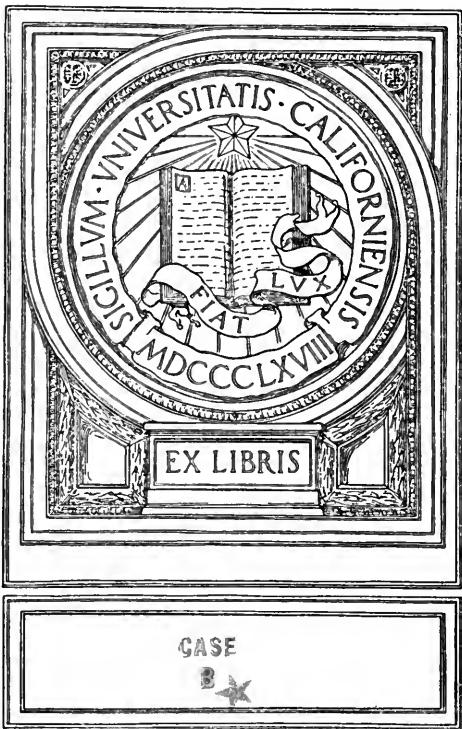


# HISTORICAL NOTES





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WILLIAM, 5th EARL OF SEAFORTH.



# HISTORICAL NOTES

OR

ESSAYS ON THE '15 AND '45.

BY

D. MURRAY ROSE,

EDITOR OF "REVENUE OF THE SCOTTISH CROWN," "PRINCE CHARLIE'S  
FRIENDS," ETC.

EDINBURGH:  
WILLIAM BROWN,  
26 PRINCES STREET.  
1897.

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TO VIVI  
ANNOGLIO

*Mem*

## Dedication.



TO MY TUTOR

WILLIAM MEIKLEJOHN, Esq.,

THESE ESSAYS ARE DEDICATED

IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF MUCH KINDNESS

DURING THE YEARS 1881-6.

899490



## P R E F A C E.

THE Essays, which are printed in this volume, were contributed to the Press during the last few years, and are given in this form because it was represented to me that these papers should be rendered more accessible to historical students. The original documents, upon which the articles on the Lords Reay, the Earldom of Ross, and Lord Seaforth's campaign are founded, are among the MSS. in the British Museum, and Public Record Office.

My warmest thanks are due to the officials of these institutions for their unfailing courtesy and kindness. Especially have I to express my deepest obligations to Sir E. Maunde Thompson and F. Bickley, Esq., of the Department of MSS., British Museum, for the readiness with which they invariably tendered assistance and advice; while Mr Salisbury, of H.M. Record Office, always renders valuable aid to students of the MSS. under his care.

His Grace the late Duke of Leeds in the kindest way permitted an examination of a most remarkable



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# HISTORICAL NOTES.

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## I.

### LORD REAY'S DUEL.

SIR DONALD MACKAY of Farr, raised to the Peerage as Lord Reay in 1628, was a notable man in his day and generation. Strange stories regarding him are still told by the peasantry of the Mackay country. By many of his contemporaries he was believed to be in close communion with "Auld Nick," and it is said that all the fairies, witches, and wizards of the North were ever ready to obey his slightest behest. Aided thus powerfully, he might have been a great benefactor of his country; but his schemes for the improvement of Sutherland were constantly thwarted by the "good men" of the district, whose long prayers on more than one occasion caused a stampede among Sir Donald's fairy labourers.

He did not follow in the beaten path of his ancestors, and this, in a measure, accounts for his extraordinary reputation. The hot blood of his

forbearers led them to pillage and murder their neighbours: they made surreptitious raids into Sutherland, Assynt, or Caithness, and with a "strong hand" lifted the "marts" and the "muttons" of these countries. Upon occasion they would patch up their petty feuds by the sacrifice of a sister's or a daughter's happiness, and, descending from their rugged mountains, lead their "tail" to fight in the forefront of Scotland's battles.

Times were changed, for the politic marriage of James IV. and the timely death of Queen Elizabeth had placed the Stuart upon the English throne. The Earls of Sutherland and Caithness had become too powerful to be molested with impunity, and the Chief of the Mackays sought out "fresh fields and pastures new." Sir Donald had heard of the fame of the King of Denmark, and, buckling on his broadsword, determined to fight under the man whom he describes as "ane resolutt soldett." The "bratach" of the Mackays was unfurled in a foreign land, and the slogan of the clan struck terror into a foreign foe. On many a hard fought field Sir Donald and his men distinguished themselves, and when he returned to Britain his fame preceded him. His impecunious sovereign had scented the hard won gold from afar, and an accommodating subject had his name inscribed in the Roll of Peers. It was as Lord Reay that the Chief of the Mackays returned to Germany, surrounded

by the chivalry of the North.\* But dark days were in store for him.

The gentlemen of Fife of about three centuries ago had an evil reputation as slanderers and talebearers. The great Chief of Kintail, and the two Island magnates of the West—Macleod and Macdonald, each became victims of the unbridled tongues of these busybodies. Little wonder, therefore, that “they swair a grete aith to heid the fyrst Fifer” who crossed their path, or set foot in their domains. Another Highland Chief, when in the zenith of his fame, had his honour tarnished. The story of the dispute between Lord Reay and Ramsay is dark and involved. It would appear that Ramsay accused Reay of certain treasonable speeches in reference to the levies raised by the Marquis of Hamilton for the assistance of the King of Sweden. Ramsay affirmed that Reay had said Hamilton’s troops “war intendit for som uther purpos quhilk wold break out in its awin tym,” darkly hinting at an attempt on Hamilton’s part to claim the throne. Accuser and accused being brought face to face in the presence of the King, mutual recriminations ensued; and as the result, the indignant Chief challenged Ramsay to mortal combat. A High Court of Chivalry was specially constituted for the occasion,

\* In one of his letters he complains of the small pay given by his commander, and adds—“But iff he opines not his pours, I will sik ane uther maister: the King of Speen is ane trew man and ane *good payer*.”

the 20th November 1631 being fixed as the date of the trial. From the records of the period we learn that Reay appeared before the Court, ushered in by a herald, and accompanied with his sureties—Sir Pierce Crosby, Sir Walter Crosby, Sir William Forbes, Sir Robert Gordon, and Sir William Evers. He was apparelled in black velvet trimmed with silver buttons, his sword in a silver embroidered belt, and his order of a Scottish Baronet about his neck, and so, “with reverence, entered into his pew, his Counsel, Dr Reeves, standing by.”

It is satisfactory to learn that he behaved, as became the head of a warlike clan, “like himself (tall, swarthy, black but comely), very port-like and of staid countenance.” Ramsay was ushered in by another herald, his sureties being Lord Roxburgh and Lord Abercorn, “and his deport like himself, stern and brave, a fair, ruddy, yellow-headed bush of hair; his apparel scarlet, overlaced with silver, the ground hardly decerned, and lined with sky-coloured plush, but unarmed, without a sword. After his reverence to the Court, he faced the Appellant, who alike sterned a countenance at him.”

The sentence of the Court was given as follows:—

“The Lord Constable (Earl of Lindsay) taking the appeal in his hands, and folding it up, put it into the glove which the Lord Reay has cast forth in the Court for a pawn in this behalf, and held the Bill and glove in his right hand, and in

his left the answer and glove of David Ramsay, and then joining the Bill and Answer and the gloves and folding them together, he, with the Earl Marshal (Earl of Arundel), adjudged a duel between the parties."

The duel was to be fought on the 12th April following, in the Tuttlefield, between sun and sun. The King and Court were to be present. The weapons were to be "a long sword, four foot and a half in length, hilt and all; in breadth two inches; a pike fifteen foot in length, head and all; in breadth an inch." These weapons were each of them to be *with a point*, but the combatants might abate of the length and breadth if they thought fit.

The day of trial was fast approaching, and Lord Reay, like many another, experienced how fitful a thing was popular favour. Friends, relations, and those who were wont to fawn upon him in the hey-day of his prosperity, now held aloof, and the gallant chief, desirous to appear in a manner befitting his birth and quality, addresses the following pathetic letter,

"To the ryght honourable my very noble good lord the Earl of Carlile, Viscount Donkester, etc."

"Right Honourable,—May it pleas yor honor that a reall frend is best knowne in adversitie. I have in all this tyme of my trialles and trubles reserved yor lordship to the after shot as the surest pillor of my fortunes under God and our gracious sovereign our king. Good my lord, soe is my present estate that I am brought soe loe, and ow of meanes and monies, that I know not what way to subsist until the day of

my triall. Neither know I what way to furnisch myselve with any kind of equipage fitt for my birth or quality except his Majestie be so graciouslie pleased as to cause to be given to me part of the monies which is dew to me. I caused a petition to be presented to his Majestie, but had noe answer thereof, so that I most humblie request yor lordship to present this my other petition to his Majestie, and to return me an answer by this noble bearer my frend what I may expect seeing the time is so neare, and I left destitute of all other helpe, by reason that I did only trust into those monies due unto me heere : I think it the greatest of my misfortunes that I am brought into this straight which I think I have to blott paper with. I have received fifteene hundred pound since I came last into England, and his Majestie oweth me as yet two thousand five hundred pounds. I desire now but the odd five hundred pound to do my present business which is his Majesties owne service more than mine, and I am willing not to presse the other two thousand pound till God makes an end of this trialles. Although his Majestie did owe me none, yet, without offence, I may say his Majestie is obleeged in honor not to suffer me to come to ruin or disgrace at this time, seeing that it is for his royall safty that I have brought myself into this necessitie. As your lordship has ever beine my surest patron and truest frend, I expect this favor once more, amongst the rest of yor lordships manifold courtusies shown to me, as to think whether I live or die that I am,—Your Lordships most humble servant,

“ March this 29th.”


 A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Henry de la Beche". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'H' and 'd' and a flourish at the end.

The duel was postponed by order of the King until the 17th of May, but five days before this he decided

that it should not take place, and committed both Lord Reay and Ramsay to the Tower till they found sureties to keep the peace.

Of Lord Reay's after life, and of his interesting matrimonial ventures, we say nothing further than that, in regard to the last, from his own curious confession it would appear he could say with truth, in the words of Shakespeare :—

“Full many a lady I have eyed with best regard, and many a time the harmony of their tongues hath into bondage brought my too diligent ear.”

At any rate he had to pay sweetly for going off with Lizzy Tamson.

## II.

LORD REAY AND GENERAL MONCK, 1655.

THE great Civil War, mainly due to the pernicious influence exercised over Charles I. by his Queen, revealed in an extraordinary fashion the character of the governing families in the North. Scarcely one emerged from the struggle with credit. Mercenary to the last degree, they, like the weathercock, turned to every wind which blew private advantage to them. Loyalty and patriotism became secondary considerations.

Of the part taken by the Sutherlands, Mackays, Mackenzies, Munroes, Macdonalds, and others, the true history has yet to be written ; but of all these none acted so deceitfully as Seaforth, who, while actually professing loyalty to his sovereign, was deep in intrigue with the other side, scheming to bring about a matrimonial alliance between his son and the daughter of Cromwell ! Further, he engaged " to secure the Highland chiefs to favour Cromwell's measures." The Seaforths of those days were engaged in questionable intrigues, and to them must be traced the infamous calumny attached to the good



name of the Macleods of Assynt, in connection with the capture of Montrose.

Glengarry was ready to go anywhere and do anything, "provided he was made Earl of Ross." Indeed, one of the royalist generals assured him that this "earldom would be the reward of his loyalty," but Charles gives Glengarry good advice when he tells him "not to place reliance on all he is told"; the letter, however, conveying the impression that the bestowal of the earldom would not be a remote contingency. General Munro is not proof against an earldom and an annuity of £2000, which Charles distinctly offers him in consideration for services to be rendered.

The Earl of Sutherland and his neighbour Lord Reay were alternately Covenanters and Royalists. Sutherland raised a regiment of 800 men on behalf of the Estates, but had not the wherewithal to clothe them, and the "maintenance of half his regiment cost 200 bolls of meal and £1000 monthly." John Mackay, Lord Reay, suffered imprisonment on more than one occasion at the hands of both parties. The story of his escape from Edinburgh Castle is a matter of history. He took part with the Earl of Glencairn and General Middleton, both of whom were defeated by Monck,—who pacified the country by exacting bonds from the heads of families for their peaceable behaviour.

The following Articles of Agreement between General Monck and Hugh Mackay, acting on behalf of Lord Reay, are interesting as showing the steps taken by the Scottish Commander-in-Chief to secure peace in these northern parts. Mackay's seal is curious, inasmuch as it contains merely the badge (a dexter hand holding a dagger surrounded by the motto "Manu forte") instead of the coat of arms usually affixed to such documents :—

"Articles of Agreement made and concluded the eighteenth day of May 1655, between the Right Honourable General Monck, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, for and on behalf of his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the one part, and Hugh Mackaye, for and on behalfe of the Right Honourable John Lord Rea and his partie, on the other part.

"1. It is agreed and concluded that the Lord Rea shall, together with all horseman of his partie (included in this capitulacion), repaire or come to such place neere Inverness as Col. Ffitchie shall appoint within twentie-eight daies next after signing of these present articles. And then deliver upp their armes to Col. Ffitchie, to whom they are to give notice 24 howres before their approche.

"2. That the Lord Rea shall give security of two thousand pounds to the said Col. Ffitchie within fourtene daies after his parties delivering up their armes for his and his frendes and followers peaceable deoportment to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England and his successors, and that Hugh Mackay of Dilred, Hugh Mackay of Scoury, Robert Mackey, Donald Mackey, and William Mackey shall be bound in the said bond, and shall have pro-

tection from arreste whilst they come in to enter into bond as aforesaid. And that George, Master of Rea, sonne to the said Lord Rea, shall, when the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland shall desire it, be sent to and reside at such of the Universities in Scotland as the Lord Rea shall choose for the performance of these articles. And that such others included in this capitulacion of the Lord Rea's forces, or partie, as have estates in land, or were officers under him, shall give good security for their peaceable deportment: a Lieutenant-Col. in the sume of three hundred pounds; a Major in two hundred pounds; a Captane in one hundred pounds; a Lieutenant or Capnett in sixty pounds; and an Ensign in fifty pounds; and the private soldiers shall give their engagement to the like purpose.

“3. That the officers shall be at liberty to marche away with their horses and swords, and the private men with their horses to their respective habitacions, or places of aboade, where they are to sell their horses within three weeks to their best advantage, and both officers and soldiers are to have passes from Colonel Ffitchie to goe to their homes, and that the Lord Rea and his friends and followers shall have liberty to carry their armes for their owne defence against broken men and theeves within their own bounds.

“4. That the Lord Rea, together with all those of his partie included in this capitulacion, whether officers, private soldiers, or servants, under his Lordship, who have not killed men in cold blood, shall enjoy their estates, both real and personal, without any molestation. Any act or anything by them formerly done in reference to the late war between England and Scotland since 1648, notwithstanding: they submitting to all common burdens equal with others of the nation. Provided that such of Lord Rea's partie as have lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, his Highness and his Council or the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland, are not to have or claim them by virtue of these

articles; but what land of theirs are not disposed of they are to have and enjoy.

“5. That the Lord Rea shall be remitted his wholl bypast cess till the first of September last, from which time he is to paye it in according to his proporcion. And that whensoever Colonel Ffitcher or other officer commanding in Caithness or Inverness shall have occasion to send for the said John Lord Rea about public affaires, his lordschip shall pass and repass without arrest or molestacion by messengers-at-arnes.

“6. That all such horsemen of the Lord Rea's partie who shall conceal, or willingly imbezell, their armes and not bring them into Colonel Ffitcher according to his agreement shall loose the benefit of these articles.

“7. That in caise there be any howse or howses of strength within the Lord Rea's bounds, that the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland shall require to be garrisoned, the Lord Rea shall by these articles, be engaged to deliver up the same.

“8. That these articles shall be ratified by his Highness the Lord Protector and his Council, and delivered to the Lord Rea or whom he shall appoint within three months after the date hereof.

“Sealed and signed in  
the presence of

“William Clark,

“Thomas Fitcher,

“Mathew Lock.”

*George Mower*

*Hugh Inky*

### III.

#### LORD BERRIEDALE AND HIS SON, 1638.

THE following letters are peculiarly interesting, as much for the admirable spirit which both reveal, as for the fact that few items of confidential correspondence have come down to us from the stirring time of the Covenanters. In the disastrous conflict which had arisen between Charles and his subjects, there perished the best and bravest of Britain's sons. In the bitter struggle families were divided; father met son face to face on the field of battle, and the result was that many of the noblest and proudest houses in the kingdom were brought to ruin.

The Earl of Caithness and his son, Lord Berriedale, were opposed to the Covenant, while the latter's son, best known as the "Master of Berriedale," was considered one of the leaders of the Covenanters. The loyalty of the Master to the cause he espoused is evinced in the letter which he sent to his father. Lord Berriedale on more than one occasion had to remonstrate with his son, whom he calls "obstroporus," but the young man appears to have been under the influence of his spouse (Margaret Mackenzie

of Scaforth), and, where his conscience was concerned, paid little attention to his father's injunctions. The course of action pursued by the Master attracted the attention of his relative the Marquis of Huntly, who was head of the King's party in North Britain. Huntly accordingly sent "a very gude ramage falcone for my Lord's delectation" to Berriedale, and took advantage of the opportunity to write thus on 20th December 1638:—"As you desyre to prevent your sone his ruin, stryve to bring him off in tyme from these iddle courses, for hereafter it will be impossible." Being thus admonished, the father wrote to his son two days later the letter which we give below.

The Master of Berriedale died of fever at Edinburgh in 1639, and left a son, George, who, on the death of his great-grandfather in 1643, became sixth Earl of Caithness. This George was that Earl who sold his titles and estates to Campbell of Glenorchy. He was a weak man, and the unworthy son of a spirited father.

#### LORD BERRIEDALE'S LETTER.

"Sone,—Howsoever your unnaturality and miscarriages have disgusted me in tymes past, yet for discharging my duty as a father both before God and man, foreseeing your imminent ruin, I have thought good by this presents to forewarn you of the same. And gif by your iddle and proposterous causes you have on hand you and your posterity perish, I have God to witness that I have discharged the pairt of ane loving father—howsoever you have deserved it at my hands, and

for your better information of your danger have sent herewith the Marquis of Huntly's letter sent to me presently. Wherefor soon reid and consider the same advisedly, and rather taik counsel in tyme than to perish all utirlye, bot [*i.e.* without] regret of them who loves you best. I will not use more words, but this far I will show that gif you turn not tymously there will be no place hereafter for repentance. So gif you love yourself, children, or wife, follo counsel or perrishe bot regret. So louking you will send me back the Marquis' letter, I rest expecting your answer with the bearer.

Your father more kynd than you deserve.

“BARRIEDALE.

“Keiss, December the 22nd, 1638.”

The Master of Berriedale writes thus in reply :—

“My very noble and guid Lord, and loving Faither,—I received your Lordship's kind letter, advertisement, and council, and tho' your Lordship gives therein some undeserved checks, yet I most patiently accept of what it shall please your Lordship to write or to speak to me, and shall endeavour (my conscience reserved) to perform to the uttermost of my power what your Lordship will command. But where your Lordship by these desires me to fall back and repent of that I have both sworn and subscribed unto, I think it were a disgrace to your Lordship to be a father to such a son, and a perpetual infamie to remain to posteritie and greate iniquitie against God and his Spirit which perswades my conscience of the equitie of what I have done. I hope that thereby I have offended none (if not by accidence). Gif I suffer for righteousnes cause happy am I, for I ever resolved to suffer affliction with the servant of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; neither do I account the momentary afflictions of this life worthie to be compared in respect of the joy and comfort laid up for me in Christ, and if for this cause (not having done anything contemptuously against

authority) I lose either lands, wife, or children, I have His own promise, to the which I will constantly rely without wavering, assuring myself I shall receive a hundredfold now in this tyme, howso if with persecution, and in the world to come eternal lyfe—so that noe needs to regrait. But in case that your Lordship should have a prejudicial opinion of my proceedings, I protest to God I intend nothing but to the glorie of God, the honour of the King, and loyalty to my native country, and filial affection to your Lordship, as becometh your Lordship's affectionally obedient son and servant,

“ December 24th, 1638.

“ SINCLAIRE.”



## IV.

### THE EARLDOM OF ROSS.

ONE of the most historic of the old Scottish earldoms is that of Ross, which was forfeited in 1476. The Earls of Ross attained an almost regal position in the North. For several centuries they took a prominent part in national affairs, consequently a brief account of these potent nobles, who, upon more than one occasion, made the kings of Scotland tremble upon their throne, may be of some interest. Unfortunately, no historian has yet undertaken to deal with the most interesting district in the North, and while Caithness, Sutherland, and Nairn have had their histories written up, Ross has scarcely been touched upon. Nowhere else, if we omit Sutherlandshire, has there been such a total extinction of the old aristocracy as in the earldom of Ross.

The names of many of the great vassals who followed the banner of the Earls are still preserved, but only in connection with the lands of which they were once lords. Well may one ask where are the Tarrels of Tarrel, who possessed estates in Ross and Sutherland; the Tullochs of that ilk; the Baynes of

Tulloch ; the Dingwalls of that ilk and of Kildun ; the Denoons of Cadboll ; the Ferns of that ilk, afterwards of Tarlogie ; the MacCullochs of Tarrel, Plaids, Kindeace, and Glastullich ? Where, too, are the representatives of the fifty flourishing cadets of the house of Balnagown ? Balnagown itself has long since passed into a family alien in blood. The Munroes still retain the old acres of their race, but the cadets of this ancient house have, like the others, all waned. Yet, although these gentle families have disappeared, they have left their names and their doings written largely in the records of the past.

No evidence has yet been forthcoming as to the actual date of the creation of the earldom of Ross, and, as usual, the origin of the family ennobled under this title has been the subject of much discussion. The first Earl of whom there is any mention is Malcolm, who (according to the *Register of Dunfermline*) had a mandate from the King of Scots to protect the monks of that abbey between 1153 and 1165. Soon after the accession of Alexander, Ferchar, Earl of Ross, comes upon the scene. He did some service in suppressing the rebellion which broke out in Ross and Moray, but there is no reason to believe in the origin assigned to him by Sir Robert Gordon and Skene. These writers are only held as authorities by those who never trouble to critically examine their statements, and who are possessed of a pious belief that

they could not err. Into the question of origin we will not at this time enter, and only remark that Earl Ferchar was not paternally of Celtic descent, nor was he of "uncultured and savage disposition," as represented by some. He regularly attended the court of Alexander II., and rendered valuable assistance in negotiations with England. It is much to his credit that he tried to forward Christianity and civilisation among the rude tribes of his earldom. He founded the Abbey of Fearn in the parish of Edderton, but owing to the savage disposition of the natives, it had to be removed to another site. A stone effigy of the Earl still exists.

William, the next Earl, at the request of King Alexander, raised his vassals and led them against the men of Skye and Lewis, which islands he brought into subjection, and received them as a reward from his sovereign. Dying in 1274, he was succeeded by his son, also William, who lived in stirring times. The death of the Maid of Norway plunged Scotland into the horrors of a disputed succession, and it is noteworthy that Brus, who afterwards was to prove the deliverer of his country, was the first to precipitate civil war. In the events which preceded the election of John Baliol to the kingly functions, the Earl of Ross did not act a patriotic part: nor, indeed, did any of the Scots nobles. They preferred to sacrifice their country to their personal resentments.

The Earl of Ross was commanded by Baliol to make war upon the "foreign Isles of Scotland and their chieftains," because they were quite opposed to the King. At the head of a large body of his vassals Ross invaded the Isles, and in this expedition, which was crowned with success, he spent over, £1000, and, having brought Lachlan and Roderic of the Isles prisoners to the King, the latter granted to him the lands of Dingwall and Ferrintosh.



Seal of William, Fourth Earl of Ross, attached to Deed of Homage by Baliol to Edward I. of England.

In the troublous times which followed the deposition of Baliol, the Earl of Ross is found acting the part of a patriot. In 1296 he broke off with Edward of England, and led an army across the borders, devastating the country, but the expedition terminated in disaster, for, the Scots meeting with an overwhelming defeat at Dunbar, the Earl of Ross was taken prisoner and confined in the Tower of London, where he was allowed sixpence per day for his maintenance. He was set free three years later, and

appointed warden beyond Spey by the English King, over whose interests he watched with vigilance. In 1304 he informed Edward that the Islesmen meant mischief. His old antagonist Lachlan had issued orders to his vassals that "each davoch of land should furnish a galley of twenty oars."

Robert the Brus was at this time actively engaged, in the English interest, in putting down rebellion in Scotland. In the following February Brus met Sir John Comyn at Dumfries, and, perhaps, recollecting the scene and insult in Ettrick Forest in 1299—when Sir John seized him by the throat, the quarrel was renewed, with the result that the Comyn was stabbed, and Brus perforce had to raise the standard of revolt.

The Earl of Ross and "the men beyond the mountains" were bitterly opposed to Brus, and when the latter's queen and daughter sought refuge in the Sanctuary of St. Duthus, at Tain, they were seized by the Earl, and delivered prisoners to the English King. After a time fortune smiled upon the Brus. He did not forget nor forgive the Earl's conduct, and in 1307 he invaded Ross and Sutherland—an expedition to which none of our historians make any reference. The whole power of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness was assembled to oppose the Brus, but his advance struck such terror into the inhabitants of these districts that they petitioned King Edward to send assistance. Brus took signal vengeance upon the

Earl, and ravaged his lands, which made him glad to sue for pardon and make a truce. They met at Auldearn, and here the Earl swore fealty ; this reconciliation being cemented by the marriage of the Earl's son, Hugh, with the Princess Maud, sister of the King. In 1312 Earl William appended his seal to the agreement between the Kings of Scotland and Norway. He led the men of Ross at the battle of Bannockburn, and was one of those who addressed the famous letter to the Pope, in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland.

Hugh, the fifth Earl of Ross, commanded the reserve of the Scots army at Halidon Hill. He was of a superstitious nature, for the English found on his body the shirt of St. Duthus, which was supposed to possess miraculous powers, although it did not prevent him from being slain. The shirt, it may be mentioned, was restored to the chapel by the English. This Earl married a second time, the eldest son of his second wife (Margaret Graham) being Hugh Ross, ancestor of the Rosses of Balnagown, while a daughter, Euphemia, became the Queen of Robert II.

William, the sixth Earl of Ross and Lord of Skye, assembled his feudal following in 1346 to assist King David in his expedition to England, but having basely murdered Ranald of the Isles, in the Monastery of Elcho, to escape the royal vengeance he returned with his men to the North. In 1366 he rose in rebellion,

but was soon obliged to find security to keep the peace. King David Brus did not forget the Earl of Ross's desertion at Elcho, and refused to sanction his proposal to make his half-brother Hugh his heir. His only son had died, and his elder daughter, Euphemia, married Sir Walter Lesley against his will. The Earl seems to have been treated harshly, for he was compelled to resign all his lands in 1370, and they were



Seal of Euphemia Ross, Queen of Robert II.

conferred, failing heirs male of his body, upon his daughter Euphemia and her husband; whom failing, to his younger daughter Janet (who married Sir Alexander Fraser of Cowie) and her heirs. Upon the death of the Earl of Ross, in 1372, the title devolved upon his daughter Euphemia, who had a son and a daughter by Sir Walter Lesley, viz.:—Alexander, Earl of Ross, and Margaret, who married Donald, Lord of the Isles.

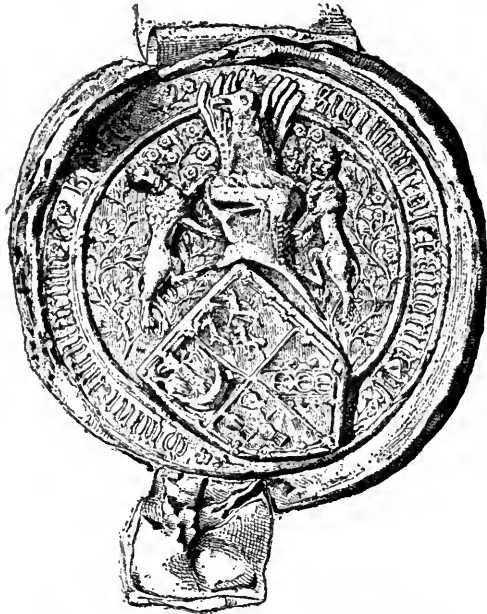
Alexander Lesley, Earl of Ross, by his wife Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Albany, left an only child Euphemia, who, becoming a nun, illegally resigned the earldom in favour of her maternal uncle, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan. The rightful heir of Ross was Lady Margaret Lesley, the wife of Donald, Lord of the Isles. Donald was not the individual to quietly submit to be deprived of the princely possessions, which formed the just inheritance of his wife. He had never been treated with much consideration by his Stewart kinsfolk, for as a boy, in 1369, they constituted him a hostage for the good conduct of his father. Their arbitrary dealings drove Donald and his brothers John and Alexander to act so harshly and undutifully towards their mother, the Lady Margaret Stewart, that the Earl of Fife was instructed to protect her from their violence and that of their dependents. This so exasperated the brothers that in the same year (1398) they rose in rebellion, but were soon forced to submit, and Alexander—progenitor of the “bold Keppochs”—was imprisoned. His brother, Donald of the Isles, who had early returned to his allegiance, was appointed his keeper, but brotherly affection overcoming loyalty to the Crown, Alexander was released in 1399, without consent of the King. As a result, Donald was cited to appear before the Parliament to answer for his conduct in giving liberty to a “robber and waster of the kingdom”



—the gallant Alexander “Carrach” being thus designated by the authorities.

The Stewarts were jealous of the power of the De Yles, and through their machinations the estates of the family were divided. Donald’s patrimony was still so great that they viewed with alarm his acquisition of the extensive earldom of Ross, and determined to prevent this vast inheritance from falling into the hands of so turbulent a noble. But such a princely possession as the modern counties of Ross and Cromarty, besides great estates in Sutherland, Caithness, Nairn, and Aberdeenshires, was not to be relinquished without a struggle, and Donald determined to make good the claims of his wife by force of arms. In 1411 he laid waste the district of Ross, defeated Angus Dubh Mackay of Farr and the men of Sutherland at Dingwall, and marched to Buchan. He was met at Harlaw by the Earl of Mar—the erstwhile leader of caterans who had stormed the Castle of Kildrummy, and in this rough manner wooed and won the Countess of Mar and her earldom. In the contest which ensued was for a time decided not merely the rights to the titles and estates of Ross, but the supremacy of the Lowlander over the Highlander. The clansmen of Ross and the Isles—armed with claymore and targe—were no match for the chivalry of the north-east of Scotland—the mail-clad barons of Moray, Aberdeen, and the Mearns. The

result was that Donald retired to the Castle of Dingwall, where he was besieged and forced to yield his pretensions, while the Earl of Buchan retained the titles and estates until slain at Verneuil in 1424. Donald of the Isles died in 1423, and when James I.



