn themselves. I doe confess I had, from my first going north, marked out the route I was to take, and propos'd to myself the going streight over the Murray Frith to Caithness, and from that to the Orkneys, where I hoped to skulk till I got some ship to waft me over to some forraigne shore. But at that time I begun to waver: the thoughts of my Country's ruine rackt me, and the shame of deserting it overwhelmed me, and I lost all that reason by which I foretold its ruine, when

I saw its ruine. Some times I wisht, and at other times I thought that fo many people, if they were reallie as desperate as they appear'd some few days before, might at least doe something to save their honours, if not their lives, which now were not worth regarding, if a handsome opportunitie of getting rid of that burthen presented itself. For my part, when I thought of the disgrace and miserie our follie had brought upon us, and the pain and contempt we were to be exposed to in forraigne countries, I could not persuade myself that death in such a manner, and in these circumstances, did not seem rather a present, then robbing us of our lives, which must be a lasting state of torment when sunk under the weight of the coole reflections on our own past madnes; and whoever will represent to himself the numbers of different passions that croude upon a man in the like occasions, then which nothing can raise more frightfull objects, must say with me, that ther's few men on earth, who at all think, but fall naturallie into such resolutions, for, as it's the situation or the light which changes and makes the difformitie or beautie of objects, so it's the situation and light that changes the reasoning of men. But alas! our follie had been so great that it did not depend of us, haveing, as it were, industriously put it out of our pouer; we neither had armes, powder, monie, nor any corner of a countrie to keep together and subsist in, so as to make the least countenance. When I thought of that, and the curse of divisions and irregularitie Mar had left amongst us, by his odious and injurious precautions to save his life and character, my hopes and whole scheme fell in a minute, however stronglie supported by my passions, which it's my misfortune to have in as great number, and no less violent and firm as the most of men. Our own imprudence had brought upon us all the calamities that fortune does to others, when it abandonns them; we found obstackles where few or none ever wanted facilities; I mean selling our lives even at ane under rate, or a possibilitie of dying honourable. Those who came to us had confusion and abjection of spirit draun in their faces with the strongest lines, and told us so much, by being capable of telling so little of the situation they left the great bodie in, that not one knew what had become of his intimatest friend or nearest relation, so that it was a doubt if there were ten men together; and gave us to know, that fear had painted the perspective of

their misfortunes no less terrible to all than they really were. I soon returned to my first resolution of following the route I had projected, and I proposed it to most who I spoke with, who were all undetermined.

At last I was resolved to lose no time, and get on horseback after dinner, and ride till I had secured a boat, for people came hourly thronging upon us, and I suspected some might at last break the ice, and take that road, and then, as in all such cases, the whole would follow, and no boats would be left; and above all, wanted to be out of the confusion and hurry. I had likewise reason to think that my Lord Southerland might send and seize those boats at the Brough, and cut off by that means all retreat, except to the Highlands, where it was not proper for me to go, having been so traduced to those wild people, who it was impossible to deceive. I remember, while some of us were together, speaking about our escaping, for all thought of nothing else, tho' they could not resolve what way, Collonell Hay, brother-in-law to Mar, came to us, who I have formerly mentioned as Governour of Perth, since as Ambassadour to France, and on his return, for his good services done there, advanced to be a Brigadier and Master of Horse to the King; the discourse happening to roule on my Lord Mar, every body was condemning him as the worst of men, I said, Tho' he deserved to be worse spoke of than we could find words to express, yet it was hard to grate Collonell Hay's ears with so harsh a subject, and ungenerous to take that advantage, since Hay suffered along with us. He answered, The worse we spoke of that villain the more we'd oblige him, and we could not wonder at it, if we knew how he had treated him; and fell of weeping aloud like a child; but said, he had one comfort left, which was, Mar must die in a ditch, for he did not believe he could be received any where, and must starve, since lies could carry him no further; for no mortal could be brought to pity him, and it was impossible he must not be the abhorrence of mankind. My old prophetic spirit still remained, and I assured the Collonell he'd gain on the King by his cunning, and the assistance of those who went along with him, who'd witness for him, and he for them; and whoever followed and escaped, seeing him in the least established in favour, would confirm all the miracles he had done, and find it their interest to do so.

About dinner-time the Earle of Kintore, Lord Rollo, and others, arrived while we were at dinner. All were extreamlie dumpish and melancolie. I undertook to divert the companie and make them merrie. I succeeded better then I could [have] expected, and made them all laugh, except Kintore, who, looking to me, applied the Scots proverb, "They may laugh who wins." I ansuer'd, A little time would shew his Lordship that I had no more to expect then he, and I believed less. I hoped his Lordship thought better of me than think that I could laugh at the miserie of my councitmen, supposing I were out of danger; I own'd I was the most uneasie of my councitmen, while the Countie could [have] been sav'd, and while they flattered themselves with vain hopes; but now that they had done their worst, it did not require my unnecessarie concern any more: I had long suffer'd what they had onlie suffer'd for three four days, and I thought it allowable to keep up my spirits as long as I could; which I wish villanous lying tongues had permitted me to doe since. God is my witness I had no laughing at heart; nor can I give a reason for it, more then for others finging when they are angry, which often enough happens, or that it is produced by an excess of despair. I was askt by many, What I thought adviseable to doe? as if I had known more then they, I believe because I had forseen their ruine. I told them the route I was to take, and said, He must know very much who could give advice on such ane occasion. I took compassion on Collonel Hay and encouraged him to goe along, which seem'd then no small favour done him. Before I mounted, I spoke to Generall Eckline, and askt him, How he designed to dispose of himself? He said, He did not know; he was laying his account with being takne; he could not goe to the hills, a strain haveing made him incapable of walking. I propos'd to him to take his fate with me, and I'd render him all the little services depended of me.

