

PART I

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ADHERENTS
OF THE HOUSE OF STUART

1740-1745



Walker & Boutall ph. sc.

PRINCE CHARLES in boyhood.

*From a miniature, formerly the property
of John Murray of Broughton, now in
the possession of Mr. Andrew Lang.*

PART I

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ADHERENTS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART, 1740-1745.

It is well known, that, from my most tender Years, I upon every occasion declared my attachment to the interest of the Family of Stuart, and as soon as I left the University of Leyden, went to Rome;¹ not led thither, like most people, who profess the same way of thinking, with a desire to satisfy my curiosity by staring in the face of the Person I looked upon as my Prince, but from a principle of Conviction founded upon Study and mature Reflection, and with a view to offer my service, either at home or abroad.

Whether I followed out that Scheme, and performed the services I proposed, will plainly appear from what follows. Though no particular Branch of Business was allotted to me at that time, yet it would seem his Majesty was of opinion that I might be of service to him, having ordered his Secretary* to engage me to correspond with him after my return home, and to inform him of whatever I should think material.

After some months' stay at Rome, I returned through Germany to Holland, where I had not been long before Captain Hay (Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty) arrived at Rotterdam on his way to Scotland, charged with some Commissions of importance. This Gentleman sent for me, and, after informing me of his intended voyage, begged I would

* This Mr. Edgar told me; and desired me to write to him.

¹ The *Genuine Memoirs*, followed by the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, state that Murray was not in Rome till 1741. Joannes Murray, Scoto-Britannus, matriculated at Leyden 1st October 1735 as a student of law. He was in Rome in 1737. See Introduction.

accompany him. Imagining at first that his request proceeded more from a view to his own Convenience than any service I could do the Royal Family, I refused to comply; telling him (what was really true) that my baggage was then packed up to set out for France, where I proposed to stay some time. Mr. Hay upon this told me that Gordon of Glenbucket¹ had been lately at Rome with a Scheme to rise in arms for the King; but his Majesty, not thinking Glenbucket properly authorised, had despatched him with Instructions to converse with the Heads of the Loyal Party, and had given him Orders to take me with him to assist him in Scotland. Upon this I immediately laid aside all thoughts of my intended Journey to France, and in a few days sailed for Sunderland (a Sea-port in the Bishoprick of Durham), from whence we went to Mr. Hay of Drumelzier's (whose brother was then at Rome), and the day following to Edinburgh. During Captain Hay's stay I gave him all the assistance in my power, and went to Kenmure, where I acquainted the late Lord² with Captain Hay's desire to see him, who immediately came to Town, and cheerfully declared his readiness to appear upon the first occasion. Amongst others Captain Hay conversed with the late Mr. James Graham of Airth³ (then Judge of the Admiralty) and the honourable Basil Hamilton⁴ (Grand-uncle to the present Duke of Hamilton), who were both of opinion that it was not then a proper time to make an attempt.

At this time I became acquainted with the late Colonel Urquhart, then charged with the King's affairs in Scotland, who some few months after took occasion to tell me, that as he

¹ John Gordon, 'Old Glenbucket,' is described by a contemporary who saw him in 1745 as 'an old man well crouched, not very tall.' He was Glengarry's father-in-law, and was one of the first to join the Prince. He raised an Aberdeenshire regiment, and was a member of the Prince's council. He escaped after Culloden, and died in 1750.

² Robert Gordon, son of 6th Viscount Kenmure (who was beheaded and attainted), died 1741, aged 28. He was succeeded as titular peer by his brother John, b. 1713, d. 1769.

³ James Graham of Airth joined the Prince before he came to Edinburgh. Graham is reported as 'lurking' in 1746.

⁴ Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, second son of Basil, sixth son of William Douglas and Anne Duchess of Hamilton; 'out' in 1715, when he behaved with great courage at Preston; tried and condemned, but was pardoned in 1732; M.P. for Kirkcudbright in 1741; died 1742.

was growing old, and much afflicted with a Cancer in his face (which had deprived him of the use of one of his Eyes), he thought it absolutely necessary that a person should be nominated to succeed him, whom he might be able to make acquainted with the business, and to whom he might consign his papers before his death: that he had both considered himself, and consulted with many of the King's Friends, upon the choice of a Successor; who upon mature deliberation had all agreed that I was the properest person to be employed in that Capacity, not only for my attachment to the Royal Family, but my knowledge of the Party and the Confidence they would repose in me; and the favourable light I stood in at Rome. To this I made answer that I was infinitely obliged to him, and the rest of the King's Friends, for esteeming me capable and worthy of a Trust of that delicate nature, but I must be excused for thinking they were to blame, and that they had not sufficiently reflected upon the importance of the Trust, and the many Qualifications requisite to execute it to purpose: that I was young, but lately entered into the world, and much a stranger to the accomplishments essential to a man of business: that I had gone early abroad, known but to few of my Countrymen, and such as I had become acquainted with in foreign parts generally of a different way of thinking, and the time I had been at home had been too short to contract intimacies with any number of the Party: that young people were often changeable and unstable, new thoughts, new principles, like new teeth, frequently pushed out the old; and Proselytes in politicks, as in Religion, were always the most violent, especially where Interest had any share in the Conversion; that there were many worthy honest men, who had attained to years of Stability, and a *fixed way of thinking*, which put all fears of *their change* out of doubt; men who had long served the Party with Constancy, and who had *proved* their Fidelity by *severe sufferings*: that such might think it strange that when an employment of this kind came to be disposed of, it should be bestowed upon a *Novice*, who had never had an opportunity of showing his Principles but by professions: that they would naturally be chagrined and displeased, esteeming themselves slighted and neglected upon an occasion where

their *services entitled* them to be employed; from whence might possibly flow two very bad effects, by making them more remiss and negligent to promote the interest of the Cause, and think themselves warranted to refuse to do business with, or confide in, a person so little known to them: this again would be a means to keep me ignorant of the strength of the Party, prevent me from giving proper intelligence; and, above all, put it out of my power to write and strengthen them, which could not be effected without a thorough knowledge of what those, who were already engaged, were willing to undertake: thus being kept in the dark, I might promise too much or too little, according to my Ideas of the Power and Abilities of Individuals: and, finally, if naming me should be found fault with, it might hurt his Majesty's Interest in the most tender part, as nothing is generally more detrimental to a Prince, than to employ a person in his affairs disagreeable to his Friends, or who is esteemed incapable of the Trust reposed in him. For these and other reasons, needless to mention, I begged he would have no further thoughts of me: but offered, as far as was in my power, to relieve him in the fatiguing part, and if necessary to be his Amanuensis.

The old Gentleman replied, that he had heard my objections with attention and great pleasure, and in place of making him alter his former way of thinking, they had confirmed him in his opinion that there was none more fit to succeed him, as the several arguments I had proposed were so many proofs of my Capacity, and showed that a person, who was so much master of the objections to be made against himself, could not fail to remove them by his cautious deportment, and nothing was a stronger incentive to Virtue than a thorough knowledge and abhorrence of the opposite vice. The faults to be found with me would always keep me upon my guard, and as soon as the Party came to be acquainted with my conduct, and the motives which had induced me to act, they would lay aside all scruples, and in place of finding fault, not only applaud the choice, but think themselves happy in having one in whom they could confide with safety: but that laying aside all arguments of that nature, he was fully satisfied of the Loyalty and Attachment of the People principally concerned,

and that they would no sooner know I was employed than they would unanimously agree to give me all the assistance in their Power: and concluded by saying, he would venture to propose it in the Despatches he was then sending to Rome.

I again repeated my desire to be excused, for the reasons before mentioned; but consented that he might promise in my name that there was nothing in my power but I was ready to undertake to promote the Interest of the Royal Family, and would accept of being a second to whomever his Majesty should be pleased to employ.

The Colonel, being then unable to write Letters of any length, begged me to assist him, which I cheerfully complied with, and from that time made it my business to cultivate a friendship with every Person who was supposed to wish well to the Royal Family, and let no opportunity slip to insinuate my principles in every Company where there was any probability of their having effect. Notwithstanding what I had said, the Colonel took upon him to propose me for his successor, for in the Return to the Despatches he had then sent, which arrived in less than three months, the King approved his motion, provided the late Duke of Hamilton¹ agreed to it; and the Colonel soon after acquainted me with the Instructions he had received, and read a letter wrote by Mr. Hugh Hamilton of Rosehaugh, by the Duke's order, approving of his Majesty's choice. Though I was still averse to be charged with an employment of so much weight, yet it was now necessary to comply, as the orders, approved by a man regarded as the Head of the Party, rendered any further hesitation impertinent. Had his Grace objected, or even consented with reserve, there would still have been an avenue open whereby to retreat; but as things stood, all the difficulties I had started in regard to the rest of the Party were removed, as it would have been ridiculous for them to object against a person nominated by their Master, and approved of by their Head.

Being thus far engaged as Agent for his Majesty, I gave the Colonel all the assistance I was able; soon became acquainted

1740.

¹ James, 5th duke, b. 1702, succeeded his father (who was killed in the duel with Lord Mohun) in 1712. He received both Thistle and Garter from Rome, and took the Thistle from George I. in 1726. He died at Bath in 1743.

with the leading men of the Party; and at his death (which I think happened in August 1740), received the Cypher by which he corresponded, with some few papers; but whether the rest were burnt, or consigned to any other person, I could never positively learn. It would have been of use to me had I got them all,* as the whole Series of his Correspondence would from thence have appeared, and made it easy for me to discover who were the people most to be confided in, and the properest to apply to, in case of any future plan; and, indeed, it seems necessary that a person employed in such business should be let into all former transactions, without which it is almost impossible for him to carry it on in a proper Channel.

I was no stranger to the Colonel's having a yearly allowance from Rome; which I never asked, nor gave, the most distant hint I would accept if offered. It was the opinion, indeed, of many that the same appointment which had been granted to him was continued to me; but it was so much the reverse that I took pains to undeceive these people, and convince them that my engaging in that business proceeded from no view to gain, but a sincere and hearty desire to promote the Cause. Besides, I had been told when at Rome that the King's situation was such that with some inconvenience he could allow pensions to those in distress, and though there were some who under no difficulties received his Bounty, to the prejudice of others in real want, yet such selfish principles had no effect upon me, being proof against all allurements of that nature; nor would I ever use one farthing of his money, so long as he continued in exile, whilst I had any of my own. And did continue to serve him, from first to last, at a very considerable expence, notwithstanding many thought it reasonable that I should be supplied,† and some even advised me to ask it.

I hope it will be thought needless to launch out into many reflections upon this particular, so shall only observe that it is

* I think when his daughter delivered these papers to me, she said the rest were to be given to Mr. Smith of Boulogne.

† Sir James Stewart¹ told me, that he always imagined I had an appointment: and when I assured him of the contrary, he seemed surprised, and said, it was but reasonable my Expences should be defrayed.

¹ Sir James Stewart-Durham, Bart. of Goodtrees.

very fortunate to be able positively to deny an accusation* (which has been industriously propagated, and taken root in the minds of many), thrown out as the vilest of aspersions, and represented as a strong aggravation of imputations equally false and injurious.

Though several particulars happened about this period, which were I to mention might be of service to me in the Eye of the world, as they would shew† more to have been in my power than the generality imagine, yet, as I am incapable of base resentment and revenge, the companion of dastardly Souls, I will pass them over, and proceed to the unlucky time when I became concerned with the Earl of Traquair¹ and others, in the

1741.

* It was commonly asserted as a fact beyond all contradiction, that I had an appointment of £300 a year ; but the King, the Prince, and Mr. Edgar, know that from the day I was first employed, till this upon which I write, I never received one shilling.

† It is obvious that it was in my power to have discovered every man whose principles I had occasion to know, with all such as had been presented to the Prince in Scotland : and if such people's ungenerous and ungrateful behaviour had prevailed with me to expose them since, it might have appeared to many a just and deserved punishment for their meanness in joining in the common Cry against me ; but though my regard for the King's interest has kept me hitherto silent (though without saving their Characters amongst men of sense and reflection) I would have such people reflect upon the injustice and barbarity of their proceedings towards me, when I am ready to believe they will blush for what they dare not publicly own. Indeed I am at a loss to think, how, when two of them meet, they are not ashamed to see each other, as they must immediately reflect upon what they were accustomed to profess, and what *they did* in consequence of their professions ; especially some members of the Loyal Society (of which I was one) who were all equally bound by a most *solemn Oath* to obey the first Call of their Prince, how they could sit at home with an easy Conscience after that Call is astonishing to me : but I may venture to say, that if Interest, Cowardice, or whatever epithet may be given to the motive which prevailed with them to excuse their perjury to themselves, yet without sincere Repentance and Contrition, it will stare them in the face, and make them hang their heads at a more august Tribunal than they might have appeared before at York, Carlisle, or St. Margaret's hill in the Borough of Southwark. Had I been no further concerned, I should have thought myself indispensably bound by that Oath to turn out upon the Prince's landing, as no power on Earth could remit the Obligation but his Royal Highness.

¹ See appendix, p. 524.

beginning of the year 1741. I hope it will not be imagined, from my using the word unlucky, that I apply it to myself only ; far, far from it, for though perhaps no man ever suffered more barbarously and unjustly than I have these ten years past, I would live them over again without regret to reinstate my unhappy Companions in their former prosperity. But to proceed. The Association which gave rise to all the following transactions proceeded from accident : Lord Lovat's love of money and revenge, and William Drummond (*alias* Macgregor)¹ of Bohaldy's poverty and ambition. Lord John Drummond,² brother to the then Duke of Perth,³ made a journey to Rome, and soon after came to Scotland, where he endeavoured to prevail with his brother, and others of the party, to employ him as their Agent with the King, and at the Court of France, which would naturally have rendered him of greater consequence, and better known than he was before, and promoted him in the French service, where he was then only a Captain. This scheme was made known to Lord Lovat, whose resentment against the government for depriving him of his independent company made him ready to embrace any opportunity to hurt them. And Bohaldy, whose indigence, and intimacy with his Lordship, made him look upon this as a favourable opportunity to get himself employed, took advantage of Lovat's humour, and the little cordiality that subsisted between the two Brothers, to represent Lord John as an improper person ; and spurred on by ambition, his being first or second Cousin to Lochyell, and intimacy with Traquair, prevailed upon them, together with Lord John *⁴ (the Duke's Uncle), Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck⁵ (Lochyel's Father-in-law), and Mr. John

* Naturally partial to his nephew the Duke, and much influenced by Traquair his brother-in-law.

¹ See appendix, p. 522.

² Lord John Drummond of the '45.

³ James, son of 2nd (titular) duke ; b. 1713, d. 1746 ; was educated in Douay and Paris ; came to Scotland 1734. Lieutenant-General in the Prince's army, escaped after Culloden in the *Bellona* with his brother, Lord John, and Sheridan. He died on board 13th May 1746, cf. p. 188.

⁴ Son of 1st titular duke ; succeeded his nephew John in the barren honours as fifth duke. Died at Edinburgh in 1757 ; buried at Holyrood.

⁵ Fifth baronet, m. Janet, daughter of Macleod of Macleod ; d. 1756. His daughter Anne married Donald Cameron, the Lochiel of the '45.

Stewart, brother to the Earl of Traquair, to form an Association and appoint him * their Agent.

Early in the year † before mentioned, Lord Traquair informed me of this Association; that his brother was employed to correspond with the Gentlemen in the Highlands; and that Bohaldy, who had been sent to Rome with their Instructions, was then at Edinburgh, and proposed that I should have a meeting with him; and as the King's affairs were already committed to my care, I should likewise carry on the correspondence entrusted to his Brother, which I readily agreed to, being desirous of every opportunity to advance his Majesty's interest.

At my first interview with Bohaldy, he assured me in the most positive manner, that such a powerful assistance would be had from abroad, as to render a Restoration certain and easy; nay, even specified 20,000 Stand of arms, which he said were actually bought, with ammunition in proportion, ready to be sent over with a body of troops, and sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the war: in short that nothing requisite would be wanting, every particular being already agreed upon, and the time of execution fixed for the Autumn or Spring following. He told me likewise (which I had before learned from Colonel Urquhart) that Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck had intended to go to the West Indies, but was prevented by the King's special order, and promised a pension of £300 a year, to enable him to live at home, being esteemed a person who could be of considerable service in Argyleshire: that there was a sum due to him; but as his Majesty could not conveniently remit it, he was authorised by Letter to raise some Thousand Pounds upon his Majesty's Security, at the rate of six per Cent. interest, part to be paid to that Gentleman, and the remainder to be appropriated to whatever services might occur. At the same time he pretended, that as his stay was to be short, and he durst

* Lovat reaped a double advantage by Bohaldy's being employed: first he got quit of the burden he had been to him for some time; and 2dly he knew he was the only man in Scotland, who would undertake to vindicate him to the world, and to reconcile him with the King.

† In the month of March 1741.

not appear publicly, it would be proper for me to execute that Commission.

At our next meeting he told me of Orders he had received to accommodate a difference which then subsisted among the Episcopal Clergy, concerning a proper person to fill the Metropolitan See, which was then vacant. It would be foreign to my purpose, either to explain the nature of the dispute, or attempt to describe the Contraversy. It is sufficient to say, the King was willing to confer that Dignity upon Mr. Harper;¹ to which the College² would by no means consent. Mr. Drummond (*alias* Macgregor) of Bohaldy, after expatiating upon the subject, begged I would take the affair in hand, and endeavour to reconcile their difference. This I likewise agreed to, though with some reluctance, as I never had any inclination to meddle in Ecclesiastical matters; but the regard I had for that Body of Men, who had continued Loyal from the Revolution under great oppression, and who, it was evident, had great influence over their Hearers, made me promise to use my best endeavours to bring them into harmony and good humour, that by their ready submission to his Majesty's desire, they might shew good example to the people of their persuasion.

Cameron of Lochyell, and Macpherson of Cluny, were then in town, to whom Bohaldy told the same tale he had to me. Lord Lovat was likewise there, and had* frequent meetings with Bohaldy upon the same subject, and professed a strong desire to have some conversation with me; but I must acknowledge that so far from being willing, I had an aversion to any correspondence with his Lordship. I was no stranger to the infamous character he had, not only with the King's Friends, but the

* Upon perusing Lord Lovat's Tryal, it will incontestably appear, upon comparing what I said there with what here follows, that the utmost care was taken to conceal every thing that was not known by his own letters: of which he was so sensible, that he sent me thanks by Mr. Fowler (the Gentleman Gaoler of the Tower) for my forbearance; and said, he was not the least hurt or offended with any thing I had said. Mrs. Fowler and her daughter are still ready to attest this; and have told it to many.

¹ The Rev. William Harper, an Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh.

² Of Bishops of the non-juring Episcopal Church in Scotland.

generality of mankind. I likewise remembered him to have been so much hated, that he was obliged to procure liberty for his servants to go armed when at Edinburgh. His Lordship's character may be partly known from the following Extract from Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath's *Memoirs*, which I insert here, as these Memoirs are become scarcer than they ought (page 75):¹

‘You must know then, that after the Duke of Queensberry had broke his vows to the Cavaliers; and seen them, when joined to the Country, so strong and zealous a party, there was no hope of being able to stand it out against so violent and united a Torrent; he bethought himself how to undermine their Reputations, and so diminish their interest with the Court, and find a pretence to vent his wrath, and execute his malice against those that thwarted his arbitrary designs, and knowing, to his certain experience, that the Poet was very much in the right, when he asserted, that

‘Plots, true or false, are necessary things
To set up Commonwealths, and ruin Kings,—

with the special advice and consent of his dear friends, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Stairs and Leven, and Mr. Carstairs (a rebellious Presbyterian preacher, one of Her Majesty's chaplains) resolved, one way or other, to frame such a plot, as, when lodged upon those they designed it against, should, in all human probability, be their utter ruin and destruction.