Seal of Alexander de Yle, Lord of the Isles and  
Earl of Ross, 1440.

returned from captivity he allowed the succession to the earldom to Lady Margaret Lesley, who had two sons by the Lord of the Isles, viz., Alexander, designated "Master of Ross" during the lifetime of his mother, and Bishop Angus. She also had a daughter Mariot, married to Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath.

Alexander, the next Earl, as "Master of Ross," in 1425 was one of the jury at the trial of the Duke of Albany. His mother, the Countess, incited him to raise the standard of revolt; he burnt Inverness, but, being defeated soon after, was forced to sue for peace, which was refused. After holding out for a considerable time he threw himself upon the King's mercy in 1429, when he appeared before the Court, at the altar at Holyrood, clad only in shirt and drawers. At the Queen's intercession his life was spared, but he was confined in Tantallon Castle until pardoned in 1431; being afterwards appointed Warden of the North. In 1445 he entered into a treasonable league with the Earls of Douglas and Crawford, but died at Dingwall on 4th May 1448, before the conspiracy was matured, leaving by his wife Elizabeth (sister of the Earl of Huntly) a son John, and, it is said, two daughters, Margaret and Florence. Margaret (?) married John, Earl of Sutherland, while Florence married Lachlan Mackintosh of that ilk. The Earl of Ross had also two illegitimate sons — Celestine of Lochalsh, and Hugh, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat. Their notorious illegitimacy is conclusively proved by the fact that they were of age and married while their brother John, Earl of Ross, was still a minor.

John, Earl of Ross, when in his seventeenth year, was urged into rebellion by Livingston of Callendar (who afterwards became his father-in-law), and took

part in the risings of the great Douglasses, creating a diversion in their favour by seizing the royal castles of Urquhart, Inverness, and Ruthven. An interview between him and the Earl of Douglas, in 1453, resulted in the naval demonstration by the men of the Isles, under Donald Balloch of Islay, against Ayr. His rebellion was suppressed, and the Lordship of Ross was annexed to the Crown in 1455. He was restored in 1456, and appointed Warden of the Marches, but his treason became such that it could not be tolerated. In 1462 he treated with the English King as an independent prince, and, along with the Earl of Douglas, made a remarkable treaty with Edward, whereby they became his vassals. Edward was, in return, to assist them to conquer Scotland, which was then to be partitioned between the Earls and Donald Balloch.

The Earl of Ross was not slow to act up to the letter of this agreement. He sent his illegitimate brother Celestine to plunder Inverness and Moray, which was done so effectually that large districts were laid waste. For years the North was constantly kept in the ferment, and in 1474 energetic measures were decided upon. Ross usurped the King's authority, besieged the castle of Rothesay, and laid waste Bute. The Earls of Huntly and Atholl were therefore commanded to march against the rebels, and, driven from place to place, Ross was compelled to surrender.

His earldom was forfeited to the Crown for ever; and it was not to be alienated save to the younger sons of the Sovereign. John was created a Lord of Parliament as Lord of the Isles, and, as he had no legitimate sons, his natural sons were to be primary heirs. By his wife, Elizabeth Livingstone, he had a daughter, Elizabeth, living in 1506.

The Lord of the Isles was still pursued by evil fortune, for he was deprived of his estates by his lawless son Angus, whose tragic end was accomplished by an Irish harper, at Inverness. It was this Angus who was father of Donald Dubh, who set up as Lord of the Isles in 1503 and 1544. John was finally forfeited in 1493, on account of his own treason, and that of his nephew—Alexander of Lochalsh—son of Celestine, and thus it came about that the :—

“ Lord of the Isles, whose lofty name  
A thousand bards have given to fame,  
The mate of monarchs, and allied  
On equal terms with England’s pride,”

died, in 1498, a royal pensioner at the Abbey of Paisley. Of his daughter Elizabeth, after 1506, nothing is known, so that the legal representation of the great Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles devolved upon the wife of John, Earl of Sutherland. It must be noted, however, that the name of the lady who instituted divorce proceedings against the Earl of

Sutherland was "Finvol" [*i.e.* Florence], while his relict bore the Christian name of Catherine; so that if genealogists are correct in saying that the first wife of Sutherland was a daughter of the Isles, it follows that she conveyed the representation of her family to the Earls of Sutherland.

A Dukedom of Ross was created by James III., in favour of his son James, who resigned the estates from which he derived his title in 1503; and some years later Alexander, the posthumous son of James IV., was created Earl of Ross. In 1503, Donald Dubh, natural son of Angus—the illegitimate son of the last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles—set up claims to the latter dignity, but was taken prisoner. After forty years' confinement he again escaped, and in 1544 rose once more in rebellion, assumed the titles of Ross and the Isles, and entered into a treaty with England. He, however, died at Drogheda in the following year.

Between 1503 and 1544 several futile attempts were made by the family of Lochalsh, although of bastard descent, to recover the lordship of Ross, which they plundered without mercy. The Bishop of Caithness, who, as Chamberlain of Ross, had to hold the castles of Dingwall and Redcastle against the men of the Isles, for the better defence, secured from the south old "artailzarie," with which to frighten the natives. The line of Lochalsh terminated with two

daughters, one of whom, Margaret, married Alexander of Glengarry, the other becoming the wife of Dingwall of Kildun. As a consequence of this failure of male descendants of Celestine, Donald Gorm—the representative of the kindred illegitimate house of Sleat—appeared as the next claimant for the earldom. In 1562, Donald followed Mary, Queen of Scots, everywhere, begging that he might have the dignity. He was the great-great-grandson of Hugh of Sleat, and was so much displeased that the title was not conferred on him that he straightway entered into negotiations with the English. The title was revived in 1565, for, on 25th May, Henry Stewart (Lord Darnley) was created Earl of Ross, and on 22nd July of same year the banns of marriage were proclaimed between “Harie Earl of Ross” and Queen Mary. At four o’clock the same afternoon the Earl of Ross was created Duke of Albany, so that the unfortunate Darnley was the last to enjoy the earldom, which, for feuing purposes, was dissolved from the Crown in 1587.

Æneas Macdonell of Glengarry became a claimant for the dignity, the grounds for his pretensions being that his great-great-grandfather had married the granddaughter of the bastard Celestine of Lochalsh. Glengarry was ready to go anywhere and do anything for Charles I., provided he was made Earl of Ross. On the 30th July 1646, he wrote to King Charles from

Castle Leod, professing loyalty and obedience, “ beinge only desyrus that your majesty may kno of a particulare faithful servand to receive and act your commandis.” At the Restoration, on account of his services, he was created Lord Macdonell and Aros by King Charles II., who, it seems by the following petition, had granted several warrants creating him Earl of Ross. These did not take effect, the notorious illegitimacy of his descent being probably the reason. Coming to later times, about a century ago, Munro Ross of Pitcalnie made a ridiculous claim for the restitution of the earldom, to which he had as little right by descent as had the Macdonells of Glen-garry.

In our own day there are, it appears, designs upon the title and dignity of Ross, but how the gentlemen whose names have appeared in the public press, in connection with these, can advance such claims, it is impossible to conceive. No doubt the ground for their pretensions would prove interesting and instructive. It is sincerely to be hoped that this historic peerage may not meet with the fate of some of our ancient Scots dignities, and be linked with names unworthy to bear the honours of the potent families of De Ros and De Yle, who so frequently measured their strength with their sovereigns.

Lord Macdonell petitioned the “ King’s most excellent Majesty ” thus :—



“Your Majesty’s petitioner having, in consideration of his service and sufferings for your crown and interest, received from your Sacred Majesty several warrants under your royal hand and signet for creating the petitioner Earl of Ross, and bestowing upon him the rents and revenues thereof, with several other benefits promised to the petitioner on the above considerations as they appear written by your Majesty’s own royal hand or your late Secretary Sir Richard Nicholas, who very well knoweth the grounds and reasons that induced your Majesty to confer the said grants upon him. That the Earl of Lauderdale, principal Secretarie for Scots affairs, being in Scotland, and the time of his return uncertain and the petitioner very much straitened by the long-continued attendance here ; that for your Sacred Majesty’s better information of the petitioner’s services and sufferings, and how far your Majesty is concerned in Honour and justice to make effectual the above warrants and promises to him, by such further authority as your Majesty shall think fit to the said Earl of Lauderdale, by whom your Majesty’s further pleasure in your petitioner’s behalf must regularly be despatched.

“The petitioner most humbly requests that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to refer examination of above-mentioned warrants and others to Sir Edward Nicholas, or other Minister of the State as to your Majesty shall seem meet, so that your Majesty may better understand the equity of your petitioner’s desires, and thereby with greater ease despatch authority to the Earl of Lauderdale as shall seem meet for making effectual the said warrants and royal promises, and the petitioner will ever pray.”

*Note.* — “Whitehall, 6th September 1663.—His Majesty’s pleasure is to refer examination of the above warrants to Sir Henry Bennett, Secretary of State, and report the whole matter to his Majesty, with his opinion what is fit further for his Majesty to do for making good the contents thereof.”

## V.

### A BADENOCH ULTIMATUM, 1697.

THE Highlanders of Scotland have ever been regarded with peculiar affection by their sovereigns, notwithstanding their turbulence and contempt for all authority. The Stuarts led many expeditions into their country : took many of their chiefs captive—executing not a few—just for example's sake ; yet often in the hour of need the men of that wide domain of heath-clad hills and romantic dales became the chief bulwark of the Scottish throne. It is, therefore, not surprising that, when the Prince of Orange came to Britain, to assume the Crown of the luckless Stuarts, he should regard the Highlanders with especial solicitude. They were men of mettle as proved in the campaigns of Montrose and Dundee, “ but unfortunately,” according to King William, “ many of them had wrong ideas ”—a too fervent love for the Auld Stuarts, and too great a spirit of independence. William professed to be very anxious to cultivate the friendship and win the regard of the mountaineers, and the *Records of the Secret Council* contain proposals intended to prevent their being imposed upon,

“and if any were so incorrigible as to suffer themselves to make their native country the stay of war and desolation they are to be detained in safe custody.”

As is well known the North had not yet settled down after the brilliant campaign of Dundee, and a great amount of discontent existed because of the heavy exactions of the army—which seemingly had been allowed to deal rather freely with the effects of the people. Special arrangements were made for the maintenance of the soldiery in order to remedy this state of matters, for, on 10th February 1691, the Lords of Privy Council having considered a petition given in to them :—

“Be the heretors, feuars, wadsetters, liferenters, and others of the shyres of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn, and Inverness, compleaning of severall abuses committed against them be severalls of their Majesties forces, and particularly these within the garrisons in the said shyres, by illegal and arbitrary exactions in imposing great and exorbitant quantities of meal, malt, salt, plaids, wedders, candles, peat and others; and exacting the same without payment, and sometimes converting the same in money at an exorbitant pryce, quartering until they get payment of the said pryce, and other sums which they think fit to impose and exact upon pretence of deficiency. The said Lords appoint tryal to be taken before the Commissioners of Supply within the respective shyres, in terms of the Council’s proclamation anent the accompts resting be the army to the country—of what quantities of meal, malt, salt, plaids, wedders, candles, peat, and others, have been exacted from the petitioners without payment; and what sums have been exacted as the pryces thereof when the same was converted into money or for deficiency; also

what expense the petitioners had been at on account of quarterings for the said exactions and deficiencies, and by what forces these exactions have been made, and appoints the same to be reported to the Lords of Privy Council, and the said Lords discharge the exacting of coal and candles from the said shyres except as to the burghs and other places where soldiers are actually quartered, and, in the meantime, discharges all exactions and quarterings on the inhabitants of said shyres otherwise than is provided by the laws and Acts of Parliament of this kingdom until further order."

For many generations the Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch was a place of some consequence, and it was in its defence, prior to the battle of Glenlivet, that the Macphersons or Clan Vurrich first obtained prominence. Lately it was said to have been totally demolished by Dundee, and although there is no record of its re-erection certain it is in 1690-91 it was occupied by a garrison under Captain Hugh Mackay of Borley and Lieutenant Alexander Mackay who were placed in command by Major-General Mackay. That the castle was in a state of disrepair is evident from the petition of Captain Mackay to the Lords of Council. He had been ordered to carry out certain fortifications—make pallisades and breast-works, and he had expended considerable sums in putting the place into a state of defence. Consequently he desired the Lords of Privy Council, on 27th January 1691, to appoint a commission to estimate his expenditure in repairing the fortress in order that he might be refunded his outlay. The council

to this end granted warrant to any two of the commissioners of Inverness to value the works, call witnesses and report. In terms thereof Mackay by Instrument desired Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle, and William Mackintosh of Borlum to call before them all masons, wrights, and smiths, to make valuation of the repairs done within and without the garrison. Agreeably to this requisition these Commissioners convened before them men of good fame and reputation who did, upon oath, value the said repairs "to the sum of £2016, 7s. 6d. Scots by and attour the pains and trouble of the soldiers employed." Mackay therefore claimed payment of this sum, and his petition was remitted to the Lords of the Treasury with what result is uncertain.

The fortification of Ruthven, Inverness, and other places, went on apace during the next few years, and, notwithstanding the ordinance already quoted, the exactions from the people increased. In 1691 Inverness spent over £6536 upon barricades and other defences, as certified by Hugh Fraser of Belladrum and William Fraser of Erchite—besides having advanced to the officers of Kenmure's regiment, then quartered in the town, upwards of £2544. Two days later, on 5th March 1601, an order was made that Sir James Leslie, the Commandant of the garrison, should receive shovels, spades and other requisites, together with the sum of £2000.

All this activity betokened a growing sense of insecurity and unrest, for the people resented exactions which were still levied upon them, and quietly prepared to resist. Among the first to remonstrate were the men of Badenoch, who had apparently been plundered by the Mackays, stationed at Ruthven.

It is curious to note that Mackintosh of Borlum, who, on this occasion, acted as a leader of the people of Badenoch, two years later incurred their displeasure, and was denounced as a man who could give points to "Auld Nick." The signatures to the Ultimatum which was sent to the Commander of the garrison at Ruthven, will be found in the fac-simile of the curious deed :—

Sir,—We understand by Borlum, our bailie, that you desire to knowe this day our resolutiones anent the furnisheing you coall and candell without payment. You knowe verie weele how heavie that burden has lyen upon us, and that it has so exhausted us that much of our country is waisted, and therefore we doe assure you by these that we will not advance you any more coall or candell without pay, because there is noe law for it, and you may as weele take away all our property by force and violence as impose upon us any taxes arbitrary without authoritie or law. Property and libertie is the thing we contend for against arbitrary power, and resolves to adhere to the Act of Counsell and Secretary's letter in our favoures as the final resolution of

Your humble servantes

Will. M'intoshe of Borlum (*etc.*)

RUTHVEN, 17th Aug. 1697.

Sr.

It is understood by Berlin in Berlin that you refer to know this without doubt, you know, how would you know that Berlin has been upon itself that it has to be kept as that much of our family is wanted, and therefore we have assured you by that that we will not do better you and will not be paid or forced without pay because there is no law for it and you may as well take away all our property by force to be done as to impose upon us any taxes without authority or law property to Berlin is the thing we pay for against arbitrary power and is better to be in the art of Berlin of our starist letter in our favour, as the final explanation of your humble petition

London 14 Aug 1694

Wm. M. Johnson of London

J. Johnson of London

AC Johnson

Sen. M. Johnson of London

MMP Johnson

Johnson of London

D. P. Johnson

S. Johnson

M. Johnson

Babraham

Wm. M. Johnson of Berlin

Johnson of London

Johnson of London

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## VI.

### LORD SEAFORTH'S CAMPAIGN, 1715.

THE history of the rising of 1715 has never been sketched in detail, so far as the North is concerned. It will be seen, from the documents which are here published, that materials abound, and that an interesting field is still open to the historian.

Kenneth Mackenzie, third Earl of Seaforth, married his kinswoman Isabel Mackenzie of Cromarty—a marriage which nearly led to the downfall of his family. The son of this union, Kenneth, fourth Earl, died at Paris in 1701, leaving, by his wife Lady Frances Herbert of Powis, two sons—William, fifth Earl, and Alexander. Between Countess Frances and her mother-in-law a bitter feud sprung up, and the latter's selfishness nearly led to the sale of the Seaforth estates in 1712. This calamity was only averted by the exertions and ability of Countess Frances, whose sacrifices saved to her son the ancestral possessions, which otherwise would have passed to the families of Applecross and Cromarty.

Earl William is said to have been a wilful boy, full of courage, devoted to his clansmen, and ardently

desirous of an opportunity of leading them against the foe. In April 1715 the relations between himself and his mother were anything but cordial, for, against her wishes, he married Mary Kennet of Cowhow, a very amiable young lady. The young Countess soon won the warm affection and confidence of the Dowager, and they both united in an endeavour to prevent Seaforth becoming involved in Jacobite schemes.

Their persuasions were unavailing : Seaforth's dear friend was Mackintosh, the grand old Jacobite Laird of Borlum. The latter's influence induced the Mackenzie chief to lend a willing ear to the proposals of John, Earl of Mar. His vanity was flattered by Borlum's polite and effusive letters. Indeed, his head seems to have been turned by the compliments showered upon him by the Jacobite leaders, and by-and-by he came to regard himself as a second Alexander the Great, to whom he had been compared. It was in vain that his mother pointed out that absolute ruin would result from countenancing the Stuart cause under so incapable a leader as Mar. His wife implored him to consider his very dangerous position, hemmed in, as he certainly would be, by the Hanoverian Earl of Sutherland, with Munro of Foulis on the one hand, and the Lairds of Morayshire on the other. He commanded them to "be silent, and upbraided them with possessing neither the spirit, courage, or virtues of the Spartan mothers."

An urgent message from Mar decided him to support the Jacobites with all his power, and it was this assurance which led Mar to raise his standard. Much depended on the power of the high Chief of Kintail. Seaforth, however, little reckoned with the influence held over his clansmen by his wife and mother. It was only when he summoned his principal retainers to meet him at Brahan, on the 9th of September, that the non-appearance of the most influential of his vassals convinced him there was some likelihood of trouble ahead. A great body of his head men disapproved of the reckless way in which he desired to plunge into the vortex of rebellion, and in the following letter advised his more orderly proceeding in an undertaking of such dire consequence to all of them :—

“ Most Honourable,—It's hoped your lordship will not be surprised, nor yet offended, at our absence this day, since it was out of no disregard nor want of the duty and respect we owe your lordship, but purely from the tender concern we have of your true honour and interest in the present posture of affairs which to us at this critical juncture, that ly at soe great a distance from intelligence, appear so dubious that we cannot yet make a distinct judgement farr less offer advice suitable to the present exigencies of soe great importance. And as we still retain the same inclinations to your person and interest, soe we doubt not to acquitt ourselves good kinsmen, but also loyall subjects when a fair opportunity offers.

“ Wee are sorry to hear that the numerous meeting this day (which might easely have excused the absence of a few)

came to noe resolution, nor yet proposed measures for your lordship's more orderly proceeding on the present undertaking, which can be attributed to noe other thing but the want of tyme, and a due consideration of the importance of the matter in hand, which though it seemed but lugal and triviall to them, yet to us of the last consequence to your lordship, and us, our lives, libertys, and fortune being all at stake, and if the worst should happen, at the mercy of a Government from whom wee are to expect noe quarter.

“Our first reason is, we judge it not proper any rising be made on our part till ascertained of the K's. landing, and his declaration with a particular Commission directed to your lordship, made known to us. Nixt wee humbly think that such publick meetings for concerting matters of that nature are of most dangerous consequence in the construction of Law, both to your lordship, and us as we are at present stated, and therefore our absence ought to be the sooner excused, our mutuall safety depending thereon.

“In the third place wee consider your country and friends were never worse prepared for such ane enterprise, both as to officers, arms, amunition, and other necessary provisions. These being the sinews of Warr cannot be wanting ere men be levied to enter upon any expedition.

“In the last place we cannot but show our dislike in some measure to the methods proposed by the E. of M., which to us seem to tend to hurry your lordship into measures that in the event may prove prejudiciall to you, and ruinous to us, and that the rather that wee are made to understand his lordship is in terms with the Government, and may except a favourable acceptance: upon all which considerations we concluded your lordship would not vouchsafe your presence to this dayes meeting, but rather sent a friend to comune with them, as was last night insinuate, and though the state of our health will not allow us in this season of the year to go to the field, yet we want not inclination to serve that cause in all we are able, nor do we diswade your lordship from it, only that we

begg matters may be gone about with that deliberation and conduct might be expected from a person of your prudence and discretion, and not runn rashly into measures that cannot be soe easily retrieved. Soe begging your lordship's pardon for what now effers though unsigned be us for reasons, wee remain,—Most Honourable, your lordship's most obedient and humble servants.

“September 9th, 1715.

“PS.—This dayes meeting makes it absolutely necessary you take better care of yourself than hitherto, and cause have a watchful eye over all spyes and strangers that come about, and cause guard all fferries and passes, and pack up immediately every thing that's valuable in your house, and committ the secret of it to but a few trusted servants.

“We are likewise of opinion that expresses be immediately sent off to Sir Donald M<sup>c</sup>Donald, the Laird of M<sup>c</sup>Kinan and the tutor of Macleod, to see if they cordially now joyne their men with yours, and on sight to bring them in to the main-land for the better suppressing of the insults of our enemies at home who will certainly be ready on the Erl of Sutherland's arrivall, which we think will make it absolutely necessary, that your lordship with your men in conjunction with those above mentioned remain in the countrys, it being better service done the cause than by marching Southward. The securing our little effects, and others goeing for intelligence necessarily obiges us to send this instead of waiting your lordship as we purposed.”

The above representation was not without effect, but the action of Mackintosh of Borlum precipitated matters. He marched into Inverness at the head of his men, and, bareheaded, proclaimed King James, on the 15th of September. Immediately thereafter,

Seaforth definitely decided to take the field, and wrote out the following list of his officers:—

“To the first company of Kintail men—John MacRae, Captain; Duncan MacRae, Christopher’s son, Lieutenant; Kenneth Macluran, Ensigne.

“To the Second Company of do.—John Mackenzie, Captain; Kenneth M<sup>c</sup>Ra, Lieut.; Colin Murchison, Ensigne.

“To the Lochalsh Company—John Murchison of Auchtertyre, Captain; George (?) Matheson, Livetenant; John M<sup>c</sup>Ra of Conchra, Ensigne.

“To the Lochcarron Comp.—John Mackenzie, John Oig’s son, Capt.; Muldowig (?), Livetenant; Kenneth Mackenzie of Culdren, Ensigne.

“To the mixt Company—Hiltoun, Capt.; Rory Mackenzie in Dalmartin, Lieut.; Kenneth Mackenzie in Slumbay, Ensigne.

“To the Strathconon men—Alex. Mackenzie, uncle to Fairbairn, Capt.; Kenneth Mackenzie, brother to Fairburn, Lieut.; George Fraser, Ensigne.

“Rory Coul’s son to name his Livetenant and Ensigne of whom if found fitt my lord will approve. (Names his son Colin Lieut.; and Kenneth M<sup>c</sup>Iver, Leekmelm’s son, Ensign.)

“To Ensay’s Company to be named by my lord when he considers who is fitt for it. (John Mackenzie in Slumbay, Lieut.; John Matheson in Bellmacharron (?), Ensigne.)

“To the Assint Company—Macleod of Sallachy, Livetenant; and Jno. Matheson in Bellmacarra, Ensigne.

“To the Garloch men—Shildag and Murdow Mackenzie, Lieuts.; Henry Mackenzie, Ensigne; and Murdo Mackenzie of Letterewe, lykewise Ensigne.

“The Livetenants and Ensignes of the Lochbroom men to be named by their Captains, and their names transmitted to my lord in order to approve or not, and in the meantime recommends young Sand to be a Lieut.

“To Redcastle’s Company — Young Highfield, Captane;

John Fraser in Loggie, Livetent; and Kenneth Mackenzie, Ensigne.

“To Hilltoun (*sic* Killwins) Company to be named by himself.

“To Fairburn’s Company, do.

“To the Ardmanoch Company my lord will consider on a Livetenant and Ensigne, and in the meantime Applecrosse to cause any official he pleases as their Lieut.

“Applecrosse, elder, to name the officers of his Company. (He names young Applecrosse, Capt.; Ken. Mackenzie, Lieut.; and Alexander Mackenzie, Ensigne.)

“To Kildins Company—Kenneth Mackenzie, merchant in Stornoway, Ensigne; and J. MacAulay in Brayad (?), Livetenant.

“To Auchiltys—Rory Mackenzie, his brother, Ensigne; John MacAulay in Kirkinpost (*sic*), Livetenant.

“To Normand Macleod — Mr Kenneth MacIver, Livetenant; and MacIver in Caldernish, Ensigne.

“Notwithstanding of the above nomination of the Lewes Livetenants and Ensignes, my lord refers to their Captains to have others, if they think them more proper, and to transmit their names to his lordship that he may examine whether or not they are fitt.”

Meanwhile Robert Munro of Foulis secretly assembled his clansmen and others, with the intention of securing Inverness. Intimation was sent to Seaforth of a movement among the Munroes, and he, accompanied by a few friends, hurried to watch the passes and roads. He also sent messengers in every direction to raise his men. While Munro was on the march towards Dingwall, he was met by a messenger from Seaforth, with the “request that he should return home and live peaceably, unless it was his

intention to throw in his lot with the Jacobites." Finding the whole country in arms, Munro was obliged to retrace his steps, and fortify Foulis Castle.

Next day Seaforth reviewed his men near Dingwall. During the progress of the parade he received a message from Borlum to the effect that, as he was about to join the Earl of Mar, it was desirable that a body of Mackenzies should occupy Inverness. Seaforth accordingly set out with a large body of men, and after having installed Sir John Mackenzie of Coul as Governor of the town, returned to his own country to protect it.

The Earl of Sutherland, of whom great things were expected, left Leith on the 25th of September. Three days later he arrived at Dunrobin, whence he issued orders to his vassals to assemble on a plain near the Little Ferry. From the boatmen's receipt it would appear that only 280 men were ferried over, but at Coul they were joined by the tacksmen of Torboll, Cambusavie, and Aberscross, each with twenty men. At Tain he was met by Lord Reay and a party of Rosses, and with about 800 men, many of whom were merely armed with long spear-pointed poles, he marched to Alness, where he arrived on the 5th October. On the following day he reviewed his forces. They mustered, according to one account, over eighteen hundred men; the Earl himself estimated that "he had command of twelve hundred good men." These he drew up in



order of battle ; placing Lord Reay, Ross of Braelangwell, and Mackay of Scourie on the right. Lord Strathnaver, with the men of Sutherland, occupied the centre ; while the Munroes under Foulis, the Lairds of Culrain, Newmore, and Culcairn were placed on the left.

The Earl of Seaforth, hearing of the gathering, determined to disperse it. Being joined by Sir Donald Macdonald and others, he proceeded to Alness to attack Sutherland. The following dispatch to the Earl of Mar gives an interesting account of Seaforth's proceedings and an amusing anecdote regarding Lord Reay, who, in turning his back upon the foe, followed the hereditary custom in his family :—

“ After I returned Fowls from his attempt on the town of Inverness which he designed to possess, under pretence of relieving the house of Culloden, that was given out to be besieged by the Laird of MacIntosh, Fowls applied to the Earl of Sutherland (who had but then arrived from London) as Lieutenant of most of the Northern Shires, who, with all the forces he could raise of his own tenants, vassals and dependents, in conjunction with my Lord Reay, the Gunns of the Glen, most of the Rosses, and several others joined Fowls younger at Alnes : who with all the forces the Munros could make incamped there, where, when all mett they gave up themselves to make a body of three or four thousand men ; and for the speedier execution of their design which (as they confidently boasted) was to batter down the House of Brahan, possess themselves of the Town of Inverness, overrun entirely my Lord Seaforth's haill lands and all other opposers, they not only got six pieces of Cannon (with amunition conform)

from a man-of-war in the road of Cromarty, but also had a concert with six hundred of the Grants, 200 of Kilravock's men, 100 from Brodie, 100 from Culloden, and some of the Stratherrick ffrasers to come by sea to the said camp, for which intent there were several vassals sent them from the firth of Cromarty.

"In the meantime, I being joined by Sir Donald M'Donald and having a considerable body of resolute men, upon Saturday the 8th of October marched from Dingwall through the hills into Strathskeery (?), and on my way my scouts espyed some horse and foot of the enemy to whom they gave chase; and in the retreat shot one of the foot (who thereafter dyed of his wounds) through the knee, from whom intelligence was had of the enemies camp, and of young Fowls being one of them that were chased.

"That night I camped at the Clairs (a little village pertaining to Fowls); the next morning (being Sunday the 9th) I march'd eastward through the mountains with design (if possible) to attack the enemy that day, but when I came to the Boaths, a place pertaining to Munro of Novarr, four miles distant from the enemies camp, it was found impracticable to reach them that (day). Therefore I encamped there; and had reports from persons secured by my outer guards that the enemy's deserted their camp, march'd towards the hills, and intended to attack me; wherefore I doubled my guards and ordered all the army to rest on their arms over night.

"Next morning (the 10th) I marched by break of day, and sent off several scouts as well to view the place where the enemy encamped at Alnes, as to spy those mountains to which they were said to resort, as according as I should be informed, I might attack them in either of the places.

"But ere I marched three miles off, I was certainly informed that the day before, about 12 of the clock in the forenoon, the enemy (on having assurance of my approach) left their camp with all precipitation and disorder, being so struck with terrour that the most of them threw off their

plaidis, cast away their arms, and left their cannon, which was that night conveyed to the Man of Warr from whence they came, and the confusion was so great that the Earle of Sutherland, the Lords of Strathnaver and Reay, with several other persons of note crossed the Bonah, which is the only entry into Sutherland, with 40 men only, leaving the rest of their army to make their passage the best way they could in order to return to their respective homes without any determined resolution. Fowls younger, with such as did not desert him of his own followers (being left behind) er day returned (by the hills) to his castle of ffwols (all the time) garrisoned and fortified by his father.

“In this retreat there is one passage that ought not to be omitted (to witt) the Lord Reay (who left his sumpture cloath and some other of his furniture and baggage) his beating one of his servants, who offered to take up one of his lordship's hulster capes that had fallen, telling him how durse he expose them so much to the resolute following enemy as to waite such a trifle, and that hulster capes would be easily had, but not lives.

“I finding the enemy thus flown away and passed to Sutherland where they could not be easily reached, by reason of their carrying all the boats to, and secureing on, the other side, marched to the pairt where they encamped att Alnes, where I stayed all night, and finding it a centriall place betwixt the Rosses and Munroes, I continued there next day, and sent to Fowls the other principal men of the Munroes and all the Rosses to (come under my?) protection, and secure for their peaceable behaviour otherwayes to expect to be treated as enemies.

“While I waited the message sent to ffwoles and others, most of those in Murrey (formerly named) boated at Nairn (or thereabout) on Tuesday the 4th, and came to Sandwick in Ross at 8th hour that night, intending to join the Earle of Sutherland, but before they landed but 40 of their men they had intelligence that the Earl of Sutherland's camp was

dissipate and that I possessed their ground ; whereupon they immediately returned to their boats and stired for the port from which they sailed, leaving no other memory of their expedition but the slaughter of some few sheep they found in a cottage at the shoar.