When we were on the wing, a letter came to my Lord Huntlie from Glengarie, who was marcheing northwards with a bodie of Highlandmen, under the command of Generall Gordon. I did not see the letter; but it was desireing of my Lord Huntlie, as he was pleas'd to tell me, to take the command of all upon him. If I remember right, Huntlie ansuer'd, That while there was any probabilitie of doeing for them or

the Countrie, they'd take none of his advice; but now that things were desperate, and Mar had deserted, they threw themselves upon him, when it was impossible for them to keep together; and desired of them to doe what they could for themselves, for he saw no way to redress affairs. Before, and after he had wrote this letter, he proposed to me to stay with him; and even when I had mounted on horseback, having done me the justice to think I was the onlie [person] who had told him the truth, and the onlie man of sinceritie he had met with in all the course of our affair; for the thing was so plain, I can't persuade myself that most did not see as far as I. His Lordship seem'd still undetermined how to dispose of himself; to make resistance without powder and armes was in vain; to surrender himself appear'd immediate ruine; to goe out of the countrie was the loss of a good estate, and the ruine of a noble and great family. I told him, If he could think that a bodie could keep together, I should not hesitate long, and would take my chance with him; otherwise I'd make my escape while it was to be made; for I was resolv'd not to deliver myself up, having no estate to save by it, and none to loose by going away. Were I in his case, I'd loose life and estate at once, tho' I was not to advise him to be rash in delivering himself up, for it was likelie that those who fell first in the hands of the Government would be the sacrifices, for there was no doubt examples would be made, and especially in the beginning, till they were glutted. But if I did not get off the way I proposed, I needed not think of hiding in the Highlands, when, by Mar's particular care, they had got so bad an impression of me, that I was sure to be murder'd; otherwise I should not be one of the first to follow his scandalous exemple of deserting my Countrie. And Seaton of Touch, who was there with us, had told me that Glengarie had discouraged those of the Low Countries who spoke to him from taking that course.

If the joy of the King's coming was very great, yet it was short-lived, and his return struck all with no less consternation; we were made believe that he was to doe all, so that we needed care for nothing; and he was made believe that we'd doe all, and needed take care of nothing, otherwise it's impossible he could come to us at that time, or at least in the manner he did, without any one thing necessarie, as if his presence, which

at all times muft have been of great ufe, but much more in the beginning, had been all we wanted. Our meeting soon ferved onlie to convince both there was more requifite, and to make Mar's escape, who, while I'm making my own, I fhall leave in his way to France, for all we heard at that time was very undiftin&ct. We travell'd all that night, and got next morning to the Brough, a fmall village of fifher cottages on the Murray Frith, where we found my Lord Duffus refideing; he had got that length in his way to raife thofe of Orkney and Caithnefs, as he pretended. We took boat, as a good many more who came in to the village after us, and left his Lordfhip there, who could not think of leaveing the place, fo good a patriote he was, fo longe as brandie or fuggar was left, for he defired no other ingredients to make his boule. We paffed the Murray Frith, and landed in Caithnefs in five or fix hours, and, with others who followed, made our way through Caithnefs in tuo days. We met together, thirtie fronge, at a point called Ham, a place on the Paintland Frith, oppofite to the Orkneys. We found onlie tuo boats in that place, the one which could transport tuentie-five men, and the other, of four oars, onlie five. The frightfull accounts we had heard of that paffage, and the many terrible tydes in it, made everie bodie defire to be in the great boat. I choofed the little one to be out of noife, and Eckline, Coll. Hay, and Sir George Sinclair, went with me. This Frith, about fifteen miles over, was not represented to us fo bad as we found it; the rouers themfelves went out with horroure in their countenances;¹ few men, who have not made fea-feireing their trade, have been more accuftomed to it than I, or are lefs frightned with the appearances of the danger of it, but I never faw anything fo terrible furprifeing as the goeing out of that creek. When I begun to think coole, the circumftances, and condition we were in, put me in mind of a retreat in Virgil not unlike to ours:

Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis
 Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
 Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
 Erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda. (Virgil. Æneid. iii.)

¹ The terrors of the Pentland Firth are proverbial. The sailors always said their prayers before undertaking the paffage.

After passing that sea, and landing in the Orkneys, we made no longer stop than carrying our boat, with the same hands were in it, over a neck of land, and set to sea again, freight for Kirkwall, a royal burrough on the mainland; after being some time in a long canall we came into a large sea which is called the Scapaflow, wider then the Paintland Frith, and tho' not so dangerous, yet we were caught there in a storm, and with difficultie enough, our men being spent with rowing, we gain'd before night a creek on the mainland, the Island we designed for; and that with our last efforts; the coast all along being rockie, and as perpendicular as a wall. We frighten'd away the seals, who seem'd the onlie inhabitants of that solitude.

*Egressi optata potiuntur Troës arena,
Et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt. (Virgil. Æneid. i.)*

No sooner we were landed then a hurricane arose, which must certainlie [have] sent us to the bottom. Next difficultie was how to know what place in the world we were in, for our fishermen seem'd to know no more then we, and scarce could tell us the name of the Island, and not havinge ane hour's day-light, we fear'd lying on the strand that night. I was detach't to the next rising ground, and with difficultie discover'd a cabbinn at a good distance, in a countrie which was all moor, and, tho' I imagin'd it to be a hut for a shepherd in the summer time, seeing no other, went to it, and found a numerous familie lived in it. On my creeping in, the whole fuarme were struck with amazement, and it was some time before I could encourage my landlord to answer my questions, which were, How far we were from Kirkwall, and if he had such things as horses? After I had persuaded him I was no beast of prey, he said, That we were three miles from the town; but would not confess he had horses till I offer'd him what monie he pleased, and askt a groat, which I was obliged to pay him beforehand, the onlie expedient to persuade him to bring his horses from the hill; his demand being so extravagant, he was in fear I should not stand to my bargain. The others, after carrying the boat half-way up a small hill, according to the directions of one who was post'd to observe what way I went, followed, carrying their baggage, and in some time we mounted Eckline on a strange species of a short legged,

longe-backt, low-bellied, big-headed animal, which the fellow called a horfe ; haveing saddled him with a wip of fraw, and made stirrups and bridle of the fame, we put our baggage on the other, and fo begun our proceffion towards the capitall, in great doubts what to make of thofe longe-bodied low creatures in our equipage, which furroued the ground with their nofes, and feem'd to creep through the heath, and which I was rather inclined to believe was a large fort of reptile than what they were called. Tho' we were haraffed and fatigued with all the evils that could happen both to bodie and mind, we could not hinder ourfelves to laugh at fo comicall a figure as we made. Thus we enter'd the citie, where, to its honour, it muft be own'd, we got as good entertainment as could be got in moft places ; for there was nothing wanting, nor did it relifh the worfe when we reflected