‘They pitch'd upon one Simon Frazer, of Beaufort, as the tool to carry on this wicked design, and be evidence to accuse such persons, as they directed: This Gentleman, some three or four years before, had been guilty of a most scandalous rape upon the person of the Lady Dowager Lovat, sister to the Duke of Athole, for which crime the Lords of Justiciary had condemned him to die: and letters of fire and sword were raised, and a detachment of King William's troops sent against him and his adherents, who were pretty numerous, 'twixt whom several skirmishes happened; but finding the Duke of Argyle, who was his great patron (for no other reason that I know of, but because he had been guilty of a

¹ P. 78 of the edition of 1817.

vile, lewd, and detestable crime; and that too upon the person of one of the family of Athole, which two houses bore each other a constant grudge) I say, Frazer finding Argyle was no longer able to protect him against the force of Law and Justice, quitted the kingdom, and retired to France. But King James, having got an account of the crimes he was found guilty of, for which he had left his native country, would not, during his life, allow him to come to the Court of St. Germaines. This person being made choice of, as well qualify'd for such a design, was sent for from France to England, and afterwards brought from thence to Scotland, but before he left France, by the advice of his friends at home, he turned Papist; and finding a way to be introduced to the French King by the Pope's Nuntio, he represented himself as a person of great interest in Scotland, and oppressed for his zeal to the Royal Family and that with encouragement, and a small assistance, he could contribute to make a great diversion to the English arms, and much promote the Royal Interest, and for that end proposed, that his most Christian Majesty would furnish him with two or three hundred men and a good sum of money to take along with him to Scotland, where he'd perform wonders. But the French King, unwilling to hazard his men and money, without a further security, and more probability than his assertions, gave him a fair answer, desiring him to go first to Scotland, and bring him some credentials from those persons, over whom he pretended so much power, which he agreed to; and got, for that purpose, a little money, and, by the French interest such credit at St. Germaines, as to obtain a Commission from King James to be a Major General, with a power to raise and command forces in his behalf, which was the main thing he aimed at: but at the same time Captain John Murray, brother to Mr. Murray of Abercarnie, and Captain James Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were likewise under the protection of Queen Anne's act of Indemnity sent over to Scotland to be a Check upon him, and bring intelligence how they found the tempers of the people, and their inclinations towards King James. Thus provided, Frazer arrived in England; and on the borders of Scotland was met by the Duke of Argyle, and by him conducted to Edinburgh, where he was kept private,

and being fully instructed what he was to do, the Duke of Queensberry gave him a pass to secure him from being apprehended, in obedience to the letters of fire and sword emitted against him: and now he goes to the Highlands, introduces himself to the Company of all that he knew were well affected to King James and his interest, there produces his Major-General's Commission, as a testificate of the trust reposed in him, and proposes their rising in arms, and signifying the same under their hands, that the King might know assuredly who they were, and what numbers he had to trust to, and regulate his affairs accordingly. Some were so far seduced, as to assure him, they were ready to serve the King, tho' I believe there was none did it in the terms he demanded, but generally there were few that did not regret the King's reposing any trust in a person of so bad a character, and fearing he would betray them, refused to treat or come to particulars with him. After he had trafficked here and there thro' the Highlands with small success, when the Parliament was prorogued, he went to London, to consider of what further use he might be to his Constituents resolving (tho' the *Primum Mobile*, and his patron, the Duke of Argyle, was now dead) to continue in their service, and they finding he had made but a small progress, and could not as yet fix any thing at the doors of these persons against whom they levelled, resolved to send him again to France, to demand letters, and further encouragement, to the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, the Earls of Seafield and Cromarty, and the Cavaliers: and for that end the Duke of Queensberry procured him, and two others with him, a pass from the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of England, under borrowed names. If he went upon a good design, as the Duke of Queensberry afterwards alledg'd, why needed he have made their persons and business such a secret to the Secretary, as he must know neither? But before Frazer reached Paris and had executed his black design, it came to light in a great measure; for the famous Mr. Ferguson soon discovered, and consequently defeated the project, when it was as yet but in Embrio; for Frazer, whilst he was in London, having addressed himself to him, and one Mr. William Keith (son of Sir William Keith of¹

¹ Blank in Lockhart.

and a great depender on the Duke of Athole) he acquainted them with his pretended design and project for King James, and mightily pressed Keith, that he'd use his endeavours to persuade the Duke of Athole to forgive him, and allow him access to his Grace, since he was heartily sorry for the crime he had committed, and was promoting so good a design : but Keith (tho' he play'd the fool and dipt deep enough with him in all other points) told him, that was what he could not presume to propose, and what he knew the Duke of Athole would never grant. But Ferguson, an old experienced plotter, understanding his character, suspected his integrity ; and it coming to his knowledge, that he was often privately with the Scots Courtiers, was by them supported, and had obtained a pass, as above related, he soon concluded, that there was some base design in hand, and thereupon gave the Duke of Athole notice of it : and he having again inquired at the Earl of Nottingham, and finding Ferguson's informations to hold good, and his suspicions to be well grounded, acquaints Q. Anne of the whole procedure, accusing the Duke of Queensberry in particular, and his other friends and partizans, of corresponding with and protecting a person out-lawed in the kingdom of Scotland, guilty of the most horrid crimes, and a trafficker with France : whereupon the Duke of Queensberry, to vindicate himself, declared that Frazer, when he came to Scotland, wrote to him, that he could make great discoveries for the Queen's service, that upon that account he had sent for him, given him a protection in Scotland, and again procured him a pass in England, with a design he should go to France, and make a clearer discovery, which he did not doubt he'd have performed, had not the matter come too soon to light, and as a convincing proof thereof, he produces a letter from the Queen Mother, directed to Lord Murray (formerly the title of the Duke of Athole before his father died) ; but his Grace made use of such solid arguments, and convincing proofs to show the fallacy of that letter, that Q. Anne herself could not deny, but that she thought it not genuine. Now let any impartial Judge consider, if it is probable that Frazer, with whom no honest man in Scotland would converse, who was under sentence of death, and not such a fool as to imagine that he had interest to do any thing of moment for

King James's service, could have had the impudence to address the French King in the terms as did, and come over to Scotland, unless he had been put upon it, and protected by such as could support him at home. If he only proposed to cheat the French King of a little money, why came he to Scotland with it, since he knew he could not fail, in time, to be discovered, and then could neither hope to be protected there, or dare return to France? These, I say, and many other such shrewd presumptions, make it clear what was the design of this pretended plot, and if successful, how dismal the consequences of it would have proved, viz., the destruction of those who opposed the designs of the Scots Courtiers and the English Ministry against Scotland, how happy it was in being rendered abortive, before the designed conception had come to full maturity; and how odious the thoughts of such a hellish conspiracy, and the abettors thereof, ought to be in the Eyes of all good men.'

As Mr. Lockhart, in the preceding extract, has mentioned Captain James Murray, my Uncle, but seems not to have been fully informed of every particular of the fact, it may not be amiss to observe, that Captain James Murray did not come over with Mr. Frazer of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat, but was sent privately by himself by the Court of St. Germain's with letters to the leading men of the Party in Scotland, to acquaint them with the nature of Mr. Frazer's commission, and the interest which had procured him their Countenance. He had luckily delivered his Despatches, before Mr. Frazer came to Edinburgh, and having taken the benefit of the Princess Anne's act of indemnity, had not only appeared publickly, but had been to wait on the Duke of Queensberry¹ (at his Grace's own desire), by whom he was much caressed on account of their former intimacy: but upon Mr. Frazer's seeing the Duke, and hearing that Captain James Murray had been in the Country before him, he let his Grace know that if the Captain continued in Scotland, it would be impossible for him to effectuate his scheme; so the next time the Captain paid his Levee, he was very coolly received; and soon after a proclamation was issued at the Cross of Edinburgh, offering a reward of £500 to take him dead or alive. The Captain happened then to be in town,

¹ Charles, 3rd duke, b. 1698, d. 1778.

and at the time of the proclamation was in a shop facing the Cross where one of the Heralds observed him, and having disrobed himself as soon as the proclamation was over, came and informed him of what had happened; upon which the Captain went directly to the Grass-Market, where he hired an horse, and went to his Brother's house in Tweddale, but an express being sent to acquaint him, that a search had been made for him in Edinburgh soon after he had left it, he thought himself unsafe there, and so went into Annandale, whither a party was sent in pursuit of him, which he very narrowly escaped, being alarmed with the news of their approach when in bed at the town of Annan, and had no more time than to dress and get on horseback, so that he was obliged to ride across the Firth of Solway at 12 o'clock at night, and very providentially got safe to the English side, where he skulked till he got an opportunity to go abroad to the King, in whose service he died at St. Germain's a short time after the peace of Utrecht.

For these reasons I was shy, and could not believe, that he would ever perform what his Associates had promised in his name, though he had bound himself by a solemn oath. Besides, the influence which the particulars I have already mentioned had upon me, I was not ignorant of his having done dirty work when in favour; Lochiel having acquainted me of his violences in the Highlands, when he had his independent company, and the threats he had used to him, though his Relation. In short, his keen opposition in the Elections of that year seemed to me to proceed rather from resentment, and a view to render himself of consequence, thereby to get something in lieu of his Company, than any sincere inclination to serve the King. It will easily be imagined, after considering the above reasons, that it was with great difficulty I was prevailed on to have any intercourse with him, but being incessantly and strenuously invited and importuned, and reflecting that the station I was in, in some degree, obliged me to converse with all who professed an attachment to the Royal Family, I at length consented, at the request of Mr. John Macleod of Nuick,¹ who

¹ John Macleod, afterwards of Muiravonside, Linlithgowshire, son of John, second of Bernera, an advocate, practised at the bar 1688-1732. He assisted in the abduction of Lady Grange. His son Alexander was A.D.C. to the Prince, and was pardoned, 1778.

had brought me repeated invitations from his Lordship, as I had a great opinion of that Gentleman's honour and prudence : but I was so diffident of his Lordship's integrity, and so much upon my guard, that notwithstanding the many questions he put to me, the seeming simplicity with which he expressed himself, and the uncommon caresses he always bestowed, when he had an intention to pump, I gave him very little satisfaction, and avoided answering directly to any material questions he asked. This cautious way of proceeding was the cause of our future intimacy; his Lordship finding I was not to be prevailed upon to speak out, till I was satisfied of the person's sincerity with whom I conversed. He frequently observed this to others, and sometimes took occasion to mention it to me in a very artful and flattering way ; yet I was still upon my guard, and told him no more than was necessary, or what I knew would be communicated to him by others, never being able to persuade myself that he was the man he professed himself to be ; which nevertheless did not prevent him from declaring himself openly when in Edinburgh, and corresponding with me when in the Highlands by letters under his own hand, which he seldom did to any body, so that I may safely say, I was among the few who ever got his secrets without imparting their own. He frequently gave me an account of some of his proceedings against the Royal Family,* which would have made any other

* He told me that in the year 1715 he came to Scotland with a resolution to oppose the Earl of Mar : that at Dumfries he was known by a Black-smith, who imagined he was going to join the Earl, as he was incognito ; and having informed the Magistrates, they came to his lodging to arrest him, but he, pretending to be affronted at being suspected, refused to go to prison, and struck one of them, upon which (as he expressed it) they all fell on board him, and never was a Lord better drubbed, and then carried to gaol. Next day the Marquis of Annandale (Lord Lieutenant of the County) came to town in a violent hurry, having been pursued by a party of horse from Moffat commanded by Mr. Basil Hamilton : that he immediately sent to his Lordship to complain of his imprisonment, being come to Scotland to oppose the insurgents ; upon which he was released, and got the command and forming of all the Militia who were there, to oppose Mr. Hamilton if he should advance : that, after forming the Cameronian foot under Major Hepburn, and putting himself at the head of the horse, intelligence was brought that a body of the insurgents was marching to the town from Galloway. Upon

man blush: but as soon as I blamed him, and hinted my surprize, that one, who professed so strong an attachment to the Royal family, should have done so much to thwart their measures, he never failed to declare with the strongest asseverations, that his principles were nevertheless always the same; and concluded by saying, that when an occasion offered, he was able to vindicate his actions to the King.

But what above all induced him to put entire confidence in me was my engaging to make the following attempt. Mr. Clayton, then Commander in chief in Scotland, was a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war, thoroughly well acquainted with the Country, and greatly beloved and esteemed for his humanity and affability. Such a man, it was evident, would be a thorn in our sides, in case of an insurrection; and it was therefore necessary, if possible, to secure his person, and prevent his commanding the army. At a consultation * held at Bohaldy's lodgings, this was mentioned, and after several schemes were proposed, I agreed to attempt to carry him off from Edinburgh to the Highlands, as soon as we had certain intelligence of an embarkation; a thing by no means so difficult as it may appear to people ignorant of the Country and his way of living.

Bohaldy having now staid as long as he thought proper, I sent my servant and horses with him the length of Carlisle, to prevent his being discovered by hiring horses at Edinburgh; and as soon as he was gone, I applied myself to execute the Commissions enjoined me.

As money seemed to be a material acquisition, I made out a list of such as I imagined would contribute; and first applied to Mr. Hay of Drumelzier, who told me without any hesitation,

which, after ordering a fine avenue of trees to be cut down to barricade the town on the side of Moffat (which, he said, he did more to be revenged of the inhabitants for his drubbing, than from any necessity) he marched his horse to oppose the party said to be on their march from Galloway, but when he came to the bridge, and looked back to observe the order of his horse, he was surprised to find they had all deserted him but four, of which number, he said, the Laird of Heron afterwards pretended to be one, but he did not think he was. This story he told with great humour.

* Lord Lovat was not present at this meeting; but was told of it.

that though his affairs did not then enable him to give any large sum, yet what he could spare he would freely give, provided he was not the first; not that any other's contributing before him would regulate the sum, for he had already resolved upon the extent, but was determined not to be the first to set the example. Though this was a disappointment for the present, yet I flattered myself he still might be prevailed upon, and therefore desired Lord Traquair to speak to him; which I did chiefly to convince him that it was no scheme of my own; but notwithstanding all we jointly said to him at a meeting in Edinburgh, he positively refused, without assigning any other reason than what he had done before; which, however frivolous it may seem to some, I am persuaded was the only one that prevented him, as I believe nobody wishes more sincerely the happiness and prosperity of the Royal Family, nor has acted a more uniform part than he.

The next person I applied to was Mr Lockhart of Carnwath;¹ but without coming directly to the point, gave him to understand that it was not unlikely that something might soon be done in the King's favour. This I did with a view to move his passions, raise his curiosity, and draw such professions from him as might put it out of his power to refuse me. What I said seemed to have the desired effect; his face glowed with anxiety, and his tongue was not wanting in the strongest expressions of zeal and attachment to the Cause; and again and again repeated how ready he was to do every thing in his power to forward it. Then thinking I had said enough to introduce my request, I proposed the loan, promising security in his Majesty's name, and assuring him of the great necessity there then was for a small sum, leaving it to him to give whatever he thought proper; but in place of an answer conform to the professions he had made, the joy which for some time had seated itself upon his countenance immediately vanished, and left nothing behind it but the gloom of disappointment. As soon as he had recovered a little, he excused himself by saying, that then was a most unlucky time, having no money by him,

¹ George, eldest son of the author of the *Lockhart Papers*. He surrendered to Government after Prestonpans.

and being obliged at Quarter-Day to pay his brother and Sisters patrimonies. I answered, that I was sorry the necessity of the King's affairs should oblige me to make a demand of money at a time when so faithful a friend had it not in his power to assist him ; but I begged leave to observe, that he had a Cash Accompt with the New Bank,¹ from whence he could at any time draw a few hundred pounds. To this he replied, that he had but lately drawn for a large sum, and a further demand so soon might look odd, as he was not accustomed to do it, and might be a means to hurt his Credit. This appeared reasonable ; so, to obviate all difficulties, I offered to join my Credit with his for whatever sum he was willing to advance ; which could not appear strange to the Managers, as they would naturally imagine the money was for my use, and he only Surety : and as it was not so easy to find an immediate evasion to this proposal, he neither positively refused nor consented, but said he would think of it ; yet notwithstanding I had frequent opportunities of mentioning it to him, he would by no means consent.

Though this fact is not represented in a stronger light than it really happened, I should be sorry it gave an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Lockhart's principles, as I am well persuaded he was very sincere, having behaved with great honour, spirit, and generosity, when things came to the push, and much belied the low opinion many of the party entertained of him, as will appear from the sequel ; and indeed I was then ready to believe his backwardness was more owing to former attempts of that kind having been made at improper times, and by unfit persons, than to any want of inclination.

I became then sensible, though too late, that my little experience in business had made me guilty of a great oversight, for I ought to have had the letter to shew, wherein Bohaldy said he was ordered to raise the money, which would have obviated all difficulties ; but I so little doubted his veracity, or other people's forwardness, that I neither asked to see or be possessed of it, but took it for granted that the persons I applied to would be as ready to contribute, according to their circum-

¹ The Royal Bank of Scotland—'the Old Bank' was the Bank of Scotland.

stances, as they had been to make professions of their zeal to serve the Royal Family.

The late Duke of Hamilton came to town soon after, and not doubting of success with him, I begged to have an opportunity to talk with his Grace in private, which he granted very graciously, and appointed the next morning at nine of the Clock. I attended at the time fixed, and having acquainted his Grace with the task enjoined me, he seemed to approve the proposal; very frankly promised to contribute what sum he should find he could spare; named Sir James Hamilton of Rosehaugh,¹ and some others, as proper persons to be applied to; talked of the affair with much eagerness; and finally made an apology, why he could not pay the money immediately, it being then near the time of the general election, which put him to vast expense; but assured me it should be paid out of the first money that came to his hands; and at the same time desired me to wait upon him again, or write to him, that he might not neglect it. Though I had little reason to suspect a disappointment, yet as his Grace took no further notice of it for some weeks, I thought it would be proper to remind him, as he had desired; and therefore went to Peebles, where he was soliciting the Borough, and there I took an occasion to let him know that things were very pressing, and that a small sum would be of great service at that juncture. To this he returned much the same answer as before, which gave me some concern, for there was the greatest reason to believe that, had he advanced any sum, his example would have been followed by many; but what concerned me still more was his seeming at this interview not anywise affected with the zeal he had expressed at the former, which, as he never asked to know my authority, could not possibly flow from any diffidence of me. I therefore suspected that his professions of attachment to the Royal Family proceeded more from policy, and an instability of temper, than real principle, as no man of his circumstances would have hesitated to give so trifling a proof of his sincerity, had he spoke his real sentiments. If his Grace's conduct in publick life is con-

¹ The Hamiltons of Rosehaugh were a branch of the family of Barncleuch.

sidered, it will be found that I had great reason for my suspicion ; of which several people now living at Rome may be Judges from his behaviour when there.

So finding this scheme was not likely to succeed, and being very much pressed for money, to supply Sir James Campbell, who I was made to believe would be of vast service * in Argile-shire, and who, without it, would inevitably leave the Country, I applied to Mr. Dickson, an Attorney, to borrow me £200, for which I would give bond. This Gentleman, without knowing for what it was intended, procured the money, and as Lord Traquair had been the person who drew me into this affair, could better afford it, and was in reason most obliged to engage his Credit, I acquainted him with what I proposed to do, and desired he might join † in the Bond, which he did, and I transmitted the money to Sir James Campbell by his son-in-law, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, and in return received his receipt for it.

To leave the Duke of Hamilton no room for an excuse, I wrote a pressing letter to him, which I sent by Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne,¹ to whom I communicated the Contents. This Gentleman (whom I call upon to vouch this fact), upon his return to Edinburgh, assured me he had delivered the letter, and took particular notice that his Grace read it three several times, once at the window, by the fire, and by Candle light, but gave him no answer, either by word or writing. When his

* I put it to that Gentleman to prove, that he ever attempted to engage one man in his district to join the Prince, either before or after his landing : and he is alone able to account for his proceedings from the time I parted with him at his son-in-Law Lochiel's house, soon after the Prince's landing, till he was made a prisoner, as well as how he came to be made one so early.