“ Upon Wedensday the 12th I detached my Lord Duffus with 300 men by 8 o'clock in the morning, to proclaim the king at the Mercat Cross of Taine, and to summond in his Majesties name the Magistrates and community to give up their arms and secure for their peaceable behaviour, and some hours thereafter I went myself with some horse to Kincaraig's house, a loyal gentleman of my own name, hard by which Sir Wm Gordon of Dalpholly's lady with his brethren and friends keep'd a garrison in his house of Inverbreakie.

“ The lady (who at my first approach to Alness) was forsaken by her husband's brethren and most of his friends, sent a gentleman for my protection who mett me on my way to Kincaraig with whom I sent a gentleman to assure her that as my master the King required nothing at present of his subjects but due obedience and loyalty, so I was very willing to give protection in his Majesties name to all that would come in to these measures, and would give up their arms and amunition secure for their peaceable behaviour ; on which conditions the same was offered to her.

“ Upon receipt of this message the lady made patent doors ; entreated I should cause enter the house to receive what arms she acknowledged to have, and consented a search should be made for such arms and ammunition if thought to be there ; which accordingly being done there was some . . . . . to the Camp.

“ As I was at Kincaraig several of the name of Ross, Macleod of Cadboll, Macleod of Guinys, the Tutor of Pilton and others, attended me in obedience to the message sent them, and required to 12 o'clock in the forenoon, Friday the 14th, to perform all that was required of them ; which, upon their parolis of honour not only to do that, but also to endeavour

to bring in all the other Rosses to the same measures, was granted them.

“ My Lord Duffus arrived at Tain at 12 of the clock in the forenoon, and proclaimed his Majesty (assisted by the Magistrates) at the Mercat Cross thereof, with ringing of Bells and all other solemnities that the place could afford, and thereafter drink several loyal healths which most of the Magistrates and council did very cheerfully, and promised to live peaceably ; but there was but very few arms found in the town, they being taken away formerly by the Earl of Sutherland.

“ The next day being Thursday the 13th, his lordship returned to the Camp by two in the afternoon, having sent a small number of his party to search for those that stood out, and secure the boats of several ferries being used by the enemies.

“ The same afternoon severalls of those gentlemen that . . . . . brought a few arms (and Munro of Teyninick) who was taken prisoner by the outer guards upon Monday the 10th as he was endeavouring to get privately to his house, being one of the principal gentlemen of that name is still in Custody.”

The Earl of Sutherland, to excuse his retreat, declared that he merely dismissed his army in order that they might secure their crops, the preceding years being so bad that there was almost a famine in the country.

After the dispersion of the Earl of Sutherland's army Seaforth sent a body of men to watch the Munroes, and to proclaim King James at Cromarty. In a letter, dated 3rd November 1715, Robert Munro of Foulis complains that the “ Goths and Vandalls never shewed more barbarity than the Earl of Seaforth

practised on my people . . . ravishing of women, burning houses, barns, and corn, and killing all the cattle they could find ; stripping women and children, and pillaging everything they could find in their houses.”

It is beyond question that some of Seaforth's men committed excesses, but there is contemporary evidence to show that in writing the above Munro was guilty of exaggeration. The account given of Seaforth's proceedings by Munro of Culcairn is more to be relied upon, and he says that in some instances “ a few men of disreputable character did damage wantonly, and their proceedings are said by Seaforth's enemies to have been countenanced by him.”

At Cromarty the Mackenzies received a warm reception from Captain Stewart, of the “ Royal Ann,” who threatened to lay the place in ashes if a rebel durst set foot in it. One or two shots dispersed them, and prevented their getting possession of nine cannon which lay on the point of Cromarty. Seaforth recalled his men, and towards the close of October marched south to join the Earl of Mar at Perth. On 1st November he passed Blair Castle with about two thousand men, having left 500 men with Sir John Mackenzie of Coul at Inverness.

Three days thereafter, Inverness was invested by Hugh Rose, Baron of Kilravock, and Forbes of Cul-loden. The circumstances attending the capture of

Inverness have been so misrepresented that it is necessary to give the version which is supported by documentary evidence. On the 3rd of November Kilravock and Culloden "wrote to the Magistrates of Inverness requesting them to urge upon Sir John the necessity of evacuating the garrison." They replied on the same day that they were powerless and destitute of all authority. Sir John, that same afternoon, sent messages to Macdonald of Keppoch and the Mackintoshes to come to his assistance. On the 5th November Lovat appeared at Inverness with 120 Frasers—most of the Lovat retainers being at Perth with Fraserdale. Lovat immediately marched out to reconnoitre, and being joined, on the 7th, by Kilravock, Culloden, and others to the number of 500 men and 30 horse, he proceeded to attack Keppoch, who retired to the hills. The party then advanced into the Mackintosh country; but as the Mackintoshes declared that they had only risen to protect their lands from Keppoch, Lovat and his companions returned to Inverness, the Frasers taking up a position to the west of the river.

The Baron of Kilravock then wrote to Sir John Mackenzie, who was his son-in-law, to render the place immediately, and to this letter Sir John replied that he would give a definite answer in a few days. Unfortunately, on the 10th, a tragic incident occurred. Arthur Rose, brother of Kilravock, and Robert Rose

of Blackhills, who were in command of the Baron's vassals, at the head of a party of ten men determined to seize the place. They surprised one of the lieutenants on sentry, and Arthur Rose, seizing him by the throat, presented a pistol to his breast, commanding him to go to the door of the Tolbooth and cry "Open." This was done, but when Rose had partially entered the door there was a cry of "The enemy! the enemy!" and the door being closed with violence, his body was crushed and riddled with bullets.

Sir John immediately wrote to Kilravock a letter of condolence, and enclosed passports to enable him and his friends to attend the funeral in town. Kilravock was so furious that he did not avail himself of this permission, but his son, accompanied by Sir Archibald Campbell, Forbes of Culloden, Robert Rose of Blackhills, and others, attended the burial of Arthur Rose, at which Sir John and his officers were also present. Sir Archibald seized the opportunity to impress upon Sir John that he had better render the town, for otherwise Kilravock was determined to reduce it to ashes. Mackenzie then wrote to Kilravock imploring him "to take no further proceedings, since he was willing to surrender on terms to be adjusted between them." They met on the 11th at a small burn to the East of Inverness—probably Milburn—and then Mackenzie undertook to deliver up the place, provided Kilravock would let him pass with his men to Perth. This was



sternly refused, but after consulting Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Kilravock agreed to let Mackenzie return home in safety. Having subscribed this agreement, Mackenzie formally delivered up the town to Kilravock and Culloden, and "in the forenoon of the 12th, marched out with his men with pipes playing and banners flying." Such is the true account of the capture of Inverness, and with the result of Lovat's misrepresentation of the transaction we shall deal later on.

Seaforth did not add to his reputation by his conduct at Sheriffmuir. Instead of putting himself at the head of his men, "he stood in the rear, surrounded by forty of his mounted clansmen, who acted as his body guard." Lord Duffus tried in vain to get him to lead his men on foot. He then returned to the North with the intention of retaking Inverness, and on the 27th December preparations were made to attack him. The Earl of Sutherland sent Thomas Robertson at 11 p.m. that night to Castle Downie, to negotiate between Lovat and Seaforth. In the early morning Robertson set out for Brahan, and persuaded Countess Frances to accompany him to Beaully, where they arrived at 12 noon. Immediately afterwards Lovat made his appearance at the head of the Frasers, Sutherlands, and Munroes, and in the "politest language told the lady that unless her son submitted, he (Lovat) and his warriors would attack him, and wipe every rebel

Mackenzie off the face of the earth." This terrible threat "in no way moved the lady, who with a hearty burst of laughter turned to meet the Earl of Sutherland, who was approaching on horseback." The Countess desired the Earl to intercede with the King for Seaforth, and there and then the Earl sent a dispatch to Court, pleading for pardon for Seaforth. Lovat at this juncture seized pen and paper, and wrote out an "undertaking" for Seaforth to sign; the Countess, on behalf of her son, agreeing to disperse the Mackenzies. She returned to Brahan, but Seaforth declined to sign the document submitted by Lovat. He, however, signed the following obligation:—

"Wee, William, Marquis of Seafort, doe promise upon honour to Simon Lord Lovat, commanding his Majesty's forces near Inverness, to disperse and dissipate my men immediately, and to set at liberty the gentlemen of the name of Munro detained by my orders, and not to take arms, or appear against his Majesty King George, or his Government, till the return of the Earl of Sutherland's express from Court; providing that neither I, nor my friends, country, or people, be molested or troubled till the said return from Court. Given at Brahan this 30th of December."

As there seemed to be no pardon or hope for him, he broke off negotiations. General Wightman and Lord Lovat with their forces then marched against him, and from January to March attempted to force the Mackenzies to deliver up their arms. On 20th March they met a party of Mackenzies at Torahill,

above Contin, and took some prisoners — the Earl of Cromarty and Mackenzie of Inshculter being among the number. Lovat wrote a glowing account of his operations against the enemy, and urged that influence might be brought to bear to convict Fraserdale, and oust him from the Lovat estates. By the third of April 1716 Lovat's remission for his former misdeeds passed the Great Seal. Immediately this was done, he began to discredit the loyalists of the North, and did not scruple to assume all the honour of the capture of Inverness, and the suppression of the Jacobites.

General Wightman seems to have acted very harshly towards the Seaforth ladies, for on the 5th of April Countess Frances wrote to General Cadogan, complaining that her carriage and horses had been taken away. She desired at the same time a passport for the young Countess to go to Cowhow, and thence to London, to plead for her husband.

Cadogan's reply runs thus :—

“ Inverness, 6th April 1716.

“ Madam,—I have just now received the honour of your Ladyship's letter of the 5th instant, and for the other you mention, it did not come to my hand till I was on my march from Perth to this place, which hindered me from acknowledging it sooner. I send enclosed a passport for my Lady Seaforth to go to Edinburgh, and I have writ to the Secretary of State to desire a permission for her Ladyship to continue on her journey to Durham, and I doubt not but that it will

be granted. I am very sorry her coach and horses were taken away, and mine are at her Ladyship's service. There is an indispensable necessity for leaving a garrison at Brahan till my Lord Seaforth comes in and his people give up their arms, as their neighbours have done; and indeed it appears unaccountable that his Lordship, who was one of the first who offered to submit, should be one of the last to do it. If your Ladyship desires protection for your house and goods, I am ready to give it, and have ordered the garrison to pay exactly for everything furnished them. This is all I can do for your Ladyship's service, and I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"WM. CADOGAN.

"I beg your Ladyship's pardon for making use of another hand, since I am not well enough recovered of my fall to write with my own."

She also wrote to Lovat to intercede with Cadogan. This, according to his own account, he did, and the following letters from him to the Countess are characteristic. The letter of the 8th April is specially interesting, because Lovat's delight at the terrible vengeance to be taken on Seaforth's people is so apparent :—

"Madam,—Before I had the honour of your Ladyship's letter I obtained a passport for my Lady, your daughter, to go South, and the General is to write to Court in her favour. He was very angry that General Wightman took your coach and horses, but they are lost by the fault of not taking my advice. The General told me this moment that he wrote to your Ladyship that he was sorry for it, but that his coach and horses were at your service. In my opinion, you should come

immediately, and thank him. He is the civilest man on earth, and a great man. Your Ladyship will always find me with the same zeal and respect, Madam,

*Your most obedient  
 & most humble servant*  


“Inverness, 6th of April 1716.”

*Lovat to Countess of Seaforth.*

“Madam,—I spoke just now to General Cadogan, who told me plainly that he could not, nor would not, promise anything for my Lord, your son, further than receive him on mercy and send him prisoner south, and if the Bill of Attainder be past as they say it is, it is not in the King’s power to save him. This is all I can say on that melancholy head. The General being informed that my Lord Seaforth’s people have not as yet taken in their arms, was going to order a thousand men to-morrow to put all the country in flames, but I begged of his Excellency to give some days to acquaint the people, and that I was sure they would come in, so his Excellency was so good as delay the march of the troops till Saturday next. A thousand men will that day march to Brahan and Coul, and if the arms of all my Lord Seaforth’s country do not come in to Brahan and Coul before Saturday night they may expect that the next day the troops will begin to destroy all, and march through all my Lord Seaforth’s country to the Isle of Skye, and ships will be sent to the Lewis to destroy it. So your Ladyship should send off expresses immediately to all the Highlands that the people may come and give up their arms to save themselves from being burnt. It’s a very great favour that the troops do not march to-morrow; so your Ladyship should profit of it to save the people and the estate, which your Ladyship says is your own. I shall always be

proud for an occasion in which I can have power myself to let your Ladyship know how much I am, with true friendship and a great respect, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant,

“ LOVAT.

“ Inverness, 8th of April 1716.

“ I send this express at Kincaig, and the Earl of Cromartie, who was present when I spoke to the General, is to go to Brahan to advise your Ladyship. The General likewise bids me give his service to your Ladyship, and tell you that if my Lady, your daughter, designs to go south, it must be very soon. The General desired me to have your Ladyship's answer to all this once this night. I give my humble duty to my Lady Seaforth, and my service to good Mr Douglas, that is so kind to your Ladyship. If I can I will wait on your Ladyship before I go for London, which will be this week.”

*Lady Seaforth to Lord Lovat.*

“ 9th April 1716.

“ My Lord,—I'm infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the concern you're pleased to have in saving my people and lands. I have now ordered expresses to all the parishes, that the people may with all speed deliver their arms, and those in the neighbourhood are given. If I had a conveyance my daughter would surely go off this week. I intreat, therefore, your Lordship to speak again to General Cadogan, whose civility I shall never be able sufficiently to acknowledge. I am with a true sense of your friendship, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged humble servant.

“ The Earl of Cromarty was at Coul at night, but is expected here this forenoon, and then your Lordship shall be further informed if needful.”

*Lord Lovat to Countess Seaforth.*

“ Madam,—I had the honour of your letter this day, and I

immediately spoke to the General, who was mighty civil. He desired me to give his service to your Ladyship and to my Lady, your daughter; and to tell you that you might take your own time in sending her away the next week, or when you pleased. The army is to march, but to do no harm if the people bring in their arms. Glengarry came in last night. None of the rest have yet given up their persons; but their men have all given their arms to save their country. I intend to go for London this week. I will endeavour to go and pay my respects to your Ladyship, and wherein I can be of use to you will always find me, with great zeal and respect, Madame, your Ladyship's most obedient cousin and most humble servant,

“LOVAT.

“Inverness, 10th April 1716.

“P.S.—The General promised to speak to Mr Wightman for the coach and horses.”

*General Wightman to the Countess of Seaforth.*

“Inverness, 10th April 1716.

“Madam,—I have sent two or three messages to acquaint your Ladyship that it would be very convenient for the young Lady to be in this town to-day, for that I had found out an expedient to conduct her Ladyship in a chariot with six horses to Edinburgh.

“I shall leave this place to-morrow in order for Fort-William with General Cadogan, and if I am absent, fear things won't be so well managed for the young Lady's advantage, and perhaps miss the opportunity of the chariot.—I am, Madam, your Ladyship's most obedient humble servant,

*Wightman*

Lovat soon after left for London, and promised to intercede for Seaforth. No sooner did he arrive than stories began to spread, which were attributed to him; and he boasted so loudly of his own services against the Jacobites that the Earl of Sutherland, Sir William Gordon, Rose of Kilravock, and others insisted upon his retracting these tales. They requested him to sign a deed for the purpose of publication. Lovat declared that the rumours of which they complained were absolutely false, and without foundation, but this did not satisfy the Earl. He sent Gordon of Ardoch to meet Lovat at Doctor Wellwood's to remonstrate with him for not signing the deed. Lovat was so indignant at his word not being accepted as sufficient, that he threatened to cut Sir William Gordon's throat on the first opportunity, as he believed it was he who insisted upon his retraction by deed. Next day Sir William met Lovat at the Smyrna Coffee House, and informed him that he came purposely to afford him an opportunity to make good his threat. Lovat declared he had no recollection of using the words attributed to him, and supposed "he must have done so in his cups," but he was quite ready to afford satisfaction to any gentleman, and would with great pleasure place himself at Sir William's service. A meeting was arranged for next morning, and Lovat requested Doctor Wellwood to act as his second. The Doctor declined, and Lovat then wrote



to the Baron of Kilravock, who was in London, begging him, on account of the ancient friendship between their families, to stand by him in this extremity. Kilravock very reluctantly consented, and met Gordon of Ardoch, who was Sir William's second.

As Lovat declined to go anywhere save to Marylebone-fields, the party left Piccadilly about 6 a.m. Immediately they had taken their places, a man with a loaded gun hurried between them, and swore that he would shoot the first to draw a sword. Ardoch and Kilravock in vain tried to get rid of the fellow, and while expostulating with him, James and Alexander Fraser, accompanied by four horsemen, appeared on the scene. Sir William, as he would not be permitted to fight, called Lovat a lying knave and arrant coward; and Lovat, furious at the insult, attempted to draw his sword, but dropped it when he saw the man taking aim at his breast. Subsequent inquiry by the seconds proved that Lovat that same morning gave the fellow money and a gun, and arranged the whole thing.

Lovat's intercession for Seaforth did the latter little good. He still held out, and his people refused to deliver up their arms. The following correspondence between Countess Frances and General Cadogan shows that the authorities were determined to proceed actively against the Mackenzies:—

*General Cadogan to the Countess of Seaforth.*

“ Inverness, the 10th April 1716.

“ Madam,—I received the honour of your Ladyship’s letter of the 9th instant, and am very sorry it was not in my power to get your Ladyship’s coach and horses restored. As for the two gentlemen that I left out the passport, there are so many informations given against them by all the well affected persons in the country, that so far from granting them a pass, were it not in consideration and regard to your Ladyship, I should immediately order them to be made prisoners. But if your Ladyship pleases to name any two gentlemen who have not been in arms, I shall be ready to consent to their waiting on my Lady Seaforth on her journey to Edinburgh. I hope all your Ladyship’s tenants will be so much friends to themselves as to forthwith bring in their arms, and thereby prevent their being forced to it by military execution. I beg your Ladyship to believe I shall always be very glad to show the profound respect with which I have the honour to be, Madam, your Ladyship’s most obedient and most humble servant,

“ WM. CADOGAN.

“ I send here enclosed, for your Ladyship, Protection for your house and estate of Brahan.

“ William Cadogan, Esq., Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty’s forces in North Britain,—All officers and soldiers of his Majesty’s army in North Britain are hereby required not to commit any disorder, nor to take any goods, cattle, or corn in the house or on the estate of Brahan, or any other belonging to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Seaforth.

*Wm Cadogan*

“ Given at Inverness, 10th April 1716.”

*Lady Seaforth to General Cadogan.*

“Sir,—That I should be still troubling a gentleman of so much honour and known civility is to myself very mortifying, but the daily distress I meet with, notwithstanding the protection your Excellency was pleased to send me, makes me the most uneasy person in the world.

“Yesterday Colonel Brooks came hither, with, I think, 400 men, besides the garrison, and Colonel Munro’s Independent Company, who, I hear, are to quarter at Brahan till all the Highlanders give up their arms. It’s surely hard that I, who have been so long a widow, should, without any offence given to King or Government, be the only woman in Britain so much harassed. The arms might be delivered up at Inverness as well as here; for my diligence in sending to my tenants reiterated positive orders has appeared to the officers at this house by the delivering up of all the arms within a dozen miles to this, and by letters promising the rest at a further distance to be delivered up with all speed possible.

“I got not last year £50 of £1000 which is my jointure; and the tenants and country are now so impoverished that I can expect nothing from them. Nay, I can scarce get bread to my family and the few officers that are with me.

“This being my condition, I must beg of your Excellency with all earnestness speedily to compassionate the same, which will be a true act of generosity, and the greatest favour you can honour one with who is, with the highest esteem of your goodness and with the utmost respect, sir, your Excellency’s ever obliged but most afflicted servant,

*F. Seaforth*

“Brahan, 14 of April 1716.”

*Cadogan to Countess Seaforth.*

“Inverness, 20 April 1716.

“Madam, — I received last night the honour of your Ladyship’s letter of the 19th inst., and am very sorry to find, by the accounts sent me by Col. Brooke, that not the tenth part of the arms of my Lord Seaforth’s people are yet brought in. The great desire I have to do your Ladyship all the service I can, obliges me to acquaint you that this trifling and amusing the Government will be more resented at London than open resistance, and will not leave it in my power to serve your country any longer. I shall, however, in your Ladyship’s consideration, order the detachment to halt till Tuesday next, but if by that time all the arms are not delivered up, I shall be under necessity of ordering the troops to proceed with the utmost severity against your son’s people, and employ fire and sword to reduce them, of which I would have your Ladyship to give them forthwith notice in the most public manner. If they continue obstinate after this warning, it will be their own fault, and not mine, if they are destroyed. I thought it further necessary to acquaint your Ladyship that Col. Clayton is with a detachment of a thousand men towards Eilandonald, on the extremity of my Lord Seaforth’s country, so that his people are now surrounded on all sides. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and veneration, Madam, your Ladyship’s most obedient and most humble servant,

“WM. CADOGAN.”

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government, Seaforth still held out, and was consequently attainted. He retired to the Lews, where he escaped from the detachment sent against him under Colonel Cholmley, made his way to Ross-shire, and ultimately to France. His estates fell to be administered by the Forfeited

Estates Commissioners, who had little profit from the management.

Acting under orders from Seaforth, the tenants withheld the rents: a circumstance which led to the tragedy wherein Walter Ross of Easterfearn perished. Seaforth in 1719 returned to Scotland, with the Marquis of Tullibardine at head of the Spanish force, which was defeated at Glenshiel in April of that year. In this fight Seaforth was wounded, but not so badly as to prevent his escape to France. Before leaving, he sent the following order to his tenants, and copies being distributed over all the estates by Donald Murchison, the reason why the Forfeited Estates Commissioners received no rents is sufficiently apparent:—

“ Assured friends,—As I had always the good and prosperity of my people in generall, as much at heart as my owen in particular, so also your late losses and present troubles greives me more than my own circumstances, which I only regrave in respect they disable me from bestowing such favours on you as my inclinations leads me to, however, until ane opportunity offer (which I hope is aproching), of capacitating one to make you fully sensible of my affection for you, which is more than I shall now express in implement of voluntarie promise, and in compassion and consideration of your late losses, I desyr that everyone of you who sustained damages from the common enemy, and acquitted themselves according to their capacities in their duty, obedience, and faithful service to, and attendance of me asserting my Royal Master's right, shall retain in their hands for their own proper use, the rents and duties payable by them, prohibiting all

persons claiming title or interest thereto (as they regard me) to uplift it, or collect it from anie of you. Circumstances and alterations in affeirs, whereof I am lately informed obliges me to leave you for some time, which I hope will be very much for my interest and advantage, and consequently for yours. Therefor lett none of you be surprised at my absence, on the contrary bear it patiently, and pretend who will exert yourselves in your duty and firmness to your real and grateful master.



*Postscript.*—" You know lykeways that for your ease in respect of your attendance of me, I would not allow anie flittings or removalls amongst you nor regard last set.

*Note.*—" The principal taxemen of each country who had the above orders directed to them had it enclosed within a particular order to themselves in the following terms:—" " Asurred friend,—I relay on your putting in execution what the enclosed letters bears as you may depend on my being—  
Your real friend,

(Sic Subscriberitur)

" SEAFORT."

The Mackenzies withheld the rents for several years, and many friends interceded for their chief. A deputation of his clansmen waited upon General Wade, and promised on behalf of the tenantry to give up their arms and pay the rents in future, provided they had a discharge for all rents preceding 1725. This Wade

agreed to, and in the following year, Seaforth was not only relieved from the penal consequences of his outlawry, but had a grant of the arrears of feu duties due to the Crown out of his estate. He died in the Lews, on the 8th January 1740.

## VII.

### THE YOUNG LAIRD OF FOULIS AND THE '15.

THE Earl of Scaforth, as a preparatory step to embarking in the rebellion of 1715, summoned his clansmen and dependants to meet him at Brahan Castle on the 9th of September. This meeting was not attended by several of his most influential vassals, and their reasons for holding aloof are embodied in a letter which they wrote and sent to him on the same day. In this letter they pointed out to the Earl, in language both firm and dignified, the dangers attending any rising at a period when the people were altogether unprepared, and they solemnly warned him of "the consequences of running rashly into measures which cannot be so easily retrieved."

Robert Munro, the younger of Foulis, born 24th August 1684, had already won distinction in the army, and immediately he heard of a movement among the Mackenzies, proceeded to fortify his ancestral home. Ere many hours elapsed the retainers of his family came trooping in from all quarters. At the castle of Foulis all was bustle and preparation; the Munroes were drawn up and exercised beneath the shade of the





SIR ROBERT MUNRO OF FOULIS.

KILLED AT FALKIRK.

THE  
MUSEUM  
OF  
ART AND  
ARCHITECTURE

castle during the next few nights. The gathering of the clan was conducted with marvellous secrecy, and by the 14th they were prepared to make a dash for the capture of Inverness; but unluckily, one, Hector Mackenzie, the son of a servant at Brahan, had on that day been sent on an errand to a relative at Kiltarn. Ere the youth left he saw his kinsmen arrayed in warlike apparel. Arriving at Brahan, he communicated the fact to his friends, and ere long "boot and saddle" was sounded, and Seaforth himself, accompanied by a few men, galloped to watch the passes. Munro and his friends started ere day-break, and while on the march towards Dingwall were met by a messenger from Seaforth with the request "that he should return home and live peaceably, unless it was his intention to throw in his lot with the Jacobites." By this time Seaforth's retainers were visible in every direction, and Munro, with his small band, was obliged to retrace his steps. He would at any rate have been too late to achieve his purpose, for Mackintosh of Borlum had already seized Inverness, and proclaimed King James.

Seaforth next day reviewed his men in a field near Dingwall, and addressed them in stirring language. He was a vain youth, whose head seems to have been turned by the compliments showered upon him by wily partisans. The adhesion of the great Chief of Kintail, and his wild Mackenzies and Maeraes, was

regarded by the heads of the movement as of the utmost consequence. None knew better than the brave old Laird of Borlum what an effect it would have throughout the Highlands generally, and with this in view Borlum urged Seaforth to come with a body of men to occupy Inverness, as he was about to march to join the Earl of Mar. Seaforth thereupon immediately set out for Inverness, and having left Sir John Mackenzie of Coul as governor of the town, he returned to Brahan.

Foulis and his men kept constantly in arms; by the end of the month word was sent that the Earl of Sutherland was on his way to assume command of the loyalists. The Munroes then encamped near Alness, where they were joined by parties of Rosses, and latterly by the Earl of Sutherland. It was now determined to attack Seaforth, and besiege Inverness. This plan was upset by the rapid march of Seaforth, before whose advance the loyalists dispersed. Munro's friends fled, leaving him at the mercy of the foe; he retired to Foulis with the loss of one man and several prisoners.

There is a story told, and it is confirmed by letters extant, that the ladies of the burgh of Cromarty were so intensely Jacobite that they hired spies to watch the movements of Munro, and sent messengers to Seaforth with detailed accounts of the position and movements of the loyalists. The information thus

conveyed to Seaforth by the Cromarty spies, as they were called, proved so useful, that by stratagem the Mackenzie Chief well nigh secured Foulis Castle. When balked of this, some of the most desperate characters among the Mackenzies were guilty of excesses. A letter from the minister of Inverness, dated the 14th of October, is to this effect:—

“The poor country of Ross all over is at the mercy of the enemy, and lamentable accounts of the miseries of the faithful subjects are daylie coming in to us from eye-witnesses. And there are not better Christians nor better subjects in the land. The ministers have fled to Sutherland. Mr Mackilligan’s house was most sadly plundered, being near the camp and himself chaplain to the army under the Earl of Sutherland.”

Seaforth, elated by the success which attended his arms in the north, marched southward to join Mar. By this time he believed himself as capable a leader as Alexander the Great. He organised a bodyguard of forty mounted clansmen, whose duty it was to attend him at all times; an arrangement which excited the ridicule of his associates, who did not scruple to question his personal courage. Munro and his friends, being now relieved, proceeded to Inverbreakie, from whence they and the other deputy-lieutenants of the north despatched a letter to Lord Townshend giving him an account of their proceedings, and desired the assistanee of regular forces. Not content with this communication Foulis, on the 3rd November, wrote to the Secretary of State:—

“My Lord,—Our communication with the south has bene stopt since the 12th of September. Before the Earl of Sutherland came to the country on the 5th of October, I did all that was possible for me to serve the King’s interest, in conjunction with my kinsmen, friends, vassals, and followers, though I had neither arms nor money from the Government. It would be too tedious to trouble your lordship with the particulars here since my Lord Sutherland’s arrivall. His lordship is so fully in knowledge of what passed that I refer myself to what information he will give your lordship. One of our greatest hardships is that the rebels are plentifully provided with money from the Pretender, and had an abundance of arms, whereas we want both; and the collector of the customs at Inverness supplies the rebels with the publick money. After all the struggling made here by the Erle of Sutherland and all others that are weel affected to the present happy establishment, without speedie and powerful assistance of regular troops landed in Cromarty road we must be undone. I mean such as have hitherto escaped the enemy’s rage. The Goths and Vandalls never shoed more barbarity in their interuptions than the E. of Seaforth practised on my and others’ estates, and on that of his kindred and name, ravishing of women, burning houses, barns and corns, killing all the cattle they could find, stripping women and children, pillaging everything they could find in their houses.

“I will give your lordship no further trouble at present, onlie to assure you that I am, with the utmost respect my lord, your lordship’s most faithful, most obedient and humble servant,

“ROBERT MUNRO.”

There is reason to believe that Seaforth was not responsible for the pillaging which went on, for when the fact came to his knowledge he sent a party in pursuit of the disreputable characters who committed excesses, and severely reprimanded an officer for

wantonly wounding one of the Munroes. The Laird of Culcairn, writing at the same time, does not blame Seaforth, and an unsigned letter gives an account of the "pursuit of the villainous thieves, who were a terror to the country."

Munro returned home to prepare for the march to Inverness, and from Foulis wrote the following letter on the 5th of November :—

"Honourable Sir,—The bearer, Mr Gordon, who is sent by my Lord Sutherland to acquaint you with the circumstances of this country, is my particular friend. I doubt not but he will give you satisfactory accounts of our affairs as to our behaviour. For myself, Sir, I have not inclination at this time to trouble you with our circumstances, but shall until this affair is ended do my duty and then think myself well rewarded if I should be as ill used by the Government as formerly. I am of the same opinion with all my name relations, friends, and followers, to risk both life and fortune in defence of the present Government. I hope you'll do the bearer justice against a Jacobite who now possesses his employment, and believe me to be, etc.,

"ROBERT MUNRO."