Vos et Scyllæam rabiem penitusque sonantis

Accestis scopulos : vos et Cyclopa saxa

Experti.

(Virgil. Æneid. i.)

The reft of our unluckie companions, who fet out from Caithnefs with us, being in a large boat, could not carrie it over that neck of land I mention'd, and loofed time in hireing fmall boats to carrie them further ; their flotilla was overtakne by the fame ftorm, and difperfed, and they forced to take fhelter in different iflands, from whence a ftorie roafe that feveralles were drowned, which we believed of them, as they did of us. To add to my miffortunes I had occaſion to entertain myſelf at Kirkwall with the melancolie profpect of the ruines of ane old caſtle, the feat of the old Earles of Orkney, my anceftours, and with a more melancolie reflection of fo great and noble ane eftate as the Orkneys and Shetland Ifles being takne from one of them for forfaultrie, by James the Third, after his brother Alexander, Duke of Albanie, had married a daughter of my familie, and for protecting and defending the fame Alexander againft the King, who was to kill him, as he had done his youngeft brother the Earle of Mar ; and for which, after the forfaultrie, he gratefully divorced my forfaulted anceftor's fifter. Tho' I can't perfuade myſelf he had any mifalliance to plead againft a familie in whofe veins the blood of Robert Bruce run as freſh as in his own ; for their title to the Croun was by a

daughter of David Bruce, son to Robert, and our alliance was by marrying a grandchild of the same Robert Bruce, and daughter to the fifth of the same David, out of the familie of Douglas, which at that time did not much fullie the blood no more then my ancestours, having not longe before the honour of marrying a daughter of the King of Denmark's, who was named Florentine, and has left in that toun of Kirkwall a noble monument of the grandeur of the times, the finest church ever I saw intire in Scotland. I then had no small reason to think, in that unhappie state, that many not inconsiderable services render'd since to the Royall Familie for these many years bygone, on all occasions when they stood most in need of friends, which they have very often thought themselves obliged to acknowledge by letters yet extant, and in a stile more like friends than Souveraignes: Our attachment to them, without any other thanks, far less requittall, having brought upon us considerable losses, and, amongst others, that of our all in Cromwell's time; and when left in that condition, without the least relief except what we found in our own virtue, my father was the onlie man of the Scots Nation who had courage enough to protest in Parliement against King William's title to the Throne, which was lost, God knous how, at a time when the losses in the cause of the Royall Familie, and their usuall gratitude, had scarce left him bread to maintain a numerous familie of eleven children who soon after sprung up upon him; in spite of all which he had honourable persisted in his principle: I say, these things consider'd, and after being treated as I was, and in that unluckie state when objects appear to men in true lights, as at the hour of death, could I be blamed for making some bitter reflections to myself, and laughing at the extravagance and unaccountable humors of men, and the singularity of my own case? when I ought to [have] knoun the greatest crime I or my familie could have committed was persevering, to our own destruction, in serving the Royall Familie faithfullie, tho' obstinatelie, after so great a share of depression, and they had been pleas'd to doom me and my familie to starve; this, without other aggravateing circumstances, which I could mention, was too much to make anie man hang himself.

Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo. (Virgil. Æneid. vi.)

I vow to God I am not sensible as yet, nor was I then, of any other crime except this of my originall sin; for I hope it is not that of my haveing on all occasions professed ane unbounded zeale to my poor Countrey, which I defie Mar and the Devill, and both their aide-de-camps and agents, to make out that I have not kept stricktly up to in all the course of my life. My reader may choose either of those reasons, as he pleases. Younge Plinie says, "It's rare that a Prince thinks himself obliged, or for him to regarde that man to whom he thinks he is." Philip of Commines, lib. iii, chap. 12, mentions that Louis the Eleventh said, "It was furer for a Courtier to receive some great recompence from his Prince for a small piece of service, than in rendring him so great services that he must think himself obliged to him; because Princes love those naturallie who are obliged to them, more than those who they are obliged to." "Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur." (Tacit. Annal. iv, 18.) I don't doubt that it will be found that all the authors who have touched that subject have said the same; for the greatest part, if not all, who have served Princes, fairlie and honestlie, have found their services and suffrances not onlie neglected, but that Princes have seem'd to wish the extirpation of all such, if they did not effectuuate it, that none might live to reproache them; or, if out of a greater share of good nature, they abandon'd them in their misfortunes to Providence, and to the oppression and contempt of those who they had made enemies in their quarrell, which has been the flie pollitick of our Princes, they had it to say, they did not know them; their miseries haveing render'd them so unlike to their ancestours, so that it's not possible for them to distinguish them in the croud; while those who have raised themselves at their expence, have made themselves known to them effectually, and carressed by them, whenever those stubborn and obstinate subjects have been pleased, or thought it ansuer'd their ends, to accept of their civilities; after they had done the Royall Familie and their Countrey all the injuries in their pouer, they always were, and will be, honoured and acknowledged by them, for ane encouragement to virtue. However, I question very much, if the laws of nature and nations be consider'd, whatever they may doe as to crimes committed against themselves, whither it be in their pouer

to forgive crimes committed against the Country, especially when these crimes have directly tended to the subversion, and have been succeeded by the actual overthrow of the laws and liberties of the Country, and bribes given and received, to the conviction of all mankind. If Princes have no regard to the laws of Nations, in my way of thinking it may very much shake their own right, and I don't know to whom the example made of Balliol gives the title. I know this digression won't be pleasant to a great many, nor is what I say less true because it's old, or the reflections less just because I have been grossly injured and the resentment fresh, and that men's misfortunes are seldom lessened by themselves, and as seldom make impression on others, no more than dreams; yet I may tell the truth, which, tho' often seen and felt, is very rare to hear, because of the different hopes and fears men are possessed with; of which I am at present prittie free.