† I received a letter from Rome some time after, desiring I might not advance any more money, or engage my Credit ; and promising that the £200 should be paid. Mr. Edgar certainly remembers this.

¹ An 'eminent merchant,' whose son married Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Touch. Cf. James Mohr MacGregor's confession, Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 33050, f. 369. Died at Touch 1768. Cf. also *The Scottish Antiquary*, April 1897, p. 189, and *The Family of Seton*, p. 345.

Grace came to town, I immediately waited upon him, but his Levee being very numerous, was going to retire, and take another opportunity, till upon his going to the door, when some of his Company left him, he stopped me, saying, he desired to speak with me, and stept aside to the window. I then told him, I had wrote according to his orders, but having no return, begged to know his answer. At this he pretended some surprize, saying he did not remember to have received it: but upon my naming the person who had delivered the letter, and remarking his having read it three several times, he then recollected it, but said, that not adverting from whom it came, he must have looked upon it as a dun, and thrown it aside. I then asked what he intended, and if I was to expect the money? To which he replied, that the affair was then much out of his head, and desired I would take another opportunity to talk to him further of it, which I promised to do, and took my leave.

This extraordinary behaviour surprized me a good deal. The affair was too recent to have escaped his memory, and his voluntary desire to speak to me left no room to doubt of its being upon that subject, as I had never any business with him but upon the King's affairs: yet, upon reflection, I judged that his desire to talk with me had proceeded from inadvertency, and soon discovering his error he endeavoured to bring himself off by pleading forgetfulness. I was no sooner got to the Market-Cross than I was informed that he intended to set out next morning for London, which convinced me his desire to talk with me again was only a feint; so being resolved, if possible, to have something under his hand, I wrote the same afternoon, telling him I was informed of his intended Journey to England, and begged to have an answer to the affair upon which I had the honour to talk to him that morning. In return to which he wrote, as near as I can [remember] at this distance of time, to the following purpose: 'That though the particulars which had passed between us, in relation to the raising a sum of money, had much escaped his memory, he should nevertheless be glad to have that matter fully represented to him, and as his stay in Scotland was to be so short, desired I would take the trouble to make it known to Mr. Hamilton' (the person who, I formerly

observed, wrote the letter * to Colonel Urquhart by his Grace's order). It may be easily believed, that this letter could give no satisfaction: on the contrary, it convinced me, that his zeal for the Royal Family was not so ardent as he then inclined to have the party think. His referring me to a second person I could not take well. If he inclined to be informed, as the Gentleman was to remain in Scotland, his intelligence must have been communicated by letter, which I might have done with as much propriety, and perhaps more safety than he. It was employing another person without any necessity, which in business of that nature ought not to be done; and with deference to his Grace's superior knowledge, it was a little indelicate as well as impolitick. Though I could have got over any scruple of that nature, had I imagined him sincere; yet Mr. Hamilton's † natural temper was enough to make me decline it. We were no strangers to each other upon such subjects, having conversed a good deal together at Peebles, when among others he objected against some things then said to be upon the *Tapis*, ‡ alledging the King was guided; which gave me no favourable idea either of his sense or principles. For how poorly soever the scheme then mentioned might have been said to be projected, his business was not to treat it with derision, but to find fault like a Gentleman, by regretting the supposed ill concerted measures, and pointing out a remedy. His sense I called in question from the weak and unguarded expression he used. Who is not guided? Judges are guided by the Law and Presidents: a criminal is guided by the forms of the Court. Men of all professions are guided by the several customs and examples handed down to them by time and their predecessors: and though the political Science is vast, yet it may, like others, be reduced to fixed principles, according to men and times. We are all guided by the dead or living: for let us look with Care into ancient history, and we will find pre-

* Approving of my being employed in the King's service.

† This Gentleman had been very active in the year 1715 in dissuading people from joining the Earl of Mar; and from thence went by the name of Lord Blantyre's Aid-de-Camp.

‡ A scheme then said to have been in agitation, in which the Associates, as far as I know, never were concerned.

cedents to the most singular instances of modern politicks, with the most refined remedies to defeat their effects. Little of that kind is new to us: if we read, we learn; and he is an extraordinary man who falls upon anything in that science, which has not already been discovered and practised. If by the living, it must be allowed to proceed from a laudable, humane, and honest disposition, not blown up or worried with our own knowledge, nor suffering our self-sufficiency so far to get the better as to make us imagine we are able to discuss and determine affairs of the utmost importance without assistance. Men are like Watches,* some of a finer and more delicate make than others: the one goes justly, the other not. Like them in shape, so are we generally much one and the same: but our organs of sense, like their wheels and springs, are finer and coarser, as the workman has bestowed labour upon them, or the Supreme Being more exquisite degrees of sensation upon our organs. From this I may be allowed to infer, that the greater share of good sense a man is possessed of, the readier he will be to ask advice of a person, of whose knowledge and perspicuity he has had experience; and the greater abilities he is master of, the more his admirable talents enable him to judge of right and wrong, his own failings, and the equitable, just, judicious sentiments of others, the stronger will be his inclination to lay aside his own conceited self-sufficiency, and embrace the opinion of his friend. Politicks differ from some other Sciences in this, that as the mind of man is variable and deceitful, the design, or double intention, which one of equal Capacity may not discover, another less sanguine may. The Judge, cool and unconcerned, may observe from the Countenance of a witness that deceit and prevarication, which the Counsel, examining, and warm in the Cause of his Client, may possibly overlook; and yet the Counsel may be a man of greater abilities than the then more penetrating Judge. We ought therefore to praise and applaud the man whose superior good sense directs him to inquire into the opinion and sentiments of

* I hope this Comparison will not be esteemed inconsistent with the Christian Scheme, or the rules of sound Philosophy, as no such thing is intended.

others, and even, if necessary, like the Bee, suck honey from the poisonous herb. In fine, though I am almost sorry to have made so long a digression, yet I flatter myself it cannot be disagreeable to support the sentiments of the Wise Man, That there is nothing new under the Sun. That what was, is now. And what is, has been, and shall be in time to come. Let no man then plume himself upon his own abilities. We are all actuated Beings, and have no title to believe that our Creator has exerted his omnipotence further in the formation of us, by a more lively operation of the Immaterial upon the material substance, than our Fore-fathers, from whose example we acquire the experience which guides and directs all wise men.

But to return to our former subject. The disappointments I had met with, made me lay aside all thoughts of any further solicitations at this time ; few having it more in their power, than those already spoke to : and of all the King's friends in the Low Country, none were esteemed to have more zeal and attachment to the Royal Family, than they. Their refusal therefore, gave small encouragement to apply to others, whose abilities were not equal, or professions stronger. Besides, to have pushed things further, would have savoured too much of begging, and given too mean an idea of the King's circumstances : so I contented myself with transmitting to Rome an account of the unsuccessful steps I had taken to accomplish the end proposed.

I would not have it imagined that this money business employed all my time : far from confining my services to that particular alone, I enlarged my acquaintance with the Loyal Party, who were many of them no strangers to the trust reposed in me ; and continued my endeavours to extinguish the remains of divisions among the Clergy, as a means to advance the King's interest by their continuing unanimously to instil these principles of Loyalty into the Laity,* the practice whereof had gained them their Sovereign's favour and the deserved character of Loyalty, in the most discouraging and oppressive times.

* If the sufferings, Loyalty and firmness of that body of Men, be properly considered, it will be found that no part of the Christian Church, in any era, ever acted with more disinterestedness, courage, and resolution, than they have done since 1688 ; which deservedly renders them worthy of the esteem, favour and protection of all men of worth and honour.

To bring about this good end, I applied to Bishop Keith¹ (the chief stickler against Mr. Harper, whom the King had nominated) and endeavoured to persuade him, that the only method to conclude all differences, and merit the King's favour and countenance, was to consent to his nomination.

After some conversation, which was not like to terminate in any fixed resolution, I told him that flying in the face of the King's *Congé* would have a very bad look, and appear inconsistent with those principles of loyalty they had hitherto unvariably professed, and inculcated into their hearers: that the Consequence of such conduct might prove very detrimental to his Majesty by the bad example it would give some, and perhaps hurt themselves in the Eyes of others who had a proper regard to the King's interest, seeing him gainsaid in an affair which had been esteemed the right of, and practised by, every King since the Reformation. If he would assign sufficient reasons for their refusal, I was ready to transmit them, and did not doubt but they would have their due influence; and if not I must be excused to think that such proceeding would be an attempt to diminish the authority they acknowledged. He was at no loss for specious answers to all my arguments; but finding it necessary to come to the point, he plainly said, it was what neither he nor his Brethren² could consent to, the person named being a man unworthy to be received by any Body of Christian Bishops, and had the King known his character, he was confident he would not have named him to be their head. Having never heard anything to Mr. Harper's discredit, and being desirous to learn the particulars laid to his charge, I begged to know his reasons for so severe a censure: but after many arguments on both sides, he absolutely refused; not being inclined, as he said, to enter into the private character of any of his brethren. This, I told him, was no satisfactory answer to me, and there was reason to suspect that it would be far less so where I should be obliged to send it: for to accuse a man in

¹ Consecrated without a diocese 18 June 1727. Bishop of Orkney, Caithness and the Isles 1731. In 1733 elected to superintendence of Fife also, but he resided at Edinburgh; elected Primus 1743.

² The College of Bishops.

such general terms was accusing him of every thing that was bad; at least it was giving mankind room to conjecture the worst; was a thing permitted in no Court of Judicature in the Christian world, and allowed by every body to be very unbecoming a Christian, especially one of his Cloath; therefore hoped he would be particular, which would certainly be of advantage to him and his party; whereas, if such an answer, as he had given, was transmitted to Rome, it would not represent him in the most amiable light, but in all probability prove favourable to the other. Finding all I could say did not prevail with him to specify any particular Blemish, and knowing that his influence with his Brethren was considerable, I proposed by way of compromise,* that if they would agree to elect Messieurs Harper and Blair Bishops, they might then proceed to the nomination of the Metropolitan, who, I would engage, should be confirmed. This proposal did not seem to be so disagreeable as the former: but he was too cautious to lay himself under any positive obligation; and answered, that as he had but a single voice, he could not pretend to promise on behalf of his brethren, but that Mr. Blair was a man to whom he believed no objection would be made, and that he would therefore acquaint the rest of the College with the overture, and let me know their answer; which he did soon after. I was then in the Country, when his letter came to hand unsubscribed, and wrote in a Cant style, importing, that he had wrote to some, and consulted with other members of the College, who unanimously rejected the proposal, Because it would be flying in the face of the King's authority. The seeming oddity of the answer made me curious to have it explained, but as I had little reason to expect much satisfaction, I postponed any enquiry till my return to town, when I was informed by one of the Presbyters,† that upon occasion of a former dispute his

* I did this from a friendly inclination to the whole venerable Body, for whom I always had the greatest respect, as a means to keep them in the King's favour, who, I was afraid, might not look upon them with a good Eye, when he found them obstinately bent upon rejecting his nomination.

† Mr. David Rae,¹ a friend of Mr. Harper.

¹ The father of Lord Eskgrove.

Majesty had condescended to allow them the naming of all the vacant Bishops, except the Metropolitan, which he reserved to himself; and that they were now afraid, should these two Gentlemen be received, the scales would be turned, and their schemes thwarted. Though this alledged reason * was not without its difficulties, yet I was determined to make a further tryal: but was prevented by a conversation I had with Mr. Harper, wherein he desired no further mention might be made of him,† being sorry to think there should be any disputes upon his account. I then made it my business to learn who was the person the most likely to be agreeable to both parties, and found that Bishop Rattray¹ was a man of extensive knowledge, great moderation, and unexceptionable character; agreeable to most of his brethren, and bid the fairest to put an end to all divisions: so in the first letters I wrote, after mentioning what had passed, I recommended‡ him, and afterwards received orders for his Election, which, however, did not take place, being taken ill the same day § on which he arrived at Edinburgh, and died in three or four days afterwards, which put a stop to that business during my time.

I was of opinion from the first that the members of the Association had not weight and interest sufficient to effectuate the scheme proposed, without previously engaging others: but as it would have been a very rash step in me to have mentioned the whole or any part of the Plan, without the consent of the Majority, I only observed to them, that without extending their connections, it was impossible to bring matters to bear, as, in case of a Descent, none, but such as were in the secret,

* By Bishop Keith.

† This must be allowed, even by his opponents, to be a mark of great moderation; especially considering the interest he had: and indeed I never could observe any thing in him, that was not quite consistent with the Clergyman and Gentleman.

‡ He was likewise strongly recommended by others.

§ May 3d, 1743, being Ascension day, above 8 months before the Dunkirk Embarkation. Though his business was near two years in agitation, I thought proper not to interrupt the story by any intervening facts.

¹ Consecrated Bishop of Brechin, January 4, 1729.

could be in a condition to join: and as in all undertakings of that nature, the utmost vigour and dispatch was necessary, the being obliged to wait for a junction with such as were unprepared would occasion a great loss of time, and might prove a vast hindrance to the expedition, if it did not entirely prevent its success. They would by no means give ear to any proposal of this nature; alledging it was very dangerous; that there was not a person of any consequence in the Highlands, who had not been already engaged by Bohaldy,* or one employed by him; that it was agreed to take no step without a general consent; and that Lord Lovat† would never agree to it. It is very evident, that had Bohaldy's affirmation been as true as it was absolutely false, there was no need of an Association: his own interest, assiduity, and influence had been sufficient to bring about their wishes, and he had deservedly merited greater praise than Monk, or most men to be met with in history. Though any unbiassed man, with half an Eye, might have seen the improbability of this Gasconade, yet he had insinuated himself so deeply into their favour, and gained such an ascendant over them, by his bold and positive assertions, that nothing he said was doubted; which appeared so unaccountable in men not void of sense, that I was at a loss what to think, and resolved to suspend my judgment for a time, nor to move in so delicate an affair, till I saw further. It was not long, however, before I had reason to be strengthened in my

* If he had been master either of abilities or interest enough to effectuate so arduous a task, he had not time to accomplish it from the date of his being appointed Agent, till he set out for Rome; he never was in Scotland after that, except in the Spring 1741, and then but a short time, and in private at Edinburgh, as I have already mentioned.

† If this particular is seriously attended to, it will appear that Lovat and Drummond had much the same interest in keeping the affair a secret to all except those already concerned: for had others less prejudiced in their favour been admitted, it is obvious they would not only have discovered the impropriety of the steps they were taking, together with the narrowness of the plan, but would have objected as well to Lovat's being the chief Director, as to Bohaldy's being the Agent: whereas the King's situation made it improper for him to object to either, had he been never so much convinced of the self-interestedness of the first, or of the fallacy and incapacity of the latter.

opinion, for the late Sir Alexander MacDonald of Slate¹ came to Edinburgh that year, and having by some means learned that there was a scheme carrying on, and that Bohaldy had put him down in the list * he gave to the French Court, was very much displeased, and declared he had never given any authority to do so, nor had he ever spoke to him on the subject. This story plainly demonstrates that Bohaldy's assertion was void of all foundation, for if this Gentleman, Chief of one of the first families and largest followings in the Country, had not been applied to, how improbable is it that numbers of inferior rank were, to whom it would have been more dangerous to have communicated the secret? And yet I must frankly acknowledge, that those I was concerned with were so strongly prepossessed, or rather infatuated, with a favourable opinion of

* Not to break the thread of the story, which the following particular would do, I choose to mention Bohaldy's method of engaging people in the King's interests, by way of note. To such as were imagined to favour the King's interest, he introduced the subject, and if they dropped any favourable expressions, he then insinuated that it was a pity the King should be unacquainted with their principles; and if they seemed to think any correspondence dangerous, he then offered to make their way of thinking known to his Majesty, without their running any risk; to which if they consented, he from that day counted them as so many sure Cards. This he told me at Paris, and at the same time regretted he could not make the King comprehend his scheme; and asked me if I did? To which I answered that the method was easily conceived, but how far it would prove effectual was very dubious. He then asked me to observe in my letter to his Majesty, that he had made it known to me, and that I could easily conceive it; which I believe I promised, as it seemed plausible till maturely considered; which I had not done at that time. But it is obvious, his Majesty thought with too much justness and perspicuity to depend upon anything so vague and indefinite: and indeed, when after my return to Scotland I came to put it in practice, and consider seriously of it, it appeared plainly to be cheating the King, and putting a construction on men's meaning quite contrary from what they intended.

¹ Seventh baronet, nephew of the chief attainted after the '15. He took the Government side in the '45. Married, 1733, (1) Anne, widow of Lord Ogilvy; (2) Margaret, daughter of ninth Earl of Eglinton; he died, aged 36, 23rd Nov. 1746. In justification of Bohaldy, cf. the statement of Miss MacLeod as to correspondence between MacLeod, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and Prince Charles, quoted in MacKenzie's *History of the MacDonalds*, p. 234.

this man, that my eyes were not opened for some time; so naturally are we induced to think with men of our own principles, and for whom we have a regard; but as I do not intend to leave any thing I advance dubious or liable to exceptions, where it is in my power to bring unquestionable proof, I appeal to Mr. Macleod of Nuick, now living, for the truth of this story.

1742

As it would only swell this paper to mention every incident, and as nothing of any great consequence happened till the month of December 1742, I shall venture to begin at that time by observing, that Bohaldy had not till then obliged us with any news of Consequence, though the time was at hand, when, according to his ultimate promise,* the troops were intended to land. The Earl of Traquair then received a letter from him, containing some vague and frivolous reasons why the Descent had failed in the Autumn; and assuring him, the troops and every thing necessary would be embarked early in the Spring. His Lordship laid the letter before Locheil and me; and neither of them seeming to make any of the objections to which I thought it was liable, I took the liberty to say, that it was not wrote as by a man that understood business; for admitting the reasons to be just, it was a little uncommon to write so carelessly upon an affair of such vast consequence, as this was, to all concerned. There were a number of preliminary steps to be taken, as I had before remarked, and yet it did not appear that any had been taken, nor did he insinuate they ought. It was true, the number of troops were specified, the places of their landing† fixt upon, arms, ammunition and money said to be provided, all necessary precautions, and without which they could not hope for success; but all these, however material, were far from being sufficient: it was likewise true, that the Country had been divided, according to their original plan, into different Districts,‡ and each allotted to the care of one of the Associators, who engaged to make it his business to for-

* He had said when at Edinburgh, that the scheme would be executed in the Autumn or Spring.

† The main body at or near Aberdeen; and 1500 in Kintire.

‡ It is very evident, that this division of the Country was well intended, and might have been of great use, had the persons to whom the different

ward the interest of the Cause in his province, by gaining as many of the principal* inhabitants as possible. I did not doubt but that Quarter of the Country allotted to Lochel was well affected, and would appear to a man; nor did I hesitate to believe, he had used all methods to secure them (as it afterwards appeared he had); but it did not seem that things were upon so good a footing in other places.

To Lord Lovat were allotted the Grants of Strathspey, the Macintoshes, the Mackenzies, all the people of Ross-shire and further North, together with the Chisholms and Grants of Urquhart. Though I made no doubt of the two last turning out, being his immediate neighbours, yet they were very considerable in number, and as far as I could learn, he had not to that day endeavoured to gain any number of these for whom he had undertaken.

Sir James Campbell was entrusted with the care of Argyle-shire and the islands adjacent: but it did not appear he had engaged any body;† at least he had transmitted no such accounts to us. There was no reason to doubt, that the body of men, proposed to be landed in that part of the Country would be joined by the MacLeans, MacLaughlans, and perhaps Largo's¹ people, and some others: but this did not put things upon a better footing than before. These people were already well inclined, and only waited a favourable opportunity to shew themselves; but were not such as merited the greatest attention. To gain friends was the chief design of parcelling

Districts were allotted acted with assiduity: but it did not appear, after the Prince's landing, that any considerable progress had been made, except in Lochaber.