After Inverness had been captured by Hugh Rose, Baron of Kilravock, and Forbes of Culloden, the Earl of Sutherland, accompanied by Munro of Foulis, marched thither; the latter being appointed governor of the town, at once took steps to fortify it. In this he was assisted by the other loyalists, and by none more energetically than the crafty old fox, Simon, Lord Lovat. Simon was exceedingly anxious that his

doings should be chronicled at Court. His early career had not been such as to render him a favourite in high quarters, and, as a matter of fact, he was still an outlaw. But that did not deter him from writing a characteristic letter to Lord Townshend:—

“My Lord,—I refer to the King’s friends to give your lordship a particular account of what I did since I came to my country. They most own that there was nothing done for the Government till I took arms, and that in a few days with a few of my men I chased Keppoch Macdonald, who was coming to join the rebels in this place, and obliged the rebels to desert this town, and contributed with the rest of the King’s friends to reduce the neighbouring countrys to the King’s obedience. All my people whom Mackenzie of Fraserdale forced, by open violence, to go with him to Mar’s camp, deserted him, and all came and joined me when they heard I was in my country, which made a great desertion in Mar’s army. And Fraserdale, finding himself Collonel without souldiers, went off from meer shame from Mar’s camp, and he pretends now to submit himself. But if such a violent rebel that can now do no hurt be received, your lordship may depend upon it, tho’ it will not alter my zeal, yet it will entirely discourage the King’s friends in all the north to a great degree that I dare not express. So I hope your lordship will now do justice to my zeal and protect me against the misrepresentation that my Lord Athol gives of me, and against the friends of the violent rebel Mackenzie of Fraserdale. The more favourable your lordship is to me and my family the better the King’s service will be forwarded in the north, and your lordship shall ever find me very grateful, and with zeal and a profound respect,—My Lord, your lordship’s most faithful and obedient servant,

“LOVAT.”

“INVERNESS, 1st December 1715.”



The Laird of Foulis ardently wished that Lovat should have a remission under the Great Seal, and to this end he endeavoured to get the loyalists to address a memorial to the Secretary of State on his behalf. Whilst willing that the Fraser Chief should receive pardon, yet they declined to secure this by ascribing the total suppression of the rebellion to him. It is significant that whereas they collectively declined at this time to sign such a memorial in favour of Lovat, they readily subscribed a certificate to be forwarded to the Secretary of State on behalf of Robert Rose of Blackhills, who led the forlorn hope wherein Arthur Rose, brother of Kilravock, perished. Munro was not to be deterred from flattering Lovat by the luke-warm reception his proposal received at the hands of his friends, and consequently on the 2nd of December he addressed the Secretary of State thus :—

“My Lord,—It is needless to trouble your lordship with a detail of the hardship put on the friends of the Government in this country since the beginning of the present rebellion. I'll only say in general that my friends and I did our duty, and had the interest of the Government been supported at the time I left London (as we of this country who had the honour to know your lordship did represent) the most if not all our misery might have been prevented. And the event had made it appear that if my Lord Lovat had been sooner sent down he would contribute much to oblige the rebels of this country to continue loyal. I took the liberty in public and in private to represent the propriety of sending to this country some regular troops, and to give my Lord Lovat his

remission, and send him down hither with some money in his pocket; but the D. of Athol that was a traitor at the revolution, and who in our consciencies we know wanted only an opportunity to play over his old game, was preferred to the publick interest and our safety's. On my arrival in Scotland the D. of Athol continued his protestation of loyalty, tho' at the same time, his whole family and his creature and minion Prestonhall (who unjustly possesst my Ld. Lovat's estate) were encouraging the rebellion, and at last, tho' the D. of Athol was Prestonhall's bail, to the Government he appeared a leading man among the rebels, having enticed about 400 of the Frasers (who would have followed my Ld. Lovat had he been in the country) to go with him to Mar's camp.

“I hope this 2nd part of the D. of Athol's conduct has convinced your lordship and others how just I was to his Grace. On my Ld. Lovat's arrivall here the King's affairs were in the utmost confusion, this place being in the rebel's hands, by which the communication 'twixt the friends of the Government in Ross, Sutherland and Moray was cutt off. On his appearance in the country a handsome body of his men joined him, with which he first chased a branch of the name of Macdonald that were to throw themselves into this place with above 200 men, and obliged others of his Jacobite neighbours to surrender themselves to the depute-lieutenants of the shyre of Inverness. Some others well affected to the Government, having joined his lordship, he obliged the rebels to desert this place by sea, so I am now in possession of it with about 400 men of my own name. His lordship is now marching down after the Earl of Sutherland to Moray, with above 400 men of his own name, to assist in establishing the King's Government in that country. When your lordship considers all this you will not be surprised at our confusion here, when we are told that the D. of Athol, depending on his interest at Court, has sent Prestonhall to London in order to get his remission. I hope your lordship and all those who have the honour to be near the King's person will not advise

His Majesty to any such thing, for Prestonhall has been one of the guiltiest. I shall not trouble your lordship with anything about my Lord Lovat's remission, since his services not only entitle him to that, but to other marks of the King's favour, for plainly nothing would have been done here without him.—I am, my lord, your lordship's most faithful and most obliged humble servant,

"ROBERT MUNRO."

"INVERNESS, 2nd December 1715."

By the following April, Munro's wishes were gratified. Lovat's remission passed the Great Seal and the Fraser Chief tried to assist Munro to one or two good offices, but in vain. Foulis was, however, appointed one of the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, and this position he continued to occupy until 1724. He succeeded his father in 1729, and was Member of Parliament for thirty years. He rendered good service at Fontenoy as Lieut.-Colonel of Crawford's Highlanders, and was killed at Falkirk fighting bravely against the Jacobites on the 17th January 1746.

## VIII.

### BORLUM'S EXPEDITION INTO ENGLAND, 1715.

One of the most able of the officers of the Chevalier St George was, without doubt, William Mackintosh of Borlum. Descended from a warlike race, and closely allied to the chief of Clan Chattan, it seemed fitting that, on such an occasion as the '15, he would give a good account of himself, and true it is that, as a politician and a soldier, there was no one more fitted to command the Jacobite forces. Although possessed of merely a petty Lairdship, he was bred and trained to arms in France, and in the Guards of King William and Queen Anne, and gave indications, at an early period, of the dash and courage which has given his name so prominent a place in the annals of the '15.

As leader of the Clan Chattan he marched at the head of a considerable force into Inverness, where, on 15th September, he proclaimed the Chevalier at the Town's Cross. On the following Sunday he marched southward with about 500 men, and was soon afterwards created Brigadier in the Jacobite army. He was sent to Burntisland with two thousand men to secure boats with which to cross the army, and while

here, on the 9th October, he addressed the following curious and ingenuous letter to Captain Pool of *H.M.S. Pearl*, then employed in guarding the Firth and its shipping from the designs of the Highlanders :—

“ Sir,—You lying so near a part of the King’s army of which I have the honour to command as Brigadier-General, thinks it incumbent upon me to require, command, and summons you in His Majesty King James the Eighth’s name, to come in and return to your duty, allegiance, and obedience to him, and does promise you that your early appearance will meet with all suitable encouragement from me, and will entitle you in all time coming to receive from His Majesty such favours as so great a service deserves. If ye incline to hearken to this proposal you’ll be pleased to send some officer ashore that I may fully commune with him, and I promise him protection and safety to come and return, and if ye desire I shall send an officer to you upon the like protection granted. The complying with this measure will be just, safe, honourable, and advantageous. The enclosed is the Earl of Mar and others of the nobility and gentry their manifesto calculate for the kingdom of Scotland, and since it has pleased God to bring His Majesty safely into his own kingdoms, ye may expect that encouragement will be given to the Royal Navy of England.”

The reply of Pool to the letter of the “ Arch rebel,” as he calls him, was a threat to lay the place in ashes, but Highland wit proved more than a match for loyal Pool, for ere the English captain awoke next morning Mackintosh had crossed over with his force, and it was firmly established at North Berwick, Aberlady, and other places along the coast. Ere long they held possession of Haddington for King James. The Lord

Justice Clerk writing, on 13th October, to Secretary Stanhope of these things, says :—

“ Lord Nairn and two or three other lords are come over, but it is Mackintosh of Borlum that is the principal man that commands in Haddington. Some of the rebels were at the President of the Session’s gate before his family was well awake, and his lordship narrowly escaped ; two of his sons were taken, but they have let them go again upon their parole of honour, and Borlum, as Brigadier of the Pretender’s forces, gives them a pass, which pass I have seen. . . . This landing is the boldest, and perhaps the most desperate, attempt you ever heard of.”

The Jacobites were now joined by the men of Teviotdale, and we next find Borlum at Kelso, which he threatened to destroy with fire and sword. It was while here that he wrote the letter to the Chief Magistrate of Dunse, Hay of Drummelzier, of which fac-simile is given :—

“ Sir,—I expected to have heard from you last night as you promised, and that you would have sent yor six months cess of the town of Dunse, for his Maties service ; and now I send you this express to putt you in mynd to doe it once this night ; otherwise I must be excused to levy it in a way that will not be very agreeable either to you or me.—I am, sir, yor most humble servant,

WILL. MACKINTOSH.

“ Kelso, 23rd October 1715.”

The junction of the north and south country Jacobites led to divided counsels, and so great did the divisions become that a considerable body of Highlanders retired northwards utterly disgusted with the

Sir

ES

Expected to have heard from you last night  
as you promised, And that you would have sent you six months  
lots of the town of Dune, for his Mother's sake; And was  
I told you this Express to put you, in my mind to do it one this  
night: otherwise I must be excused to buy it in a way that  
will not be very agreeable either to you or me. I am

Sir

?

your most humble servant

W. M. Markem to the

Kells 23<sup>d</sup> Octobr.

1715.

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enterprise. To apportion the blame is not our province here. Borlum was exceedingly anxious to strike a blow at the enemy ere they could unite their forces, while others leant on that broken reed—the promises of the English Jacobites, and thus it happened that very reluctantly Borlum was obliged to give way to the opinion of others. The following unpublished letter from Lord Charles Murray, third son of the Duke of Atholl, to his brother James, throws light upon the intentions of the leaders.

“Dear James,—Your letter with the money reached me with good news, and it made me glad to think that you have done so well with what belonged to me, and have never ceased thinking but that you can do as you have done before, the like good service in sending on to Perth what good men you can get. If we can but reach London before Carpenter comes up, whom we know now is at our heels, and who is anxious to get a smack at us, we will be all right, and shall await for Lord Mar somewhere about Derby. The Brigadier wanted to halt near Newcastle to get at Carpenter at once, but was persuaded by us to push on. We do want money badly, because we have little to pay the men with, who have twice proved themselves unruly, but we think that all things will go well now.”

These sanguine anticipations were not realised. The march through the north of England, accompanied, as it was, with a spirit of dissension between the leaders, culminated disastrously before the attack of Generals Wills and Carpenter at Preston, where Highland dash and valour availed so little. Routed all

along the line, and with the principal leaders prisoners, the campaign in England was a miserable fiasco. Besides Borlum, and the principal officers of his regiment, there was captured the Lord Charles Murray, whose father wrote from Blair Castle, on 25th November, to Lord Townshend, the following pathetic letter, pleading for the life of his misguided son :—

“ My Lord,—I have accompts from Edinburgh that Lord Charles Murray, my third son, is taken prisoner in Lancashire, and was to be tryed by a Court Martial. His crime is so very great that I have nothing to plead for him but the King’s mercy and goodness, who if His Majestie will be graciously pleased to spare his life, I hope in God he will shew his repentance to God and the King in such a manner as to shew his sense of so great mercy. I have wrote more fully of this to the Earl of Nottingham. I am not able to add more, but begs your lordship will be so good as to join with his Grace in interceding with His Majestie on behalf of my child, which I shall always own as a very great and particular obligation done to me.”

Borlum was brought south, and confined in Newgate, and the Government being very anxious to obtain evidence against the Jacobite leaders, Lord Justice Clerk Cockburn wrote to Secretary Stanhope suggesting that Mackintosh of Borlum should be approached, as he had been one of the principals, and well versed in Jacobite secrets; but, fortunately, a scheme was on foot to effect the Brigadier’s escape from Newgate. This fact coming to the knowledge of Brigadier A. Grant of Grant, this unworthy creature endeavoured

to frustrate his kinsman's attempt by writing the following to an official high in place :—

“ My Lord,—Since I had the honour of waiting on your lordship, I am informed by a person who is often in Newgate that there is a project forming for Mackintosh of Borlum—commonly called Brigadier,—his making his escape. I thought it my duty to acquaint you of it, that it may be prevented. Angus Mackintosh of Kyllachie is the gentleman I mentioned to your lordship as the most criminal of that sett.”

The Brigadier and a companion—John Mackintosh's son, escaped, notwithstanding the officious zealotry of Grant of Grant, and lived for many years after,—his grand-daughter Winny having the distinction of being carried for half a mile in the arms of Prince Charlie, while on his march through Morayshire.

## IX.

### THE " FORTY-FIVE."

" Now our Prince has reared his banner,  
Now triumphant is our cause ;  
Now the Scottish Lion rallies,  
Let us strike for Prince and laws."

A CENTURY and a half of years has not in the least diminished the keen interest evinced in the campaign which has given Prince Charles Stuart and his followers such a unique and imperishable place in the history of our country. Scholars, novelists, and poets have each added their tribute to his fame, but, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, we are only now on the verge of arriving at the truth. The story of the '45 has been misrepresented to a great extent ; it was an attempt of such daring and brilliancy that even those whose principles compelled them to resist it to the uttermost were lost in admiration. And so it comes to pass that a glamour has been thrown over the rising, as we shall see, totally inconsistent with facts.

The authorities in Scotland had for several years been on the *qui vive*, and the marvel is that any rising took place at all. When Cameron of Lochiel,

in December 1743, ordered a large quantity of tartan from a Glasgow firm, suspicion was aroused that a movement of some kind was in contemplation, and this was confirmed by reports that the lairds were preparing accoutrements for their followers. It was only, however, in the spring of 1745, that the officials in Edinburgh got definite intelligence from James Roy Macgregor (son of Rob Roy)—an unhappy man, who had consented to act as a spy upon his Jacobite friends; and the facts supplied by him enabled the Government to take prompt measures, for they immediately issued warrants for the arrest of such chiefs as were noted for their Stuart leanings. The first they secured was Sir Hector Maclean, who was betrayed by John Blair—a trusted Jacobite—one whose treachery put the Government in possession of the most cherished designs of his party. But while the authorities in Scotland had thus acquired knowledge of an important movement in favour of the exiled Stuarts, and had acted with promptitude in issuing the warrants, with a strange fatuity they let the opportunity slip by; their conduct even favouring the suspicion that some of the highest officials in the State were lukewarm supporters of the House of Guelph. It was only after repeated urgent messages from London that they tried to put in execution the rest of the warrants against the Jacobites; and the story of the attempt to capture the Duke of Perth

recalls circumstances every whit as treacherous as that which marked the tragedy of Glencoe. A Campbell was again the hero; little wonder then that the name has, so far as Highlanders are concerned, been regarded with peculiar aversion as synonymous with hypocrisy and deceit. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inverawe was entrusted with the apprehension of Perth, whose hospitality he had frequently experienced. Presuming on this, he sent a message to the Duke of his intention to dine with him. Perth sent a note in reply, expressing the great pleasure it would afford him to be honoured by Campbell's presence, little dreaming of the project in hand. During dinner, one of the servants, observing soldiers surrounding the house, reported the matter to the Duke, who paid no attention. After the wine had circulated, Campbell told his errand, and Perth good-naturedly replied that he would readily accompany him when he had changed his attire. He entered an adjoining closet for this purpose, and escaped by a back stair, leaving Campbell to report the circumstances to Sir John Cope in these terms:—

“I have this day made an attempt to apprehend the Duke of Perth, and though I had my company under arms at his gate, and some friends in the house with me, by which I thought all secure, trusting too much to his honour he slipt out of our hands into the wood, which I have now surrounded by Sir Patrick Murray's company and mine. Whether we can get him soon taken is a question, but if your Excellency

approve of it I am determined he shall have little rest if he keeps the Highlands till we have him. I have writ to Colonel Whitney to secure the Bridge of Stirling and all passes in that neighbourhood, in case he should attempt going into the low country; your Ex: will give the proper orders with regard to the Ferries of Leith and Kinghorn. This unlucky accident gives me great uneasiness, but I hope to retrieve it. I laid the most probable scheme for it I could think of, though it failed; whatever commands your Ex: shall have for me direct to this place, where notice shall be got of me.

"I am, etc.,

"DUNCAN CAMPBELL."

"CRIEFF, 24th July 1745."

Perth's escape proved extremely mortifying to the laird of Inverawe, his fine schemes and the subtle stratagem by means of which the Duke would be secured at all hazard "ended in nought." To cover his discomfiture, his efforts to capture the fugitive were such as brought forth murmurings among his harrassed soldiers, whose exertions were of none avail.

It is not our purpose to detail at length the circumstances which led Charles to hazard his cause and his person in a rebellion in the North of Scotland. The youthful Prince, in whose veins ran the fiery blood of Sobieski, was utterly disgusted at the faithlessness of the French. He could not understand the diplomatic dissimulation of the Court of Versailles, which hesitated to strike the blow it professed so anxious to deal, yet did not scruple to place his family in a position so humiliating that his proud spirit rebelled.

So he sailed from France, determined to trust himself to his loyal Highlanders. Here, again, he had been grievously misled, for they were not so ready to throw off the Hanoverian yoke as alleged by unscrupulous partisans. The '15 and its disastrous consequences had taught the chiefs to act with caution, and thus it was that when he arrived in Inverness-shire they held aloof until commanded to his presence—a summons obeyed with manifest reluctance.

It was the adhesion of the Cameron chief that “set the heather on fire,” and brought about the tragedy of the '45. Persuaded against his better sense, all his arguments scouted, Lochiel was virtually forced to draw his sword in the Stuart cause, and the news spread like wildfire over the mountains to far distant hills and glens. Yet the Highlanders did not flock to the Standard at Glenfinnan in any numbers: they sullenly held aloof until threats and actual violence compelled them to leave their homes and follow their lairds, who taunted them with ingratitude, because they did not fly to arms after receiving “shirts, brogues, and other things.” Herein lies the marvel of the whole position. At the head of an army composed of men forced from their homes, and reluctantly compelled to take part in an enterprise from which they were ever ready to desert, Prince Charles marched upon Edinburgh, and eluding the troops sent against him, seized the Capital.



The story of the wild melee at Gladsmuir is too well known to need repetition here; it confirmed the position of the victor who now held court in his ancestral halls of Holyrood. Gaily passed the days, and merry were the nights, during the brief sojourn of the "Hope of the Stuarts." One can well imagine how the accession of each scion of an ancient house thrilled the small circle of the Prince's court. The Earl of Kellie strutted about with broadsword, white cockade, and gorgeous tartans; Strathallan, appointed Governor of Perth, was there in Lowland dress; Pitsligo, Lord George Murray, the courtly Duke of Perth, and the "dour rankerous" Lord Elcho, with the Lords Nairn and Ogilvie. Lord Lewis Gordon graced the scene before passing to his brother's country to raise the vassals of the "Cock of the North." The dread Laird of Glenbucket arrived with his friend, the wild-looking, unshaved Glenmoriston, who, when the Prince hinted that a visit to a barber ere coming into his presence would not have been amiss, replied with spirit—"Sir, it is not by the aid of beardless boys your Royal Highness will recover your father's throne." Never was there such a collection of lairds and kilted followers seen in Edinburgh, for, be it noted, almost all wore the tartan, sported the cockade, claymore, and pistols. Balls and parties, however, did not much advance the grand object in view, and it may indeed be said that the delay was fatal to the

cause. The Highlanders were deserting by the dozen—even the Camerons became infected, and the gentle Lochiel was compelled to personally chastise his followers with whip and rod for attempting to escape to the North. Dr Cameron, his brother, was sent to the Highlands to bring back deserters, which he did, by not only threatening to burn their houses, but by killing their cattle and taking possession of them for the use of the Jacobite army. Cluny Macpherson, Keppoch, Glengarry's son, and Glenmoriston, had all to resort to such methods to recruit their regiments. The last-named wrote to his wife, laying his commands upon her to deal in summary fashion with those who deserted, "by removal, raising the double rents, and other severe measures," declaring that if he lived to return he will raze such from his country and every place where he has interest; Lochgarry and the other leaders sent strong detachments to compel the return of those who had escaped. Such, then, was the condition of the Prince's army when he began his advance into England. He was not a whit dismayed, and cheerfully trudged on foot, talked to the men, tried by the charm of his manner to infuse enthusiasm into the ranks; and it was as much due to the personal influence he had acquired over them, as to the measures adopted, that desertion became less rife.

The rapid and daring advance of the little army,

their strange and picturesque garb, certainly struck terror into the people of the districts through which they passed. Exaggerated accounts of the ferocity of the Gael had preceded the expedition, and as the vanguard appeared, a general exodus of the villagers ensued, the stampede continuing until it was found that the "petticoated men" meant no harm. Stories have been rife as to unreasonable exactions made by the Highlanders, and deeds of violence have been placed to their credit. Strange scenes were certainly witnessed in the houses where the Prince's men were quartered, and the story of the sudden appearance of an armed Highlander in the house of a Mr Hewit in Carlisle may be given as explaining how much of the misrepresentation has arisen. The tale, as narrated by one of the parties to her cousin, is thus:—The wife and daughter of Hewit were alone in the house, when their attention was attracted by a great uproar in the street. Ere they could investigate the cause, the doorway was blocked by a "murderous-looking ruffian," with a drawn sword in his hand. At sight of the glittering blade, the ladies screamed for mercy, and falling upon their knees supplicated for, as they supposed, their lives. The strange-looking individual in tartans forthwith sheathed his sword; drew his dirk and pistol, sticking the former in the table and placing the latter beside it. His action was, of course, misunderstood; the ladies, thinking their last hour had

arrived, screamed anew; the Jacobite gesticulated, waved his arms, spoke excitedly an unintelligible gibberish; finally indulging in wild whoops and cries he danced round the apartment—this hilarity, no doubt intended to reassure the women, had the opposite effect. They looked upon the performance as a species of war dance prior to execution, and renewed their entreaties. To conclude the scene in the words of M. Hewit:—

“Then the agsasarated devil got ’is wapons to put ous derackly to death, and yelled for Tom Fowles a frand of ’is to help ’im.” But the Highlander had no murderous designs. He had evidently tried all in his power to make the ladies understand his good intentions, and when he failed he doubtless swore at them and departed. Another letter of this lady’s, dated 13th January, among the *Additional MSS.*, *British Museum*, shows the difficulty the parties had in communicating with each other:—

“Me father, me mother and meself wear all that stat at hom, and we had at last 90 rabbals in our hous each time, and whenever we refused anything they derackly drew their brodswords and that inded mad ous glad to dow for them.” Many were the ludicrous scenes witnessed during the progress of the Highland army into England, and when we read of stories of violence, allowance must be made for the fact that it was difficult for the two peoples to under-

stand each other. On the one side there was fear and trembling, while it is permissible to suppose that the " sons of the mountains " lost patience with the stupid Sassenachs, who would not realise that no injury was to be done them. Nor must it be forgotten that before the Prince crossed the Border false stories were purposely disseminated, having for object an attempt to get the common people to resist and defend their hearths and homes against a foe represented as barbarous savages.

The advance of the Jacobites filled the Royalist leaders with consternation. When they were only supposed to be near the Borders they were in Carlisle ; and when the authorities in London thought they were hemmed in by Wade and Cumberland, lo ! they appeared at Manchester. Swift of foot, they marched at a swinging pace, which upset all the calculations of their opponents. When passing Falconfield Bridge at Penrith some of the townsmen attempted to count their numbers, and arrived at the conclusion that they did not exceed 3000 men, while others stated that 6000 men passed southward, with thirty-one baggage waggons, and twelve small pieces of artillery.

Thirty years previously, the Scots Jacobites had been betrayed by the false assurances of the professed adherents of the Stuarts in England, and the same sad tale of broken promises has again to be recorded.

In the '15, a section of the Scots army, under the leadership of Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum—one of the most able and capable of the commanders in that rising—by a series of forced marches joined those in arms across the Border for the Chevalier de St George. After the rising had been suppressed, there was no section of the Stuart partisans so enthusiastic—on paper—as those south of the Tweed; but when occasion offered, and when Charles, against the wishes of his Scots adherents, crossed the Borders, relying on the promises made, the English again held aloof, for, with the solitary exception of Manchester, no material assistance was received. Nothing daunted, Charles was determined to reach London, where, in fear and trembling, the King and his ministers debated as to the probability of the Duke of Richmond being able to check the advance of the foe. The Duke's forces were in so sad a plight that had the fact been known to the chiefs they would have continued their career of victory; and, judging what might have been by his private correspondence, as well as that of those who were entitled to write authoritatively, there is no question that the Highlanders would have swept before them the sleepless, starved soldiers of the House of Hanover, and changed the history of our country. But the hand of God was against the race of Stuart—thus far and no farther seems to have been the fiat, and all that was accomplished was the utter

humiliation of King George, and a retreat as masterly as was the advance.

The exigencies of their position forced the followers of Charles back again to the Highlands of Scotland, where, amid scenes of fearful carnage, the last flickering hope of the Stuarts vanished. Well, indeed, did their leader merit the praise of Frederick the Great which appears in a letter among the *Kenyon Papers* :—

" . . . All Europe was astonished at the greatness of your enterprise ; for, though Alexander and other heroes have conquered kingdoms with inferior armies, you are the only one who ever engaged in such an attempt without any . . . However, though Fortune was your foe, Great Britain, and not your Royal Highness, is a loser by it, as the difficulties you have undergone only serve to discover those rare talents and virtues which have gained you the admiration of all mankind, and even the esteem of those amongst your enemies in whom every spark of virtue is not totally extinct."

The pity of it is that the man of such brilliant achievements should have been the victim of so dire a fate.

## X.

### LORD MACLEOD'S CAMPAIGN, 1745.

THE story of the part taken by Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromartie, in the last Jacobite rising may form an interesting addition to the records we possess of many of the younger generation of Stuart partisans. After the experience of 1715, it would be thought that one of the Cromartie family would not plunge hurriedly into a similar undertaking. Yet, no sooner was the banner of Prince Charlie displayed, than the unrest and excitement of the Earl of Cromartie and his son attracted attention. The famous Lord President Forbes, ever ready in the performance of what he conceived to be his duty, on 23rd September 1745, wrote to Cromartie desiring to know whether Macleod would accept of a captain's commission: Cromartie replied that the circumstances, under which the offer was made, were so singular that he could not desire, nor was it Macleod's own inclination to accept it.

But a far more dangerous correspondent next appears on the scene. Simon, Lord Lovat, of notorious memory, on 17th October addressed to the



Earl one of those peculiarly effusive letters which are so characteristic of him. He informed Cromartie that the Master of Lovat "loved Lord Macleod as he loved himself, and was much vexed that he did not see him." The career of the two young nobles have been singularly alike.

As the Stuart cause triumphed, Cromartie determined to throw in his lot with those in arms for the Prince, and, raising a considerable body of his retainers, marched southwards. The men were under command of Lord Macleod. When stationed at Perth in November, the young Colonel's grand-aunt, the Lady Stonebyres, visited him for the purpose of inducing him to withdraw from the army, but he steadfastly refused, and complained bitterly of the bad usage he received at the hands of the Government, which, he said, forced him into the course he took. While at Perth he was active in the performance of his military duties, and, in his narrative of the campaign, tells how on one occasion his men, thinking he had returned home, left Perth, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, declined to return for a considerable time. In regard to the incident he says, "the only way one can keep these troops to their colours is by flattery and good words, and even winking at many disorders which would never have been allowed in a regular army."

Macleod's men, with colours flying and pipes playing,

soon after marched to Dunblane. He appears next at Stirling, and on 12th January joined the Prince at Glasgow, being entertained to supper by Charles, who expressed astonishment that the Chief of the Mackenzies should have taken so active a part on the Hanoverian side. Macleod commanded a detachment of troops at Alloa, and was present at the battle of Falkirk. The regiment afterwards marched, under the command of Lord George Murray, by Aberdeen, Banff, and Strathbogie, thence to Inverness. After but an hour's rest in the latter place they were sent in pursuit of Lord Loudoun's troops. The Stewarts of Appin were placed in Foulis Castle, while the Macgregors held possession of Dingwall. By the 30th of March 1746 the Duke of Perth arrived at Tain, to assume command of the Prince's men. Macleod's men comprised the first division, landed near Dornoch, which dispersed Loudoun's troops on the moor of Embo, a success which compelled Loudoun, the Earl of Sutherland, Forbes of Culloden, and others to seek safety in flight. Lord Macleod next took up his quarters at Skelbo Castle, and while here the Stewarts and Macgregors seized three ships laden with Government stores at the Little Ferry.

While staying at Skelbo orders were received for the regiment to proceed to Caithness to take up the revenues, and to encourage the Sinclairs to rise,—for they had already declared their willingness to take up

arms, provided they were placed under the command of the Duke of Perth or Earl of Cromartie. As the Sutherland Militia were still in considerable force, the Earl of Cromartie remained at Dunrobin until his son's return. At Thurso, Macleod was overtaken by the men of Lochbroom, under command of the brother of Mackenzie of Ballone. Mackenzie of Ardoch was sent to Orkney, where he was heartily received, and after entertaining the gentlemen of the district to dinner, proposed that they should openly embrace the opportunity of serving their lawful Prince—which they declined. The men of Caithness did not display much more enthusiasm, and on the day appointed for raising the standard at Spittle Hill only one gentleman appeared at the head of thirty indifferently armed retainers, and these, after being thanked for their attendance, were dismissed.

Macleod being informed that a portion of Lord Loudoun's men were assembled on the Borders to attack him, resolved to proceed against them, and began his march into Sutherland, from Langwell, on the 13th April, the enemy dispersing at his approach. On the day before the battle of Culloden, the Earl of Cromartie, who was residing at Dunrobin, received orders to rejoin the Prince at Inverness, and within a few hours detachments of his men were on the march for the Little Ferry. As they advanced they were attacked by a considerable force of the Suther-

land Militia, who had been concealed near Culmaily, and ere long the flight of the men of Ross was cut off by the advance of a body of Lord Reay's men. After a stiff fight, Cromartie's men were worsted; many perished in an attempt to escape across the ferry, whilst considerable numbers were slain, the others being taken prisoners. Cromartie, Macleod, and their officers retreated to Dunrobin, where they were captured, and after some little delay were sent south.

Macleod was arraigned on a charge of high treason, and a true bill was found against him on 23rd August 1746. At his trial, on the 20th December following, he pleaded guilty, and addressing the Court, in words pathetic in their frankness, said :—

“MY LORDS,—I stand indicted for one of the most heinous of all crimes, that of rebellion and treason against one of the best of kings, and my only rightful lord and sovereign. Would to God, my lords, I could not plead guilty to the charge. But as I cannot, I beg leave to assure your lordships my heart never was consenting to the unnatural and wicked part I then acted. Remember, my lords, my youth, and that I am in that state of life when an unhappy father's example is almost a law. But my heart is full, from the deep sense I have of his miseries and my own; and I shall only add that, as I must and do plead guilty to the charge, if, on your lordships' kind representation of my case, His Majesty shall think fit, in his great goodness, to extend his compassion to me, what of future life and fortune I may ever have shall be entirely devoted to the service of His Majesty, on whose mercy I now absolutely throw myself.”