I wish from my soule that God, in His Providence, had created us with such a degree of knowledge as could onlie make us subservient to the will of Princes, and that there had been no other end of our creation; or, if it must have been too much trouble to them, even in that case, to drive us, like so many cattle, that He had been pleased to put some distinguishing marks of greater knowledge and authority on some families about them, to help them to drive the great herd; we'd then be very easie, without any share of reason, and these passions of ambition, glorie, vanitie, love, revenge, and the like, which disposes the soule to covet things that Nature tells us are usefull, and to persist in that will. For there would be no need of those agitations of spirits which is necessarie to dispose the bodie to movements which might serve to the execution of the designs of our master, when a good baton or goad could doe it; and save him the trouble of prostituting reason, and making use of it for or against us at everie turn; when we'd not have the least notion of maxims of honour or love to Country, and those of right and wronge, which serve now as so many nooses to catch us in, and form in us so many melancholic reflections afterwards. This must have made the task of Princes very pleasant, and us happy; their will being our onlie dutie, we'd had no more to answer for, either before God or man, or to ourselves; they having a power of dif-

poſeing of us, as men doe at preſent of their ſheep, and that unaccountable ſenſible inſenſibilitie ſo often requir'd of us, I mean that painfull virtue of thanking them for all their gracious injuſtices done us, would be ſo far from diſquieting us or them, that there would be no ſuch thing. But, ſince the Almighty has formed us as we are, having ſometimes an equal knowledge, and ſometimes ſuperiour to theirs, the management of which talents we muſt account for to Him who made us, to our Countrey, and, in ſome ſmall meaſure, to our families and ſelves. If we are to be allowed any internall ſatiſfaction, can a man be blamed for complaining when unjuſtly robbed of his reputation and honour, which ought to be dearer to him than his life; becauſe it renders him intirelie uſeleſs to the ſocietie he is in, certainlie the great deſigne of life, and by it deprives him of the ſolideſt ſatiſfaction of life, with the intention of making him a ſcarecrow to all honeſt men, and make place for villains to impoſe on the ignorant? or am I then to diſſemble my torments to encourage Princes to treat men of honour like beaſts, without feeling of thoſe things? let them doe it who pleaſes, I won't betray the reſt of mankind nor myſelf. Is it too much for them to know they doe injuſtices when we ſuffer? I would not have it thought that I believe theſe are always the effects of Princes' own diſpoſitions, but of thoſe about them, who muſt gaine and ſupport themſelves in their favour by indirec't and unfair means; nor doe I doubt that they have the ſame good qualities with other men, and onlie differ from them in being almoſt always, and in all places, haraſſed and haunted with theſe vermine about them, whoſe buſineſs and intereſt it is to prejudice them againſt honeſt men.

But it's no great matter whether the diſpoſition be naturall or acquired, if we muſt always ſuffer; this conſideration does not much alleviate the pain, even to thoſe who are born with the feweſt and weakeſt paſſions. I don't ſay this becauſe I have been baulkt of any expectation of private advantage, of which my conduct can ſcarcelie be ſuſpected, for that I could [have] attained to with the worthleſſeſt, and by following the croude. I took another route much more difficult, where I could propoſe nothing but the inward ſatiſfaction of ſerveing my Countrey and the King onlie, ſo far as I was convinced it was conſiſtant with the good of my Countrey; and where

I saw their interests were inconsistent, at least as they were managed, I hope none will dispute my having a privilege to dissent, and the rather that the conduct was directly opposite to both the interest of the Country and King, who I was in duty obliged to serve as the first or great member of the State or Country, and whose obligations to serve it are, if possible, greater and more indispensable as mine, the trust reposed in him being so much greater. “*Equidem ego sic apud animum meum statuo: cuicumque in sua civitate amplior, illustriorque locus, quam aliis est, ei magnam curam [esse] reipublicæ: nam cæteris, salva urbe, tantummodo libertas tuta est.*” (Sallust.) When I hear the interest of a King spoke of, I suppose it a synonymous term for that of the Country, or a figurative expression where a part is understood for the whole; the very design of his title, his honour, glorie, and ease, consisting onlie in its happiness; but when I hear and see the name of a King made use of to serve directly to ruine a Country, and trap well-meaning people, I must beg pardon to think that rogues have got the better of a King, and, for their own private ends, betray both Country and King, which does not so rarely happen that we must not believe our own senses. This system of mine discovers itself, and leaves me a right to complain where my Country has been ruin’d, and my reputation injured, which I ought not to outlive, if I could not sufficiently vindicate: It’s not my fault if my treatment carries along with it so great a discouragement that it may teach others how vain and foolish all attempts are to serve men with candour against themselves, when they have a mind to be cheated; and when those who, after risquing their all in doing so, can’t propose to themselves either the true end, which is the satisfaction of doing good, or so much as justice to be done their character, the motives of men of honour; and, tho’ a maigre reward, are not onlie envied of it, but have in place of it to expect enmitie, infamie, and calumnie; and leaves them, to conclude with Brutus, in despair, “*O misera virtus! eras ne fabula? te colui ut rem, sed nomen inane es.*”

We were no sooner in Kirkwall then we thought ourselves prittie safe, and not longe before some few joyn’d us. The great fear being over, most of my fellow-travellers changed their note: Coll. Hay, not being able to hear the least wronge thing of his again beloved brother-in-law, my Lord

Mar, begun to put a favourable construction on all his actions to those who he had occasion to see in that country. For my own part, I, without the least design or desire to please or displease, continued to say the same I had always thought and said of him, and took freedom enough in contradicting the Collonell when I thought him out of the way, which was always, so that I perceived I was so unlucky as to lose his favour, not being able to help myself otherwise than by fretting. I used to ask him, What change he had found in Mar's character betwixt Castle Gordon and the Orkneys, and in which of those places he ought to be believed? But this was not his case particularlie, but that of the whole; which circumstance of human life is very well express'd by Lucretius :

Quo magis in dubiis hominem spectare periculis
 Convenit, adversisque [in] rebus noscere, quid sit.
 Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
 Eliciantur ; et eripitur persona, manet res.