* I think it necessary to be circumstantial, and thereby give a clear view of the management after the Association, from whence it will be easy to see the little attention that was given to the most material point.

† It is evident from this, that things were not properly managed, for in affairs of that nature it was necessary that the persons employed should have from time to time communicated the progress they had made in their several districts, not only to one another, but to one who had it in his power to transmit the whole to the King, and their Agent abroad, from whence they could only judge what assistance it was requisite to demand from France and Spain.

¹ MacDonald of Largie, in Kintyre; an independent branch of the Clan Donald.

out the Country into different Districts: and if Sir James had executed that which was more necessary in his province than in any other (and which I did not pretend to deny he had done) he ought to have given a distinct account of his proceedings and success, from whence it might be known what assistance was to be expected.

Another thing very material, if not absolutely necessary, appeared to be entirely neglected. Sir Hector MacLeane¹ had neither been comprehended in the Association, nor acquainted with what was going on; at least not by any immediately concerned in the Association. The Island of Mull, where part of his interest lay, was in the possession of Argyle, great part of it inhabited by the Campbells, and the whole inhabitants then either Argyle's tenants or vassals: it was not therefore to be thought, that people thus circumstanced, and immediately dependent upon Argyle, would openly take up arms* against the government, as if free and at their own disposal. This being the case, it was proper their Chief should be let into the secret: and if he could not come himself without giving suspicion, he might still be able to employ some of his family to officiate for him in preparing his Clan for a rising, as soon as he should be able to appear amongst them.

The north parts of Scotland, such as Braemar, Glenlivet, Buchan, with the other parts of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, and the Gordons were then entirely neglected. The care of them, together with the Farquharsons and Ogilvies, was assigned to the Duke of Perth, who, though his inclinations, abilities, and interests, were equal to the task, yet was then, and had been for some time, in England, which made it impossible for him to continue the progress he had begun in these parts, and might be a means to lose the friends he had made, who were mostly Highlanders, though not so much esteemed as those of the West; and as to the Gentlemen of

* This was afterwards manifested by the few MacLeanes,² who under Drimnin joined the Prince; and those who were raised for the government, and acted against him as Argyleshire militia.

¹ Fifth baronet of Duart, cf. pp. 135 and 156. Died at Rome 1750. His father fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir.

² Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, pp. 22 n. and 121.

the low parts of the North, there was no account that his Grace or any other had spoke to them.

The part allotted to the Earl of Traquair, on the south side of the River Forth, I was fully as well acquainted with as his Lordship, and knew well that he never so much as endeavoured to engage one man. The principal people in that part of the Country were mostly known to me, and I was sensible any effort they could make in the field would be very triffling, so the best way to make them usefull was to procure their assistance in money; and from the experience I had had in that particular, I was convinced the only method to prevail was to attack them warmly, and partly* communicate the design in hand to such as could be entrusted. Though it was evident the appearance from that part of Scotland could not be considerable, there being no followings as in the Highlands, yet there were several people well affected who would undoubtedly join upon timely notice, but being unprovided with all necessities for such an expedition, it would be impossible for them to rise on a sudden; some less forward might assign it as a reason for keeping at home, and others justly complain as having been neglected. Some time was absolutely required to bring things to maturity; even the inhabitants of Lochaber could not be expected to turn out expeditiously. Plaids, shoes, and hose, were to be provided, which, as the people themselves could not afford them, became a burden on the Chiefs; nor could they bear the charge if not assisted with money; and supposing it was in their power, some months were requisite to procure them. Of all arms, swords were most wanted; and we could not expect to be supplied from abroad with a sufficient number of good ones. Some of the Northern Clans, who had not been disarmed in 1715, or afterwards, were much better stocked than those we chiefly depended on; it was, therefore, proper to purchase theirs,† which would serve the

* I was always of opinion, that applying to a man for money, without shewing a confidence in him, which could only be done by giving him some intimation of what was adoining, was a kind of affront; as it was desiring him to contribute to the execution of a scheme with which he was not thought worthy of being trusted.

† Locheil had formed a scheme for purchasing a number of their swords, without giving them any grounds of jealousy.

double purpose of arming our friends and disarming our enemies; but here both money and time were required likewise. As there had been a long peace, and all thoughts of a war of that kind much out of head, it behooved by degrees to insinuate a spirit into the people, and especially to cultivate the heads of the Tribes, who had in some degree fallen off from that veneration* and implicit faith they were wont to place in their Chiefs; and allowing this not to be the most difficult task, yet it was not the work of a day, but required time, secrecy, and discretion. The use of the Target had been long neglected, though, next to good swords, the first thing to be attended to, and though the materials might easily be found, it was difficult to procure a number of hands acquainted with their construction, and the utmost caution was to be used to prevent suspicion in the Government, should it be discovered any numbers were making.

It must be acknowledged that, had the Earl Marischal landed, as was promised, with a considerable force, the party in general would have been greatly encouraged; yet it is most certain that neither this, the favourable disposition of individuals, nor the combined influence of the Associators, would have provided sufficient to raise those who were unprovided, unprepared, and destitute of necessaries. The letter wrote by Bohaldy was in general terms; no particulars specified; no plan laid down for the march of the troops,† or their junction with the Clans; no scheme proposed to surprize any of the forts, or prevent the forces on the north Coast from retiring into the forts, or joining those in the South; no money remitted to the Chiefs to provide their men with cloaths, as had been positively promised; and indeed not one injunction given, nor the least explanation of the intended expedition, nay, not even a fixed time mentioned, but in general terms, EARLY IN THE SPRING, which, if fairly interpreted, must have been the end of February or beginning of March, to which there was then but two months, time scarcely sufficient to advertise such as might be relied upon, and much too short to

* There were several instances of this in the 1745.

† Viz., those that were to be landed in the North under the Earl Marischal; for it was proposed to land 1500 men in Kintire, to encourage the rising in Argyle; the district allotted to Sir James Campbell.

make any proper dispositions. Now it was obvious to me that, if Bohaldy's information was true, and a landing relied upon at the time mentioned, there was an immediate necessity for every man to repair to his post, the Duke of Perth to be sent for from England, Lochel to go to the Highlands, and all the Chieftains advertised and set to work to prepare their Clans, Lord Pitsligo¹ (who had not then been spoke to), with some others in the North, informed of it, and many other steps to be forthwith taken, which I feared could not well be done without creating suspicion in the Government, the consequences of which were apparent, and would have blown* the whole scheme in the air.

From these several considerations, I adventured to give it as my opinion, that no motion ought to be made, nor any further regard had to Bohaldy's information, than if no such thing was expected, but to send over a person properly instructed to address himself to the French Ministry, and learn from them what was intended, which might be executed in a short time. If a descent was really meditated, the person sent ought to inform himself of the particulars, and agree with Bohaldy, and others employed in the King's affairs in France, upon the different steps to be taken; and after his return things might be put upon such a footing that the party could not err, but exert themselves with all the vigour the time would permit; whereas, were any preparations to be attempted, as affairs then stood they might do things superfluous, and neglect such as were necessary; and if no descent was made, the design would

* This will be easily conceived, when it is considered what a sudden alteration would have appeared in the Country, when all concerned were busied in preparing themselves and their followers: whereas, had there been time, everything might have been executed with the utmost secrecy.

¹ Alexander Forbes, fourth Lord Pitsligo, was born in 1678, and was educated in France, where he gained the friendship of Fénelon. He sat in the Scottish Parliament till the Union, but then withdrew from public life. He fought at Sheriffmuir, escaped to the Continent, and was allowed to return in 1720. When he joined Prince Charles, 'it seemed as if religion, virtue, and justice were entering the camp under the appearance of this venerable old man.' He fought at Culloden, escaped to Aberdeenshire, lived in concealment till 1750 when the search for him relaxed, and he was able to retire to his son's house at Auchiries, where he lived under the name of 'Mr. Brown.' Died 12 Dec. 1762.

probably be penetrated, their persons secured, and the scheme prevented for a time, if not entirely ruined.

These reflections were so plain and obvious, and the difficulties so apparent, that after some trifling objections, and an unwillingness on Lord Traquair's part to find fault with any thing Bohaldy did, it was agreed to follow my advice, Lochyell having declared himself of the same opinion. Though this business required all possible dispatch, yet two reasons occurred to prevent its immediate execution. In the first place, it was no easy matter to find a person in whom they could entirely confide, and who could conveniently undertake that commission; and 2^{dly}, it was thought proper to have Lord Lovat's approbation, lest he should be offended that any thing of that nature was done without his knowledge and consent. To employ any person unacquainted with the situation of affairs would have been doing nothing, and to instruct him would have been much the same as to admit him into the Association, which they were quite averse to from the notion that Bohaldy had instilled, that they were alone able to influence the whole party to join the moment they appeared; whence they concluded to chuse one of their own number. Three of them were single, and as such might have gone with the less suspicion; but it was thought the Duke of Perth's or Lord Traquair's leaving the Country would be remarked; and Mr. Stewart¹ (Traquair's brother) who was too indolent to undertake a journey of that length upon any consideration; so the choice fell upon me, who though not of the number,* was nevertheless acquainted with the whole scheme.

The objections to my going were very obvious; I had got a family, and apparently had no business either at London or abroad. I was known by most of the party to be charged with the King's affairs, and as all men are not equally close,† it was

* I hope due attention will be given to my not having been an original Associator, or ever received amongst them as such.

† Doctor Cochrane was a man who always declared a particular inclination to forward the Royal Cause: and I had acquainted him in general terms of my intended journey. Some time after I was gone, he visited my family, and was unguarded enough to ask my wife, when she heard from Paris? Which was the first hint she ever heard of my being there:

¹ John, succeeded his brother as 6th Earl of Traquair in 1764. Died at Paris 1779, aged 81.

more than probable my absence would create suspicion amongst them, and occasion whispers, which by degrees might come to the ears of some of the friends of the Government, and prove prejudicial to me and the Cause I was engaged in.

Though these objections were just, yet they were overruled and necessity seemed to declare for my going ; but I was still unwilling to consent, till a feasible excuse offered. I likewise observed, that though it was from no want of inclination, for on the contrary I ardently wished to be satisfied of the truth of what was advanced, both upon the account of the Party and myself, yet the situation of my affairs made it inconvenient for me to raise money for such a journey, as the charges I was put to by managing affairs at home required all the ready money I was master of, and even obliged me to borrow* when otherwise I had no occasion, and to raise any further sum at that time would not only hurt my family and Credit, but prevent me from getting any at a† more critical juncture; yet upon the whole, if no other person could be found, I would endeavour to order my affairs so as to be able to go.

Matters being thus settled, Lochyell was appointed to state the Case to Lord Lovat; and he employed one of the name of Macgregor (sent for from Dumblain), who had formerly been servant to Bohaldy, to carry his letter, pretending that it contained something relating to his late master's affairs. After having mentioned in his letter the present state of affairs, as represented by Bohaldy, with the reasons for sending one to France; and that Commissions of Lord Lieutenant and Lieutenant General had been sent for him at the same time, and were then in my hands, he observed that, in case I went, it was thought reasonable my charges should be borne and his Lordship contribute his share. As soon as the express was dispatched I gave it out among my Acquaintances, that having a Law-suit depending with the present Earl of March, I intended

and shews that, by such like blunders, I might have been discovered. When I blamed him for it, he said, he thought the wife of one's bosom might be entrusted. A very dangerous maxim, and what no man concerned in such desperate affairs ought to adopt.

* Every shilling of debt now affecting my Estate was contracted in the service of the Royal Family.

† When it should become necessary to appear in arms.

to go to London and solicit the Duke of Queensberry to have it ended, as the affair had been transacted by his Grace's orders when my Lord was under his Tutorship.

Having impatiently expected the Messenger, who had been retarded in his journey by a storm, he at last returned with an answer, wherein his Lordship expressed his approbation both of the message and the person who was to carry it; adding that he thought it reasonable my expenses should be defrayed, and had sent his note of hand for £100, which he begged might be negotiated at Edinburgh, regretting it was not in his power to send the money, his rents being very ill paid, with other such excuses, which we heartily laughed at, knowing it to be a trick, as he could not be ignorant that no Man of business would advance one farthing upon his Bill without collateral security.

Lochyell then applied to Lord Traquair, who excused himself for the present, but said I might draw upon him for what money should be wanting when abroad, which, I have been told, his Lordship has since taken the liberty to say, was administering to my extravagance; a light in which I am pretty confident no man of sense or honour will ever conceive it. I dare venture to say, many people less zealous would have taken advantage of this disappointment to excuse themselves; but laying aside all thoughts of that nature, and preferring the interest of the party to my own, I borrowed the money from the new Bank,* and indorsed Lord Lovat's Bill† to Mr. MacDougal, Merchant in Edinburgh, who had joined in the security to the Bank with me.

I had almost forgot to observe that, in Lovat's letter he insisted above all things upon having the patent of Duke, which Bohaldy had promised him, and begged I would leave no stone unturned to procure it, and to ask it not only as a thing promised and granted, but as the chief‡ condition upon

* The Royal Bank of Scotland.¹

† Of which he afterwards only paid £50.

‡ From hence every person may judge of his Lordship's principles, and the motives he acted on in this affair.

¹ For Murray's transactions with this Bank during the campaign, see *Miscellany of Scottish History Society* (vol. xv.), pp. 537-559.

which, he said, he was acting so strenuously for the King's interest ; and added that he had been lately in the County of Ross, where he had employed all his art to gain the inhabitants to his Majesty's interest, especially his dear Cousin the Earl of Cromarty,* who had given him the most solemn assurances that he only wished to see him in the field, that he might follow his example, and draw his sword in the cause of an injured family.

I soon set out for Paris, and stopped at York to talk the affair over with the Duke of Perth,† who entirely approved of what I was going about. Upon my arrival at London, I was informed of Cardinal Fleury's death,¹ which gave me some pain, being the person (according to Bohaldy's information) to whom all application had been made, and to whom I had resolved to address myself. Thinking therefore that his death might occasion an alteration in all their schemes, and suspend if not put a stop to the Descent for that season, I had some thoughts of returning ; but reflecting that an affair of so much moment could not have been managed by him alone, I was in hopes of procuring some intelligence by means of those whom he had intrusted ; and being anxious to have the affair cleared up, I set out privately‡ for Paris, fully determined not to return till I was thoroughly informed whether the promises made were to be performed. Immediately upon my arrival I went to Bohaldy's lodgings, who shewed a good deal of surprize and confusion, but after a little conversation said he was glad I was come, for the Cardinal's death had made but little alteration in

* The only person of distinction he ever pretended to have influenced in this affair.

† His Grace then informed me that he had spoke with several people in that City and neighbourhood, who professed a strong attachment to the Royal Family ; and that the Magistracy were so well inclined as to propose sending over the Freedom of the City in a gold box to the Duke of York ; that the Ministry knew their inclinations so well, that they had endeavoured to prevent their election, but had failed : and he concluded, by regretting that the people of his Communion were the most backward.

‡ I left London on Monday morning, and went on board the Packet at Dover that evening ; but having a tedious passage, did not go to bed till Thursday night at 12 o'clock, when I was only a few posts from Paris.

¹ Died Jan. 29, 1743.

their affairs, as he had all along entrusted Monsieur Amelot,¹ who was well acquainted with the whole scheme, and in possession of all the papers relating to it ; and having enquired how affairs stood in Scotland, and what instructions I had, proposed to go the same evening to Lord Semple,² who was charged with the King's affairs at the French Court. We accordingly went, and after a very polite reception they took great pains to persuade me that things were in as much forwardness as could be wished, and gave strong hints that it would be agreeable if I returned* satisfied with their answer. But finding that would not do, and that the chief intent of my journey was to have these assurances from the Minister himself, they agreed to go to Versailles and procure an audience. They insinuated strongly at that time, and afterwards at Versailles told me in plain language, that it was necessary, when I saw Mr. Amelot, to augment the strength of the party as much as with any shew of veracity might be done, which I gave them reason to believe I would, being suspicious from the whole of their behaviour

* Had they been conscious of having advanced nothing but truth, they would rather have been pleased to give me an opportunity of hearing it from the minister, as I would thereby have had it in my power to assure the Party of their Candour.

¹ Amelot de Chaillon, Foreign Minister, 1737 to 1744, where he fell into disfavour with the Duchesse de Châteauroux 'parce qu'il était bête.' He died in 1749.

² Robert Sempill, 'captain in the regiment of Dillon,' was created, after 1723, a peer of Scotland by James, and died 1737. His son Francis, who is believed to have married a daughter of the 4th Earl of Seaforth, died 9th December 1748, and was buried at Chartres. Riddell, in his *Peerage Law* (vol. ii. app. ii. p. 978) says he has not been able to discover who was the Jacobite Lord Sempill in 1745. It is improbable that James would confer the barony of Sempill on one who had no claim to the old Scots peerage. The Lord Sempill who fought under Cumberland at Culloden was an Abercromby, the male line of the Sempills, according to Burke and Debrett, having failed on the death of Francis, 8th Baron, in 1648. Presumably, therefore, the Robert Sempill of Dillon's regiment claimed to be a descendant of the first lord who fell at Flodden. I have, however, been unable to discover anything further about him. The Lord Sempill of the text was in constant communication with James. He disapproved of the expedition of Prince Charles, and till his death was the centre of the King's as opposed to the Prince's party. He seems to have resided in Paris. There are many letters from him to James and to Edgar preserved in the Stuart Papers at Windsor. Many of these are published in Browne's *History of the Highlands*.

that my visit was not agreeable, and fearing lest by an obstinate refusal they should prevent my getting admittance ; which alone gave me a very bad opinion of the men and their measures, as well as of the success of the whole affair.

It was evident from this, that they were not men of strict veracity, and had not represented the state of our Party fairly, but endeavoured to impose upon the French * by augmenting their numbers. This was cheating the King and his friends (for such I was then young and weak enough to esteem the French) and going the high way to render themselves ridiculous, and the scheme abortive, if it should be undertaken upon the strength of what they advanced.

On the other hand, if the French had really been sincere, and intended to support the scheme with vigour, some thousand men more would have made no alteration in their resolutions : and if they only proposed to make a diversion in their own favour, the greater they believed the strength of the loyal party, the fewer troops they would send to their assistance, as a large body might have, contrary to the French views, effected a Restoration ; so, in whatever light they might put it, it was still false policy † and glaring dishonesty.

As Cardinal Tencin¹ had always been reckoned the King's best friend at the Court of Versailles, Lord Semple proposed

* Bohaldy in magnifying the numbers, and giving in persons' names that had never been applied to or engaged, imitates his patron Lord Lovat, who acted in the same manner, when he was employed by some of the most virulent Whigs in the year 1703 to treat with the French ministry, that he might discover and ruin the King's friends. See the proceedings of the house of Lords upon (what was called) the Scottish Conspiracy.

† We had been informed, that the Earl Marischal, having heard of the numbers promised by Bohaldy to the French Court, treated his assertion with the contempt and ridicule it deserved : but that on the other hand, his Lordship had rather diminished them ; which made Lochyell declare a strong desire to go to him, which I have often regretted he did not, as well as that I was positively enjoined by Lord Traquair not to see him at that time.

¹ Tencin had been very intimate with James at Rome, where he was ambassador. D'Argenson calls him 'un homme mediocre,' and gives an amusing account of how his policy was modified by his amours and jealousies.

to introduce me to him: and after three days' continual solicitation I was at last only admitted for two minutes to his Antechamber, when he said he would be extremely glad to have it in his power to serve the King my master, having a singular regard for him, as indeed he could not fail—*Sa Majeste ayent la plus belle du monde* [*sic*].