He received a free pardon, but on condition that he

conveyed to the Crown, on attaining his majority, all right and title to the family estates, with which condition he complied. But he was yet to suffer the deepest humiliation. The friends who in the heyday of prosperity had been so gracious, now that times of adversity had come, held aloof; nay, some of them had tortured the high-spirited youth with their miserable cavillings. He who could stand with unflinching courage before the deadly hail of shot and shell, was not proof against the taunts or reproaches hurled at him by his relatives. All his actions were misconstrued; and surely it was from a heart wellnigh broken, burdened with a sadness it alone knew, that Macleod wrote to his father on the 18th April 1749 the following letter, indicating his determination to go abroad:—

“ It cannot but be very disagreeable to me to find that there are some of my relations in Scotland who make it their business to carp at everything I do, and all this because I would not follow the scheme of life they laid down for me. They not only disapprove of every visit I make, but my going into any company, however mixed, my being at the most publick places, however indifferently frequented by people of all parties, and my very clothes, are offences of the highest nature. As this fully convinces me that they are resolved to disapprove of every step I can take, I was afraid, if you was acquainted with my design, they might attribute a part of this other imaginary offence to your share: it is to prevent any bad consequences of this nature that has determined me to act as I have done, and I declare before God that the above reason is my only inducement for so doing. As I have ever made my duty to my parents the inviolable rule of my

conduct, so I shall always continue in the same sentiments, and shall with pleasure embrace every opportunity by which I can show it.

“As idleness is certainly very detrimental to everybody, so it is likewise very shameful for a young man—especially for one in my situation—to loiter away his time when he ought to be pushing his way through the world. This has determined me to offer my service to some of the Northern powers, where the approaching war offers a favourable opportunity to such as are determined to make a figure in the world, or perish in the attempt. I have as much money as will carry me to town; and if I can get as much there as will carry me over the water, it will do very well. If not, I still think it better even to beg my bread over, and afterwards to carry a musket, than to continue any longer a burden to you.”

But misfortune clung tenaciously to the young noble, for, years after, we find him appealing to a brother exile—the famous Lord George Murray—for assistance, and through the latter’s good offices he received a small annuity from the Chevalier St George. He entered the Swedish army, where he acquired great distinction, ultimately becoming A.D.C. to the King, who created him Count Cromartie. The tide had turned when next he came to his native country. On 11th July 1758 the Lord Advocate of Scotland wrote to the Secretary of State, announcing Lord Macleod’s presence in Edinburgh,—“I do not believe the young man has any bad intentions.” Two days later Macleod himself writes:—

“That I have come to avoid fighting in the Swedish army against any of His Majesty’s allies, it being inconsistent with

the duty and loyalty of a good and faithful subject to the King, penetrated with the deepest sense of gratitude for His Majesty's royal goodness and mercy to my father and to myself. Penetrated, as I am, with the deepest grief and remorse for having been engaged in the late unnatural rebellion, I should think myself happy could I wash out with my blood the remembrance of that crime and of my past misconduct."

To atone in measure for his share in the '45, he offered to raise a regiment for the service of the Government. His offer, as well as a similar one on the part of the Master of Lovat, was accepted, and these two nobles raised the Macleod (or 73rd) Highlanders, and the Fraser Fencibles, each rendering the most distinguished service. Macleod was promoted to the rank of Major-General in the British Army, and, like the Master of Lovat, was further rewarded by the restoration of his ancestral property. Fickle fortune had smiled upon him once more, and he died amid scenes which indicated how completely he had won the affection of his dependants.

## XI.

### THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH AND THE '45.

IT is well known that when the Highlanders entered Edinburgh, Prince Charlie's first care was that nothing should interfere with the usual religious services, and to secure this, the Prince, on the 21st September, sent a message to the houses of the clergy requesting them to continue public worship as usual. He realised that their absence would be most prejudicial to his cause, and so it happened, for, although people attended kirk on the following Sunday, none of the ministers appeared. As a matter of fact, Edinburgh was not so intensely Jacobite as the agents of the Stuarts led them to believe, and Charles regarded the cessation of public worship as gravely significant. He, therefore, two days later repeated his request that no interruption should be given to public worship, and this was followed next day by a proclamation granting a free pardon to those of the clergy and laity who were associated against him, and who fled from their houses. Still the clergy, with two exceptions, held aloof, and the reason assigned by themselves was, that "they were warned



with the highest regard for His Majesty's person and Government."

When the Prince and his Highlanders, after their march into the heart of England, met the Government forces at Culloden and sustained a crushing defeat, the authorities sought by every means in their power to track down the malcontents who formed his army. To this end circulars were issued to all the clergy, schoolmasters, and excisemen throughout Scotland requesting lists of those persons concerned in the rebellion. Among others, such a request was sent to the ministers of Edinburgh, dated 30th May 1746, emanating from the Sheriff's Office, Edinburgh, and bearing the signature of Alexander Lind. The lists to be furnished were of those who were *not concerned* in the rebellion, so as to prevent unjust suspicions, and the following is contemporary copy of the reply sent by the ministers on the 4th June :—

"Sir,—We, the ministers of the Gospel in the city and suburbs of Edinburgh, have each of us received your letter.

"We would be extremely sorry if the well-affected to His Majesty's person and Government in our parishes should suffer any hardships from any unjust suspicions on account of this rebellion, though we hope nothing of this kind will happen from those who are now employed in the administration, but though there was a great danger it is not in our power to prevent it by the method you propose.

"The perplexed circumstances of this city and suburbs have deprived many of us of our annual lists of parishioners, so that we are strangers in a great measure to such as reside in

our bounds, as considerable variations and changes have happened since last year; and if these lists were made up we would not from thence know the heritors and life-renters who do not reside amongst us, but in all the different shires in the nation, and, doubtless, a list of mere names of persons, whether residing or not, would give us but small light into their true character, seeing we had no proper opportunity of observing their conduct.

“It is well known that many of us were obliged, while the rebels continued in this country, to leave our flocks and families; and such as remained at home, being under necessity of concealing themselves, could not observe what persons joined the rebels by carrying arms, and as for such who have been otherwise concerned in the rebellion, the means of knowing their secret correspondence lie entirely out of our way; any lists, therefore, we could furnish must be so very imperfect as to have small influence in protecting the innocent or promoting His Majesty’s service; but, on the contrary, if any weight was to be laid upon them, might perhaps screen the guilty from the proper inquiries into their conduct.

“At the same time, we count it our honour that our loyalty has been so firm and unshaken during the whole course of this rebellion; and as we have shown the warmest zeal to the utmost of our power for supporting His Majesty’s Government against the Pretender and all his open and secret abettors, we are resolved never to faint in so glorious a cause. We must be allowed to express our concern, and look upon it as a misfortune, that any piece of service should have been desired of us by any officer of the law as useful for His Majesty’s Government, which we have found impracticable, but it’s no small comfort to us in this case that the public cannot thereby suffer any real loss, as there are many more certain extensive methods of discovering in this city and suburbs those who have or have not been concerned in the rebellion, than by any lists we are capable of furnishing, especially as we conceive it not proper to charge any person

with a concern in the rebellion, but from our personal knowledge.”

All the ministers of Edinburgh, with the exception of Patrick Cuming, signed the letter. This roused suspicion that Cuming was a Jacobite at heart, for he took but little part in their proceedings, and failed to see why they should be troubled in the matter at all.

There were copies of the correspondence sent to the Lord Justice-Clerk, in order that “His Majesty’s service may suffer no unnecessary delay”; and a letter was also sent to Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke of Cumberland’s secretary, on the 5th June, together with the foregoing letter:—

“Sir,— . . . The inviolable attachment of the Church of Scotland to the Protestant succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover, even in times of the greatest danger, is well known, and it is humbly apprehended that we have not been wanting to show on all occasions the same steadfast adherence to this righteous cause.

“The present unaccountable and wicked rebellion, however mournful in itself, has afforded us many opportunities of testifying our unshaken loyalty to the best of kings, and invariable regard to our happy constitution.

“We are extremely sensible that it is of the utmost consequence to the future peace and happiness of this nation that those persons should be discovered who in a most secret as well as open manner have been aiding to the audacious rebels; and are confident that our judging it impracticable to comply with Mr Lind’s demand will not be mistaken as a design to favour a Jacobite party, in opposition to whose pernicious schemes we resolve, through divine grace, to resist even unto blood.

“It will be obvious to you, sir, that giving characters of men by drawing up such lists as proposed, and the attesting their loyalty as not having been concerned any way in the rebellion, when we have not been able with certainty to know how they have conducted themselves, might perhaps screen rather than discover the guilty; on the other hand, it might have no less disagreeable consequences to leave out of such lists men whose behaviour has been every way loyal, though not falling under our observations; and as to those in the city and suburbs who may have carried arms against the Government, we can say nothing from our personal knowledge.”

The action of the clergy of Edinburgh, and, indeed, throughout the country, rather disappointed the authorities, who thought, on account of their high-flown professions of loyalty, that they would one and all adopt a system of espionage over their parishioners. Such “dirty work,” as one of them characterised the proposal, was neither compatible “with the calling, convenience, or dignity of the brethern,” and they justly resented in as “safe a manner as possible the impertinence of my Lord Justice-Clerk.” The schoolmasters adopted the same course, and thus the authorities had to depend upon the meagre lists forwarded by the officers of Excise throughout the country; and these performed the disagreeable duty in a half-hearted manner—as evidenced by the lists of rebels published by the Scottish History Society.

Sir Everard Fawkener, according to one of his letters, never placed faith in the parsons, and this is evident from the way in which, with gentle sarcasm,

he replies to their effusive professions of loyalty from Fort-Augustus on 17th June :—

“ Reverend sirs,—You will not, I daresay, be surprised to impute it to the neglect in me, that amidst the multiplicity of affairs I am involved in the acknowledgement of your letter of the 5th has been a little deferred. I immediately laid it before His Royal Highness the Duke, who has been an eye-witness of the generous, steady zeal of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, in their just attachment to His Majesty and the Royal Family, and in the firm support of the holy religion they profess, and the laws and liberty they enjoy; all violently assaulted at once by this monstrous and wicked rebellion. And when the application was made to the reverend the clergy with a view to procure some light into this detestable scene of confusion, it was not, I am persuaded, meant to lay them under any difficulties, either with regard to the means they may have of answering what was hoped by that application, or to their characters or functions, in giving information which may affect the lives and fortunes, or reputation of others.

“The end of the Government is peace and security of the whole, and among the various means that must be tried for compassing it, and raising order out of this confusion, which can only be done by the blessing of the Almighty on our endeavours, this was thought of; and it is not doubted, but separately and collectively every one of you will be pleased to put his sickle into so fair a harvest and be useful where he can, towards preserving so great a blessing on those immediately committed to his care.

“The case is so common, that I don't know whether it will be allowable to remark it, that motives of pity are very apt to seduce, and that there will arise even against the strongest convictions of reason and truth, not only a compunction in the pursuit of those whose crimes have brought them into distress, but a kind of dislike of those who, setting aside all

consideration of that kind, pursue their duty, unrelentingly ; but it must always be considered that the law knows not revenge, and that the sword is put by the Almighty into the hands of the Magistrate to protect the good by punishing the wicked, and it almost always happens that an ill-judged lenity is the greatest cruelty.

“I shall only add, that I shall always know to what motive to attribute any communications that may be made to me, and that such use shall be made of them as may show the greatest regard to the persons they may come from, and the strictest attention to the public welfare.—I am, with great truth and respect, &c.

(Signed) “EVERARD FAWKENER.”

## XII.

### LIST OF ROSS-SHIRE JACOBITES.

THERE is probably no incident in the history of Britain that has taken such a hold upon the popular mind as the heroic attempt of Prince Charles Edward Stuart to recover the throne of his ancestors. It must be confessed, however, that sentiment and song have been successful in conveying to us a false impression of the rising of the '45, whether as regards its importance, or the sympathy it evoked. During recent years, historical research has thrown much light on the movement that proved so disastrous to the Stuarts and their partisans. Tradition and romance must yield to actual fact, and it is sad that those who, from childhood's years, have been taught to cherish the memory of the Jacobites for their loyalty and unselfish devotion, will have to confess that, with very few exceptions, there was nothing noble or unselfish in the motives that actuated our Highland chiefs in the '45. The gallant exploits of the Highland army threw such a glamour over the whole rising, which song and romance fostered, and so warped the judgment of many, that at last people

forgot about the intimidation used to recruit the Jacobite forces. Many even of the present day declare that, if Macdonald, Macleod, and other chiefs were men of honour, and fulfilled their promises, the success of the rebellion would be assured. When, however, everything is taken into consideration, it is not at all surprising that the last Jacobite rising ended so disastrously. There were many lairds who were so enthusiastic as to serve as volunteers under their own servants, but their correspondence reveal, in many instances, the selfish motives that prompted them to do so. The name of one chief stands pre-eminent for unselfish loyalty -- "The Gentle Lochiel."

"What praise, O Cameron! can the muse ascribe,  
 Thou free from censure, as thou wast from bribe;  
 Unstain'd, unsully'd, in a corrupt age,  
 Reserv'd for fame in every poet's page:  
 The sun shall fade, the stars shall lose their light,  
 But Cameron's fame shall never suffer night:  
 Bright as thyself it ever shall appear,  
 To all good men, to God and angels dear;  
 Thou wast the first that lent thy friendly aid,  
 Of no usurpers' bloody laws afraid:  
 Thou wast the first, and thy example drew  
 The honest, loyal, honourable few."

The following list is of exceptional local interest. "Elgin List," contributed to the *Nairnshire Telegraph*, was the first of the kind ever published in the



North, or probably elsewhere, although during the last century or more, such a list was often called for. In some memoranda drawn up by Hugh Rose, Esq. of Aitnoch, who died at Nigg in February, 1791, there is a list of rebels in Nairn and Ross, and, with two exceptions, only the names of the principal tacksmen being given. It would appear that, soon after the battle of Culloden, the Supervisors of Excise throughout Scotland, were directed to forward to the Board of Inland Revenue, lists of all persons concerned in the rebellion, from their respective districts. These lists were arranged alphabetically. Some differ from others by giving the source of information, and the "whereabouts" of the rebels when the list was compiled.

There are no separate lists for Inverness, Nairn, or Sutherland. The last county was quiet, with the exception of *a few thieves being in the hills*. According to the correspondence of the period, the Sutherlandmen were anxious that their neighbours of Caithness should rise, so that they would be permitted to stay at home and protect their own country. Towards the close of the struggle, Sutherland became the theatre of operations, Loudoun was forced to retreat to this county—followed by the Earl of Cromarty, who took possession of Dunrobin Castle. Very few of the Sutherland or Caithness people joined him, and in April, when the Earl of Cromarty

was recalled to Inverness, his men were attacked by the Sutherlands and Mackays, at the Little Ferry, and defeated.

The Earl appears to have waited at Dunrobin for some time after his men marched, and when the victors captured the Castle he was taken prisoner. The Duke of Cumberland, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, on 18th April 1746, says:—

“Lord Sutherland and Reays people continue to exert themselves, and have taken one hundred rebels, whom I have sent for; and I have good reason to believe that Lord Cromarty and his son are taken.”

Next day he writes that—

“Lord Cromarty and his son, with about ten officers and 150 private men, are just brought in by the Hound sloop. They were taken by Lord Sutherland’s men in his county. Lord Cromarty himself at Dunrobin Castle.”

The list of officers is of interest :—

“Earl of Cromarty; his son, Lord Macleod; Lieut.-Col. Mudell, Spanish service; Capt. Mackenzie, brother to Ballon; Capt. Rod. Macculloch of Glastullich; Lieut. Rod. Mackenzie, brother to Keppoch, Lieut. Alexander Mackenzie, brother to Dundonald; Lieut. Alexander Mackenzie of Corry; George St Clair of Gees, Hector Campbell in Caithness; Lieut. James Macrae, in Spanish service, and 152 private men.”

Not a few families will recognise the names of their ancestors among those who made a last stand for Britain’s legitimate kings :—

Thomas Anderson, ground-officer to Belmaduthie. Forced

out several persons in and about Belmaduthie's ground to the rebellion.

Thomas Bruce, servant to Earl Cromarty, New Tarbet, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty). Attended the Earl, his master, at Perth and elsewhere.

James Bain, son to Bain, in Knockbilly, Boggy, parish of Urquhart (Nairn). Was in arms with the rebels, and was servant to Donald Rioch, in Boggy.

Simon Brodie, lived in Templand. Carried arms in rebel service.

Roderiek Chisholm, 4th son to Chisholm of that ilk, Erchless, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness). A captain in the rebel service. Headed about 80 of the Chisholms at battle of Culloden, himself and 30 whereof were killed upon the field.

John Chisholm, servant to the Laird of Chisholm. Carried arms as a lieutenant in said company. Was wounded at Culloden.

Alex. Campbell, tenant and distiller, Brachahy, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness). Was ensign in said company, and was killed at battle of Culloden.

Donald Cameron in Teahrowat, Donald Cameron in Kilmorack, John Cameron in Kilmorack (Inverness). All carried arms at Culloden.

John Calder, son to James Calder, tenant in Miltown of Redcastle, parish of Killernan (Ross). Carried arms at Culloden, and has since absconded.

John Erskine, officer of Exeise, Dingwall (Ross). Was at Falkirk and Sutherland with the rebels, and threatened to burn some houses in Dingwall, in order to force the possessors to go with him to rebel service.

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, Castle Downy, parish of Kiltarlity (Inverness). Supposed to have aided and assisted the rebels by ordering out his clan.

Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat. Was one of the chief commanders of the Frasers in the rebel service.

Fraser, younger of Culbøky, parish of Kiltarlity (Inverness).

Was a captain of the Frasers, under Fraser of Inverallochy.

William Fraser of Culmiln, parish of Kiltarlity (Inverness).

Was also a captain as above, and killed at Culloden.

Alex. Fraser, son to Alex. Fraser of Relick, parish of Kirkhill (Inverness). Captain of Frasers in rebel service.

Alex. Fraser of Balchraggan, parish of Kirkhill, and Simon Fraser of Auchnadonch, parish of Kiltarlity. Were captains of the Frasers, under Inverallochy.

John Fraser, tenant in Bewly, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness), and Simon Fraser of the same place. Were soldiers in rebel service, Simon being killed at Culloden.

John Fraser, tenant, Wellhouse, parish of Kilmorack, rebel sergeant, living sometimes at home.

John Fraser, tenant, Teawigg, parish of Kilmorack. Was in arms at Culloden, supposed to be killed.

John Fraser, son to Fraser of Moydie, Kilmorack. In rebel service, supposed to be killed at Culloden.

Roderick Fraser, tenant in Linaire (?), Kilmorack, Alex. Fraser, tenant there, William Fraser, piper to Lord Lovat, and David Fraser, also piper to Lord Lovat, Castle Downy. All carried arms in rebel service.

John Fraser, broguemaker, Balnamuick, parish of Urray (Ross). Was with the rebels in Sutherland.

Donald and James (sons to James Fraser, tenant in Balagalken), parishes Logie and Urquhart, Nairn. The former carried arms at Falkirk, the latter in Sutherland, where he was killed.

John Forbes, merchant in Tain (Ross). Was storekeeper in Tain for the rebels.

Alex. Fraser, parish of Kincardine (Ross). Was a soldier Pitcalnie's rebel company [Malcolm Ross, *eldest* son of Alexander 6th of Pitcalnie, when in College in Aberdeen joined "Prince Charlie," was attainted. His grandmother was the sister of President Forbes of Culloden].

Hugh Ferguson, lately servant to Lord Nairn.

- Hugh Fraser, son to William Fraser, merchant, Culbocky, Urquhart (Ross). Deserted from the rebels at Falkirk, now in Culcain's company (Munro of Culcain, who raised men on behalf of the Government).
- Charles Graham, Tain (Ross). Was a soldier in Cromarty's regiment, taken prisoner in Sutherland.
- Peter Cow, gardener, Bewly, Kilmorack (Inverness). Carried arms in rebel service, being forced out by Master of Lovat.
- Alexander Grant, son to Peter Grant, Coromaly, parish of Contin (Ross). Was employed in Pretender's service, which Donald Reoch and Kenneth Grant in Contin can witness.
- Donald Gollan, Avoch, parish of Avoch (Ross). Transported, being taken prisoner.
- John and Finlay Glass, broguemaker in Miltown of Redcastle, parish of Killernan (Ross). Carried arms, and both taken prisoners.
- Alexander Gordon, lately merchant in Cromarty, parish of Cromarty (Cromarty). Was publicly seen in arms with the rebels at Tain.
- Andrew and George Hood, brothers, Tain, parish of Tain (Ross). Both carried arms as soldiers in Earl of Cromarty's regiment.
- Kenneth Mackenzie, brother to Laird of Fairburn, parish of Urray (Ross). A schoolboy. Was a captain in Barrisdale's rebel regiment.
- Alexander Mackenzie of Lentran. Was a major in Barrisdale's regiment. Two of Mackenzie's brothers, whose names are not given, were also in the rebel service.
- Mr William Mackenzie, brother to Laird of Kilcoy, Kinellan, parish of Contin (Ross). Was a captain of Mackenzie's, in rebel service.
- Mackenzie, Earl of Cromarty, New Tarbet, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty). Was a colonel of a regiment in rebel service; and his son, Lord Macleod, had a command in the rebel army. Both prisoners.

- William Mackenzie, brother to Allangrange, parish of Killernan (Ross). Was a captain in Cromarty's regiment.
- Alexander Mackenzie, tacksman of Killend (?), parish of Avoch (Ross). Served as an officer in rebel army—witnesses, the minister of Cullicudden, and James Grant, officer of Excise.
- Colin Mackenzie, late merchant in Edinburgh, Brea, parish of Cullicudden, Roderick M'Culloch of Glastullich, parish of Fearn. Carried arms, and taken prisoner in Sutherland.
- Alexander Mackenzie, son to the deceast Lauchlan Mackenzie, tenant, Milton of Ord, parish of Urray (Ross). Was a lieutenant in Cromarty's regiment, and wounded in Sutherland.
- John Macwilliam, son to Donald Macwilliam, tenant, Bala-valick, parish of Urray (Ross). Was with the rebels at Falkirk.
- Kenneth Moir, broguemaker, Milton of Ord, parish of Urray (Ross). Was with the rebels in Sutherland.
- John Macdonald, Balnamuick, Loggy, parish of Urray (Ross). Was hired by Alexander Maclellan to serve in the rebel army for him, he being obliged to find them a man.
- John M'Currathy, servant to Mr Wm. Mackenzie, Urray (Ross). Enlisted in His Majesty's service, but deserted from Kilwinnhing (?), and served the rebels.
- Alex. M'Connachy, son to Alex. M'Connachy in Balnamuck, Urray (Ross). *Was a private man* in Cromarty's regiment—said to be advanced to a *lieutenant*.
- Hugh Macbean, living in Bewly, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness). Said to be forced into rebel service by the Master of Lovat.
- Farquhar Macnally (?), tenant in Bewly, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness). Carried arms in rebel army.
- Alex. Maciver, tenant, Wellhouse (same parish). Was a sergeant in rebel army, and wounded at Culloden.

Roderick Maclean, in Bridgehouse (same parish), and John Macwilliam in Kilmorack. Were with the rebels, the latter being taken prisoner.

Thomas Macwilliam, in Plaitvaich (same parish). Carried arms with the rebels at Culloden.

Donald Macandrew, Fairly (same parish). Was with the rebels in Sutherland.

James *Macildonich*, Brackahy (same parish). Carried arms at Culloden.

Murdoch Mackenzie, son to Colin Mackenzie, late bailie in Dingwall (Ross). Forced out some of the inhabitants of Dingwall to go with him to the rebel service.

James Macdonald, tanner in Dingwall (Ross), and Murdoch Macdonald, tenant there. Said to be forced in the service by the said Murdoch Mackenzie.

George Mackenzie, son to John Mackenzie, Achternood (Ross). Was in arms with Earl of Cromarty in Sutherland.

Mr Donald Mackenzie, tenant, Irnhavanny, Littertay (Ross). Was a captain under Cromarty; has absconded since battle of Culloden.

Donald Macintyre, Milton, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty). A servant to the Earl of Cromarty in the rebellion.

George Mackenzie, James Macdusky (?), and Kenneth Maclellan, lived at Milton of New Tarbet, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty). All carried arms in Cromarty's rebel regiment.

Roderick Macfarquhar, Spital of Redcastle, parish of Killernan, and John, his son. The first was a captain, and the last a lieutenant of the rebels in Sutherland.

Colin Mackenzie, in Chapelton of Redcastle, parish of Killernan. Was with the rebels at Culloden.

Donald Macfarquhar, son to Wm. Macfarquhar, in West Culmore, of Redcastle (same parish). Was with the rebels in Sutherland.

Kenneth Farquhar, Newton of Redcastle (same parish), and

- Farquhar Macfarquhar, of same place. Were with the rebels in Sutherland; the former being taken prisoner.
- John Mackenzie, son to Thomas Mackenzie, Backtown of Redcastle (same parish), and Donald Maclellan, Garguston of Redcastle. Were with the rebels in Sutherland, now lurking in the county.
- Murdoch Mitchell, servant, Dalminock. Was with the rebels in Sutherland.
- Theodore Mackenzie, son to Alex. Mackenzie, mason, Easter Callichy. Was in arms with rebels in Sutherland.
- Alexander Mackenzie, late grieve to Belmaduthie, now at Coull, Contine (Ross). Was employed in forcing out men into the rebellion in the lands, late Lord Royston's, which, he asserts, was by His late Majesty's orders. Now prisoner in Inverness.
- William Mann, servant, Pitfoord (? Pitfour), Avoch (Ross), John Moir, Templand, and William Mann. These were all in arms with the rebels.
- James Nicol, merchant, Avoch. Was with the rebels.
- Donald Paterson, sen., East Kessock of Redcastle, and Donald Paterson, jun. (same place), with Murdoch Paterson, son to John Paterson, tenant, Tulloch of Redcastle, parish of Kilmuir. Were with the rebels at battle of Culloden; skulking up and down the country.
- Lauchlan Paterson, Blairdow of Redcastle. Was with the rebels in Sutherland, now lurking; and Andrew, son to Andrew Paterson in Kessock, was also with the rebels in Sutherland, and absconded since skirmish there.
- George Reid in Templand, Avoch; and John Reid, son to John Reid, Petfoord, Avoch. Were with the rebels.
- Ronald Ross, Milton of Ord, Urray (Ross). Was with the rebels, and taken prisoner in Sutherland.
- Hugh Ross, tenant, Balavalick, Fodderty parish (Ross). Taken prisoner at Culloden.
- Donald Reoch *alias* Ross, brother to Don. Reoch, tenant, Contine. Was sometime a sailor with John Reid in



Cromarty, to save his brother's goods took on him the name of rebel captain under Barisdale at Tain and Sutherland.

John Ross, mason, Chapelton of Redcastle, parish of Killernan, and James Ross, tenant, Knockbreak, parish of Kilmuir. Went with the rebels to Sutherland.

Thomas Ross and Angus Ross *alias* M'Wm., Tain, served in Cromarty's regiment, now enlisted in Master of Ross's Company.

John Robertson, Milton of New Tarbet, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty), and William Ross *alias* Reoch, Tain. Were soldiers in Cromarty's regiment.

John Sutherland, Rosskeen, parish of Rosskeen (Cromarty). A servant to Lord Macleod.

William Sutherland, dyster, Barntown, Urray. Served in Sutherland under Barrisdale, but forced Callum Stewart, son of James Calder, Milton of Redcastle. Went with the rebels to Sutherland, and since absconded.

Kenneth Simpson in Dunvarny, parish of Urquhart (Nairn). Went with the rebels wearing white cockade.

Thomas Taylor in Bridge House, parish of Kilmorack (Inverness). Was at Culloden in rebel service.

Kenneth Urquhart, son to deceased Thomas Urquhart of Cullicudden (Cromarty). Was with the rebels, and is now lurking about his mother's house in that part.

William Urquhart, late servant to William Mackenzie, Kennedair, Contin (Ross). Was with the rebels at battle of Falkirk, and in Sutherland.

William Wilson in New Tarbet, parish of Kilmuir (Cromarty). Was a soldier in Earl Cromarty's regiment.

### XIII.

#### MORAYSHIRE JACOBITES.

IN Morayshire the Jacobites received a considerable accession of strength, and the list of "Prince Charlie's Friends" in the district is more full than that for any other quarter. This may have been due in a measure to the vigilance and exertions of Mr John Campbell, supervisor of excise, Elgin, and his assistants, as well as to the fact that the list includes many Invernessshire names—not elsewhere to be found. It therefore possesses a more than local interest.

The remarks concerning some of the followers of the Prince are curious. There was Charles Fraser of Fairfield, who sold his commission in Cornwallis' regiment to become adjutant-general in the army of Charles; while another Fraser, the tacksman of Lathome, was an officer, and violently zealous. Of the activity of Glenbucket there can be no question, for, although suffering intensely from rheumatism, he buckled on his claymore, and woe betide the man who refused his call!

It will be noticed how many were forced out, and how Cluny Macpherson is said to have compelled his

retainers to carry arms under threats of burning their belongings :—

William Anderson, wigmaker, Inverness. Subordinating independent companies to join rebel army.

John Allanock, merchant, Clashmoer. Carried arms in rebel army as a private man.

Thomas Bain, shoemaker, Inverness. Envigiling independent companies to join rebel army.

John Bremner, servant, Jackburry. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.

John Brown, Ballindoun. Was a private in rebel army, forced out and deserted.

John Bain, jun., Glenconles. Forced to serve as a private in said army and submitted to King's mercy.

Archibald Bain Stewart, Delavoir. Forced to serve as a private in said army and submitted to King's mercy.

Angus Briber M'Kinteer, Auchloun. Served as a private in rebel army and was active in plundering.

John Binnachee, weaver, Belandie. Carried arms, being forced out, has submitted himself.

James Bowie, Sami. Deserted from rebel army which he had joined.

Robert Cuthbert, shoemaker, Inverness. Endeavoured to trapan independent companies into rebellion.

John Clark, indweller, Ruthven. Was a quarter-master in rebel army and very active in his station.

John Cumming, residenter, Inverness. Voluntarily entered rebel service and got an officer's commission.

John Cuming, Tombea. Was an officer in rebel army, but deserted and has submitted.

Lauchlan Cuming, Tomintoul. Carried arms as a private man.

Robert Cameron, Keppoch. Was a private in rebel army, but forced out, has submitted.

John Cruickshank, deserter, Delavojar. Carried arms as a private man.