I found the same pains had been taken to give those of Orkney as bad an impression of me as had been done in Caithness, for they believed I had been sent up prisoner to Perth; and was not wanting to speak to Pitcairne about it, Duffus his Aide-de-Camp, who I found there. He denied the having any hand in it, and said it had come from Fercharfon. After being three or four days there, Duffus arrived, with a crew he had picked up on the road, about two hours before we were to leave that place; for no ships being to be got in that part of the island, we were to go to Stromness, a fine harbour, twelve miles distant, where we were informed there were severalls of our folks, and four small ships, any of which would do our business, and imagin'd the news of so many of us being in the islands about, would make them go to sea, or change ports, for fear we should force them to sail with us; besides, it was more than probable that of the number of men-of-war which were in the Murray Frith, some might be sent our way, which would not a little disconcerted us. For it depended of us to be taken, now that we were above a hundred in the islands; and had we got together, (which I always propos'd, but nobody inclined to do, and were in that, as in all other occasions, themselves,) two

of these men-of-war could not have landed as many men as could have done our work, we had so much at stake; and those with us were tolerable well armed, and we could [have] supplied our wants in the islands; but it being still more our business to get out of that trouble, I pressed hard to go to Stromness and secure some of those ships, which were twelve miles from thence. Before we went off it was proposed to inform Duffus, and those with him, in case they had a mind to take the same course; but credit was so fresh, and brandie so plenty, that his Lordship said he had a mind to take another road; by which, tho' perhaps he meant Sweden, we constructed, a short walk from one tavern, or one boule of punch, to another. While we were together, one Mr Nairne, who had been a half-pay Lieutenant, a little fellow, whose business was snarling in every coffee-house in the army in Flanders, and now come along with Duffus, said there were some there who need not take so much pains to make their escape, since he believed them in no danger. I took that to me, and said, If he meant me, he was a damned rascal. No reply being made, it rested there, and we went straight off.

Here I must say, horses being hard to be got, Sir George Sinclair and I, provided we got horses for General Eckline and Colonel Hay, undertook to make our journey on foot; such compassion had I of Hay, tho' of so little use to us in our project, that he was an impediment. But after setting out, a lady, who had more regard for us than we had for ourselves, sent horses after us, of a better sort than those animals who were the natural product of the islands; which put us upon leaving our companions with the servants and little baggage, and going forward with all expedition to Stromness, to persuade those of our people there to seize one of those ships that very night; but to no purpose; for tho' they had got that length, were not determined what course to take; and it appear'd as impertinent to propose to them to seize a ship as it would be to desire of them to set sail that minute to the East Indies. I obbraided them for such indolence to no purpose, and was forced to wait the others' coming up, which was not till next morning; for two were not capable to take a ship at a good distance from land. It was our good luck that the wind blew

fresh into that little bay or harbour, so that the ships could not get out, otherwise I found they had takne the alarme, and all of them had sheer'd off; tho' we dreaded, at same time, that wind's bringing up the men-of-war upon us from off [f] the Murray Frith.

Next morning Eckline and Hay joyn'd us, with our servants; but the wind was so high there was no coming at the ship; for then we were stronge enough to seife a ship ourselves; and the seven or eight we found in that toun, we judged would at least help to keep the toun in awe, for it was prittie populous, and we did not know how they were inclined; and, for that reason, took what powder they had, bore it out with a high hand, laid hold of tuo Justices of Peace, to prevent their moveing, and, in a word, trusted more to the name of a number of our people's being in the islands, whom we gave out were tuice as manie as reallie they were, than to ourselves; and in this posture continued tuo nights, till the wind fell. By this time those who we met there were at last half determin'd to goe alonge with us; and to avoide disorder in the toun, seven of us took a boat in the night, when all were in bed, of which number was my friend Coll. Hay, for he could want rest, and, without the least trouble, seifed the biggest ship, of 60 tun, loaded with beef, very fit for our purpose; all this I mention more particularly to shew how undetermined some were, and how uncapable others to help themselves. No sooner it was reported in the countrie we had seifed a ship, then a part of Duffus' crew deserted him, after some nights' heartie drinking; and tho' they had refused to goe alonge with us at first, came now to us, a day before we were to saile, and haveing no time to provide for themselves, pretended they'd goe with us, and were to take their hazard of the little bread, bear, and water, which we had calculated onlie for ourselves. Collonell Hay fell in with them, because they called him Brigadeer; when I told them plainlie, They might goe if they would, but if they had not their provisions readie, we'd saile with the first faire wind, and not stay one minute for them who had so much neglected themselves; and if they went without provisions, I should take my hazard of their shareing with us; nor was I so plaine till I heard Mr Nairne talk big, as if he had a mind to force every thing; thinking to impose,