The Reader is at liberty to make his own reflections upon this ministerial sally, at which I had most certainly laughed, if I had not been too much shocked with the shameful reception. I must own it filled my mind with many disagreeable and ill-boding presages: for what opinion could any man of common sense have of the interest of a person cloathed with the character of a Minister, who was obliged to sollicite three days for such an interview and such a speech; and what prospect could I have of receiving any satisfaction from Monsieur Amelot, who was no farther esteemed a friend, than as being a Minister? The same evening, we were admitted to him, and very politely received. I told him to whom, and by whom I was sent: but Cardinal Fleury being dead, I had applied to him as the person in whom my Constituents reposed the greatest confidence; and begged to know his Majesty's intentions, with what message would be proper for me to carry back. To this he answered, that he had delayed to see me, till such time as he had an opportunity to acquaint the King with my arrival and the purport of my Commission (of which Lord Semple had previously informed him), that he had accordingly communicated it to his Majesty the same evening, and received his orders to acquaint me that I might assure the party of his friendly intentions towards the King my Master, and as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit, he could give him all the assistance in his power. He then asked several questions relating to the number of forces in Scotland, of which I gave him an account, and likewise mentioned their situation and quarters, which ought to have given encouragement to an attempt, as they were but few and very disadvantageously posted in case of an insurrection. Bohaldy endeavoured to make him believe, that the number of the well affected to the King was very considerable, having been augmented by the assiduity and good management of the persons chiefly con-

cerned; upon which Monsieur Amelot said, he hoped the Gentlemen had well considered of what they were about; that it was an affair of the utmost consequence; and though the Scots were a brave undertaking people, yet such enterprises were dangerous and precarious. This speech startled me not a little, as it had not the appearance of that warmth and keenness as Bohaldy had said in his letters the French were fired with, but seemed rather to savour of the dissuasive, and shewed they were either doubtfull of success, or little inclined to be assisting.

Lord Semple, amongst other things, mentioned a Memorial which had been given in concerning a Descent proposed to be made in the North of England, to which Monsieur Amelot seemed an entire stranger. Upon this his Lordship inadvertently asked him if he had not read it: to which he replied no, nor had never heard of it: so after a conversation of short continuance, we took our leaves.

Though this last part of the conversation will admit of many reflections, yet, not to be tedious, I will pass it over with only observing, that, notwithstanding it struck me, I nevertheless did not shew any concern, but rather appeared satisfied with what had passed. To have found fault, would have prevented me from making any future discoveries, should a further opportunity have offered; and what satisfaction could I have reaped from men who too plainly were no slaves to truth? The same self-interest, which induced them to impose upon the King and his friends, would have supplied them with assurance to dispute the most recent and evident facts, and endeavour to convince me that I had heard wrong. I therefore kept my mind to myself: it was not there my report was to be made; it was to those who had sent me: their eyes were to be opened by shewing them, that they trusted in people, who in all appearance made their employment a trade to deceive their Constituents.

After our return to Paris, Lord Semple and Bohaldy made a proposal of a very singular nature. Finding they could not prevail with the Earl Marischal to enter into their schemes, and knowing he was generally beloved by the Party in Scotland; to excuse themselves they endeavoured to blacken him (a practice I am sorry to have found too common) and were

very industrious to persuade me that he was a wrongheaded man, not to be contented, the bane of all their business, continually setting himself in opposition to his Master and all those employed by him. In short, the epithet they dignified him with was, 'honourable fool.' I had not the honour to be acquainted with his Lordship; and though I had, and differed with them in opinion, yet as I was not come thither to wrangle, I only regretted the misfortune, as a thing not to be helped; little dreaming of what followed: but Bohaldy, not satisfied with complaints and abuse, proposed to me to write a letter to his Lordship, finding fault with his Conduct, and intimating to him that he was not so popular as he imagined, and that his Conduct was universally condemned by his Countrymen. I was as if thunderstruck at this proposal, and for a short time at a loss what to say, being ready to resent his attempting to make me a tool to his private resentment, knowing that the Earl Marischal was generally esteemed and the most popular man of the Party. His Lordship was then near Bologne, which they complained of, as his being upon the coast might occasion suspicion in the English ministry; in which I so far agreed with them, if his Lordship imagined the French intended an invasion; but as to writing to him and finding fault with his conduct was what I would by no means consent to; being a thing I had not the smallest title to, and if I was officious enough to do it, would justly be laughed at as a piece of childish impertinence and presumption.

Having now no further business at Paris, I prepared to return: and Bohaldy seeming a good deal elated with Monsieur Amelot's answer (though for what reason I could never guess), determined to accompany me to England, to settle matters, as he said, with the King's friends there, where we arrived with great privacy* in a few days.

Being desirous to make as much of my time as possible, I

* When we came to Calais, and found there were some British passengers, I was a little averse to go for fear of being known, but finding upon enquiry that it was Mr. Norvel of Boghall with his Tutor, an English Clergyman, I was easy, for Bohaldy had known Norvel at Paris: so he went to him and let him know who I was, and that I had been about the King's affairs; and put him upon his guard in case of our meeting afterwards in London.

went immediately to wait on Colonel Cecil,¹ who had been long employed in the King's business, with a view to learn from him in what shape he imagined things were, that I might be able to judge of the sentiments of the different parties, and hear the complaints they had against each other. Having gained this Gentleman's confidence some time before, I found no difficulty to attain the end I proposed, for as he knew I was employed, he looked upon me as in some degree equally concerned with himself, and not suspecting from whence I came, he freely opened his mind; shewed me several letters he had received from Rome; mentioned the then situation of the Party, and accounted for Lord Semple's being employed; complained of him for allowing himself to be imposed upon by the French Ministry, and blindly giving ear to their promises, and that he had been so presumptuous as to assume the character of Minister from the Party in England, when nothing was ever less intended by them. It would be tedious to mention all the complaints which the Colonel made: nor can I pretend to recollect every particular at the distance of fourteen years,² but in general he was much displeased with Lord Semple's conduct, and represented the loyal Party at home as far from being united or resolute enough to form any regular combination.

Though I was far from being satisfied with Lord Semple, from what I had observed, yet his specious behaviour* and seeming abilities so far blinded me as to make me attribute the atrocity of some particulars more to the Colonel's dotage than his Lordship's faults, as old men are generally peevish, and apt when disobliged to represent things in the stronger colours. However, as my memory was then very good, I took care to forget nothing he said, resolving to let the King know what was alledged on either side, to enable his Majesty to judge where the blame lay, and who were the persons in whom he had reason to repose the greatest trust and confidence.

I declared before, that I was at a loss to divine what could make Bohaldy so keen as to come and apply to the Party in

* He was a much smother and more insinuating man than Bohaldy; said less, and seemed fearful to contradict him.

¹ Jacobite agent. A minute of the French Foreign Office calls him 'oncle de Lord Salisbury.'

² This dates this part of the *Memorials*.

England: for if he represented things fairly, there was not the least room for encouragement. On the contrary, from what Mr. Amelot had said,* nothing was then to be expected; yet he seemed as much disappointed to find the Earl of Orrery was out of town as if an army had then been embarked, and after meeting with Mr. Erskine of Grange,¹ was in such a hurry to see his Lordship, that he immediately went to his Country seat, and returned with apparent satisfaction. Had the state of affairs, as I have truly represented them, been laid before that noble Lord, I cannot think he would have been highly pleased, or Bohaldy much encouraged: so must therefore be allowed to think, till such time as he tells truth, or the Earl divulges the conversation, that either Drummond had little reason to plume himself upon his reception, or that he represented things in quite a different light from what they were.

I am likewise of opinion the case was the same with Mr. Erskine. They had several meetings, and his temper and caution are too well known to imagine, if he had been thoroughly apprized of what had passed, and that there was so distant a prospect of any vigorous measures, he would have taken the trouble to consult and write letters, or indeed run any risk on that score.

At another interview with Colonel Cecil, he complain'd almost as loudly of the late Dutchess of Buckingham,² as he had done before of Lord Semple, alledging she had appropriated to herself the part of Embassadress extraordinary from the Party in England to the King and Court of France, and employed one Colonel Brett as her Secretary, when abroad; and that she had erred on the opposite side from Lord Semple, by demanding succours more proper for a Conquest, than to aid and assist a party, which was a means to make the French believe the King had few friends of any consequence ready to appear for him: but had the Colonel lived in the year 1745

* Supposing his speech to me had really proceeded from his master, it was still general, inconclusive, and such as nothing certain could be built upon.

¹ Lord Mar's brother, the notorious Lord Grange, b. 1672, d. 1754.

² Katherine, third wife and widow of John Sheffield, 1st duke of 4th creation, was an illegitimate daughter of James II. by Katherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. She died in April 1743, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

and 1746, he had probably altered his opinion, and allowed the Dutchess to have been right, as he would then have seen that nothing was to be expected from them but vain idle boastings, and, as Bolingbroke says, that they only vent that Loyalty which their Claret inspires.

Having staid as long in London as I thought necessary, I told Bohaldy that I intended to go to Scotland, and asked his commands. He pretended then to be very busy, having got an exact list* of all the Gentlemen in the City who were the King's friends, and that it was necessary to cultivate them; but as he could not appear, Lord Traquair must immediately come up to concert matters with the Duke of Beaufort,¹ Lord Orrery,² Lord Barrimore,³ Sir Watkin Williams Wynne,⁴ Sir John Hinde Cotton,⁵ etc., and concluded by insinuating that a letter from me to Lord Marischal might be of service, to which I did not make any answer, but assured him I would not fail upon my arrival to acquaint Lord Traquair with his request: and then bade him Adieu.

On my way home I stopt at York, and informed the Duke of Perth of what had passed; who, finding himself entirely disappointed of his expectations, was much shagreened, and fully persuaded of the emptiness of the promises hitherto made.

* This List, upon which he valued himself very much, was no more than the reputed characters and principles of the most remarkable men in the City, a thing which any man who is a little known may procure with great ease. If it was necessary, I would engage to procure such an other in a week's time, though Lord Traquair told me, he had shewn it to Sir John Hinde Cotton, who seemed surprized how he had got it:—but it is not surprizing that such bagatelles should seem considerable to people who study nothing but their *own interest*.

¹ Henry, 3rd duke, b. 1707, d. 1746.

² John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery, b. 1706, succeeded to the earldom of Cork 1753, d. 1762.

³ James, 4th Earl of Barrymore, b. 1667, d. 1747. Great-grandfather of the notorious 7th earl and his brother the 8th and last.

⁴ 3rd baronet, succeeded 1740; M.P. for Denbigh; d. 1749.

⁵ M.P. for Cambridge borough and afterwards county till 1741, then for Marlborough; Treasurer of the Chamber (a household post) till 1746, when he was dismissed; d. 1752.

Upon my arrival at Edinburgh I acquainted Lord Traquair and Lochyell with all I had learned at Paris and London, and Bohaldy's desire to see his Lordship there. He promised to set out in a few days, without seeming at all moved at the disappointment; whereas Lochyell was much affected; said he was entirely satisfied with the accounts I had brought, and was glad to find he could no longer be imposed upon, for as the promises hitherto had been without foundation, let whatever further assurances be given, he was determined not to move till thoroughly convinced of what was to be done, and often repeated how lucky it was that no steps had been taken upon Bohaldy's letter, which might have proved fatal to the Cause; and finally came to a resolution to wait patiently, till he should [know] by the Earl of Traquair's return, what were the sentiments of the Party in England, and what they were willing to undertake. He likewise promised to write to Lord Lovat: and I having recollected the principal complaints made by Colonel Cecil against Lord Semple and Bohaldy * inserted them in a letter to his Majesty, which I immediately dispatched to Rome.¹ Having thus acquainted the King with the differences subsisting amongst his agents, I bethought me how to turn Bohaldy's proposal of writing to Lord Marischal to the best advantage. To have insinuated to his Lordship or his friends, that any thing of that kind had been proposed, could have served no end but to make the breach wider: and not to have endeavoured to repair it, would not have been acting up to what I always proposed, my chief aim being to advance his Majesty's interest whenever an occasion offered, and consequently had I neglected this, must have been to blame for letting an opportunity slip, from whence considerable advantage might have ensued. Having seriously considered this matter, I wrote a letter to his Lordship, of which I am heartily sorry it is not in my power to give an exact copy, though I am at no loss to recollect the contents in general, which were as follows: That knowing his innate

* I am afraid I was much too modest upon that subject, and have often wished since that I had told every particular in as glaring a light as they had been represented to me.

¹ This letter may be at Windsor, but I was unable to discover it.

Loyalty and attachment to the interest of the Royal Family, his popularity, and the entire confidence the Party reposed in him, I thought it my duty to acquaint him, that I was extremely sorry to find such differences subsisting amongst the several persons employed in the King's affairs, and knew of none so fit to reconcile them as his Lordship: that his residence upon the coast made a correspondence easy, and begged with submission to insinuate that his applying himself to execute such a scheme would be meritorious and of vast importance at that juncture: adding, if my taking the liberty to write was using too much freedom, I hoped he would forgive me, and attribute it to nothing but a zealous passion to serve the Cause.

This letter I enclosed in one to Mr. Smith of Boulogne, whom I knew to be agreeable to his Lordship, desiring him to peruse it, and if he thought it was wrote with sufficient respect, to take the trouble to seal and deliver it: and as Lord Traquair was ready to set out for London, as soon as I had finished my dispatches, I went to his seat, and having informed him of what Bohaldy had proposed, showed him the letter, and gave my reasons for writing in so opposite a stile to what I had been solicited; and asked his opinion. His Lordship, far from finding fault, said it was very proper; condemned Bohaldy's proposal, and promised to forward it when he arrived at London, of which he would give me notice; and set out next morning.

Upon my return to Edinburgh, I made it my study, in consequence of my first plan, to get acquainted with every body who seemed inclined to my way of thinking; and may say without vanity, heightened the zeal of some by exposing the situation of the Country, and the advantages that would accrue from a change of government.

Amongst many people then in Edinburgh, who made no secret of their principles, Lord Elcho informed me of the bad opinion folks abroad had of Bohaldy; that he was looked upon as a low-lived fellow, void of truth; that he and Lord Semple had had some dealings with the Earl Marischal, but he had found them so false, that he positively refused to have any thing more to do with them; and that they had [tried] all

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AUG 22 1945

methods to engage him to give credit to their negotiations, but his Lordship had laughed at their attempts, and said, till they could give him security for their speaking truth, he would have nothing to do with them. This story plainly decyphered their malice and spleen against his Lordship, and their reason for soliciting me to write to him; and made me happy to have wrote in so opposite a stile to their wishes.

At this time I received letters from Rome, wherein I was ordered to observe to such as could be safely trusted, that the prospect of a vigorous effort was not very distant,* and without giving them too much room to pry into particulars; and was likewise directed to keep up their spirits, and let them understand that their assistance might soon be required.

The late Lord Kenmure, a person extremely Zealous in the King's cause, and whom I had brought to confer with Captain Hay upon my coming home, had acquainted me, that the people called Cameronians, a considerable body of men in the Counties of Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, and other Western Shires, were greatly disgusted with the government, and expecting a change, had applied to him by one of their leaders to beg his protection and countenance should a Revolution happen. As the orders I had lately received made it

* If strict justice, with the laws of humanity, and benevolence, will allow of a conjecture to the prejudice of our fellow-creatures, sure it must in the present case, where every circumstance seems to confirm the probability. The letters mentioned came to Edinburgh in the summer, when Traquair and Bohaldy were at London (at least Traquair was) a few months after my return from France. As both Semple and Bohaldy had wrote dispatches to the King immediately after the audience we had of Cardinal Tencin and Monsieur Amelot, is it not then reasonable to conjecture that it was owing to the contents of those letters that I was instructed to give the Party reason to believe something was soon to be done; and does not this fairly imply that things had not been justly represented? If it was to any subsequent encouragement, it must have followed soon after this audience, or those orders could not have arrived so early; and yet Lord Traquair said not one word of any such thing. A great deal might be said upon this subject: but the inferences are self-evident: therefore shall only desire that these two Gentlemen's dispatches at that time may be examined and compared with what I have advanced. If I am wrong, it only follows that we in Scotland were kept in the dark by Traquair, or both he and we by Lord Semple and Bohaldy.

necessary to gain a number of friends, these people were (if possible) to be secured, especially as, like the Jews, they had [kept] themselves distinct from the other inhabitants of the land, and, as I was informed, were enrolled and regimented. If my memory does not fail me, application had been made at that time in their behalf, and the King promised to take them under his protection, and to allow them an unrestrained liberty of Conscience, with a yearly salary to each of their preachers : but Lord Kenmure dying soon after this grant came to hand, and before he could acquaint me how matters stood, settled with the Gentleman who had spoke to him, I judged it proper to let his brother, the present Lord,* into the secret, and begged him to manage that matter, which he readily agreed to. I nevertheless thought it an affair of too much consequence to be conducted by one man, for though Sir Thomas Gordon of

* As this Lord's future conduct was very unbecoming a man who had been entrusted, it is necessary to give my reasons for confiding in him. When I went to Kenmure to acquaint the late Lord with Captain Hay's being at Edinburgh, and his desire to converse with him on the King's affairs, his Lordship told me he was mighty uneasy on his brother's account, having reason to suspect that his neighbour Lord Garlies (now Earl of Galloway) was endeavouring to prevail with him to accept a Commission in the Government's service, which was a thing he could not endure to think of : and desired me to talk to him, to let him know his fears, and put him in mind that as his patrimony was then spent, if he took [a step] so disagreeable to him, he might lay aside all thoughts of any assistance from him ; but if he continued firm to the principles in which he had been brought up, and for which his father had suffered, he should want for nothing in his power to give him. When I spoke to the present Lord, he seemed not only uneasy, but expressed great concern that his brother should suspect him ; and declared that no offers should tempt him, and there was nothing further from his thoughts ; that he was sensible of the infamy attending such a step, and never could prevail with himself to serve the family who had taken his father's life. He said, he was convinced that whatever face [they put] on to him, in their own breasts they would disapprove the action, and despise him for it ; that all the arts Lord Garlies was master of could not allure him, being as sincerely attached to the King's interest as his brother, or any man in the nation, and not only esteemed it a duty, but would reckon it his greatest honour and happiness to have an opportunity to shew he had some of his father's blood in his veins, that he was sensible of the great obligations he owed his brother, and would never do any thing so disagreeable to

Earlston,¹ who had solicited Lord Kenmure, was esteemed the first man of that body, it was still requisite to be informed of their other Leaders, and endeavour to gain them. Having therefore learned that Captain Cramon was one who had great influence amongst them, I agreed with Lochyell, and Cochran of Roughfoil, Physician in Edinburgh (mentioned in note, page 38), that being their acquaintance, they should manage him; and Bohaldy was desired to procure a Commission for him from Rome, which might be ready to put into his hands when an occasion offered; and part of this summer passed over in acquainting such as were thought proper, and in making experiments,* all tending to the same end. Some time before Lord Traquair returned, Mr. Smith came from France, and as I had been much surprized at his Lordship's silence, having heard nothing from him since he left Scotland, nor received any return from Lord Marischal, I flattered myself this Gentleman might be charged with it; but to my great surprize he took no notice at meeting of having ever heard from me, which made me at a loss what to think, whether it might have miscarried, never doubting of its being forwarded, or if Lord Marischal, having heard of my being in France, had been offended at my not offering to wait on him, and refused an answer; but whatever was the reason, I resolved to take no notice to Mr. Smith of having wrote to him.

As Lord Traquair had made a longer stay than was expected, and never favoured me with a letter, the season being far advanced, I made a visit at his house to learn if the Ladies

him. He then begged me to assure him that his fears were groundless, that nothing should make him act this part he so much dreaded; that he might depend upon his sincerity, and his conducting himself according to his brother's wishes: and at the same desired I might take an opportunity to assure his Majesty of the sincere regard he had for his interest, with his readiness to testify it by his actions upon all occasions.

* Clubs of the King's friends became upon this pretty frequent in town, and encreased afterwards to a very uncommon degree, as may be remembered by every person in Edinburgh, who were then able to judge of the party: and I was the first promoter of the Buck Club, which shall be taken notice of in due time.