- Robert Cruickshank, Delavoiar. Was forced out in arms, but has submitted.
- Hector Cruickshank, Delavoiar. Carried arms in rebel service, being compelled.
- Donald Campbell, Foderlitter. Carried arms as a private man, has submitted.
- John Campbell, Foderlitter. Carried arms in rebel service, has submitted.
- William Coutts, Inverury. Carried arms in rebel service as a private man.
- John Cameron, Croftbain. Carried arms as a private or sergeant in rebel army.
- Evan Cameron, travelling taylor. Was at plundering of Culloden House, carried arms, working at his trade.
- Alex. Cameron, servant to Balmenoek. Carried arms as a private.
- Robert Cruickshank, Badiglashan. Was compelled to carry arms for rebels and has submitted.
- John Cameron, miller, Ruthven. Carried arms, has submitted to King's mercy.
- Samuel Douglas, late supervisor of excise, Forres. Collected excise for the rebels, and was very active in his station.
- James Dolles of Cantra, Cantra. Was a captain in rebel army, and recruited his own company.
- John Davidson, Inchnakep. Compelled to carry arms in rebel army, has submitted.
- John Davidson, Achreathan. Carried arms and has submitted himself.
- John Dow Farquharson, servant in Achreathan. Served in rebel army as a private, has submitted.
- Angus Dow Stewart, Achnahoyle. Forced into rebel army, has submitted.
- Angus Derg, Tombreck of Foderlitter. Served in rebel army and was very active in plundering, has submitted.
- James Davidson, Glenconles. Carried arms in Pretender's service.

- George Davidson, Glenconles. Carried arms as a private man.
- George Davidson, Glenconles. Carried arms with the rebels.
- Alex. Finlay, weaver, Elgine. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- James Forsyth, town officer, Forres. Carried arms and recruited men for rebels.
- Alex. Fordyce, servant, Windyhills. Carried arms as volunteer in rebel army.
- Hugh Fraser, merchant, Inverness. An adjutant, and carried arms in said rebel army.
- William Fraser of Dolerig, Stratherrick. Carried arms as an officer in said army.
- Donald Fraser, smith, Moy. A captain in rebel army, promoted on account of great services.
- Charles Fraser, jun. of Fairfield, Kinmylies. Sold his lieutenancy in Cornwallis' regiment, and was adjutant-general to rebels.
- Hugh Fraser, wright, Merton. Acted as an officer in rebel army.
- James Fraser of Foyers, Stratherrick. A captain in said army and very active in serving that interest.
- Simon Fraser, farmer, Delhapple. A captain in said army, and very active in his station.
- Alex. Fraser, Culduthel's brother, Inchnacardock. A captain in said army, and very active in his station.
- William Fraser, merchant, Fort-Augustus. Entered rebel service, became captain in enlisting those they had taken prisoners.
- Hugh Fraser, farmer, Dorburn. Was a captain and very active in his station.
- Alex. Fraser, John Roy's son, tenant of Stratherrick. An officer in rebel army and very active.
- John Fraser, jun. of Bochraben, Castle Downie. A very active officer in rebel army, influenced by Lord Lovat.
- Alex. Fraser, taxman, Latehome. An officer in rebel army and violently zealous.

- John Fraser, taxman, Stratherrick. An officer in rebel army and very active in enlisting men.
- Hugh Fraser, son to said, Stratherrick. Was an officer in rebel army.
- William Fraser, farmer, Kirktown. Carried arms and very active in his station, but said to be forced by Lord Lovat.
- Simon Fraser, vintner, Stratherrick. An officer in said army and advised Mr Grant to join them also.
- John Fraser, cotter, Englishtown. Carried arms at battle of Culloden, forced out by Lord Lovat.
- Thomas Fraser, smith, Englishtown. Carried arms at battle of Culloden, compelled by Lord Lovat.
- John Fraser, farmer, Englishtown. Carried arms at battle of Culloden, compelled by Lord Lovat.
- John Fowler, farmer, Kingussie. Carried arms, was very active in his station, but forced out by Cluny.
- Donald Farquharson of Achrachan, Glenconles. A captain in rebel service and very active in raising men.
- John Farquharson of Allery, Elect. Acted as an officer in rebel army.
- Robert Farquharson, Mill of Achrachan. An ensign in said army, was at spoiling Culloden House.
- James Fraser, Upper Cults. Carried arms with rebels, but has submitted himself.
- Donald Farquharson, servant, Glenconles. Was compelled by rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- Robert Dow Farquharson, Elect. Carried arms with the rebels.
- William Finlay, Crachlay. Carried arms in rebel service.
- James Fleming, Crachlay. Carried arms in rebel service, has submitted.
- John Fraser, Auchrachan. Forced into rebel service, has submitted.
- John Fleming, Findran. Carried arms with the rebels, deserted them Feb. 17, 45-6.

- Patrick Forbes, Balwater. Forced by rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- John Fleeming, servant to Glenbucket, Balwater. Was very active in raising men for rebels, has submitted.
- Andrew Farquharson, Balintown. Forced out by the rebels, has submitted.
- John Forbes, merchant, Candlemore. Carried arms with rebels, has submitted himself.
- Thomas Fraser, Balacharn. Acted as sergeant in rebel army.
- George Farquharson, Tombea, Tombea. Collected the cess and excise for the rebels.
- Cosmus Farquharson of Tombea, jun., Tombea. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- John Forbes, Wester Auchmore. Carried arms in said army.
- John Forbes, Ballundie. Carried arms in said army, being forced.
- Robert Fleeming, Mill Achdregnie. Carried arms in said army.
- Donald Fleeming, Mill Achdregnie. Carried arms in said army at Culloden battle.
- James Ferguson, Tonintoul. Carried arms in rebel army.
- James Forbes, Ballundie. Forced by rebels to carry arms in their service.
- John Gordon of Cordregny, Cordregny. Carried arms in rebel army, submitted himself.
- Patrick Gordon, son to Cordregny, Cordregny. Carried arms in rebel army, submitted himself.
- Lewis Gordon, Miln of Logan. Carried arms, and collected the cess for the rebels.
- Alexander Grant, Nether Clunie. Carried arms in the rebel army in the character of an officer.
- John Gordon of Glenbucket, St Bridget. Major-General in the rebel army, and was very active in prisoners and recruiting men.
- David Gordon of Kirkhill, Delavoir. A lieutenant in the rebel army.

John Gordon, son to Glenbucket, Auchreathan. Raised men for the rebels, took the name of Col: but was not above a week with them.

Thomas Gordon of Foderliter, Fodderliter. Was a captain in rebel army under influence of Glenbucket, said to be in Badenoch.

William Gordon, grandson to Glenbucket, Auchreathan. Was a captain in rebel army.

John Grant of Inverloch, Inverloch. Was adjutant in said army.

James Gordon, Auchluanie. An officer in said army.

John Gordon of Minmore, Minmore. A rebel captain, and behaved discreetly, and protected houses of Sir H. Innes and several ministers.

Alexander Gordon, Refrish. Was a lieutenant in rebel army.

William Grant of Blairfinde, Blairfinde. Carried arms, and was lieutenant in rebel army, has submitted to the King's mercy.

John Grant, son to Blairfinde, Blairfinde. Lieutenant in said army, but deserted.

Alexander Grant, Logan of Blairfinde. Lieutenant in said army, but deserted.

James Grant, Logan of Blairfinde. Ensign in rebel army, submitted himself.

David Grant, son to Blairfinde, Blairfinde. Was an officer of the rebels.

John Grant, Loanbeg. Was ensign in said army.

John Gordon, Clashmore. Was ensign in said army, but submitted himself.

Alexander Grant, brother to Neive. Ensign in rebel army.

John Grant of Deskie, Deskie. Carried arms as a private man, submitted to King's mercy.

Alexander Grant, son to Deskie, Deskie. Was an ensign in the rebel army.

John Grant, son to Deskie, Deskie. Was a private man in said army.



- John Gordon, son to Foderliter, Fodderliter. Was an officer in the rebel army.
- George Gordon, son to Foderliter, Fodderliter. Carried arms in the rebel army, submitted to the King's mercy.
- Charles Grant, a deserter, Tomdonach. Lieutenant in the rebel army.
- William Gordon, Dell. A sergeant in said army, forced out and submitted.
- John Grant, weaver, Tombreck. Carried arms in said army, but deserted and submitted himself.
- Robert Gauld *alias* M'Pherson, Ruthven. Private man in rebel army, insulted the country people.
- Alexander Gow, Ruthven. Private man in rebel army, insulted the country people.
- Patrick Grant, Inchnakep. Forced out with the rebels, has submitted himself.
- John Gordon, Inchnakep. Carried arms in the rebel army, has submitted.
- George Gordon, Newtown. Was a private man in said army, has submitted.
- John Gordon, Loynavore. Carried arms in said army.
- William Grant, Findran. Carried arms in said army, has submitted.
- Mr William Grant, a popish priest, Baliwater. Directing the rebels.
- William Grant, Tomintoul. A private man in rebel service, forced out, but has submitted.
- George Gordon, Tomintoul. A private man in rebel service, forced out, but has submitted.
- William Roy Grant, Balnakull. A private man in said service, submitted to King's mercy.
- Donald Grant, Easter Galarg. Carried arms in rebel army, forced out, has submitted.
- Donald Gibenach, Delavoir. Was a private in rebel army, forced out, has submitted.

- Peter Grant, Delavoir. Was a private in rebel army, forced out, has submitted.
- Grigor Grant, Delavoir. Was a private in rebel army, forced out, has submitted.
- Donald Gordon, Delavoir. Carried arms in said army.
- James Grant, Dalnabo. Carried arms in said army, forced out.
- Thomas Gauld, Auchlounie. Carried arms in said army, being forced out.
- William Grant, Foderliter. Carried arms in said army, submitted.
- Peter Grant, Wester Foderliter. Was a sergeant in rebel army and a resetter of plunder, has submitted himself.
- John Grant, merchant, Tomintoul. Carried arms in rebel army, has submitted.
- Lewis Grant, son to William Grant, Little Neive. Carried arms in rebel army, was at spoiling Culloden House, has submitted.
- William Grant, servant, Clagan. Was a private man in rebel army.
- John Grant, Tomavelan. Was a private man in rebel army.
- John Grant, Upper Drummin. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army, or as a sergeant, submitted.
- James Gordon, Cross of Minmore. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army.
- William Gordon, Glenrines. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army.
- James Gauldie, jun., Pittash. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army.
- Alexander Gordon, Backside of Clashnever. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army, active in plundering Culloden House, said to be forced out.
- Robert Gordon, Nether Clashnever. Was a sergeant in rebel army.
- Alexander Grant, Culier. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army.

Neil Grant, Tomahanan. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army, but forced out.

Lewis Gow, Knock of Achnahoil. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army, but forced out.

Thomas Gibernach, Skula. Was a private man in rebel army.

John Gauld, Achnasara. Was a private man in rebel army.

Alexander Gauld, Achnasara. Was forced out by rebels to carry arms, has submitted himself.

Peter Grant, Galurg. Was forced into rebellion, and twice deserted.

William Grant, son to Angus Grant, sometime in Tomavelan. Served as a soldier in rebel army, was active in plundering country.

William Grant, Galurg. Carried arms in rebel army.

Ishmail Gordon, servant. Carried arms in rebel army.

Ludovic Gordon, merchant, Elgin. Carried arms in rebel horse, was in rebellion 1715.

William Grant, wright, Windyhills. Was a lieutenant in rebel army and enlisted men.

John Gray, servant, Ironside. Carried arms in said army as a volunteer.

Alexander Grant, writer, Inverness. Was a captain in said army.

James Gordon, messenger-at-arms, Kinglanis Boat. Prompted out people into the rebellion, and discharged the minister from praying for His Majesty.

Alexander Grant, farmer, Croftbain. Carried arms, and was very active, but said to be forced.

John Grant, farmer, Croftbain. Carried arms, and was very active in his station, but said to be forced.

Thomas Hutch, merchant, Elgin. Carried arms as a volunteer.

Alexander Hendrie, farmer, Dykeside. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.

Thomas Houstoun, farmer, Drummyample. Was adjutant and paymaster in said army.

- Thomas Innes, wright, Coltfoot. Carried arms as a volunteer with rebels.
- Alexander Innes, Balmdrowan. Forced out to carry arms by the rebels, deserted them in Feb. 1745-6.
- John Innes, Balmdrowan. Forced out to carry arms by the rebels, deserted them in April 10th, 1746.
- Robert Innes, Wester Foderliter. Forced out to carry arms by the rebels, has submitted himself.
- John Kennedy, servant, Daskie. Carried arms as a private man in rebel army.
- Ludovick Kay, gentleman, Ironside. Acted as an officer in rebel army.
- Alexander Leigh, wigmaker, Elgin. Active in prompting others to go into the rebellion.
- Charles Leslie, brother to Findrassie, Findrassie. Recruited for the rebels, and robbed the country of arms, and was very active at chanonry.
- William Logie, porter, Elgin. Was very active in giving intelligence to the rebels.
- William Lindsay, Cruchlay. Carried arms in rebel army.
- William Lamb, Achnahoyle. Carried arms in rebel army, has submitted himself.
- John M'Kenzie, chyrurgeon, Elgin. Served as surgeon in rebel army, and was very active, said to be.
- William M'Kenzie, residerter, Elgin. Carried arms in said army, deluded by David Tulloch.
- Peter Matthew, farmer, Blervie. Carried arms as a volunteer with the rebels.
- Alexander Man, son to James Man, farmer, Grange. Carried arms as a volunteer in said army.
- John M'Arthur, brewer, Inverness. Carried arms with rebels and went with them into England, prisoner.
- Donald M'Donald, brewer, Inverness. Was a pensioner of Chelsea, but carried arms as a lieutenant in rebel army.
- Gillen M'Bean, brewer, Dalonagarrie. Was major in rebel army, and very active in his station.

Lauchlan M'Kintosh, merchant, Inverness. A lieutenant-colonel, and enlisted many men.

John M'Lean, writer, Inverness. Was an officer in said army, and served voluntarily.

Alexander M'Donald, resider, Inverness. Carried arms as a volunteer in said army.

John M'Javis of Gartenbeg, Stratherrick. Was an officer in rebel army, and at battle of Falkirk.

Alexander M'Javis, Gartenbeg's brother, Stratherrick. Was an officer in rebel army, and active in forcing men into the service.

Alexander M'Gillavrae of Dunmaglass, Dunmaglass. Was a colonel in rebel army, and very active, said to be forced out by Lady M'Kintosh.

Alexander M'Kintosh, taxman of Elrig, Elrig. Was a captain in said army, very active, said to be forced out.

Alexander M'Gillavray, taxman, Petty. Was a captain in said army, and very active in his station.

Robert M'Gillavray, farmer, Petty. Was an officer in said army.

Archibald M'Gillavray, brother to said Robert Petty. Was an officer in said army, voluntarily engaged.

Angus M'Kintosh of Pharr, Pharr. A captain in said army, and very active, said to be forced out by Lady M'Kintosh.

Simon M'Kintosh, son to Thomas M'Kintosh, Daviot. Instructed in excise, was an officer in rebel army.

Roderick Mitchell, shoemaker, Fort-Augustus. Carried arms, and was very active in plundering.

John M'Laren, vintner, Fort-Augustus. Carried arms, active in plundering.

Donald M'Donald of Lochgarry, Culachy. Was once lieutenant in Lord Loudoun's regiment, accepted a colonel's commission from rebels.

Donald M'Donald of Scotas, Scotas. Was a captain in rebel service, and levied the cess for them.

- Angus M'Donald, Greenfield, Garis Loch. Was a captain in said army, and assisted in levying the cess for them.
- Ronald M'Donald, Skian, Skian. Was a captain in said army, and assisted in levying the cess for them.
- John M'Donald, Arnabea, Arnabea. Was a captain in said army, and very active in his station.
- Ronald M'Donald, brother to Arnabea, Arnabea. Was an officer in rebel army, and active in levying the cess.
- Alexander M'Donald, Ochtera, Ochter. A captain in rebel army, and active in levying the cess.
- Allan M'Donald, son to Laird of Leek, Leek. Had an officer's commission in said army, was very active.
- Alexander M'Donald, son to Laird of Leek, Leek. Was a rebel officer, and very active
- Donald M'Donald, Lundee, Lundee. Was a captain in rebels, and active in levying the cess.
- Donald M'Donald, son to Lundee, Lundee. An officer in rebel army, and active in his station.
- Alexander Martine, Candelmore. Carried arms in rebel service, and is
- Evan M'Gregor, Candelmore. Carried arms in rebel army.
- William Miller, Inshnakep. Carried arms in rebel army.
- James M'Willie, servant, Cruchlay. Deserted from King's army, and carried arms with rebels.
- David M'Willie, Achrachan. Carried arms, was active in plundering the country, has submitted.
- John M'Pherson, Achrachan. Carried arms, was active in plundering the country, has submitted.
- William M'Grigor, Findran. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Peter M'Donald, Tomintoul. Forced by the rebels to carry arms.
- John M'Allan, Tomintoul. Forced by the rebels to carry arms.
- John M'Donald, Redorach. Forced by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted himself.

- Grigor M'Grigor, Loipuorn. Forced by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted himself.
- Malcom M'Grigor, Achnahayl. Forced by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted himself.
- John M'Grigor, West Gaulurg. Forced by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted himself.
- John M'Gorman, West Gaulurg. Carried arms in rebel army, has submitted.
- Malcom M'Grigor, Easter Gaulurg. Forced by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- Donald M'Donald, Ballintown. Forced out by the rebels to carry arms in their service.
- Alexander M'Donald, Dalnabo. Carried arms in rebel service, has submitted.
- John M'Pherson, Foderliter. Carried arms in rebel service, but forced, and has submitted.
- Alexander M'Grar, Foderliter. Carried arms in rebel service, but forced, and has submitted.
- George Miln, Cross of Inverlochy. Carried arms in rebel service, being compelled, has submitted.
- John M'Kintosh, Easter Inveroury. Carried arms in rebel army.
- John M'Donald, Achrachan. Carried arms in rebel army, has submitted.
- John M'Kenzie, merchant, Balmore. Carried arms in rebel army, has submitted.
- Alexander M'Lea, Upper Dounan. Carried arms as a sergeant in rebel army.
- John M'Kenzie, Aldinglone. Carried arms as a private man in said army.
- William M'Robbie, Morings. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- William M'Adam, son to John M'Adam, Shanoul. Forced out by the rebels in their service, but deserted September 1745.
- Robert M'Lea, son to John M'Lea, Conet. Carried arms with the rebels as a private man.

- James M'Lea, servant, Caslick. Carried arms with the rebels as a private man.
- William M'Robbie, Tornachork. Carried arms in the rebel army, has submitted himself, keeping cattle.
- John M'Lea, Clagan. Forced out to carry arms by the rebels, but deserted.
- Duncan M'Willie, East Cowie. Forced out, has submitted.
- Robert M'Donald, merchant, Tonavan. Carried arms with the rebels, was at rifling Cullen House, submitted.
- William M'Donald, tailor, Tonavan. Carried arms with the rebels, has submitted himself.
- Alexander M'Donald, servant, Minmore. Carried arms with the rebels.
- Alexander M'Donald, servant, Fort-Augustus. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- Alexander M'Donald, vintner, Iaggan. Was an officer in said army, levied the cess.
- Angus M'Bean, farmer, Faillie. An officer in said army, was at battle of Falkirk.
- Gillies M'Bean, farmer, Banaughton. An officer in rebel army, forced out by Major M'Bean, was at Falkirk battle.
- Duncan M'Kintosh, farmer, Drummond. An officer in said army, forced out by Lady M'Kintosh, was at battle of Culloden.
- Donald M'Bean, farmer, Auldaury. Was store-keeper at Auldaury for the rebels, and very active in serving them.
- Gillies M'Bean, servant, Auldaury. Carried arms in rebel army, and was very active.
- John M'Bean, servant, Auldaury. Also carried arms in rebel army.
- Ewan M'Pherson of Clunie, Clunie. Was a captain in Lord Loudoun's regiment, became a colonel in rebel army, forced out others by burning.
- Ewan M'Pherson, jun., farmer, Delwhiny. Was a lieutenant-colonel for the rebels, and was very active.



- Lewis M'Pherson, jun., farmer, Dalrady. Acted as a major in rebel army, and very active in his station.
- Malcolm M'Pherson, sen., of Phoynes, Phoyness. Was a captain in said army.
- John M'Pherson, Eldrige, Eldrige. Was a lieutenant in said army.
- John M'Pherson of Strathmassie, Strathmassie. Was a captain in said army.
- John M'Pherson, farmer, Gowamore. Was a captain in said army.
- Donald M'Pherson, farmer, Brachachy. Was a captain in rebel army, and very active in his station.
- Andrew M'Pherson, jun., of Banachar, Banachar. Was a captain in rebel army, and very active in his station.
- John M'Pherson, farmer, Pitachran. Was an officer in rebel army.
- Hugh M'Pherson, farmer, Coraldy. Was an officer in said army.
- Ewen M'Pherson, farmer, Lagan of Need. Was an officer in the rebel army.
- Lachlan M'Pherson, jun., of Strathmassie, Strathmassie. An officer in the rebel army.
- Kenneth M'Pherson, merchant, Ruthven. An officer in said army in Edinburgh Castle.
- Donald M'Pherson, merchant, Ruthven. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- Lachlan M'Pherson, farmer, Pitmain. Carried arms, and was active in his station.
- Angus M'Pherson, farmer, Flichaty. Carried arms in said army, and was very active, said to be.
- Malcolm Dow M'Pherson, farmer, Ballachrowe. Carried arms in said army.
- William M'Pherson, farmer, Kingussie. Carried arms, and was very active in his station.
- Alexander M'Pherson, farmer, Kingussie. Carried arms in rebel army, and was active.

- Alexander M'Queen, smith, Brae Ruthven. Was a quartermaster in rebel army.
- Donald Munro, farmer, Ruthven. Carried arms in the rebel service.
- William M'Pherson, wigmaker, Ruthven. Was aiding and assisting to the rebels.
- John M'Pherson, farmer, Cluny. Carried arms in the rebel service, and active in his station.
- Alexander M'Pherson, farmer, Blarachybeg. Carried arms with the rebels.
- William M'Pherson, farmer, Catobig. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Patrick M'Alpin, farmer, Gaulurg. Was an ensign in said army.
- Kenneth M'Kenzie, servant, Dell. Carried arms in rebel army.
- John M'Ewen, Balacherach. Carried arms in rebel army, was forced out, has submitted to royal mercy.
- George Martine, Tomachlagan. Forced out to carry arms by the rebels, has submitted himself.
- John M'Kenzie, Ruthven. Carried arms with the rebels, has submitted himself.
- Angus M'Donald, servant, Candelmore. Carried arms in rebel service.
- Alexander M'Grigor, Inverarchan. Carried arms, and was very active in plundering the country.
- Alexander Muir, East Pitclash. Was sergeant in the rebel army.
- James M'Donald, Inveraven. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Peter More, Knockindo. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Angus M'Donald, servant, Pitclash. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Alexander M'Allister, Tamivelan. Forced out into rebel service.
- Thomas M'Pherson, servant, Aiknarrow. Carried arms in rebel service.

- Robert M'Kay, Nether Clashoer. Was sergeant in rebel army, and active in robbing the country.
- Alexander M'Grigor, Balachnockan. Carried arms in rebel service, and was active in plundering.
- George M'Lauchlan, Calier. Forced out by the rebels and carried arms, has submitted himself.
- John M'Kay, merchant, Balno. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Angus M'Donald, servant, Tamahanan. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Paul M'Pherson, St Skala. Compelled by the rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- John Michie, West Achwach. Carried arms with the rebels, has submitted.
- Allan M'Lea, Badiglashan. A private man in rebel army, deserted, and never joined again.
- John More, Askimore. Carried arms in the rebel army, has submitted himself.
- John More, jun., Askimore. Was in arms with the rebels, and carried a great deal of plunder.
- John M'Lauchlan, Badwochil. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Coll M'Donald, Badwochil. Carried arms in rebel army.
- James M'Donald, Badwochil. Carried arms in rebel army.
- James M'Lea, Sowie. Carried arms in rebel army.
- George M'Donald, Nether Achdregnie. Was compelled by rebels to carry arms with them.
- John Minfat, Weaver, Achdregnie. Carried arms in rebel army, was at plundering Cullen House.
- James M'Donald, Middle Achdregnie. Carried arms in rebel army.
- William M'Angus, Letoch. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Allan M'Donald, Dalmloyn. Carried arms in rebel army, but said to be forced.
- Alexander M'Pherson, Miltown of Achrachan. Carried arms in rebel army, but said to be forced.
- William M'Hardy, Glen above Achrachan. Carried arms in rebel army.

- Donald M'Kay, servant, Fochabers. Private man, went with rebels to England.
- Peter Montgomery, sadler, Fochabers. Private man.
- Peter M'Lauchlan, weaver, Fochabers. Private man.
- Alexander Nicolson, Inveraven. Carried arms in rebel army.
- William Paxton, Tomintoul. Carried arms in rebel army, said to be forced.
- John Perrie, Elgin. Carried arms as a volunteer in said army.
- Hugh Ross, farmer, Elgin. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- Robert Ross, Kirkbeddah, Kirkhill. Volunteer in rebel army, said to be imposed upon when drunk.
- Charles Rose, formerly a soldier, Fochabers. A rebel sergeant, and active in recruiting men.
- Peter Robertson, piper, Fochabers. Carried arms, and assisted in collecting money for the rebels.
- Alexander Reid, Urquhart. Carried arms as volunteer in said army, now in Banffshire.
- John Ross (?), farmer, Forres. Carried arms, was keeper of a magazine for the rebels, and very active.
- John Rhind, brewer, Findhorn. Informed of proper plans, and assisted in plundering at Findhorn.
- Charles Robertson, Balmagan. Carried arms in rebel army, and submitted himself.
- John Roy Stewart, Tombreck. Forced by rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- William Ross, Ruthven. Forced by rebels to carry arms, has submitted.
- Donald Reoch, jun., Culmores. Carried arms with the rebels.
- James Reoch, servant, Candelmere. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Donald Reoch, Elect. Carried arms in rebel army, being forced.
- Alexander Reoch, Galurg. Carried arms in rebel army, being forced.

- Grigor Roy M'Grigor, Dalnabo. Deserted from King's army, was a sergeant with rebels and a plunderer.
- John Reoch, Wester Foderliter. Carried arms, being forced, has submitted.
- John Rattray, Balns. Was compelled by rebels to carry arms.
- John Roy Grant, Badiglashan. Carried arms in rebel army.
- John Roy Grant, Donichmore. Forced to carry arms by rebels, has submitted himself.
- Robert Ross, Tamorlan. Carried arms in rebel army.
- John Ross, servant, Skulla. Carried arms in said army, has submitted himself.
- John Smith, carter, Elgin. Carried arms in rebel army, and was very active.
- Alexander Sutherland, wright, Fochabers. Carried arms as a sergeant.
- George Sutherland, servant, Fochabers. Carried arms.
- William Stephen, merchant, Elgin. Remarkable for billeting the rebels on persons well affected to the Government.
- John Smith, merchant, Elgin. Acted as store-keeper for the rebels.
- William Smith, farmer, Ortown. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- John Smith, skinner, Forres. Carried arms as a volunteer in rebel army.
- John Sime, smith, Inverness. Met the rebels two miles off, informed them of Lord Loudon's retreat, received a crown from Lord Kilmarnock for conducting them to Inverness.
- John Shaw, servant, Moy. Was an officer in rebel army, and at battle of Falkirk.
- John Stewart, late baillie, Inverness. A volunteer in said rebel army, and very active, now at Newtown.
- John Stewart, gardener, Fort-Augustus. Carried arms, threatened to kill John Grant, officer of excise.

- Alexander Stewart, taxman of excise, Tamivclan. Was ensign in said rebel army.
- William Stewart, Bregach (?). Was a captain in said army, and active in raising men.
- Alexander Stewart *alias* Derg, Upper Achluckny. Carried arms in the rebel army, forced out, has submitted
- Donald Stewart, Ruthven. Carried arms in the rebel army, was at rifling Cullen House.
- John Stewart, Glenconles. Carried arms in the rebel army, being compelled.
- Donald Stewart, Glenconles. Was a rebel hussar, at the spoiling Cullen House.
- Patrick Stewart, servant, Cruchlay. Carried arms in rebel army.
- Allan Stewart, Newtown. Carried arms in said army.
- John Stewart, Findran. Carried arms in said army.
- Donald Stewart, Findran. Carried arms in said army.
- Donald Stewart, Achnahayle. Carried arms in said army.
- John Stewart, Tirbain. Forced to carry arms in said army, thrice deserted.
- Robert Smith, Inverury. Compelled by the rebels to carry arms.
- John Stewart, East Inverury. Carried arms in the said rebel army.
- James Stewart, East Inverury. Forced to carry arms in said army.
- Robert Stewart, Dounan. Carried arms with the rebels.
- John Stewart, Tamavilan. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- John Stewart, jun., Balnknockan. Carried arms as a private man in said army.
- William Stewart, Clashnaver. Carried arms in rebel army.
- William Stewart, West Achwaish. Carried arms in said army, and active in plundering the country.
- John Stewart, Achnasira. Carried arms, being forced out, has submitted.

- Andrew Smith, Achnasira. Carried arms, being forced out, has submitted himself.
- James Stewart, Achnasira. Carried arms in rebel army, forced out, has submitted.
- Robert Stewart, Badiwochel. Was compelled to carry arms by the rebels, has submitted.
- Peter Stewart *alias* Dow, Badiwochel. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- George Stewart, Badiwochel. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- Donald Stewart *alias* Dow, Glack. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- J. Stewart *alias* M'Yock, Upper Achdregnie. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- John Stewart *alias* Dow, Upper Achdregnie. Forced by the rebels into their service, but deserted.
- Lewis Stewart, Balacknockan. Carried arms as a sergeant in the rebel army.
- Robert Stewart, servant to Glenbucket. Carried arms as a private man.
- Allan Stewart, Galurg. Carried arms in the rebel army.
- John Stewart, Delavoiar. Carried arms in said army, being forced.
- Mr John Tyrie, popish priest, Clashnaver. Was very active in raising men to go into the rebellion.
- Duncan Turner, Culmore. Carried arms in rebel service, has submitted himself.
- William Turner, Middle Dounan. Carried arms in said service.
- William Taylor, Cruchlay. Carried arms in said service, has submitted.
- James Torry, dyster, Elgin. Carried arms in the rebel army, voluntarily.
- Robert Taylor, dyster, Elgin. Prompting others to go into rebellion, said to have fled.
- Peter Taylor, farmer, Burnside. A captain, and engaged many men in rebel service.

Robert Tulloch, Bugtown, Bugtown. Carried arms as a lieutenant of Hussars.

James Taylor *alias* Robertson, farmer, Pitmain. Carried arms in rebel army, and was very active.

Thomas Wallson, servant, Elgin. Acted as a drummer in rebel army, voluntarily.

William Urquhart, cooper, Brae Ruthven. Carried arms in said army, was very active.

Kenneth Urquhart, Upper Cults. Carried arms in said army.