because their partie was as strong as ours. That night another of their partie, one Mr Freebairn, a printer, having got himself drunk, inclined to be impertinent; it seems it was to be a merit; but on my speaking to him next morning, when cool, he thought convenient to beg pardon. I told this to Seatoun of Touch, who proposed the going aboard, with our servants, and allow none of them to set a foot in that ship; which, with our servants, and others who would go along, we could easily have done, being masters of powder, and better armed than they; but I was averse from it till we saw a great necessity, having more compassion on them than they had of themselves. Breco, Grahame, and others, advised me not to go along with them; but Breco more plainly told me I'd fall in quarrels, because he had heard them threaten about me; and some of them having been officers of the army, and others pretending to be madd, they seem'd dangerous; which I was not moved with, believing myself as dangerous as any, and should never forgive myself if I had been capable of shunning any of them. Yea, these gentlemen had bragged in Caithness how they'd use me when they met me, and, as I have been since told, some of the gentlemen of that country were so kind as to send to advertise of it, but I was already gone from the Orkneys. We obliged an Orkney pilot, who knew the West Seas, to go along with us, many being at first inclined to go that way, tho' we were not determin'd what course to steer, even after the wind calmed, and turned fair enough to get out of the harbour, yea, after we were all on board; for then no small part wanted to go to shore again, to take that night rest. For my part, I said, They might go out who pleased, but I'd stay in the ship, and if any would stay with me the ship should positively fail; tho' the skipper pretended he run a risque in going out; but the fellow, seeing our divisions and irresolution, designedly improved them, and was in expectation hourly of the men-of-war's coming up to relieve him. However, some being passive, and others inclining to be gone, my positiveness determined them, so that, an hour after, we went out to a safe road, where the pilot told me, He was afraid of our meeting the men-of-war next morning. Nor were we at that time as yet determined what course to take; the one part being for one route, and another for a different, and

some for a third route, and some for none at all till the weather was more settled; for my part I was indifferent what course they'd steer, provided they went any way where I could hope to get out of that hell, tho' I inclined, as the safest course, to goe by the back of Ireland. It was objected that the voyage would be too tedious, especially in that season of the year, in so bad a ship; and that our bread and drink, nor our water and oate meale, would not hold out, for there was not cask enough to be got in the place for forty-five persons on board. As to the last objection, I answer'd, We might coast it, or at least were to hope we should not be drove so far off the shore [but] that in a few days we could fall in with some of the Scots Isles, or with some part of Ireland, and if we could not buy, were strong enough to force provisions anywhere.

The greatest part inclining for Calais or the coast of France, I easily yielded, the wind being faire, tho' I represented to them the danger of falling in with men-of-war cruising in the Channell, or the runners which must be sent in pursuit of the ship the King went in, and might be waiting on the catch for others who, they might expect reasonable, would make their retreat that way; and our ship being heavily loadned, and but a bad sailer, I fear'd the worst. But our French pilote, who was the same who had the care of that ship lost at St Andrews, and followed us to Orkeney, having a view of his own, undertook to carry us through the Flemish banks; which he denied afterwards. So at last we resolv'd for Calais, or that coast of France; and to get rid of the men-of-war on the Scots coast, sail'd eighteen leagues to the northward, some continuing to speak of Norway: for it was not possible to please all, every one belching out what his follie dictated.

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium: sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt. (Virg. Æneid, i, 204-206.)

And, as may be seen by the sequel, we still more unstable as the winds,

not onlie "Incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur," (Virg. *Æneid*, iii, 7); but, as we had begun our affair, so this part of us were to end it, "in tam diversa magister, ventus, et unda trahunt."



INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE
A			
ABERCROMBIE of Brunstein,.....	315	Bibliothek at Dumblain, consultation held	
Abercrombie, Dr, sent with a Petition to		there,.....	137
France,	126, 256, 322	Braco, House of,.....	240, 241
Aboyne, Alexander, Earl of,	51	Breadalbane, John, Earl of,	185, 260
Achterhouse, Laird of. <i>Vide</i> Lyon.		Bridge of Ierne (Earn),.....	121, 200
Allen, Water of,	225	Bruce, Dr,	115
Anne, Queen of England,	5, 7, 10, 29	Bruce, Sir Thomas, of Kinross,.....	52, 53, 123
Ardoch,	222	Bruce, Thomas, son to the Earl of Kin-	
Areskine. <i>Vide</i> Erskine.		cardine,	161, 166, 264
Argyle, John, Duke of,.....	41, 55, 171, 268	Bruntisland, project to seize arms at, 95, 100,	
— continues at Stirling,	93	107, 108, 117, 233	
— comes to Edinburgh, ...	129, 220-226	C	
Arthur, Thomas,.....	29, 30	CADOGAN, General,	331
Arthur, Dr,	30	Cameron, Captain Allan,	333, 345
Athole, John, Duke of,	16-20, 67	Cameron, John, of Lochiel,	82
— His great influence,	35	Campbell, Sir James, of Auchinbrek,	187
Auchterarduch, Mar's forces arrive there, 132		Campbell of Glendernle,	260
B			
BALCARRES, Colin, Earl of, 68, 164, 165, 171,		Carstairs of Kinucher, (Kilconquhar,) in Fife, 78,	
172		321	
Balfour, Major, 10, 81, 99, 102, 214, 216, 276		Cathcart, Colonel Charles,	168, 184
Balfour, Colonel,.....	46-49, 81	Chevalier, the, lands at Peterhead,.....	333
Balfour, Henry, of Dunbog, 17, 22, 43, 137, 138		Claironald, Captain of, killed at Sheriff-	
Balfour of Forret,	22	muir,	227, 238, 239
Bannerman, Sir Alexander, of Elsick, 263, 314		Clephan, Lieut.-Col.,	83, 84, 96, 306
Barafield. <i>Vide</i> Walkinshaw.		Cockburn, Sir Adam, of Ormiston, Lord	
Barclay, Chaplain to Mar,	262	Justice-Clerk,	31
Bawtee, the nickname of a Lord Sinclair, 325		Committee of Forage,	249
Beatson of Killrie,	30, 168	— of Intelligence,	248
Berwick, Duke of,	15, 16, 17, 20, 42	Cook, General,	359
— report of his landing,	81	Crawford, Henry,	104, 116, 251
Bethune of Balfour,	15	Creile (Crail),	114, 115-119
		Cromarty Frith,	195
		Cupar-Fife, Proclamation at,.....	110, 113