¹ In Kirkcudbright, a descendant of Gordon of Airds, an early reformer (1530). The present baronet claims the title of Viscount Kenmure.

had heard any thing of him, when accidentally his Lordship arrived. As my anxiety to know how matters stood was in proportion to my zeal, my curiosity was no less to know the reason of his uninterrupted silence, and the fate of my letter; I therefore took the first opportunity to beg to know the success of his journey.

He told me that Bohaldy and he had several meetings with their friends, who were all extremely well inclined, and in high spirits: that the persons they had chiefly dealt with, and who were esteemed the leading men of the party, were the Duke of Beaufort, the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Barrimore, Sir John Hinde Cotton and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne; that the Earl of Barrimore and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne were ready to embrace every opportunity, but that the others were more shy: that having found them nevertheless well inclined to the King's interest, he had told them that as money was absolutely necessary, and not to be had in Scotland, their assistance would be required; to which Sir Watkyn answered, that it was natural to expect a large contribution from him, being possessed of a great fortune; but turning to Lord Barrimore observed, he was obliged to live at a vast expence, and had it less in his power to be assisting that way, than if his income was smaller: and that Lord Barrimore seemed to acquiesce, and frankly offered, if it was necessary, to provide £10,000. He then mentioned the frequent meetings in the City, where he had dined with numbers of the well affected; which he expatiated upon with seeming satisfaction: said, he had been at Litchfield races, and dined there with above an hundred honest men;¹ and concluded by telling, that Lord Barrimore, though then in the Country, had, on purpose to meet him, pretended business in town: which concluded his whole negotiations, wherein he had spent full four months.

Little satisfied with this intelligence, and without making any observations upon what he had said, I enquired how he had forwarded my letter to the Earl Marischal; and to my great astonishment was answered, that having shewed it to Bohaldy, he disapproved of the contents, and that they both

¹ *i.e.* Jacobites.

agreed to commit it to the flames; a liberty I would not have taken with my footman's letter.

I will now venture to make some remarks upon this notable Report. The Party in England, he said, was in high spirits. Whence could their being so proceed? Not surely from the answer made by Monsieur Amelot; for had it been fairly reported, they would have had little reason to rejoice. It did not appear that any further encouragement had been given by the French Court: at least his Lordship mentioned nothing like it, having only said the scheme would be executed in the beginning of Winter or early in the Spring, which could administer small comfort, as it was only treading in the former old beaten path of Autumn and Spring, according to Bohaldy's information for the Autumn 1742 or Spring 1742/3; therefore I must be excused for thinking their spirits were raised either by hearty meals, or by Bohaldy's false representation of Mr. Amelot's answer.

Notwithstanding these frequent meetings and numerous companies, I cannot help observing, that according to his Lordship's report, the strength of the party seemed to consist chiefly in five persons. Strange indeed! if proper application was made, that amongst so many reputed friends of the Royal Cause, so few as five could only be found as principal men, and amongst them only two who would declare to embrace every opportunity to appear for his Majesty and save their sinking Country. Even allowing this to have been as his Lordship said, and that there was more safety in dealing with them than in greater numbers, yet what did their professions of zeal tend to, or what was the effect of them? Words without actions are truly vain, for he did not even pretend to say that there was any scheme laid down, or plan of action formed even by these five; yet it must be allowed by every unprejudiced thinking man, that had they been the men they professed themselves, and as much elated (upon solid grounds) as his Lordship represented, no necessary precaution could not have escaped them. They could be no strangers to the scheme formed in Scotland, otherwise his Lordship must have concerted with them to little purpose without communicating it; nor is it to be thought they would have consulted with him

without knowing the grounds he went upon, the authority with which he was vested by his Countrymen to treat, and the force they proposed to bring into the field. But lest this should appear only a probable conjecture, I venture to affirm upon his Lordship's authority, that the Scots proposals were laid before them, and call upon him to vouch it. This then being the case, how shall he account for his not pushing them to do the like? What was the reason of his going? Surely not to hear the bare professions of these Gentlemen: that could be of little use; the world in general reputed them Jacobites, and the party were no strangers to their having declared themselves so upon many occasions. The Scots required no further assurances of that trifling nature: it behoved them to know if they were willing to join them in the insurrection they meditated, what assistance* they would give, and after what manner they proposed to do it. These were the principal demands which ought to have been made, and an explicit answer to them insisted upon; but in place of this, his Lordship was contented with vain and frivolous expressions of Loyalty, which left his friends in Scotland as much as ever in the dark with regard to that very material point: and indeed it appears that he had no thought of any one thing necessary, except money; and even in that allowed himself to be put off with a superficial promise, till what they were pleased to call a proper occasion should require it. He knew the Commission I had to raise money, and the bad success I had met with: the necessity still subsisted, and was so much the more pressing, as the time more nearly approached when it was to be expended; why not then represent the urgency in its proper Colours, and be at a certainty whether they would contribute? If a sufficient

* Lord Lovat made no scruple to declare in the Tower, that if the Duke of Beaufort had not promised to raise 12,000 men, he would not have concerned himself: whereby he exposed before the Warders a nobleman to the resentment of the Government, whom I had been at great pains to represent at an examination by a Deputation of the Council as no ways privy to and concerned in our scheme, and that his name being found in a letter to the Prince was owing to Bohaldy's information, which I represented as a vainglorious puff.¹

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 435.

sum could not have been raised immediately, they might have specified a particular time at the distance of a few months; for surely the noble Lord, who was said to have offered to provide ten thousand pounds, might in a short time have procured five thousand; but nothing of this kind was done: his Lordship having contented himself with taking the will for the deed, as if that goodwill would have furnished the several necessities of which we then stood in need. It would seem he was too bashfull, and esteemed it an abundant favour that they condescended to hear him: and thus satisfied with that honour was cautious not to offend by being too importunate; and preferred being in their good graces to the substantial interest of the party. I would not be understood, by saying so much upon this particular of the money, to harbour any grudge against his Lordship, or the persons named for not transmitting a sum, but remark it as having been the only material point touched by him of the many he ought to have settled; and even in this he did not sufficiently exert himself.

I had some difficulty to forbear laughing at that part of his report, where he seemed to look upon it as a meritorious action in Lord Barrimore to come from his Country seat to town with no other view than to converse with him on these matters. Where was the mighty merit? Was not Lord Barrimore a subject as well as he? He had declared himself one of the party; and why was he to be exempted from trouble? Affairs of that nature are not to be carried on by sitting at home: a man must stir and shew his zeal by his activity, as the most effectual method to engage others in the same interest. His Lordship had made a journey from Scotland, and though there was some disparity in their age, there was none in their quality: the one was as much bound to exert himself as the other. Besides, the observation would have been more apropos to most other people; nor did I require any example of that kind to excite me to be alert, as I was continually upon the move, to the prejudice of my family, and frequently taking horse, when others, who pretended as much zeal, were going to bed.

I hope to be forgiven for making a few remarks upon his Lordship's conduct in regard to my letter to the Earl Marischal.—After reading the letter, he voluntarily made offer to

forward it. Upon that consideration I entrusted it to him ; therefore, had it been for this reason only, nothing should have prevented him from keeping his promise ; besides, he had highly approved of it, upon hearing my reasons for writing in that style. Had he upon reflection disapproved of it, why not account for his change of sentiments ? Why not write to acquaint me of it, and endeavour to procure my consent to its being destroyed, or return it by the first sure hand ? Which every man conversant in the world, and even such as from their outward behaviour did not appear to be so polite as his Lordship, would and ought to have done. A letter is always looked upon as so sacred among Gentlemen, that I am ready to believe few instances will be found of one's taking upon him to dispose of another's without his consent. If he was afraid to keep any writings of that kind in his custody, he could be at no loss to lodge it safely with some of the many people he knew in London ; but it was a season of the year when he had frequent opportunities of transmitting it by private hands ; and even supposing no opportunity of that kind had offered, the common post would have done as well, all being then quiet and not the least suspicion of any correspondence of that nature, so that the Clerks of the office were entirely exempted from the trouble of trying their dexterity of hand ; and he knew that others had been sent by the same conveyance upon the same subject. But to use no further arguments of this kind, I will beg leave to ask his Lordship two Questions : What authority had he to shew this letter to any man living ? And with what view was it, that above all others he shewed it to Bohaldy, the man in the world who ought not to have seen it ? I did not enjoin him to make it known to any body : my complaisance induced me to communicate it to him ; but I saw no necessity for asking the advice or approbation of any other. He, therefore, could not take upon him to impart it to a second person, without being guilty of the most evident and flagrant breach of trust. I had fully informed him of what Bohaldy had proposed, and he disapproved of it knowing his inclinations then ; he could not fail knowing that he would be against it as a thing entirely destructive of his scheme to render Lord Marischal at variance with all employed in the King's affairs. To

what purpose then did he shew it to him? Surely his consent to destroy it could no ways diminish the fault. In short, I never could conceive a reason for it, if not his being so much wedded to that man; and so fearfull to offend him, that he rather chose to take the odium of the action upon himself than risk disobliging his Dictator. Being unwilling to make any more differences than subsisted already, I stifled my resentment for the sake of the publick good, and only regretted that he had altered his mind, as I was persuaded the letter might have been of service, had it been forwarded.

Without any further remarks, I shall proceed by saying, that all that could be done, after this uncertain and unconvulsive answer, was to wait with patience for accounts from France or Rome, and to regulate affairs so, that in case of a landing we might make as quick an appearance as possible, and endeavour to dispose of people's minds for such an event. This was Lord Traquair's province in the low Country, but I defy him to say he ever took the smallest trouble about it, or to produce one man whom he endeavoured to engage in the Cause.

It was judged proper that Lochyell should immediately repair to the Highlands, to put things upon the best footing he could: and as I had been in possession, since the month of December preceding, of two Commissions for Lord Lovat, one of Lieutenant General, and another of Lord Lieutenancy of all Scotland benorth the river Spey, with, for Sir James Campbell* of Auchenbreck, one of Lieutenant General, and another of Lord Lieutenancy of Argyleshire, I committed them to his care, thinking they would be safer in his hands than mine, in case of any suspicion or search.

* It would be no hard task to shew the impropriety of asking the Commission of Lord Lieutenancy of Argyleshire for Sir James Campbell, and that Sir Hector Maclean was entitled to it in preference to Sir James: but his Majesty could not refuse it, he being represented as a person of so much interest, one of the Associators, and father-in-law of Lochyell, and the only considerable man of the name of Campbell of that way of thinking, for though Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell had been formerly known to be of the same principles, yet he had ever been too cautious to risk any thing, though his two brothers, Ardslegnish and another, [were] killed at Culloden.

Being informed that an augmentation of the Dutch troops was intended, and sensible of the great loss we should be at for officers, I thought of making interest for a Company in the Scots Brigade, by which I might be able to engage some of the officers to come over: but as any application of that nature might look like deserting the King's business, I imparted my scheme to Lord Traquair, who greatly approved it, and desired me to draw out a plan, which he would shew to a friend, whose advice might be of service; which I did, and he shewed it to Mr. Erskine of Grange, who likewise approved it: and then I wrote to Rome, and desired leave to apply.

The winter passed over without any news from Bohaldy, till the publick papers began to be filled with accounts of the Prince's arrival in France, and the motion of the troops towards the Coast. All parties seemed then full of concern: the friends of the government were afraid of an invasion, whilst its Enemies, ardently wishing for it, were uneasy that no intimation, however distant, was made to them: and above all, the Duke of Perth and I, then at Edinburgh, were in the utmost dilemma, not knowing what to think or how to move. The Earl of Traquair, likewise in some perplexity, arrived in town, and soon after received a packet from Bohaldy, containing two letters, the first dated in December, and the second of a fortnight's date before arrival.—The one wrote in December contained an account of his going to Rome* soon after parting with his Lordship at London, where he said he had the utmost difficulty to procure the King's consent to the Prince's leaving Italy, but after presenting two long† Memorials, he had prevailed, and immediately returned to France, where he acquainted the ministry of his intended journey to England, where he had been likewise much‡ difficulted to persuade the King's friends to

* His Lordship knew nothing of his Journey, so it would seem to have been a project of his own, unless he accounts for its sudden conception.

† It would not be amiss to examine these memorials, and compare the facts therein set forth with the after performance of the first and truth of the last.

‡ It is surprizing (to give it no worse epithet) that Bohaldy should have presumed to advise his Sovereign to send the Prince to risk himself,

agree to the Descent intended, which he said would be in the month of January (which was elapsed before his packet came) with 12,000 men from Dunkirk under the command of the late Marshal Saxe in England, and 3000 men, with ammunition, arms, money, and every thing necessary in Scotland, commanded by the Earl Marischal; and concludes by desiring that all necessary preparations might be made for their reception.

The other letter begun with a heavy (but improbable) complaint against Andrew Cockburn for having neglected to forward the first letter, which he said he had left to his care. Then tells that having settled affairs* with the party in England, he was upon his return to France, and in all probability the troops would be landed as soon as the letters could come to hand. He then says, but how Lord Marischal is to be equipped† is more than he can tell: and in the Postscript, enquires what is become of Mr. Erskine of Grange; and begs

or impose upon the French Court to send their troops, when according to his own words there was no scheme settled for their reception. It was too wanton an experiment with a person, upon whom the welfare of his Majesty's family and dominions depend; as neither Bohaldy or any man of tolerable sense could imagine that the friends of the government would not use fire, and every other means in their power, however destructive to the inhabitants, to incommode and distress him at and after his landing: and therefore what is mentioned in his memorials relative to the English friends, and promised in their names as inducements to prevail with his Majesty to consent to the Prince's journey, ought to be very particularly attended to.

* In his first letter he says, he had been much diffculted to persuade the English friends to agree to the Descent: after which he went to France; and upon his return says, he had then only settled affairs with them. Strange way of proceeding! From his first letter it is plain he knew upon what footing, and with what force the Descent was to be made: and as he must (or at least ought to) have told them this before he procured their consent, why were not the affairs he now mentions settled then, and what were these affairs? Their consent signified nothing without engaging to join: and surely if they consented they must at the same time have promised to assist. The whole of this hotch-potch transaction of his requires an explanation.

† In his first letter he says, his Lord was to be furnished with ammunition, arms, money, and every thing necessary.

he may come to London without delay to advise how matters were to be conducted.*

The letters being read, I took the liberty to give it as my opinion that they were so contradictory to each other, that no regard was to be paid them : that no material step, such as making preparations for the reception of the troops, should be taken, as being absolutely impracticable on account of the shortness of the time : that the chief thing to be done was to write to Bohaldy, observing his contradictions, and desiring him to explain himself; and at the same time to acquaint Lord Lovat and Lochyell (then in the Highlands) with the Contents, that they might be upon their guard, whatever should be the event : that the Duke of Perth should talk privately to Lord George Murray, and such as he thought proper : and that Lord Traquair should do the like in the low Country, which was his province.

His Grace declared himself altogether of my opinion, and Lord Traquair, after much reluctance and hesitation, unable to reconcile Bohaldy's contradictions, was obliged to acquiesce: so in their presence I wrote in the terms proposed, which was subscribed by us all, and dispatched next day by Lord Traquair, and inclosed to Doctor Barry at London, with orders to forward it immediately.

It was carried by one of the Duke of Perth's servants (addressed to ¹ Milne, Clerk in the War or some other of the publick offices, to be delivered to the Doctor). The fellow was taken up soon after his arrival at London, and examined concerning his dispatches by the Marquis of Tweeddale,² then

* If affairs had been settled with the Party in England (as he wrote a few lines before) there could be no occasion for Mr. Erskine's advice how matters were to be conducted. If he meant for Scotland, Mr. Erskine could not be with him in time, if matters were in such forwardness as he represented : and Bohaldy should have sent instructions in time how they were to be conducted : for it is very unlikely that Mr. Cockburn (who was known to be very careful of letters sent to him) should have stopt his letter ; and it is more likely he accuses Mr. Cockburn, to vindicate his own criminal neglect.

¹ Blank in MS.

² John, 4th marquis, succeeded his father in 1715, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1742-46, Lord Justice General, 1761 ; d. 1762.

Secretary for Scotland ; but answering that they were papers concerning Lord Traquair's private affairs, the matter was dropt, and he set at liberty, his Lordship's intended marriage being then surmised, and the packet supposed to contain a Rent-roll of his Estate, and such writings as are usually produced upon a marriage settlement.

The Doctor, having received the letter, did not think proper to send it, but wrote to Bohaldy, acquainting him with its being in his custody, and to know if he should forward it. I should be very sorry to reflect unjustly upon this or any Gentleman, but it will certainly be allowed that the delay was shewing little regard for Lord Traquair's desire, and paying great respect to Bohaldy ; besides, it was an overstrained caution, for the same conveyance by which he sent his own, would have with equal safety forwarded his Lordship's ; nor did he ever pretend there was any risk, so it must have either proceeded from something I shall not be so unpolite as to insinuate, or that he esteemed any thing his Lordship could say as very immaterial.

The Duke of Perth, notwithstanding what Lord Traquair and I urged to prevent him, went next day to Drummond Castle, afraid of being taken up on suspicion ; which soon confirmed what I had before alledged, that in case the first letter had come in course according to its date, and preparations followed thereupon, the government might have been alarmed, and endeavoured, if not effected, the ruin of all concerned ; for no sooner had his Grace made his abrupt departure, than orders were given to observe his motions, and parties sent to his house to seize him. I continued in Edinburgh, and took care to put all upon their guard who might be trusted : and Lord Traquair went in a few days to the Country, where he remained unactive.

The Duke of Perth was no sooner got to the Country, than he exerted himself to the utmost to put things upon the best footing in the District allotted him. He had two private meetings with Lord George Murray, who at first proposed to raise the people of Athol, as if to serve the Government, and when got into a body, to join us. He likewise dispatched expresses to Braemar, and other parts of the North : nor did

he confine himself to his own province alone, but sent for Mr. MacDonald of Keppoch,¹ and acquainted him with the situation of affairs.

Lord Lovat, on the contrary, feigned himself sick, as an excuse for not bestirring himself, and with great difficulty could be prevailed upon to see Lord John Drummond (the Duke of Perth's brother), who,* ignorant of what was going on, had come over to raise men for his regiment.

The news papers being now full of the Dunkirk embarkation, and the government growing more and more anxious and uneasy, I was advised by an acquaintance (a person of honour and probity) to get out of the way, being much suspected, and very probably might be apprehended. Though I knew him to be sincere, yet as he was in the government's service, after thanking him for his advice, I seemed surprised that I should be suspected, and said that as I usually lived in town at that

* He had been seen and informed against by one Grant, who had some time belonged to his regiment, which he quitted to enter among the Government's troops, and afterwards kept a publick house in London, but has lately gone to Jamaica. An officer in Lord John Drummond's regiment (since justly distinguished by a badge of honour for his services to the Royal Family) informed a friend of his who used to visite him and the other French officers in the Marshalsea prison, of Grant's character, and desired him to put his Acquaintances upon their guard not to trust him, which he accordingly did: yet this very man was since the year 1746 esteemed honest by many of the party; insomuch that from good authority I have great reason to believe that many of those who came from France since 1746 frequented his house, and made him too privy to their business: nay, even Bohaldy himself, in spite of all his boasted prudence and caution, was frequently in his house, of which when I seemed to doubt, my author was so well assured of it, that he offered to appoint the time when I might see him there; from whence I hope to be allowed to observe, that had I been the person the blind and prejudiced endeavoured to represent me, it was in my power to have injured not only him and others, but higher Powers through their sides; but all men of reflection are sensible how easy mankind is to be hurried with prejudice, how ready low minds are to sacrifice every thing to present interest and resentment, and how little common fame is to be relied upon.