Alexander Williamson, Croft of Minmore. Carried arms in said army, has submitted himself.

Robert Willson, wright, Fochabers. Carried arms as a private man, and deserted from rebels in England.



## XIV.

### JAMES LORIMER—A HERO OF THE '45.

JAMES LORIMER, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, was a man imbued with the strongest of Hanoverian leanings. The fact may be due to the influence of his father, who for many years was one of the salt officers. When in the year 1715 the Scottish Jacobites, under the incompetent leadership of the Earl of Mar, endeavoured to oust the "wee German lairdie" from the British throne, Lorimer, although but a boy, volunteered in the King's service and fought at Sheriffmuir. He was one of the well-affected gentlemen who took up arms in defence of "Auld Reekie" against Prince Charlie and his Highlanders in 1745. He considered it his duty to expose life and fortune in defence of the place; but, while he and the "fathers of the city" were discussing what was best to be done, Edinburgh fell into the hands of the Jacobites through the strategy of the gallant Lochiel.

Of course it was to be expected that the entry of the wild mountaineers struck terror into the hearts of the brave citizens. The effect on the parsons was certainly extraordinary; they "levanted," as our hero scornfully tells us, bag and baggage. White cockades,

flowing tartans, pistols, and targets were more than they could stand; these warlike accoutrements produced no effect on our hero, who disdained to run away like many who had less reason. The height of Lorimer's ambition was to be able to render some service to King George, whom he had once seen from afar. How to assist the monarch was a point which puzzled him, but at length he solved the difficulty by making it his close business to find out Jacobite secrets, and transmit the information thus acquired to the Marquis of Tweeddale. Unfortunately for his scheme, the Jacobites were on the alert, and the weekly budget of news fell into their hands; his messenger being seized and always compelled to undergo a rigorous search at Holyrood Abbey. He then fell into an ingenious scheme to circumvent them, and from that day his messages had the good luck to escape, for which he was profoundly thankful, seeing that the Jacobites strung up a poor stabler in the Grassmarket for being the bearer of similar letters.

The successes which attended Prince Charlie very naturally made King George exceedingly angry, and in his wrath he treated his ministry with so many German oaths of the choicest brand, that in disgust they threw up their portfolios. Here was Lorimer's opportunity! He was indignant at the desertion of the King at a moment when the aid of every honest citizen was required, and he redoubled his energies,

and sent budget upon budget of information from the capital of Scotland. Alas! his letters were read by a young gentleman in London, who "inhumanly" amused his friends with the news from the north, and was so simple as not to deliver the letters in the proper quarter. Lorimer's zeal brought him into contact with four of Lochiel's men, who, coming to his shop one day, abruptly demanded whether he had seen Prince Charlie. The burgess was in no way alarmed, and stoutly replied that he did not have the honour, nor did he desire to see any royalties other than those of the reigning house. One of the Highlanders promptly drew his sword, and laying it on the counter, desired to "know whether the burgess had not been a volunteer." A reply in the affirmative led to threats of his being carried before the Prince to declare that henceforth he would never bear arms against him. But these threats did not shake the loyalty of Lorimer, and in the wordy warfare which ensued he worsted his opponents, who took their leave, cursing him for an eternal Whig. A week later they returned and searched for arms without success, for the burgess had lent all his guns, pistols, and swords to friends residing quite forty or fifty miles from Edinburgh. A third time the premises were searched, on this occasion for saddles, but these had already been sent to the country, so the Highlanders took their leave, cursing the King, the Castle, and the Whigs.

Lorimer next carried information to Generals Guest and Preston, and the difficulties he had to encounter were very great, as the Jacobites kept so strict a watch on the castle that none could approach it without being observed. He climbed the rocks, and from beneath the walls spoke with one of the Captains of the Guard, and ultimately he was drawn over the walls with ropes. In consequence of the information he supplied, Generals Guest and Preston determined to batter down the houses on the north side of the hill, notwithstanding the truce which existed at the time. The cannonade which ensued obliged the Highlanders to raise the blockade of the castle, and the whole odium of the breach of faith rested upon General Preston.

Lorimer's next difficulty was how to get out of the castle, and he could only effect his escape "under the smoke of the cannon when firing hottest with big twelve-pounders flying over his head." This he did when the garrison made a sally down to the weigh-house, and dislodged the Jacobites from the neighbouring houses. The ammunition of the soldiers failed, and at this moment Lorimer's servant girl behaved with the greatest courage. She rushed up to the castle in the heat of the firing, and brought "down a lapful of cartridges, although her petticoats were riddled with bullets." She even assumed the leadership of a party of redcoats, and at their head attacked

a body of rebels, one of whom was killed, and several wounded. As the firing from the castle did a great deal of damage to the town, Lorimer, meeting Lord George Murray and Lochiel in the street, upbraided them for causing so much annoyance to peaceable citizens. If this was proof of the regard held by their Prince for the ancient metropolis of Scotland, what were they to expect should he be successful? The only result was that Lorimer got heartily damned for his pains, but had the gratification of seeing the two Jacobite leaders hurry "helter skelter" to escape a volley from the castle, which tore up the ground about them.

The Camerons determined to take the castle by storm, and one of their captains with two men proceeded one moonlight night to survey the rocks. They clambered up the sallyport and sat under the walls for a considerable time, and although they "snuffed and coughed" none of the sentries discovered them. The kilted warriors then sat down, and in this fashion slid to the bottom, without even the noise of gravel and stones attracting the attention of the soldiers on watch. Lorimer had observed their movements, and received information that an attack was to be made on the castle immediately the scaling ladders were ready. He at once sent this information to General Preston, who caused fires to be lit beneath the walls, which prevented the attack. To mark their

appreciation of the services rendered by the informer, the Generals invited him to the castle to drink the King's health, and in return for their hospitality the burgess sent up a quantity of liquor for the use of their soldiers. The success of the Jacobites at the battle of Falkirk so greatly exasperated our hero that he "could neither hold his tongue nor his pen," and to cheer the discomfited soldiery he entertained them to dinner, and induced other citizens to do likewise. In this way the drooping spirits of the soldiers were revived, and they appeared "like other creatures full of spirit and courage," and under the leadership of the Duke of Cumberland they vanquished the foe at Culloden.

Lorimer imagined that his services entitled him to some consideration, and he wrote the following letter to the Marquis of Tweeddale. We cannot tell what became of him, nor do we know of the result of his application.

"EDINBURGH, 21st December 1747.

"My Lord Marquis:—I have sent the enclosed letter to your Lordship, which, if you will be so good as to give to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, it's possible his Grace may do something for me. I daresay there is many a man provided for in the Government that perhaps has done less for it. As the most of my letters then went to your Lordship, there is nobody I can so properly apply to, and has such confidence in your Lordship's justice and goodness as to comply with my request. The place that would suit best for me is the store-mastership in the castle, and with humble submission I make

not the least doubt but his Grace and your Lordship will allow that I may as well deserve it as the man who has it; he being noted for a Jacobite, and was openly in the rebellion of 1715, and I then, but young, was with the King's army all the time a volunteer, and your Lordship knows what I did in this late rebellion. I acknowledge I never did ask or apply for the least favour before, and this man who has it is looked on for the same principles as formerly. At least the whole of his company is known to everybody here to be with the most noted Jacobites in the place. No oath binds them, nor favour does not reclaim them or reform them longer than one opportunity offers. I daresay as much might be trusted to my care as to one of that principles. I can assure your Lordship it was, and still is galing to the honest people here that a man of that stamp should still enjoy a post of such importance. If I may be so lucky and have the honour to serve the King, I would make it my only business to wait close on it, and see to have the smallest thing in order and readiness when called for. Not as when the rebels was lying here; the gunners could not obtain a few saddletone nor a sheep's skin for the use of the cannon, and even at that time a good deal of the stores, such as the powder, was damaged with water when going to be used, and at another time some of the keys of the storehouses when called for was lost, and was not to be found.

“None of these things looked well when we were all surrounded by the enemy, and they had the power over us, the garrison onely excepted; and that they industriously waited every opportunity to make their attempts aganes the castle, and what they were not able to do by force, they were not awanting to try by fraud and treachery by or with the disaffected persons that was in the garrison at that time, but our thanks to God, and next to the vigilance and strict eye General Preston kept over them.—My Lord Marquis, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

“JAMES LORIMER.”

## XV.

### THE ELECTION OF EDINBURGH MAGISTRATES, 1746.

FROM a contemporary collection of old papers, facts have been culled which throw an interesting light on the consequences attending Prince Charlie's occupation of Edinburgh. As the circumstances are not generally known, nor are they referred to in the historical accounts we have of Edinburgh, we place on record the facts noted by a burghess of the period.

When Prince Charlie and his Highlanders evaded Sir John Cope, and came within a short distance of Edinburgh, the magistrates of the city were in a state of perplexity as to the proper course to adopt. The commandant of Stirling Castle had ordered the authorities of that town to offer no opposition to the entry of the Highlanders, and the feeling in Edinburgh was that the same course ought to be adopted. Provost Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards arraigned for his part in the surrender of Edinburgh, at several meetings of the citizens strongly expressed himself in favour of defending the town at all hazards, and he contributed largely to the support of the volunteer regiment. The



Provost also saw to the fortification of the town, and frequently came into collision with the workmen engaged thereon, because of the delays which arose; but he declined to receive advice from the clergy, whom he requested to attend to their own business.

When a letter was brought into the Council Chamber from Prince Charlie, the Provost refused to hear it read, and, acting in concert with the other magistrates, he called a meeting to decide whether they were to defend the town or not; but in the meantime, word having been brought of the flight of the dragoons from the Colt-bridge, their deliberations were concluded without any decision having been arrived at. Nor did a greater measure of success attend the deputation which waited upon the Prince at Bellsmiln, in reference to the surrender of the city, for on Tuesday, the 17th of September, Cameron of Lochiel and his Highlanders entered at the Netherbow Port, and the town was in the possession of the Prince without a blow having been struck in its defence.

One of the results, of the occupation of Edinburgh by the Jacobites, was that the ensuing election of magistrates was suspended, and the city was without any duly constituted authority for several months. They were in this condition when, on 1st May 1746, at a meeting in the New Church aisle, it was proposed to send an address to the king.

On this occasion ex-Provosts Coutts and Macaulay rendered themselves obnoxious on account of the way they pressed their own views upon the meeting, which finally appointed a committee of twelve to draw up the address. This address, which was published in the *London Gazette* of 17th May 1746, is worth reprinting :—

“We, the citizens, who have at any time shared in the government of the city of Edinburgh, now destitute of magistrates and town council, having unfortunately fallen under the power of the rebels before the time of our last annual elections, humbly presume, etc.

“We cannot, however, at this time avoid expressing our deepest sense and regret that from some circumstances our zeal and activity in defending the ancient metropolis of this part of the United Kingdom may seem to have come short of the insolent boldness with which the rebels presumed to rise in arms against your Majesty; but it is with the highest satisfaction we can assure your Majesty that by far the greatest part of the respectable burgesses showed a cheerful readiness to hazard their lives and bestow their fortunes in behalf of your Majesty’s government and for preserving the city from falling into the hands of the rebels, though our endeavours came to be disappointed by a variety of circumstances which we could not foresee, nor was it in our power to prevent.

“We can likewise with great justice affirm that though the rebels were long in possession of this city, only a very few of the inhabitants, and these, too, of the lowest rank and most desperate fortunes, ever joined in taking arms with them.”

At the same time the Merchant Company sent off an Address signed by Archibald Angus, in which they

declared that they had shown their sincerity, though their honest intentions were not so successful, yet that was no fault of theirs, "for vain were all the arts of secret treachery and open violence to make us change the best of kings for an abjured pretender."

Immediately thereafter a general meeting of the burgesses of Edinburgh took place, and they petitioned the king to "interpose his authority so that they may be restored to their ancient liberties and elect magistrates and council." It was therefore enacted by the Privy Council that for restoring peace and good government to the city "the fourteen companies, or incorporation of crafts, should assemble themselves on the 14th November and each elect a fit person to be deacon of their craft; and out of the fourteen persons so elected six were to be chosen to make part of the ordinary council of twenty-five, and that the other eight shall be extraordinary deacons in council for the ensuing year."

Perhaps at no election in Edinburgh were so many influences at work as in the one under consideration. As the polling day approached, the people became more and more excited. A section of the electors felt that to regain the royal favour they must submit and vote for the Court nominees, while others maintained that such servility was unworthy of the citizens of the ancient metropolis. To continue the narrative in the words of our burgh chronicle:—

“On Friday, the 21st November, I attended a meeting in the evening in Clerk’s Great Room, where were present the Earl of Albemarle, General Husk, Lords Justice Clerk and Kilkerran, Baron Clerk, Lord Somerville, Principal Wishart, Messrs John Goldie, John Hepburn, William Gustard, George Wishart, Patrick Cuming, and about thirty more. The Lord Justice Clerk informed the meeting ‘that he had several letters from Court recommending George Drummond to be a proper person to be elected provost of Edinburgh. He added it would take up too much of their time to lay these letters before the meeting, but he appealed to Lord Albemarle.’ His lordship said ‘he knew it to be so, and that he had several letters to the same purpose.’ The Lord Justice Clerk said ‘that several reflections as to Mr Drummond’s conduct when formerly one of the magistrates had been thrown out against him, and he desired the company severally to give their opinions and speak to the point.’ Baron Clerk said ‘that by act of parliament the conduct of the City Council in proposing and executing the public works, which occasioned the debt on the city, must all have the sanction of a committee appointed by the said act, and as this committee approved the whole conduct and executing of the work they must bear their share.’

“Mr Webster said that ‘a considerable part of said debt was occasioned by the purchase of the lands of Wolmot and Lochbank, the profit whereof was now an aid to the town’s revenue,’ and all the others who spoke recommended Mr Drummond to be provost, except Mr Inglis, who said they ought to choose one who was independent. Lord Kilkerran insisted warmly upon the choice falling upon Mr Drummond, as he had a royal recommendation which they could not go against. Mr Inglis declared he was as loyal as any man, but at the same time did not wish to have a man as provost who was not independent, and therefore he named Mr Whiteford, who shook his head and said he was not in the question. Mr Drummond then said he was sensible of being as liable to

error as any man, but he would affirm he never designed, nor would design, any hurt or prejudice to the town, and the reflection thrown against him would put him on his guard for the future."

The election, which occupied four days, was fruitful in charges of the use of undue influences by the Lord Justice Clerk, and under all the circumstances it is not surprising that the Court party prevailed. On 5th December, Lord Provost Drummond set out for London to lay the return before his Majesty. The king approved of the magistrates elected, and on the Provost's arrival in Edinburgh on 2nd January 1747, the following address was drawn up and presented to the king by the Duke of Argyll:—

"Most Gracious Sovereign—We, your Majesties most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, beg leave, in all humility, to return our thanks to your Majesty for your having been graciously pleased to restore to this city the exercise of their ancient rights and privileges, which the late infamous rebellion had interrupted and destroyed.

"In our election, now confirmed by your Majesty's royal prerogative, which has never been used but for the good of your subjects, there appeared no contest but as to who was the best affected to your Majesty's person and government; and we shall think it our duty, in gratitude to our fellow-citizens, who chose us, to behave ourselves in all our proceedings with such zeal in support of your Majesty's authority, and such a disinterested, unfeigned, and unalloyed attachment to the constitution, both in church and state, as to deserve their future good opinion, and to recommend this city to your Majesty's favour and protection.

“As the Almighty Providence seems to have reserved to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland alone, the restoring the tranquillity of the country, we hope the same activity, valour, and abilities which have been so successful against rebellious subjects at home will also lead him to victory over your Majesty’s enemies abroad—the disturbers of the peace and liberties of Europe.

“May it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s most obedient, most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, in council assembled.

“(Signed) GEORGE DRUMMOND, *Provost*.

“EDINBURGH, 3rd January 1747.”

## XVI.

### AN INFAMOUS SPY—JAMES ROY MACGREGOR.

THE facile pen of Sir Walter Scott has given the name of Rob Roy an imperishable place in Scottish literature. The questionable proceedings of the great outlaw have been invested with the glamour of romance, and excite world-wide interest. Rob Roy's conduct at a critical moment in the '15 gave rise to much reproach, and cast a slur upon the fair fame of the race of Macgregor. There can be no question that to the evil influence of the father must be attributed the sad career and fate of his sons. The publication of the following documents connected with the life of one of them—James Roy Macgregor—has been rendered necessary because of an attempt, by a noted Scots writer, to fasten the stigma of infamy upon the ancient and honourable family of Macdonell of Glengarry.

The chief of Glengarry whose men had acted so nobly throughout the '45, and suffered so much in the cause of the Stuarts, has been branded as a traitor and a spy. It will be seen that the charge is baseless, the real culprit being Rob Roy's son, James Roy Macgregor *alias* James Mohr Drummond as he was called.

When, through the lack of a proper leader, the rising of 1715 terminated so disastrously for the Jacobites, they did not relinquish the fond hope of being able to recover the British crown for its lawful heir. The generation which was rapidly attaining manhood was not perhaps as zealous in the Stuart cause as the preceding one. But the Chevalier St George, a peaceable man, had a great aversion to the bloodshed which another invasion would entail upon his dear children—as he affectionately called his subjects. His eldest son, however, was an individual of different calibre; in his veins the fiery blood of Sobieski mingled with that of Stuart, and he determined upon another struggle to recover his ancestral throne. Having been secretly appointed regent by his father, he endeavoured to persuade the French authorities to assist him in his enterprise. He at length abandoned the hopeless task of trying to secure their co-operation, and narrowly escaping from the English emissaries, who closely watched his movements, he set out upon the gallant attempt which has been the theme of song and story.

Alas! there were traitors among his adherents. Rob Roy betrayed the cause in 1715, and now his son was to surpass him in villainy. Since the autumn of 1744, James Roy Macgregor had been in constant communication with the Government, revealing to General Guest full particulars of the Jacobite plans.



Towards the close of June the authorities in Edinburgh, acting on the advice tendered by Macgregor as early as April, issued warrants for the arrest of several Highland chiefs, as well as those French officers who roamed about the country persuading Scottish youths to enlist in the French service. Captain Campbell of Inverawe, who was entrusted with the execution of the warrants, represented the difficulties which would attend any attempt to secure the chiefs. They could not be taken in an open way, and other methods required time and exceeding caution. Yet he and his subordinates were determined to comply with the wishes of the authorities, and believed the only individual they could not secure was the Captain of Clanronald.

James Roy Macgregor went north to Glengarry in May, and left the officials at Edinburgh in ignorance as to his whereabouts. The Lord Advocate—Robert Craigie—was in distress, and thought that the informer had given them the slip. Perhaps his treatment was not such as he anticipated, for his previous communication was to the effect that the person from whom he gleaned his information was sick and in a dying condition, and he expected no further intelligence—an excuse, as the Lord Advocate remarks, for changing his mind. On the 9th of July 1745 the Lord Advocate wrote thus to the Marquis of Tweeddale.

“EDINBURGH, 9th July 1745.

“My Lord,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s of the

2nd of July with the information transmitted by the Solicitor to you in Aprile last given by James Drummond. I have since talkt with Solicitor and with Mr Guest, in presence of Sir John Cope, upon the subject of those informations, and I find ever since the informations were sent to London the whole correspondence between them and Drummond hath been carried on by letters between Mr Guest and Lieutenant Campbell, and upon perusal of these letters it appears to me that Drummond hath either been dissatisfied with the reward promised him or the security for it, or he hath changed his mind very soon after he made the proposal, for the pretences he made from time to time appear to me to have been but pretences. However, as I know the man, I will use all my endeavours to bring him to meet with me privately, and to induce him to speak out all that he knows. But as he is now gone to the North Highlands it will be some time before I can expect such a meeting."

Macgregor returned from the north towards the close of July, and straightway sought out the Lord Advocate, to whom he made a declaration on the 2nd of August. In consequence of this meeting the Lord Advocate wrote to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and his letter clearly establishes the identity of the informer :—

"My Lord,—This morning James Drummond, eldest son to the late Rob Roy M'Grigor, called upon me occasionally, and after some conversation with him I found he was the person who had been dealing with Mr Guest and the Solicitor this spring; and as he thought they did not use him well he gave up all treaty in the manner I formerly mentioned to your Lordship, and upon my assuring him of all suitable encouragement and protection, he made the declaration of which I send you a copy enclosed. As the Clan of which he

is reckoned the chief is dispersed threw the Duke of Perth's estate, and he himself was until Whitsunday last a tenant of the Duke's, and is now a tenant of my Lord Montrose's, in that neighbourhood, it was for that reason that he pretended it was from a third person that he expected his intelligence in his treaty with Mr Guest; because he apprehended that a discovery of his being the informer would not only expose his goods but also his person to danger, and he insisted with me that I should mention him to nobody here, until he was assured of the Government's protection, and he mentioned his having a commission in the new Highland regiment. That if he had such a commission he would think himself justified to the world in going all lengths in the service of the Government, whereas at present he would be looked upon as a spy and informer.

“You may be sure I did not promise to obtain for him what is not in my power. But I promised him secrecy in case he was not provided, and I am resolved to give him some money whether it's allowed me or not; and I hope your Lordship will forgive me to offer my humble opinion that as I know this man to be a brave, sensible fellow, and to be a man of some consequence in the Highlands, and I think one that is disobliged at the Duke of Perth; that it be for His Majesty's service that he be provided in a lieutenancy or ensigny in the Highland regiment. I believe there is a vacancy, or one may be easily made. At the same time I believe, if he were assured of the thing, he might be of more service without its being known that he is in the service of the Government, than if he were actually in commission, as he is at present not suspected by the Jacobites, and has thereby access to their secrets.

“He mentioned to me that he believed that Stewart of Glenbucky, though a very active man and much trusted by the Jacobites, yet was of that temper and in those circumstances that a sum of money would tempt him to discover everything.

“The letter he mentions from Lord Lovat, and which he says he saw, does not greatly surprise me, tho’ I own it’s new, and I would give something to be possessed of the letter, and I will use my utmost endeavours to come at it; for I suppose the Lady, who has a great spirit, and I understand values herself upon her correspondence with this noble Lord, and the power she has over her husband, will not destroy the correspondence; and as she lives within a few miles of the barracks I think the letter may be found. The only difficulty that occurs to me is that I think it would look strange to employ a military officer to search for papers, and it will be very difficult to find a civil officer in that place who can be trusted.

“As I promised absolute secrecy until I could give Mr Drummond some assurance of encouragement, and as his information contains several things new, I thought it proper to send this by express that I might receive your directions, and also that I may be at liberty to communicate to Sir John Cope my informer, and that I may obtain from him the proper assistance to Mr Drummond.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord, your Lordship’s most faithful, most obedient humble servant. “ROB. CRAIGIE.”

“EDINBURGH, *2nd August 1745.*”

The declaration of Macgregor, which is the next document we give, contains much that is interesting. Recruiting for the French service had over and again attracted the serious attention of the Government, and several warrants had been issued for the arrest of those who were most active. The reference to Lord Lovat in the declaration will surprise no one acquainted with the true history of the chief of the Frasers. His was an extraordinary career—the most singular in the history of the Jacobite risings. In 1715 he gambled

for the family titles and estates. While professedly assisting the Government, he was in close correspondence with the Chevalier, and what is the more remarkable, George I. was well aware of the fact. Yet he escaped, and continued to intrigue. To him was due in a great measure the Spanish Invasion, with which ended the abortive rising of 1719 at Glenshiel; but he was wily, and drove a hard bargain with his unfortunate neighbour, the Earl of Seaforth. As the latter had become possessed of papers which, had they been then disclosed, would have put an end to Lovat's career, the Fraser chief was exceedingly anxious for their return, as in case of accident they might be troublesome to him, and as a reward Seaforth was to be informed of the "secret details of an affair which is abominable before God and man." What the great affair was we have nothing to show, but it is a curious fact that Lovat was intimately acquainted with all the scandals of the countryside. The letter which he wrote to Lady Glengarry, and which the Advocate was so anxious to possess, was one of a series of treasonable papers subscribed by him. Macgregor's declaration runs thus:—

"EDINBURGH, *2d August 1745*—In presence of Robert Craigie, Esquire, His Majesty's Advocate of Scotland.

"James Drummond in Corrocklat, in the parish of Buchanan: Declares that he knows and is well informed that in June or July 1744 the Duke of Perth went to the Isle of

Man, and that there and then or upon some of the islands betwixt Scotland and the said island, the Duke had a meeting with several gentlemen disaffected to His Majesty's Government, and, as the declarant was informed, some persons intrusted by the Pretender's eldest son. That the subject of their conferences were concerning the manner of the French making a descent upon this country, and who of this country were to be trusted to join the French. That John Murray of Broughton, son to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, was at that meeting, and was frequently with the Duke of Perth before and after that meeting, and particularly he attended the Duke of Perth last year when he was a hideing, and that in spring or summer 1744 after the warrant was issued for apprehending the Duke he went North, and was for some considerable time at the house of General Gordon of Auchintoul, or of some other gentleman's seat the name of which he cannot at present recollect. That when Lord John Drummond was in Scotland in spring 1744, and skulking, being apprehensive of a warrand against him, he lived for the most part at Alexander Stewart of Glenbucky's house in Breanchyll of Strathgartna, a part of the estate of Perth, and the tenants in that neighbourhood were directed by Glenbucky to be in readiness to rise in arms to protect Lord John, in case any party of the King's troops should make an attempt to apprehend him; that about that time Glenbucky wrote to John Stewart, then in Glentiff, part of Inverawe's estate, but who has since purchased Benmore from the Duke of Perth, and which he holds of the Duke, and which lies and Breadalbane, desiring him to come to his house to wait of Lord John Drummond; that at that time four young lads went from Glentiff and Glenco, and it was generally believed in the country that they were sent by the said John Stewart as recruits to Lord John Drummond, and that John Drummond, eldest son to James Drummond of Westerfeddal or Culquhailly, sometime chamberlain to the Duke of Perth, went along with them to France, and the said John Drummond is still abroad; that they took ship at or

near Dundee ; that Peter Drummond, now a sergeant in Sir Patrick Murray's Company, went along with five or six recruits in order to have embarked at the same time and place, but that the ship had sailed some time before, whereupon the said Peter and his recruits returned to the country, and the declarant believes he will be able to condescend upon their names. Declares that Glenbucky in the spring 1744 endeavoured to persuade Stewart of Ballachallan to send a brother of his to France with Lord John Drummond, and sometime after Glenbucky and Ballachallan told this to the declarant. But Ballachallan declined to comply, because of the difficulty he foresaw there would be of complying with the condition of his brother's obtaining the commission,—viz., the raising recruits. That this summer Glenbucky sent his own second son and his brother—both Duncan Stewarts,—the last living at Torrie, near Callendar, and the first a wine cooper at Leith, beyond seas, and who were recommended to be officers in Lord John Drummond's regiment. At least they both went abroad, as said is. That in May and June last the declarant was in Glengarry purchasing cattle for his farm. That while there he was frequently in company with John M'Donell of Glengarry, from whom he purchased some of his cows. That Glengarry appeared to have no doubt but that there would be an invasion from France this summer in favour of the Pretender or his son, and the declarant was assured upon a commission on the landing, the same that his father had in the 1715—to wit, major of a regiment. That upon that occasion the Lady Glengarry, who is a daughter of Gordon of Glenbucket, and is a lady of great spirit, read in the declarant's hearing a letter from the Lord Lovat to the Lady Glengarry, dated the 6th or 7th of June 1745, in a very polite strain. The expressions he cannot repeat, but the purport of the letter—as the declarant understood them, and they were read to him for that purpose—was to assure the lady of his friendship to the family of Glengarry, and of his firm adherence to the interest of the Pretender's family, not-

withstanding of his past conduct, but desiring that they might proceed with the greatest caution at this critical time; and declares that while he was at Glengarry Duncan M'Coul, who lives at Glentarkin, on the side of Lochearn, and who is entrusted by the Duke of Perth with messages up and down through the country, and particularly is sent frequently to Glengarry, came to Glengarry the 11th of June last, which he remembers from the circumstances of their having kept the birthday the night before, with letters from the Duke of Perth or young Glengarry, which M'Coul had received from James Stewart, the Duke's principal servant, dated the 5th of June; but he did not further learn the contents of the letters. That M'Coul told him that he believed and was sure that young Glengarry was at that time at Castle Drummond, but was in a private secret way. That M'Coul got from Glengarry a receipt of his letters, but as M'Coul told the declarant, neither letters nor verbal messages. He believes Stewart of Glenbucky and James Stewart, my Lord's servant, are the persons chiefly entrusted by my Lord in carrying on his political concerns, and he is very sure they know more of these matters than anybody else about the Duke.

(Signed) "JAMES DRUMMOND."

Immediately after this interview, James Roy again addressed the Lord Advocate, assuring him that he had positive information that an invasion was intended, and that in a few weeks, at anyrate, there would be a landing effected in England and Scotland. A meeting of Jacobites had taken place at Gordon of Glenbucket's house, and "it was time for sleeping dogs to awake." In eight days' time he would call on the Advocate, but in the meanwhile the Advocate and Sir John Cope were urged to be on the alert.



When Prince Charlie landed in Inverness-shire, with a few followers, the authorities at Edinburgh did not believe the report, and paid no attention to Sir John Cope's request that "a sum of money should be placed in the hands of His Majesty's servants, . . . for if anything should happen to disturb the peace of the Government here, that necessary spring to cause the friends of the Government act with spirit may come too late." Sir John Cope has been unjustly blamed for the success which attended the Jacobite rising. The General was fettered in every way, and was not allowed that free hand or mode of action necessary for the suppression of the rising. No attention was paid to his remonstrances, and he was told that his duty was simply to obey the orders transmitted to him.

James Roy Macgregor, whether acting according to instructions, or of his own free will is unknown, immediately joined Prince Charlie. Along with Macgregor of Glengyle he assumed command of some of the Duke of Perth's men, and surprised and captured the Fort of Inversnaid. Prince Charlie succeeded in eluding Sir John Cope, and it was only at Prestonpans that the two armies came face to face. James Roy was a major in the corps of Macgregors, which occupied the centre of the Jacobite array, and in the fight which ensued he fought as only a Macgregor could. It is said that after his thigh bone was broken,

and after receiving five wounds, he raised himself from the ground, and resting on his hand, called out —“ My lads! I am not dead! By God. I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!”

On recovering from his wounds he joined the Prince's army with six companies, and was present at Culloden. A letter dated a few months after his death insinuates that it was due to his treachery that Culloden was lost. And there seems to be some foundation for the suspicion that he behaved as a traitor on this occasion.

He resumed his intrigues with the Government after the defeat at Culloden, and in 1747 received a military protection from Andrew Fletcher, Lord Justice Clerk. He lived quietly in the Macgregor country until the abduction of Jane Kaye by his brother Robert on the night of 3rd December 1750. His share in this transaction brought him within the meshes of the law, and after Jane Kaye's death he had to stand trial at Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned. He was, however, too useful an instrument to receive the doom he merited, and the better to achieve their purpose the authorities entered upon an elaborate method of deception.