	PAGE		PAGE
D			
DOUGLAS, Robert,	124, 144, 191	Fercharson, (Farquharson;) Major James, Mar's Aide-de-Camp,	342, 353
Doune, Bridge of,	142, 200	Fletcher of Saltoun,	332
Dragoons—the Scots Greys, 85, 137, 220, 237		Forbes, Charles,29-31, 92, 203, 256, 316	
Drummond, James, Lord, 29, 31, 68, 91, 137-139, 240, 260, 300		Forfar, Earl of,	228
——— made Lieutenant-General of Horse, 74		Forrester, General,	146-158, 184
Drummond, James,	241	Forth, Fords of the, called the Fords of Frew, Frith of, project of passing the, 104, 144, 153, 154, 158, 201, 202, 209	
Drummond, Laurence,	240	Fotheringham of Powrie,.....	307
Drummond of Logie-Almond,	73	France, King of,.....	20, 31
Duffus, Kenneth Sutherland, Lord, 69, 232, 262-265		France, Regent of. <i>Vide</i> Orleans.	
——— arrives at Castle-Gordon,.....	347-354	Frazier of Frazerdale,	193, 200
Dumblane, Mar's forces arrive there, 132-142		Freebairn, James, Treasurer-Depute, 247, 280	
——— Bibliothek of,.....	137	Freebairn, Robert, Printer,	126, 376
——— Battle of,.....	215-228	French Pilot,.....	377
Dunfermline, surprize of Mar's Forces there, 168, 174		G	
Dunnottar Castle,	257	GAY, Laird of,	40
Dunrobin, Castle of,	195	George I., King of England,	26, 294
Dysart, Town of,	120	——— Letter to, from the Earl of Mar,...	64
E			
ECKLINE, General, 344-349, 357, 363, 365, 374		Glengary, Alexander Macdonell, Baron of,.....	20, 82, 189-363
Edinburgh Castle, attempt to seize it de- scribed,	29	Glenrarnald, Allan Macdonald of,.....	189
Elgin, Magistrates of, send notice to Huntly of a report of Government Forces being landed at Forres,	339, 340, 351	Gordon of Glenbucket,.....	136, 168, 342
Erskine, (Areskine,) David, Lord Mar's Aide-de-Camp,.....	238, 244	Gordon, General, ... 28, 189, 190, 204-207, 214	
Erskine, Sir John, of Alva, 174, 175, 256		Gordon, Sir Robert, of Gordonston, 142, 264, 270, 326	
Erskine, John,	168	——— Suspicions against him,	326
Erskine, William, brother to the Earl of Buchan,	244	Grahame, of Braco,	240
F			
FARQUHARSON, John, of Inderie, (In- verie,)	32, 102, 296	Grahame, Major Thomas,	167, 168, 171
——— of Indercauld, (Invercauld,) ... 19, 32		Grant, Captain,.....	340
		Gunns, the,.....	341, 355
H			
		HAMILTON, General, 15, 21, 22, 32, 45, 53, 196-199, 213, 228-230, 234	
		——— comes to Perth,	50
		Hay, Colonel John,.....	35, 39, 45, 47, 80, 126

	PAGE		PAGE
Hay, Lieutenant-Colonel, brother-in-law to		Kirkwall, in Orkney,	367, 372
Mar, sent to the Duke of Athole, 35; 332, 362		Kraigengelt, Charles,	109
Hepburn, Thomas,	98, 99		
Highflyers, the,	8	L	
Highlanders, the Master of Sinclair's		LAWRENCE, Lieutenant-Colonel, the result	
opinion of them as soldiers,	130	of his embassy to Stirling,	228, 298, 305
— their attack at Sheriffmuir,	217	Leith, Citadel of,	56, 131
Huntly, Alexander, Marquis of, 19, 158, 181-183,		Leslie House,	331
189, 192, 307-313, 329-333		Lindsay, son of Lord Balcarras,	172
— leaves Perth,	317	Linlithgow, James, Earl of, ... 33, 36, 139, 200	
— receives information of the Cheva-		Livingston, Captain,	217
lier's having left Scotland,	360	Lochiel. <i>Vide</i> Cameron.	
		Lovat, Lord,	340, 341
I		Lyon, the Lord,	12
INDERIE, Laird of. <i>Vide</i> Farquharson.		Lyon, Brigadier, of Auchterhouse, ... 51, 227,	244
Indernitie, Laird of. <i>Vide</i> Stenart.			
Invercauld. <i>Vide</i> Farquharson.		M	
Inverness, Castle of,	196, 243, 345	MACDONALD, Sir Donald of Sleat, 193, 254, 313	
Islay, Earl of,	187, 240	Macdonald of Keppoch,	266
		Macgregors, the,	233
J		Mackeys, the,	340
JACOBITES, the, distinguished as honest		Mackenzie, Alexander, of Prestonhall, ... 193	
men,	19	Mackenzie, Sir John,	196, 243
James, King, the old Pretender,	91	Mackenzie, of Kintail,	194
		Mackintosh, Brigadier, of Borlome, 57, 91, 103,	
K		104, 119-130, 145-157	
KEITH, James, afterwards Field-Marshal, 131,		— ordered to leave Bruntisland	127
161		— lands in East Lothian,	129
Kenmure, Viscount,	154	— at Leith,	130
— Letter to,	145	Mackintosh, Laird of,	156
Keppoch. <i>Vide</i> Macdonald.		Maclean, Sir John,	158, 189, 274
Killric, Laird of. <i>Vide</i> Beatson.		Macleods, the,	335, 337
Kilsyth, William, Viscount, joins the Earl		Macphersons, the,	233
of Mar,	7, 33, 134, 178	Maitland, Alexander, Uncle to the Earl of	
Kingston, James Seaton, Viscount of, 183,		Southesque,	21, 34, 132
275-278, 297		Malcolm of Grange, 12, 15-28, 61, 104, 164,	
Kinloch, Sir James, 77, 275, 277, 278, 283, 285,		165	
286, 306, 324		Mar, John, Earl of, lands at Elie,	15
Kinross, Town of,	108	— goes to Dupplin,	17
Kintore, Earl of,	363		