¹ Alexander, son of 'Coll of the Cows,' who fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. He was at the University of Glasgow in 1713; m. Jessie, daughter of Stewart of Appin; fell heroically at Culloden.

season of the year, my leaving it might be a means to heighten the suspicion, whereas if I continued under the government's servants eye, they might be undeceived and give me no trouble : but, he replied, I was mistaken, for they were not ignorant of my principles and connections with the party, and in all likelihood would secure me ; and as he might not be informed of their intentions early enough to acquaint me, thought my going to the Country would be prudent. This happen'd on a Saturday, but judging it imprudent to disappear too suddenly, I staid till the Wednesday following when I had an excuse to go to the Country to a brother-in-law's burial : but before I set out I had an instance of a very extraordinary piece of management ; whom to impute it to I cannot positively say, whether to Doctor Barry or Mr. Cockburn, for to one of them it was owing. To my great surprize Mr. MacDougall* brought me a letter addressed to the Countess of Traquair. He had been luckily at the Postoffice when the mail arrived, and one of the Clerks† (who was in our interest) observing the letter, and imagining it might be of consequence, gave it to him. Not thinking that any letter of moment could be sent by the common post at so critical a juncture I was averse to open it, but reflecting that an intrusion of such a nature at that time would not be taken amiss, I ventured to open it in Mr. Macdougall's presence. Finding the inclosed sealed and directed after the same manner, I was the more curious, and having opened that, found it blank with one inclosed, sealed, and addressed to her son by his cant name, wrote by Bohaldy, and containing a few lines in Cypher, saying the troops were then ready to embark, that he expected to be in England in a few days, and again begging that Mr. Erskine might repair to London. Had this letter fallen into wrong hands, which was the more likely when addressed to so suspicious a name, what a scene must have ensued, for though perhaps they could not have explained it, yet it left room to suspect every thing, and would have proved a sufficient pretence to secure Lord Traquair, and those with whom he was most intimately connected.

* Wine merchant in Edinburgh.

† Mr. Francis.

It was not the same now as formerly: the common post was become the most dangerous conveyance of any. It was not to be doubted that when an invasion was threatened, and an intestine war dreaded, nay, upon the brink of commencing, the utmost care would be taken to look into letters, especially such as were addressed to Roman Catholics, or people suspected to be Jacobites. Nothing can vindicate such a step, nothing but dotage or drunkenness could have occasioned it; nor would any man of business, or even pretender to it, have wrote so trifling, so insignificant a letter, upon such an emergency. He had said the same thing three weeks before: now since another occasion of writing offered, he should have been more explicate, whereas the letter was only an anxious enquiry after Mr. Erskine of Grange, as if the army, when landed, was to have halted till Mr. Erskine gave his orders to advance, or as if the Prince was not to have marched to St James's till Mr. Erskine was ready to receive him. Mr. Erskine, perhaps, was a very good and able man, but I am afraid his presence would not have counterballanced the bad effects which must have ensued, had this childish letter been intercepted.

Though I fondly wished for an invasion, yet from former disappointments, and every circumstance already mentioned, I could not be satisfied it was really intended; nor did I think it was more than show, till I received a letter from Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton,¹ which assured me that the accounts of the preparations at Dunkirk were authentick; so after regulating my affairs in the best manner the time would permit, and talking with such of the King's friends as I thought proper to let into the secret, I went to the Country.

Two days after I met with Lord Traquair at my brother's interment, when I informed him of what had passed from the time of his leaving Edinburgh, and the receipt of Bohaldy's

¹ The following note is kindly contributed by Mrs. Nisbet Hamilton Ogilvy of Biel and Dirleton:—'The William Nisbet of Dirleton who lived in 1745 and died in 1783 was the son of William Nisbet, who died in 1733, by his wife Christian, daughter of Sir William Bennet, Bart. of Grubbet. He married Mary, daughter of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland, which lady succeeded to the Belhaven (Biel) estates on the death of her kinsman, James, fifth Lord Belhaven and Stenton. William Nisbet was very musical—played the violin and composed. There is a fine portrait of him at Archerfield by Allan Ramsay.'

letter: upon which he acquainted me with his having received a letter from Edinburgh the night before, advising him there was a warrant issued to apprehend him, that he did not think it safe to continue longer at his own house, and therefore proposed going to Drummond Castle and asked me to accompany him. Being a little startled at the intelligence he had mentioned, I ventured to ask him from whom it came and was answered from his Taylor; which giving me as low opinion of the information as I could possibly have of the informer, I declined going, saying, though I did not propose to return to Edinburgh, yet I could not think of going so soon to Perthshire, for having but little ready [money] it behoved me to raise some from my tenants. His Lordship obligingly replied, that the want of money needed be no stop, for if I would join in a bill with him for £500 he would procure it from Lord Elibank;¹ so having no further objection I agreed to his proposal; and after writing to Lord Kenmure to acquaint him * with the motive of our journey, and to beg he might be in readiness in case of a landing, we set out for Perthshire, and the second evening we arrived at† Drummond Castle where we were informed that his Grace, fearing a surprize, had retired to a farm (possessed by James Drummond Macgregor) about eight miles up the Country upon the side of Loch Tron.

Thinking his absconding would still give stronger suspicion to the servants of the government, I proposed to Lord Traquair to go and endeavour to persuade him to return home; and his Lordship consenting, we went to his Grace, and I took the liberty to tell him that his skulking was not only the ready

* I had spoke to him at Edinburgh, and he promised to be in readiness; but considering that in case of a landing, all the King's friends in the low Country would be liable to be arrested, I wrote to him to come to us in Perthshire.

† We had here an instance of fidelity and regard for their master's preservation. When we arrived in the Court yard it was dark, and some of the servants then in the Cellar hearing the tread of our horses, and imagining we were a party of dragoons come to seize his Grace, one of them came to the door and threw a full bottle with great violence at us, but providentially it struck none of us.

¹ Patrick, 5th baron.

way to make him suspected, but below his dignity, and might give the party an unfavourable opinion of his power in these parts, where he had a number of people who would be faithful to him, and if properly placed on the different avenues could give him timely notice of the approach of any parties that might be sent from Perth or Stirling to seize him.

These arguments prevailed, and he returned two days after, when the Lords Nairn¹ and Strathallan² were sent for,* and the affairs of the Country put upon the best footing the shortness of the time would allow.

As it might seem troublesome to mention every particular incident which happened at that time, let it suffice then to say that every hour passed away in anxious expectation; and parties having been sent both from Stirling and Perth to apprehend the Duke of Perth, he was at last obliged to retire to Braemar, where he staid till all apprehensions of an invasion were over, and people's minds a little at rest.

Having continued in Perthshire† till all hopes of a landing were vanished, I went to Stirling, where I was informed of Lord Elcho's³ being arrived from France, upon which I went privately to Edinburgh to learn what had passed, and found by his Lordship's account, that all the apparatus for an invasion was shew only, and that the Earl Marischall, in place of having 3000 troops allotted for Scotland, with arms, ammunition, and money, could not, after sending frequent couriers to Paris, procure any orders, nor was he so much as provided with money for his necessary expences as General; and the Prince, instead of being publickly at Dunkirk with the troops, was kept private at Gravelines,‡ where no person had access to him but Bohaldy, or such as he chose.

* Lochyell was then in the island of Sky with Sir Alexander MacDonald, who declared himself ready to join upon the troops landing.

† At Fairnton, Abercarny, Lord Nairns, etc.

‡ His Royal Highness knows best if this is true.

¹ John, son of Margaret, Baroness Nairn, and Lord William Murray, son of 1st Marquess of Atholl; b. 1691; out in the '15; taken at Preston; forfeited; joined Prince Charles at Blair, was a member of his Council, and commanded an Atholl battalion, escaped to France, where he died in 1770.

² William, 4th viscount, fell at Culloden.

³ David, son of 4th Earl of Wemyss, and Janet, daughter of the notorious Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield, b. 1721, d. 1787.

These accounts affected me very sensibly, and made me the less wonder that neither Lord Semple or Bohaldy had sent us proper intelligence of what was going forward, though till then I could not help thinking it strange why they did not account to us for the embarkation's miscarrying, which they might easily have done by sending a small vessell to Scotland, or the same ship which brought Lord Elcho from Boulogne.

1744. The time passed away without any intelligence from these Gentlemen till the month of June, whilst all concerned were extremely uneasy to think they should be so much neglected and left entirely in the dark in relation to an affair of so great consequence, and for which they had so long struggled with imminent risk both of their lives and fortunes. It cannot appear strange that those principally engaged were uneasy, as their all was at stake in case of a discovery: and it was with the greatest indignation they reflected that the man whom they had employed, and who enjoyed the bread he then *and still eats through their interest*, should dare to neglect to answer* the letter they had wrote, nor give them a circumstantial account of the situation of affairs, and to what cause it was owing that the descent he had so positively promised had not been made.

Some were of opinion that having got the Prince in France, and the management of affairs into his hands, he looked upon himself as able to stand on his own legs without their support, and so had dubbed himself an independent Minister† and man of consequence, indifferent which ever way they should interpret his silence, having the *shew* of the Prince's authority.

This was not the opinion of two or three, but of many who were now acquainted (since Lord Elcho's‡ arrival) with what had passed; and it was upon this account that a resolution was taken to come at the bottom of the whole affair; and I

* The letter, signed by the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, and me, and sent to London to be forwarded by Doctor Barry.

† As Lord Semple, according to Colonel Cecil, had assumed the character of Minister from the King's friends in England without their consent.

‡ His Lordship did not scruple to acquaint such of the King's friends as could be trusted with the management at the time of the embarkation.

was named as the person to execute the Commission, even Lord Traquair himself professing great anxiety, and blaming Bohaldy's silence.

I acknowledge I was not only the first who proposed to send to France, but was very desirous to go; yet reflecting on the several disappointments we had met with, the frivolous trifling and unconvulsive reasons assigned for these disappointments, together with the usage I had received from Lord Traquair and Bohaldy in the case of my letter to the Earl Marischall, I did not think myself a fit person, judging that Semple and Bohaldy would give as little satisfaction as possible, and being strongly suspected by the friends of the government, was afraid the cause of my journey might be guessed, and rekindle that jealousy which seemed then to be a good deal abated. Nevertheless, I agreed with Lord Traquair at Peebles to go to the Duke of Perth, and talk the affair over with him: and the same night, when the family were gone to bed, I set out for Drummond Castle, where I arrived the next day; and having told him what had passed at Peebles, he not only approved the scheme, but begged that by any means I might go. He professed his dislike of Bohaldy's conduct, the diffidence he had of his veracity, and his ardent desire to be satisfied whether any thing had been really intended. Upon this I freely opened my mind to him, by declaring the doubts I had long conceived of that Gentleman's integrity, and my reasons for being a little averse to the journey. He took all imaginable pains to remove my difficulties, and begged I would go; for, said he, let whatever be the success, we cannot fail to learn if the agents are to be trusted; and if they avoid giving reasons for their silence and the miscarriage of the embarkation, or do not assign satisfactory ones for both, they will equally demonstrate that no dependence is to be had upon them or the French Court, and then will be a proper time either to make an alteration both in men and measures, or entirely lay aside further thoughts of the affair for some time.

Though thoroughly satisfied of the necessity of sending some person, I continued nevertheless of opinion that none could be more unfit than me if obliged to apply to Bohaldy or Lord Semple alone: but finding his Grace bent upon the scheme,

I agreed to it, provided I should have nothing to do with them, but be at liberty to apply immediately to the Prince in the name of his friends in Scotland, and likewise to lay a state before him of what had passed, acquaint him with the several disappointments we had already met with, the false and contradictory intelligence sent us, to know if these letters had been wrote by his order, and finally to learn what had put a stop to the embarkation, what situation affairs were then in, and what steps his friends in Scotland were to take.

His Grace agreed heartily to this proposal; and I promised upon my return to acquaint the Earl of Traquair with the conditions upon which I was willing to go, that there might afterwards be no room left to find fault, or alledge he was a stranger to my intentions. Accordingly I went to his house in the Country, where having told him what had passed with the Duke of Perth, I was so candid and fair as to shew him the Copy of Letter I proposed to forward to the King upon my arrival in France, and likewise the heads of a Memorial which I designed to lay before the Prince, or communicate to him by word of mouth if an opportunity offered: to all which he consented; and desired I might set out with all convenient despatch.

As I had neither mentioned my journey to my family or any of my friends, and as it was necessary to assign some plausible reason, I was obliged to stay a few days, and give out that I intended to go and see the army in Flanders; and that it might look the less suspicious, went to Edinburgh and asked Lord Elcho to go with me, but, as he did not immediately resolve, I determined to set out by myself, and when I had every thing ready, got an express from Lord Traquair acquainting me that he had received a letter from Lord Semple and Bohaldy, which he was then deciphering, and desired I might come to know the Contents.

I took horse immediately, full of hopes to find something satisfactory, but it is impossible to express the disappointment upon finding things worse than ever, the most unaccountable reasons assigned for the Invasion's having failed,¹ and a still more unaccountable proposal. I cannot now recollect every particular, nor will it be thought strange that many things of

¹ The fleet was driven back by storm on Feb. 24.

moment have escaped my memory, if the distance of time, hurry of business, unprecedented bad usage, unheard-of oppression, the vilest calumny, and the sinister accidents that have befallen me in private life, are duly considered: but, still I can remember the chief reason alledged was, *that the Admiral¹ had been bribed by English money and disobeyed his orders.*

I will readily grant that such things may have happened both in ancient and modern times, though the examples perhaps are few; but that it did in the case before us I cannot be prevailed on to believe. If it did, it will follow that Bohaldy expressly contradicts himself; for, in one of his letters before mentioned, he assured Lord Traquair that the scheme was carried on with so much secrecy and address, that neither the Admiral himself, and but few of the ministry, knew of the expedition upon which the fleet was to go, and that the Admiral's orders were given with strict charge not to open them till he was got to a certain Latitude. If this then was the case, it was impossible the Court at London should know its destination,* and without that knowledge there was no occasion to bribe the Admiral. Such steps are not taken at a venture, and though the English fleet was neither so well manned or numerous as it was soon after, yet it had not been for many years upon so bad a footing as to *fear the French and bribe their Admiral*: and the extraordinary expedition with which a squadron was manned at that time is a strong argument to support what I say; nay, it can scarcely have escaped any man's memory, that the squadron was not equipped before the French fleet was in the Channel. Had the Court at London known its destination before it sailed from Brest, and had they had time to debauch the Admiral from his duty, it can hardly be believed, nor will any man of reason allow himself to suppose, that immediate orders would not have been issued to equip a Squadron for the Downs.

A man that is capable of being bribed to betray his Prince,

* Such as have a mind to cavil may say, it was possible to be informed by some in the Secret: but when every circumstance is fairly considered, this will appear quite void of probability.

¹ Monsieur de Roquefeuille.—Cf. Browne's *History of the Highlands* for a full account of the attempted invasion.

is not so much to be depended by the Enemy as not to be guarded against; for had he taken money, and continued to act up to his orders, he would not have been the first example of the double knave: so I may venture to say, that had the Admiral been bribed, the English would nevertheless have fitted out a fleet, not only to guard against his treachery, but to cover it to his own Court.

Either Bohaldy's assertion that the scheme was carried on with great address and secrecy, or that the Admiral was bribed, must be false: both cannot be true; so the world is left to judge which of them is most likely to want foundation.

The Bribery seems to be entirely unsupported by any evidence, or even presumption: for of all nations the French (particularly ever since the minority of Louis the 14th) are the least apt either to neglect or disobey their Sovereign's commands.

Had the orders been positive, the Admiral knew very well that to disobey was sacrificing both life and fortune. If they were in the terms asserted by Lord Semple and Bohaldy, he had no business at Dunkirk: he was to have blocked up Portsmouth, and prevented the English fleet from sailing.

There was then no fleet in the Downs (unless about the same number of guard ships stationed there in time of peace) to intercept the transports: or supposing there had been a few ships, the Admiral might have detached a small Convoy to keep them at a distance (and not loitered before Dunkirk) till the troops were embarked; for as there was no Enemy to annoy them, they might have been put on board with great despatch, without the assistance of the men of war's boats, as there is great plenty of small craft along the coast, and even the fishing boats would have served to transport a number. It is therefore evident, that if any such orders to be opened at sea were given, it was only for a blind, and the Admiral must have had secret ones countermanding the execution of the descent: and nothing else surely would have prevented him from blocking up Portsmouth.

Innumerable arguments might be brought to support the probability, if not the certainty, of what has been said, but it must appear so plain to every thinking man, that I shall only make one further remark.

The Admiral was old and sickly, and died the third day after the storm. He had served his Country well, had ever preserved an unspotted and unblemished character: and there was never the least insinuation made by any of the French ministry of his being bribed; nor indeed (as far as I could learn) by any other person than Lord Semple and Bohaldy. It is not, then, to be imagined, or so much as dreamt, that this man on the verge of the grave would have betrayed that Country or disobeyed that Prince he had so long served with steadfast zeal. Such low, vile, and groveling thoughts cannot with any reason be entertained; for a nice notion of honour and ardent desire of glory being so strongly imprinted in the minds of that people, that had this Gentleman's orders been such as was alledged, he would have executed them with fidelity and alacrity, thinking himself happy that he was to leave the world, and finish his course, in the service of his Prince: and from thence I will venture to conclude that there is great reason to believe the Admiral obeyed his orders, and that the French ministry never intended the preparations should have any other effect than to alarm the English ministry, and make them draw their troops from Flanders, thereby to enable themselves to make the greater effort upon the Rhine in the following Campaign; which was plainly seen a few months afterwards.

Lord Semple and Bohaldy, in their Letter to Lord Traquair, after this uncharitable and absurd apology for the unsuccessful attempt, observed that the affair now being over, it was absolutely necessary to procure fresh assurances from the King's friends in England and Scotland,* whereby to induce the French to renew the enterprise.

This was a very extraordinary demand: for the French were already either † satisfied or not with the assurances which had been given. If they were satisfied, it was to no purpose to

* No such proposal was ever made to the English: on the contrary, it will appear from what follows, that they were made to believe the French had never lost sight of their first scheme.

† It is plain they were satisfied (if the descent was really intended) otherwise they proceeded contrary to every rule of policy and good sense, which they are not apt to do.

reiterate them. None stronger could be given than those from Scotland. More subscriptions, indeed, might have been procured; but as the original subscribers had undertaken for all the principal men of the Party, and promised that any two of them, whom the French Court should name, should be sent over, and the French having made no such demand, it appeared they were satisfied, and therefore no stronger assurance could be given or thought necessary.

If they were not satisfied, from whence did their scruples arise, and why on a sudden upon the back of the expected embarkation? No promises had been, nor was it so much as proposed, to rise in arms before the troops landed: so there was no failure on our parts.

This demand was not at all likely, the French ministry being too clear-sighted not to have observed the failings on the part of the Scots (if there had been any) long before that time, as the assurances and proposals had been laid before them for years: and Lord Semple and Bohaldy were not aware of the inference to be naturally drawn from this demand.

Had the French Court asked any such thing of them, it was a demonstration that they never intended an embarkation with any other view than I have said before. The Scots had given no cause to think they had repented of their first engagements, and though for what I know the English had come under no such solemn tie in writing (though if any dependance can be had on this and other of Bohaldy's letter, they had given assurances), yet it was never so much as surmised that they had given the French any grounds to suspect an alteration in their sentiments.

Such a request on the part of the French Court would have shewn the utmost want of sincerity, a trifling and evasive shift, and plainly elucidated that they schemed nothing but to play the Prince and his friends off to serve their own ends.

It would be childish to argue further upon this point, or frame conjectures of what might have been the French design in making such a demand, as in fact none such, or any tending to it, was ever made by them, but was the sole produce of Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's brains to serve their own purposes. They were conscious that nothing substantial had been in-

tended, and that no effectual assistance was to be hoped for. It was therefore their business to gain time by engaging the party in this new scheme, no matter how long they were about it: the more tedious the better for them, as it continued them in their employment, and the Party could not complain of delays, as they could have no title to expect assistance till such time as the assurances demanded were granted.