James Roy consented to act as a spy upon the Jacobites abroad, and to screen him he was enabled to escape under circumstances which appeared romantic to those unacquainted with the facts. It was in the

autumn of 1752 that he was released, and to give colour to his story he wandered about as if fearing pursuit, and made his way to the Isle of Man, where a Jacobite conference was being held. From thence he passed over to Ireland, where some of the Stuart adherents were concerting measures for a landing. He then passed to France, and under date December 1752 sent the following letter to the Secretary of State. To this letter must be attributed the capture and execution of Dr Archibald Cameron, who was sent to Scotland on a mission to the Jacobites. The authorities were on the watch for him, and in the spring of 1753 Cameron was captured, and in the following June suffered death at Tyburn.

Macgregor's information proved most useful to the Government, as they were able to checkmate both Prussia and Sweden, and thwarted the intended alliance between Prince Charlie and the Princess of Prussia, about whom "Pickle," as Macgregor was known to the authorities, wrote some amusing letters. The following is unsigned, but is endorsed "from Pickle":—

"The young Pretender about the latter end of September sent Mr Murray (brother to Lord Elibank) for Lochgarry and Dr Archibald Cameron. They met him at Menin. He informed them that hoped he had brought matters to such a bearing, particularly at the King of Prussia's Court, whom he expected in a short time to have a strong alliance with, that he did not desire the Highlanders to rise in arms until General Keith was landed in the north of Scotland with some Swedish

troops. He likewise assured them that some of the greatest weight in England, though formerly great opposers to his family, were engaged in this attempt, and that he expected to meet with very little opposition. In consequence of this he gave Lochgarry, Doctor Cameron, Blairfety, Robertson of Woodsheal, Skalleter, money and sent them to Scotland, so as to meet several Highland gentlemen at the Crieff market for black cattle, Cameron, Fassifern, and Gleneves were those who were to carry on the correspondence 'twixt the southern Jacobites and Clunie Macpherson. Lochgarry was after the general meeting at Menin with the young Pretender, for two nights at Gent in Flanders. I was at Boulogne when Sir James Harrington gave me directions to go to Gent; but to my great surprise as I lighted off horseback at Furnes I was tipped upon the shoulder by one Morrison, who desired me to stop for a little at the inn. I was not long there when the young Pretendor entered my room. The discourse chiefly turned upon the scheme in England, when he repeated the same assurances as to Lochgarry, but in stronger terms, and with the addition that the Swedes were to embark at Gottenburgh, and that Mr Murray was sent with commissions for me and full instructions how I was to act in Scotland. The young Chevalier was so positive of his schemes succeeding that he told me he expected to be in London very soon himself, and that he was determined to give the present Government no quiet until he succeeded or died in the attempt. I came over here by his express orders. I waited on Lord Elibank, who, after the strong assurances of the young pretender, surprised me to the greatest degree by telling me that all was all put off for some time, and that his brother had recrossed the seas in order to acquaint the young Pretender of it, and from him he was to go straight to Paris to Lord Marischal. It is not above nine days since I left the young Pretender at Furnes. When he was at Menin a French gentleman attended him. Gorm has been within these two months twice in England, and Mr Murray

three times since he first went over. It's not above five days since Mr Murray.

“Probably the landing for England was to be from France, as there is 12,000 troops in Flanders more than the ordinary complement; this the common French take notice of, but I can say nothing of this with certainty. The young Chevalier has more than once seen the King of Prussia, but none other of his Court that I ever could learn, but General Keith, Sir John Douglas, Mr Charters, and Hepburn of Keith are in the secret. The young Chevalier has been in close correspondence with England for a year and a half past. Mr Carl, the historian, has carried frequent messages. They never commit anything to writing. Alderman Hethcote is a principal manager. The very words that the young Pretender told me was that all this scheme was laid and transacted by Whiggs; that no Roman Catholics was concerned, and obliged me to give my word and honour that I would write nothing concerning him nor his plan to Rome. After what I said last night this is all that occurs to me for the present. I will lose no time in my transactions, and I will take care they will always be conforme to your directions, and as I have thrown myself entirely upon you. I am determin'd to run all hazards upon this occasion, which I hope will entitle me to your favour and to his Majesties protection.”

We next find James Roy addressing Edgar, the Chevalier St George's secretary, craving assistance for a “man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his Majesty's person and cause.” The better to advance his suit, he inclosed a certificate from Lord Strathallan and others, dated “Boulogne-sur-mer, 22nd May 1753,” to the effect that James Drummond, son of late Rob Roy, had been employed in the Prince Regent's affairs by the Duke of Perth prior to His

Royal Highness's arrival in Scotland ; that afterwards he behaved with great bravery in several battles in which he received many wounds. Orders were issued that he should be paid the sum of 300 livres to relieve his necessities. The money was still unpaid on the 6th of September, when Strathallan wrote to Edgar that he should be sorry to answer for James Drummond, as he had but an indifferent character as to real honesty.

A few days later he wrote direct to Prince Charlie, pleading his services in the Stuart cause, and ascribing his exile to the persecution of the Hanoverian Government. The result of this petition is unknown, but in the meantime Macgregor was employed by Captain Duncan Campbell to trepan Allan Breck Stuart, who had murdered Campbell of Glenure in May 1751. To aid him to bring the murderer to England and allay suspicion among the Jacobites, a licence was forwarded to Macgregor. But Allan escaped, after robbing the man employed to secure him.

Macgregor then proceeded to London, and had interviews with the Secretary of State. To deceive the Jacobites, who viewed his visits to London with suspicion, he was escorted out of the country, and landed at Dunkirk on the 6th April 1754. On the same day he wrote a letter to his chief, Macgregor of Bohaldie, giving him an account of his visit, which

declared the journey was undertaken to save his brother Robert, who was executed for the abduction of Jane Kaye on the 6th of February. The Government, he alleged, offered him employment, which he declined to accept, as it would be a disgrace to his family and a scourge to his country! As he wished to settle down to trade at Dunkirk, he desired to have his chief's opinion on the subject.

Two days afterwards he sent the following amusing and curious letter to the authorities in London addressed to "Mr James Jones, at Mr Chilbains Chymmist in Sherwood Street, Golden Square." The references in these letters to the Jacobites' names and schemes are in cipher, and we give the key in brackets :—

"Dear Sir,—I am still in such agitation after fourteen hours' passage and sitting up with our friends Alexander (*i.e.* Macdonald of Lochgarry) and Agent (a Macdonald identity unestablished), who luckily met me here, that I am scarce able to put pen to paper. I must here confess the difficulties I labour under since the Loss of my worthy great friend (? Mr Pelham), on whose word I wholly relied. But now everything occurs far short of my expectations; however, as I find our branch of trade is upon a much better footing than I imagined. I am willing to give you ane idea of their conceit and expectations here, not doubting but it will agree with the real sentiments of our friends your side. But it's with this restriction, that I shan't act but in the same channel as heretofore; and as I have goen such lengths with our former friend, I am not willing to drop it, providing I have your advice and directions as formerly. I am now to

acquaint you that Alexander (*i.e.* Lochgarry) met me here by order to desire my proceeding to Venice (*i.e.* Lord Marischal) as everything without that trip will be imperfect. All I can say, at this distance, and in so precarious a situation, that I find they play Mrs Strenge (*i.e.* the Highlanders) hard and fast. They expect a very large quantity of the very best Brasilensnuff (*i.e.* the clans) from her, to balance which several gross of good sparkling Champagne (*i.e.* arms) is to be smuggled out for her Ladyship's use. The whole accounts of our tobacco (*i.e.* Jacobite) and wine trade (*i.e.* schemes), I am told, are to be laid before me by my friend at Venice (Lord Marischal). But this being a jaunt I can't comply without a certain supply. I must beg if this proposal be found agreeable that I have an immediate pointed answer. But if, when I leave Venice, I go to meet St Sebastian (*i.e.* the young Pretender) the remittance must be more considerable than the sum you mentioned whilst you was at Bath. I refer everything to your friendly management, and if I find matters upon a proper footing upon my return you may rely upon everything in the power of dear grandpapa.

Yours Most affly  
Alex<sup>r</sup> Pickle

“ P.S.—To-morrow night Mr Davis (Sir James Harrington) is to meet me, after which I will write by first post. You must excuse the confusion and hurrie of this and all future imperfect scrawls from this side, as all is wrote after all others have gone to rest.”

Three days later Macgregor sent another letter to London, and from it we learn how favourably the schemes of the Jacobites progressed. Sweden and



Spain encouraged the designs of the Stuarts; politicians of the day were rapidly coming over, and the city of London placed large sums at the disposal of the Stuart partisans. The Highlanders and Scots nation disliked the Forfeited Estates Bill, and some of the most influential and powerful of English houses were disgusted through the unseemly squabbles in the Royal household. But the opportunity of the Jacobites slipped away through the action of Montmartell, and the fact that their secret schemes were laid before the Government.

The letter of 11th April runs thus:—

“Dear Sir,—I hope my last to you upon landing came safe to hand. I will be very uneasy until you acknowledge the receipt of it, though you can't expect ane regular or explicit correspondence from me least our smuggling, so severely punished in this country, should be any ways discovered. Mr Davis was here for a few hours last night, the particulars I refer till meeting. Great expectations from the Norwegian fire trade (*i.e.* Sweden), which merchants here think will turn out to good account by offering them ane ample charter to open a free trade.

“But Davis is not well versed in this business; I believe my friend at Venice is. I am certain that Mr Oliver (*i.e.* the King of Spain) and his principal factors would harken to any proposals of St Sebastian (*i.e.* the young Pretender) on this topick. Mr Davis is of opinion that a quantity of best mettle buttons (*i.e.* Parliament men) could be readily and cheaply purchased. Mr Johnstone (*i.e.* London) will make considerable advances, but I believe this can't arrive in time for the market, as application has not yet been made to Monsla Force (*i.e.* Paix Montmartell). I think I can easily divert

them from this, as I can convince St Sebastian in case I see him that they would leave him in time. This proposal comes from your side of the water. I find Mrs Strengé (*i.e.* the Highlanders) will readily except of any offer from Mr Rosenberge (the King of Sweden) as that negotiant can easily evade paying duty for any wines he sends her. I can answer for Mrs Strengé's conduct, as it will wholly depend upon me to promote or discourage this branch of trade. But I can't be answerable for either branches of our trade, as my knowledge of them depends upon others . . . If all my burdens are discharged and done otherwise for according to my former friends' intentions, and if satisfactory, nothing will be neglected by, dear grandpapa, your obliged affect. humble servant,

“ALEXR. PICKLE.

“SAMM'ES (*sic*), 11 April 1754.

“P.S.—I can't conclude without declaring once for all that I shan't walk but in the old course, that is not to act now with any other but Mr Kennedy (*i.e.* the Duke of Newcastle) and yourself. The moment any other comes in play I drop all business, but nothing essential can be done without going to Venice.”

The intrigues of the unhappy man were found out, yet on 8th June he made a vain attempt to regain the confidence of his chief, who took no notice of his letters. He protested he did nothing to violate the trust reposed in him, but his impassioned pleading was of none avail.

In September, Macdonnell of Lochgarry tried to have him arrested as a spy, by the Bailie of Dunkirk, but he escaped to Paris, from which place he again addressed his chief. He was in the utmost misery—deserted by everyone and reduced to beggary. Such

was his condition that he desired his chief to procure him employment as a hunter or fowler till better cast up. It was on this occasion he wrote the following pathetic postscript :—

“If you would send your pipes by the bearer, and all the other little trinkims belonging to it, I would put them in order and play some melancholy tunes, which I may now with safety and in real truth. Forgive my not going directly to your house, for I would shun seeing of yourself, I could not choose to be seen by my friends in my wretchedness, nor by any of my acquaintance.”

The wretched creature is said to have died miserably eight months after writing the above, and thus [for the present] ended the career of one who placed an indelible stain upon the name of Macgregor.

## XVII.

### PICKLE THE SPY ; OR, THE JACOBITES ABROAD.

THE story of the Jacobites of 1745 does not end with the fatal fight upon the bleak moor of Culloden, nor with the cold-blooded murders perpetrated by Cumberland and his troops. These things were not regarded as a final reckoning by the Hanoverian Government, for strenuous efforts were made to secure lists of those implicated in the rising, in order that they might be hunted down and their effects confiscated. So bitter and relentless was the persecution that even the dress of the Gael was proscribed, and a despicable system of espionage became rife. Alas ! the lure of English gold proved too strong in many cases, and Highlanders of ancient name became the dupes of the Guests, Craigies, and other officials of State in Scotland.

In this brochure we mean to show how the English Government, still unsatiated with the blood of so many poor Highlanders, placed spies upon the trail of such as sought refuge in other countries ; and from the reports of these sleuth-hounds of infamy, we know

how remorselessly was Highland chief and vassal tracked to their place of refuge,—their aspirations, hopes, and privations being duly chronicled at the Court of St James'. Little wonder their schemes were baulked and their hopes blighted. An unseen and unknown enemy hovered around and about them, betraying their confidence and the most vital secrets of their party ; and one need not be surprised that many thought a curse had fallen upon the race of Stuart.

It was in the autumn of 1744 that General Guest had crossed the path of a scion of the ancient Clan Gregor, and unscrupulously took advantage of his power and position to force the man to betray a friend's confidence, and thus began a career of shame. James Roy Macgregor, the son of Rob Roy, followed the occupation of his father, being a small farmer and drover ; and until Guest forced him with gold, and at the swordpoint, to betray the hiding-place of a kinsman, he was regarded as a man of the highest honour. Threats of violence and the promise of gold brought about his fall,—a fall by which he was rapidly developed into an ingenuous villain, who was wonderfully capable of adapting himself to every emergency which could arise. He had the address of a diplomat ; and there was latent in him the cunning of a race which had suffered by long and fearful proscription. He became a liar of the first water, and boasted that he could counterfeit the caligraphy of any man.

Such, then, was the individual who had rendered service to the Ministers of the House of Guelph during the '45, and who, passing through a troublous time because of the abduction of Jane Kay by his brother, was to enter on a new career of shame.

His trial in August 1752 lasted for forty-eight hours, and so wearied and exasperated the Lord Justice-Clerk that he could not write about the subject, and could only inform the Secretary of State that a *special* verdict was arrived at. Among the papers at Hornby Castle is a letter, dated 16th November 1752, from the Lord Justice-Clerk, to the effect that "James Drummond *alias* Macgregor, who was in custody in the castle of Edinburgh, and upon Monday next was to receive sentence of death, made his escape last night about a quarter after six. The particulars of the escape I have not as yet learned." We do not even now know the exact circumstances, for official and private letters give conflicting versions as to the date of Drummond's escape and the manner in which it was effected. James himself relates the story in five different ways. One account says he escaped about the end of October, and got aboard a vessel at Leith, and was landed at Boulogne; another version is that he escaped, and had various adventures with a gipsy named Billy Marshall; a third, that he fled into the Highlands, and remained in the company of John Macdonald of Arisaig until the 20th March,

when he landed in the Isle of Man, going thence to Ireland ; a fourth story is, that he sought refuge in the house of Duncan Campbell. The true version seems to be that he immediately went abroad, for there are intercepted letters from a James Drummond (residing at Boulogne) to his wife, then living at the house of Duncan Campbell, drover, Crindarroch, during the months of November and December 1752, while there is undoubted official corroboration of the fact that Drummond furnished Lord Holderness with intelligence from Boulogne (p. 174) during this period. He was at Sens in February, and after his return to Paris became very ill. Writing to General Campbell on 17th March, he begs him to intercede with the King for a suitable pardon ; and to strengthen the case, he declared the officials at Edinburgh and London knew well what service he “ had rendered, both in the time of the unnatural rebellion and leatly.” He “ intended for Scotland immediately by way of Flanders, for there was one there who owed him money, and the situation of his poor famely made him face all difficulty.” A few days later he arrived at Crindarroch, where he threw his family into the greatest state of consternation. Here he remained only a few hours, but again wrote to General Campbell, soliciting his good offices with the Government. He left Crindarroch, and took along with him his son Robert. They arrived in the Isle of Man, and were entertained

at the house of a merchant named Patrick Savage, who recommended them to his son George, at Rush, in Ireland. From the latter he acquired information regarding proposals by the Irish Jacobites. They were prepared to raise a few thousand men, and transport them in their own wherries to the coasts of Wales and Scotland. Drummond and his son left Ireland on 8th May, and arrived at "St Valorg Decco" in France on the 13th of same month, reaching Boulogne three days later. Here he met Lord Strathallan, and, in the presence of Captain W. Drummond and Charles Boyd, communicated to him the Irish Proposals, in order that they might be laid before Prince Charles. Strathallan undertook to lay the proposal before the Prince, and advised Macgregor to go to Bergue and remain there until his arrival. On the 20th June 1753 Strathallan wrote to Drummond at Bergue the following letter, still preserved at Hornby Castle :—

" Boulogne, 20th June 1753.

" Sir,—I expected to have been with you at Bergue last week, but that some business called me here which obliged me to attend. I delivered Mr Savages proposall to his R.H. He desires me to tell you that he is very sensible of your good services, and that you may depend that proper care will be taken of both you and your son. His R.H. has given me orders to send you to Paris, and also a bill on Mr Waters for to carry your charges. I have sent for the money to be given you. That you might not think I had forgot you, I sent this by Wm. After you peruse it, burn



it. I shall let you know all at meeting ; and I ever am, with greatest esteem, Sir, your most humble servant,

“STRATHALLAN.”

Drummond had communicated again with the authorities at London, and a suspicion was aroused that he was playing a double game. Certain it is, Strathallan was one of the first to entertain doubts as to his integrity, and by September declared that he should be sorry to answer for “Drummond, as he had but an indifferent character as to real honesty.” The Jacobites had evidently found him inconveniently tiresome, and by October Drummond approached Lord Albemarle, and on 12th October wrote to him a letter, a copy of which was sent to Lord Holderness. Herein he recounted his adventures in Scotland and the proceedings against him, and the fact that the Dundas faction had brought in a *special* verdict, in spite of plenty exculpation. He thought it was in his power to serve the Government, and especially could bring the murderer of Campbell of Glenure to justice, which he thought merited himself getting a remission from the King, especially as he was not guilty of any acts of treason. If Albemarle procured this remission on the capture of Allan Breck Stuart, Drummond promised to reveal a very grand plot on foot against the Government, which is more effectually carried on than any since the family of Stewart was put off the throne of Britain. He would also do all

the service that lay in his power to the Government. He desired, that in case this proposal was agreed to, that General Campbell should be one of those appointed to examine him. After a great deal of *very secret and private* correspondence between Albemarle and Holderness, the latter, after duly consulting the highest legal authority, decided that the following licence, the original of which is at Hornby, under the King's hand, should be sent:—

“George R.—Whereas it has been represented unto Us, Mr James Drummond of the Clan of Macgregor now fled into parts beyond the seas on account of Acts of Treason by him heretofore committed, is able and willing to make many useful and important discoveries if for that purpose he may be allowed to return into Great Britain, and have safe access to our Secretaries of State and other persons to whom we shall direct such discoveries to be communicated for our information. We being desirous to hear what the said James Drummond has to say which may be for our service, have thought fit to grant unto the said James Drummond our Licence to return into Great Britain, and there to reside during our will and pleasure; and we do hereby, for Ourselves, our Heirs and successors, grant unto the said James Drummond, during such residence, a stay of all proceedings whatsoever, which may or might be carried on against him, on account of any Treason, Felony or misdemeanor by him heretofore committed, or supposed to have been committed, and do hereby promise that the said James Drummond shall not be arrested, prosecuted, vexed, or molested on account of such former crimes, until he shall have been commanded by us or our heirs to depart the realm, and full opportunity given him for that purpose. Provided always that if the said James Drummond shall wilfully neglect or refuse to

depart forthwith the realm upon the signification of our will and pleasure to him to depart, then this licence and stay of process shall cease to all extents and purposes whatsoever; and in that case, as also after he shall have once departed the realm, pursuant to our command or otherwise, the said James Drummond shall be liable to be proceeded against according to law in respect of any crime or crimes by him heretofore committed, as if this licence had never been. Given at our Court at Kensington the third day of November 1753, in the twenty-seventh year of our reign. By His Majesty's Command, "HOLDERNESSE."

Albemarle advised Drummond to go by way of Ostend to escape detection, yet an intercepted letter, dated 28th October, warns the Jacobites of Mr D.'s having absconded, and thinks he has been tampered with by the English Ambassador. On 3rd November Drummond wrote from Flanders to Duncan Campbell, drover in Beneglass, saying :—

"I don't despair to surprise you at your new habitation ere winter is over, rather more agreeably than last year (? Spring) at Crindarroch. You may judge that any man who left his wife and family in such a despicable condition would venture a great many hazards to contribute to their relief without which I can have no happiness. Yet you may keep this to yourself."

In a postscript he adds, "No doubt you would hear by Nicoll that my son Robbie died some time ago of an ague and fever."

Drummond arrived in London, and was accommodated in the house of Mr Butson, a messenger. On 6th November he was examined by Lord Holdernesse,

and made a long and curious statement. He laid the Irish proposals in great detail before the Ministry. The Irish proposed to raise 14,000 men to invade Scotland. They were to embark in wherries. Macdonald of Largie undertook to raise 2500 men, including the Hamilton vassals in Arran, and these would be joined by a great array of North Country clans. The Kinlochmoidarts had 9000 stand of arms hid in the country. Two of the principal Jacobite agents were Trent and Fleetwood, but he himself was more trusted than any, and he advised that the authorities should seize all letters directed to Patrick, George, or Edward Savage, merchants, Douglas, Isle of Man. Another corresponding agent whose letters should be opened was Mr Peter Pippard, a Liverpool merchant. The Pretender's son was to remain quiet until the invasion from Ireland. Prince Charlie was very anxious that his father should resign, and this made Balhaldie and other prominent Jacobites very desirous to keep clear from Court intrigue; for if the plot is in any way discovered, it will not only ruin the poor family of Stuart, but also the Irish, that they will be kept under bondage and slavery for ever. Lord Marischal, it seems, was particularly anxious to know about the Irishmen, and Drummond informed Holder-ness that he had declared to Marischal that the Irishmen he considered a great deal better men than any of the Highland clans!

Drummond had won the confidence of Holdernesse, who proposed that he should immediately set out on a mission, and that suitable encouragement would be given to him. On the 9th November Drummond wrote from London to Claudius Amyand, Esquire :—

“ London, 9th November 1753.

“ Sir,—As you wanted I should make up a note of things necessary for the king’s service, I have in a measure made up the enclosed. How far it may be agreeable I do not pretend to judge, yet I only offer it as my real advice for the good of the service. I could say a good deal more upon the subject and will when it’s desired, for I think it both my honour and intrest to show if it’s possible that I can be of use to the King’s intrest and service, and I hope, if I have the honour to be employed, to show that I am both able and willing in a vary litel time to be ane useful subject to his Majesty. I most reflect that it’s a little hardship upon me at present that I cannot have ane opportunity to have the intrest of those of my friends in the Government’s service to declar their opinion in my behalf, and the more so as I never had the honour of being the lest acquainted with those I am at present concerned, for nothing can be expected but what the force of what I say for myself can produce for me ; but I hope you’ll not onely consider yourself, but advert to my lord what serviee I can do in time to come ; for if I shall be allowed to open my cause, to some people of caracter in the Government’s service, will get myself very well recommended to the Ministry. I would beg to here from you when convenient ; and I am, with grate respect,

*J. Drummond*

The letter and memorandum were received by Amyand two days later, and indorsed by him "from Mr Drummond." The "note of things" is certainly a curious document. In it Drummond proposed that two ships of war should be sent to the Irish coast, and that Lord John Murray's Highland regiment should be quartered in Rush and Drogheda. That a regiment should be cantoned at Conart (*sic*). That if it was thought necessary Mr . . . should be sent to Ireland to discover particulars of the Irish plot, and to endeavour to procure from those concerned a superscription from under their hands, as if it were to be sent to the young Pretender. That if it was necessary Mr . . . was willing to go to Ireland, provided the Secretary of State will send a Trustee from himself to be eye-witness to their transaction. Cluny Macpherson should be captured at all hazard, for he is solely depended upon for raising the clans. Two Highland companies should be raised,—one to have charge north of Perth and bounds of Badenoch, and the other more to the south. Highland companies were preferable, *because in their own garb are more expeditious and undergo more fatigue.*

Drummond seems to have had some mission from Lochgarry, and requested protection to go to Scotland. This was refused, and he was ordered upon Government service without further delay, and upon pain of being sent out of the country. Of the nature of this

service and destination there is no record until the 9th December, when he appeared to have been in London, for on that date he writes to 'Secretary Amyand' to let him know that "his pocket is quite run out, and to stay unsupported is what I do not expect you'll desire. So I leave you to judge my cause, or if it's agreeable you'd please talk to the Earl of Holderness of sending me some cash. I mean such as will be agreeable to his lordship."

Some money—a trifle, Drummond called it—was sent to him by Mr Butson, who was charged to see him away on his journey within two days in the most secret manner. Drummond's mission seems to have been to France, for his letter to Lochgarry, which was intercepted, bewails the fact that he dared not go to Scotland, and he was afraid he had been already detected in London! He asked Lochgarry to meet him at Calais. Drummond apparently went to France, for on his return to London on 23rd December he had to submit to a long and determined cross-examination by Lord Holderness and the Chancellor. The original papers relating to this conference are at Hornby, and possess a curious interest. He said he had met Lochgarry at Calais, and also the young Pretender, with whom he went to Paris. By the last conference between Balhaldie, Drummond (himself), and Mr Gordon of the Scots College, it was proposed that Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother

Captain William Drummond; Lieutenant Joseph Stuart, Royal Scots; Mr Hay of Rannes; Lord Strathallan; Captain Patrick Graham; and Captain Lauchlan Mackintosh, of Ogilvy's regiment, who was at Culloden; Major Fraser, of the Spanish service, a cousin of the late Lord Lovat's, who lives upon his retreat at Versailles, many of them not being attainted, could go to Scotland and appear publicly. As for himself, his allegiance to his king and country is both honourable and just, and he hopes no other construction will be put upon it. He desired to have his family properly 'educated.' He also betrayed his friend Lochgarry by communicating his memorial to Holderness. He declared that Lochgarry and Dr Cameron, when in Scotland, proposed that arms should be landed and secreted on Lochgarry estate, and offered him what arms he wished for the purpose of holding his clan prepared. This Drummond refused to accede to, on the grounds that it might lead to premature discovery.

Lord Holderness was not quite satisfied as to the information tendered by Drummond, and sent copies of the Declarations to Lord Albemarle for confirmation. Albemarle, on 16th January 1754, replied:—

“I would not have your lordship give much credit to Macgregor, for, upon reading his long declaration, I find in it many falsehoods, and few material circumstances, and upon the whole believe him a most notorious scoundrel. As to a



particular point in his information as to arms being sent from hence and lodged in the Highlands, at a place near Stirling, and at another not far from Leith, the truth may easily be verified. He says that Sullivan, that was in Scotland with the Pretender's son, is dead. I can aver the contrary, for I saw him yesterday at Versailles."

Drummond was now called upon for explanations, but pleaded illness. What followed we know from his letters to his Chief, Macgregor of Balhaldie (whom he so basely betrayed), published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817.

In the letter of 1st May he says that eight days after he had seen Holderness [he had concealed the fact of his former visits to London] he was called to the latter "and examined in civil manner, but was so questioned that I was put to confusion, yet managed that they could not read through stones," but a few days later he contracted gravel and fever, which continued until the middle of March, and what happened subsequently is found in the letter of 6th April, immediately on his arrival at Dunkirk. On 23rd March, being recovered from his illness, he was sent for by the Under Secretary, who gave him to understand that Holderness had procured employment for him in Government service, and requested him to go to Edinburgh, where a sham trial would take place to satisfy the public. The employ he would not accept, as it would be a disgrace to his family and a scourge to his country. In this letter he says that next day

the Secretary sent for him, and said that the Ministry had ordered him to retire from his Majesty's dominions within three days. On 30th March Drummond had a meeting with Holdernessee, and the latter reported to the Chancellor that 'Pickle' is proving intractable, and has got three days' grace.

Drummond was escorted out of the country on 5th April, and landed at Ostend, as officially certified by Amyand. From thence he went to Dunkirk, whence on 6th April he wrote to his Chief, Macgregor of Balhaldie, apologising for not informing him of the London visit. There were reasons why Balhaldie should not know. He tells that he had fallen on ways and means to procure a licence under the King's signature, and appeared before the Secretaries of State, pleading his own case and that of his brother. The Ministry seemed favourable, until Argyll and Advocate Grant interposed and represented his clan as the most disaffected in Scotland. He intended to remain at Dunkirk until recovered from his illness. Two days later he wrote, under the *nom de plume* of Pickle, a letter (p. 177) mentioning that "he was still in such agitation after his fourteen hours' passage and sitting up with Lochgarry," and giving an account of the Jacobite schemes.

Drummond next went to Samur to see his Chief, and three days later wrote to London (p. 179) giving additional information regarding the Jacobite schemes.

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marle that as he owed money there it was better for  
him not to go. By the 1st of May he was again at  
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His retreat was discovered by one who claimed to be  
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#### CORRECTION.

p. 197. In justice to the Clan Donald it should be noted that this Spy was really a man named Anderson, who during the '45 acted for Andrew Fletcher, Lord Justice Clerk, who gave him a military protection, which was found when he was arrested on board a vessel at Leith, 1746.

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Amyand asked him to go to Paris, but he told Albe-marle that as he owed money there it was better for him not to go. By the 1st of May he was again at Dunkirk, and wrote to his Chief complaining of his illness of eight days' duration. He added that the Stewarts had made a handle of his being in London ; and as his Chief seemed to distrust him, he explained the reasons which brought him to London. Balhaldie was still unsatisfied, and Drummond wrote again pleading for correspondence, for he had made as genuine a confession as if before a father confessor. Suspicion was confirmed that he was a spy, and his presence with a *doubtful* person at St Omers led to Lochgarry laying information against him, and trying to get him arrested as a spy by the Bailie of Dunkirk. It was during the month of September that James disappeared as completely as if the grave had swallowed him. Lochgarry, the Stewarts, and other Jacobites who were on his track were puzzled, and eventually he was reported to have died. A letter of his own proves that he had fled from France and skulked in Scotland, in mortal dread of assassination. His retreat was discovered by one who claimed to be a nephew of Lochgarry, who denounced him to the Lord Advocate, who in turn wrote to Newcastle. James escaped, but was followed to Sens by the young scion of the Clan Donald, who besmirched the fair name of his race by adopting the rôle of spy. At

Hornby there are several letters from this young man to the Chancellor during the spring of 1755 ; and if we believe his statements, he could not even plead poverty as an excuse for his treachery, for he claimed to have an income of £300 per annum. He caused Walkinshaw of Scotstown to be arrested, and soon after he disappeared from the scene as effectually as did James Roy Macgregor, *alias* James Drummond, *alias* Alex. Pickle ; and, it is satisfactory to know, apparently without fee or reward.

FINIS.









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