	PAGE		PAGE
Mar, John, Earl of, remains with Invercauld, and meets with Huntly, Tullibardine, and Southesque,	19	Ogilvie of Boyne,	117, 118, 179, 283, 340
—— shews the King's picture,	20	Ogilvie, Archibald,	270
—— comes to Perth,	57	Orleans, Duke of, Regent of France, 25, 32, 126, 127, 293	
—— his character,	26	Ormond, Duke of,	15, 20, 27
—— his letter to King George,	63	Orrok, Laird of,	124
—— his marriage described,	65	Oxford, Harley, Lord,	60-65
—— writes to the Master of Sinclair and Colonel Balfour,	107, 117	P	
—— determines to make a feint on Stirling,	131	PANMURE, James, Earl of,	34, 36, 50
—— intercepted letters of,	144-149	—— comes to Perth,	50
—— encampment of his Forces before Battle of Sheriffmuir,	208	—— taken Prisoner and Wounded at Sheriffmuir,	227
—— speech before Battle of Sheriffmuir,	212	Panmure, Lady,	280
—— his conduct at Sheriffmuir,	219	Paterson, Sir Hugh, of Bannockburn, ...	7, 116, 263, 286
—— frames an oath,	269	Pentland Frith, the,	365
—— association, proposal of,	272	Perth, Town of, 15, 39, 142, 196-199, 291, 334, 338	
—— waits on the Chevalier,	325	Peterhead, the King lands at,	333
Marischal, George, Earl,	68, 162, 163	Pittenweem,	115, 118
Marlborough, Duke of,	5	Powrie, Laird of. <i>Vide</i> Fotheringham.	
Maule, Mr Hary, 34, 37, 242, 276, 281, 283, 301		Preston,	251
Melford, Lord,	360	R	
Monroe, Colonel, of Foulis,	340	RATTRAY of Craig Hall,	277
Murray, Lady Anne Campbell, Countess of, 302		Ree, (Reay,) Lord, Chief of the Mackeys, 340	
Murray, Lord George,	35, 40, 77, 192, 287	Robertson of Struan,	48, 259
Murray, James,	327	Rob Roy Macgregor,	201
Murray, Lord William, fourth son of the Duke of Athole. <i>Vide</i> Nairne.		—— surprises some of the Swiss Troops in Fife,	356
Murray Frith, the,	352, 365	Rollo, Robert, Lord, ... 80, 191, 192, 273, 279	
N		Rothos, John, Earl of,	10, 25, 38, 53
NAIRNE, Lord,	35, 50, 77, 128, 129	—— raises the posse comitatus of Fife, 38	
Nairne, Lieutenant,	374	—— which disperses in a panic,	39
Nairne, Major,	129	S	
O		St GERMAINS, Court of,	260
OGILVIE, James, Lord, son to the Earl of Airley,	77	Scots Gentlemen, their Military character, 237	
		Seaforth, William, Earl of, 69, 193, 200, 324, 355	

	PAGE		PAGE
Seaton House,	130, 142	Stirling of Kier,	133, 135
Seaton of Touch,	376	Stirling, John, of Kippendavie, 135, 204-209,	214
Sheriffmuir, Battle of,	213	Strathallan, William Drummond, Vis-	
—— Reflections on the Battle of,	228	count of,	73
Sinclair, David, discovers designs against		Strathmore, John, Earl of, marches to	
the Master of Sinclair, 292, 296, 313, 359, 360		Perth with 200 men,	40
Sinclair, Sir George,	374	—— driven on the Isle of May, ...	128, 182
SINCLAIR, JOHN, MASTER OF, leaves Scotland,	4	—— killed at Sheriffmuir,	226
—— made a Captain in Marlborough's		Strathnavor, Lord, son of the Earl of	
Army,	5	Sutherland,	195
—— obliged to leave it,	ib.	Stromness, in Orkney,	374
—— waits on Lord Mar,	6	Struan. <i>Vide</i> Robertson.	
—— urges the Fortification of Perth, ...	46	Sutherland, John, Earl of, ...	95, 195, 324, 355
—— project of sending him to the			
Lothians with part of the Insurgent		T	
Forces,	54, 55	TINMOUTH, Lord, son of the Duke of	
—— employed to seize arms at Brunt-		Berwick,	356
island,	97	Tories, the,	8 and <i>passim</i>
—— his Instructions to march through		Townsend, Lord,	295
Fife,	107	Tullibardine, William, Marquis of,	19, 67
—— his conduct at Sheriffmuir,	218	—— joins Mar,	34
—— goes to take leave of his friends,	315		
—— leaves Perth and joins Huntly, ...	328	U	
—— goes to Caithness,	367	UNION, The, of Scotland and England, 2-4, 60	
Smith of Methven,	44, 280, 292-293, 306	Urchard, Colonel,	44, 166
Smith, Peter,	52		
Southesque, James Carnegie, Earl of, 51, 69,		W	
72, 297		WALKINSHAW of Barafeld,	51, 143, 182
Steuart of Appin,	82, 93, 144	Wemyss, Earl of, ..	39
Steuart, Francis, brother to the Earl of		Wemyss House,	121
Murray,	24, 43, 73, 191, 301, 315	Whigs, the,	8 and <i>passim</i>
—— returns from Fife,	301-304	Witham, (Whitham,) General, ...	135, 217, 236
Steuart, John, of Indernitie, (Inveritie,) 77, 102			

Edinburgh : Alex. Laurie & Co., Printers to Her Majesty.