This, I will venture to say, was the most coarse-spun piece of Policy ever thought of: and it is surprizing how they could imagine that any set of men could be so thoroughly blinded as to agree to it; as any man, with a small share of reflection, could not miss to see through it. It was endeavouring to impose upon people's judgment after the grossest manner imaginable. In short, was an attempt to involve the party in an endless labyrinth of unnecessary negotiations, and make them launch out into a boundless ocean of useless correspondence, attended with the most imminent danger not only to those immediately concerned, but to all in general.

It must appear strange to every person, that in their several letters wrote after the Prince's arrival in France,¹ his authority is never used nor his name mentioned. It is almost incredible that men could be so weak as to imagine so palpable a neglect would be overlooked. Whatever authority they had to write or act before his arrival, surely it naturally ceased as soon as he appeared amongst them, and all future despatches were to be regarded as made by his orders or consent; yet they had the modesty to write I or We, as if no such person had existed. This probably proceeded from their being conscious they did not write truth, and should an enquiry be made, it could not be objected to them that they had used the sanction of his authority to their fictions. Jan. 1744.

From whatever reason it proceeded, it was most unbecoming and disrespectfull: it was imposing on their Constituents; and using their Prince like a schoolboy, keeping him in the dark, concealing the zeal and merits of his friends, and putting it out of his power to give countenance to such as most deserved

¹ The Prince left Antibes for Paris on horseback on Jan. 29, 1744, having arrived there from Genoa on the 23rd. — *Letter from Villeneuve to Amelot*, French Archives.

it, and cooping him up in a Corner like an outlaw to prevent him from conversing with those, who not only knew his interest, but were zealous of his honour; knowing, that if he had access to hear such, their underhand dealings would be discovered, and they either dismissed, or disregarded.

I expressed my sentiments pretty much to the Earl of Traquair concerning the letter as above recited, and his Lordship having declared his dislike both of apology and the scheme proposed, urged my journey as more necessary than ever, and begged I would make all possible despatch.

July 1744.

Accordingly I set out in the beginning of July 1744, and arriving at London in a few days, I went immediately to Mr. Cockburn to know when I could see Doctor Barry. The old Gentleman told me that the Doctor had received a letter from Bohaldy some days before, which exciting my curiosity made me send him immediately to acquaint him with my arrival, and desire to see him. The Doctor was then in the Country, and in three days came to town, when I saw him, delivered him a letter from the Earl of Traquair, and desired to know how matters stood, and if he had lately received any favourable accounts from the other side: to which he answered that he had received a letter some days before, and was much diffculted how to answer it.

Bohaldy had engaged the Doctor to procure some English sailors to pilote over the troops he pretended were soon to be landed; * and now they were procured, he desired they might be immediately sent over: but the Doctor very justly observed, that having neither mentioned the Port where they were to land, nor the person to whom they were to be consigned, he was quite at a loss how to act. I told him, he had no way to obviate that difficulty, but by writing the first opportunity to Bohaldy, desiring him to fix upon the place where they were to land, and the person they were to apply to there.

This instance of Bohaldy's confused way of doing business, as well as many other particulars already mentioned, will help to give the world a just notion of his *capacity* and *integrity*.

* This Intelligence to Doctor Barry is quite repugnant to what Semple and Bohaldy wrote to the Earl of Traquair, though both letters must have been written at or very near the same time.

He first bespeaks Pilots to assist in conveying a body of troops, and when they are procured, writes to have them sent over, without either specifying the port where they should land, or the person to whom they were to apply when landed. Had there been any pressing business which had prevailed with them to sail, they would have been seized as spies or pirates: Mr. Honeyman, their Conductor, to vindicate himself, must have imparted his errand to the Governor of the place, or the Intendant of the Marine, which would have discovered the whole, and put the secret in the mouths of all present at the examination, and though there had been none but the Governor and his Clerk, they were too many. Besides, as the thing would have made a noise in the place, it might have been discovered by persons employed by the Court of London as spies: and if discredited by the Governor (which was very likely, there being then no body of troops upon the coast) he might have very innocently spoke of it as a cunning device of theirs to get off. Had they named Bohaldy, things would not probably have fared better with them, as he was too obscure a person to be known, and might perhaps be esteemed by the Governor rather as a spy than the King's agent.

But supposing this had not been the case, and that the Governor believed their story, yet kept them confined, till he could receive orders from Paris, where was Bohaldy to be found? If he was known to any of the Ministers, save Monsieur Amelot, he was not to the Minister of the Marine, and yet he was the person to whom the Governor would naturally have applied. If that Gentleman had never heard of him, how then were the Pilots to be relieved? It is probable, they would have been kept a considerable time, their Conductors absence (being a man of business) remarked and whispered about, his voyage found out, and the whole discovered.

Had Mr. Honeyman their Conductor been furnished with Bohaldy's address, and permitted to write to him, their difficulties would not have been so great: but it nevertheless seems evident, a discovery must have happened, for during the time that would have elapsed before a return could have been procured from Paris, many would have had access to converse with the private men, and discover the cause of their voyage,

for the fellows finding themselves disappointed of the many fair promises made them at their being engaged, and either afraid of long confinement, or exasperated against their Conductor, would have told all they knew. So, whatever the affair had fallen out, there is not the least probability the affair could have remained a secret.

On the other hand, had all these difficulties occurred to the Doctor and Mr. Honeyman, and prevented their being sent, and had the troops been ready to embark, and pilots wanted, how could this exquisite negotiator have answered for his blunder?

But this was not the case: there was no occasion for them; nor the least ground to believe that any such thing was intended. It was a second part of the same farce they proposed to act upon Scotland: to keep the minds of the people of England in suspense and agitation, and make them hope something was to be done, though nothing was intended.

It was matter of wonder to me, that men of sense should be cajoled into the belief of such whimsies: and it was no less strange, that the *demand alone* did not convince them of the preparation for an embarkation in the Spring being only show. No pilots were then asked, or sent over: and if the passage was hazardous in July, it was more so in the Spring. If they were then necessary and neglected, it was a proof the managers were unequal to their task: for if the French Pilots were then sufficient, they were equally so at this time, and as easily to be procured.

Though I may seem to have dwelt upon this Topick, I judged it requisite to discuss the point at length, to shew how unaccountably things were conducted, and to what an unfit person they were unhappily entrusted, and how liable Princes are to be imposed upon, and unjustly become liable to censure for the mismanagement of others. Princes have not always access to chuse their own servants; especially such as are in his Majesty's situation, must employ those that are willing, those he would incline being seldom found ready: and when interest takes place, things go but badly with a Prince upon the throne; and much worse with one in exile.

I should be inexcusable not to observe the monstrous deceit

intended in Semple and Bohaldy's negotiations, and how liable men of that stamp are to be detected. In their letter to Lord Traquair they say nothing of any second descent, but that was over till fresh assurances were given to induce the French to continue their friendship; whilst the English are persuaded to believe that a body of troops were ready to embark, and seamen asked to pilote them over. Mankind would labour in vain to palliate, much less vindicate, such glaring falsehood and evident contradictions.

The Doctor (as I advised) wrote by the first post; and having considered which would be my safest way to get into France, I resolved to write a letter to Bohaldy at the same time, acquainting him I was got so far on my way to see him, and desired he would send me a passport to Rotterdam, to the care of Mr. Crawford the Banker, against the time I mentioned I expected to be there.

As it was proper for me to write this letter in cypher, I applied to Mr. Cockburn, who told me he had one by which he corresponded with Bohaldy; and, to my great astonishment, pulled from the seat of the window a copy of the Cypher in which Bohaldy corresponded with his friends in Scotland.

If the other incidents which had happened occasioned surprise, this no less affected me, and gave me the utmost pain to think, that through the negligence of this good old man the lives and fortunes of so many were at stake. This room was the common receptacle of every one who assumed to himself the name of friend or Jacobite; nay, his niece and maid had hourly access, whilst this Cypher lay ready for the perusal of any person curious enough to look at it, wherein was a list of names, both Scots and English, only proper for the knowledge of such as were very nearly concerned.

To make any observations upon this affair would be spending time to little purpose; the reflexions which naturally occur are too many and obvious to be overlooked, and must stare every body in the face and sensibly touch all men of penetration.

I carried the Cypher with me, and having finished my letter, employed Mr. Cockburn to forward it: and though I was strongly inclined to detain the Cypher, on account of the

danger we were all in from the careless manner in which it was kept, yet the inconveniences that might ensue made me return it, when I endeavoured to persuade the honest man that it was unsafe to have it in his house but when he had occasion to use it, far more so to have it tumbled about in that loose way; and advising him to be a little more circumspect for the future, endeavoured to convince him of the fatal effects that would follow in case of a sudden search, or any other unlucky discovery. All my Arguments were in vain and unsuccessful; he was grown old, and like an ancient Oak readier to break than bend; for every 'time I was in the house it lay in its old position, either loose on the seat of the window, or peeping out from below a Dictionary.

As Lord Elcho had wrote me that he would go abroad with me, I resolved to waite him a few days, and in the mean time went to Dr. Barry to [learn] what answer he had from Bohaldy, and found he had received a letter by the course of post, saying he had procured instructions to the Intendant of the Marine at Diep to receive the Pilots, and desiring they might be sent thither without delay.

Though I very much suspected that no such instructions could be procured in so short a time since sending the letter, I advised the Doctor to write, the answer being received in due course, and consequently Bohaldy had only from the arrival of one post to the setting out of the next to reply, and that at the time too when the Ministers were with the King upon the Rhine; yet, as the Doctor did not seem to doubt it, I thought it none of my business to find fault, as I could not do it without calling Bohaldy's veracity in question to a person I knew little of.

The Doctor had once proposed to me to go with the Pilots, which I had not absolutely rejected, being uncertain whether Lord Elcho might alter his resolution; but he now proposed it as a means to make the men comply with the more good will; alledging that seeing a Gentleman with them would be a strong inducement, and by giving them drink and a few Guineas would prevent their reflecting upon [what] they were about, and leave no room for repentance till too late. So being uncertain from Lord Elcho's delay of his coming, and a little

dubious of Bohaldy's sending the passport, I agreed to go, if no better way occurred, and to meet Mr. Honeyman next day at the Doctor's house, who promised that Mr. Honeyman should provide me with a dress and every thing necessary for the voyage, as we were to have Nets and other Tackle proper for Fishermen, and give ourselves out for such if brought to by men of war or Custom-house boats. Accordingly next day I met with Mr. Honeyman, and Lord Elcho having arrived, I declined the proposal.

Having all along thought it strange that Lord Traquair had never made mention of any plan of action laid down by the English, and thinking it scarcely possible that men arrived at these years, when general and undigested projects are not relished, would engage so far as they were said to have done without forming a plan of operation, I endeavoured by distant hints to learn from the Doctor upon what plan they were going, and if they had any reason to expect assistance from the Gentlemen of the army. It was very easy to perceive from his answer that if any plan was formed he knew little of it; not that his silence proceeded from caution or reserve; for, without asking, he told me that such letters as he received, and with other papers he judged necessary to be preserved, he lodged at a house in the Country. To the other part of the question he frankly answered, assuring me they had the greatest reason to expect assistance from the army, and that one Colonel (whose regiment then lay in Kent), had engaged for his whole corps.

Having no further occasion to wait, and judging it full time to be gone, I set out for Flanders, and upon my arrival at Ostend wrote to Bohaldy, acquainting him of my being there, and that I would endeavour to be in Rotterdam by the time I had appointed in my letter to him from London; and when I got to Tournay, wrote to Mr. Crawford, Banker at Rotterdam, that in case any letters for me addressed to his care came to hand he would keep them till meeting.

After Lord Elcho and I had passed a few days in the Camp, I went to Rotterdam, and found two letters from Bohaldy; one from Paris promising to meet me in person, and the other in a very ministerial stile (wrote at Rotterdam), expressing his

surprize at not finding me there, and declaring that the Prince's affairs admitting of no delay, his Royal Highness would be anxious for his return.

When Mr. Crawford delivered me the two letters, he said there had been a Gentleman to enquire after me, who was gone that day to Leyden; upon which I immediately set out for that place in hopes to find him; but after the strictest enquiry (according to the description given by Mr. Crawford), at all the Inns in town, no such person could be found. Upon this I returned next day to Rotterdam, and met with him at the Sun (the house most frequented there by the British), playing at Cards in a *promiscuous Company* with his nephew, Mr. John Drummond, an Officer in Lord John Drummond's Regiment, who went by the name of Scot.

Notwithstanding I was concerned to find them in so publick a manner in a town swarming with Spies, and in a house the *common resort of the English*, yet I found no fault, but accosted them as acquaintances I was glad to find there by accident; and when the game was over we retired into another room, where he immediately began to regret the embarkations not having succeeded, and assigned the same reasons as in the letter before mentioned.

Having listened attentively to what he advanced, I objected to what he had said, and insinuated that the French were not sincere. As this touched him in a tender point, he flew into a violent passion, as he is apt to do upon the least contradiction; so I judged it best to drop the argument, lest he had let any thing fall to occasion a quarrel, and discover us both, or that might prevent my journey, which was the thing I chiefly aimed at. I therefore told him that as we might have future opportunities of talking that affair over it would be proper to drop it at that time, and that I was in as great a hurry to return to Scotland as he could be to France, whither I must go without delay, having instructions not only to know from him and Lord Semple what had passed, but to wait on the Prince and receive his commands.

To this he answered that when he received my letter he had intimated it to the Prince, and assured me his Royal Highness would make me welcome; but as he found it necessary to keep

private, as a means to blind the Court at London, he was afraid that any person's coming from Britain might occasion suspicion, and discover where he was ;* and that for this reason he did not think it proper to send the passport, believing our meeting in Holland would answer the same end ; and added that he could not help thinking it would be best for me to return directly from Holland, and assure our friends in Scotland that the French were very hearty in their interest, and were then making great preparations for a second embarkation.†

It will be easily perceived that I needed be at no loss, from this discourse, to judge that my journey was not agreeable to him, and to see plainly that he attempted in the Prince's name to divert it.

I therefore told him that it would give me the utmost concern should my journey to Paris prove any hindrance to the Prince's affairs ; but as my own safety depended upon the privacy of my journey, to which I could see no material obstacle, I did not apprehend any bad consequences would ensue ; that had my journey proceeded from my own curiosity alone, I would have been ready to return with what answer he should give me, but being sent by the Party with their positive injunctions to see the Prince, I was under the necessity of going at all events, and could in no shape avoid it without having his Royal Highness's orders to the contrary ; and finally, that I was ready, though I had no pass, to go upon his in the quality of domestick or any other it would admit of.

Finding me determined, he at last consented to my going with him, but said that could not be for two days longer, nor did he know what road he should be obliged to take, his principal errand to Holland being to purchase arms,‡ and in case he could not find them there he would be obliged to go by Liege. Upon this our conversation broke up ; having agreed to wait his time, and follow what route he thought fit.

* It was then *publicly known* at London that he was in Paris.

† Bohaldy is the proper person to reconcile this with what he and Lord Semple wrote to the Earl of Traquair before I left Scotland.

‡ Yet he would spend a day and a half in going to Leyden, where no arms were to be found.

However happy I was in the thoughts of being able to accomplish my journey, I was nevertheless amazed at the story he had told me of his coming to Holland to buy arms. I have mentioned before, that upon his first coming to Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1741, he had assured his Constituents that there were then 20,000 stand of arms provided by the French Court, which he all along continued to affirm ; and in his letter from London before the expected embarkation, he expressly says money and arms were to be embarked with the troops for Scotland ; and yet now he was weak enough to contradict himself by saying he was then come to purchase them. Nothing could be a plainer proof than that what he either then had said, or did now say, was not to be depended upon ; and how unaccountably was it thus to expose himself to a man to whom he had formerly told the reverse. Besides, it was a palpable absurdity to pretend to do a thing in two or three days, which he had not been able to execute in as many years. Had it been possible for a stranger, during a general war in Europe, to procure so considerable a number of arms in so short a time, it shewed an unwarrantable oversight not to have done it long before ; and it was an evident proof that no provision of that nature* had been made for the promised Descent. The arms then provided (if any were) would still have served ; or had they been disposed of to the French troops, we can scarce believe their magazines are ever so ill provided as not to be able to replace them when required ; and if till then they never had been at a loss for them, it gave strong reason to suspect that the French were not so sanguine as they had been represented.

After three days stay he acquainted me, that having found the arms he wanted, he intended to set out that night, and at his desire I agreed to stay one day longer, and appointed to overtake him at Brussels, where I accordingly found him, and from thence proceeded to Paris.

Bohaldy finding that I avoided to enter upon business, and talked only of the army and common occurrences, took occasion to give himself airs of great consequence, insinuating a

* This agrees well with his writing, ‘ but how Lord Marischal is to be equipped is more than I know.’

high opinion of his abilities, and how much he was master of the Prince's ear, with the uncommon favour he stood in ; and, imagining general hints might not be sufficient, descended to particular instances.

Amongst others he told me, with great gravity, that his Royal Highness could not endure to travel alone, and as he chose his Company preferably to any other, he had ordered to have a post-chaise made to hold them both, which he assured me was the very chaise we then rode in. He then described the many extraordinary conveniences it had, with the new form of it, all which, he said, he had contrived himself, and that the Prince was so highly taken with it that he would travel in no other, nor allow him to use any other, but when his Highness had immediate occasion for it himself.

Being tickled at my congratulating him upon the happiness of having so great a share of his Master's esteem, he proceeded to inform me how much he was respected and valued at the French Court, and, to leave me no room to doubt, gave the following proof : That when he had agreed* with the French ministry to go to Rome, and persuade the Prince to come into France, Monsieur Amelot (then Secretary for foreign affairs) acquainted the King with his intended journey, who no sooner heard his name mentioned, than he said, ' Oh, Monsieur Malloch (the name he then went by), I know him, that is Monsieur Macgregor ; he must carry three or four domesticks along with him, for it is dangerous at present to travel through Switzerland.'

Many more such stories were the subject of our conversation, but these two alone may be sufficient to give an idea of my fellow-traveller's accomplishments.

When we arrived at Paris, I went to Mr. MacDonald's,¹ the

* This was his own expression : and as I have observed before, a point of fact incumbent upon him to make good by better authority than his own word.

¹ Æneas Macdonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart. His father was Ronald of Kinlochmoidart, who fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. His mother was the sister of Lochiel of the '45. Æneas lived in Paris till the French Revolution, when he was killed.

Banker, and as the Prince happened to be there at the time, Bohaldy acquainted him with my arrival, and his Highness ordered [me] to wait upon him next day at the great stables in the Tuilleries.

Mr. MacDonald being present, and surprized at my coming, came immediately to me, when, amongst other things, he told me the Prince was as much surprized as he. At a loss to guess the cause of this unexpected news, I could not help doubting what he said, and mentioned my having wrote from London for a passport, and the conversation that had passed upon that head with Bohaldy at Rotterdam ; all which Mr. MacDonald assured me was absolutely false and without foundation, for till two days before our arrival, that the Prince received a letter from Bohaldy, telling there was a Gentleman from Scotland upon the road to wait on him, his Highness had never heard one word of it, and even then he was not told who the person was, nay that after Bohaldy had named me, and left the room, the Prince said he was at a loss to know who I was, but immediately recollected to have seen me at Rome some years before.

Mr. MacDonald then enquired what business Bohaldy had in Holland, alledging it could only be to prevent my journey, and was curious to know what pretence he had used to the Prince for his going thither. To which I answered, that he pretended to have come thither to buy arms ; at which Mr. MacDonald in great astonishment declared in a most solemn manner that Bohaldy had it so little in his power to purchase arms that he had not credit for one Louis dore, nor money to defray his expences upon the road till he lent it to him.

Though it may seem superfluous to make any remarks upon the gross and unheard-of falsity of his story, or the unpardonable abuse of power which his character of Agent enabled him to practise, as that is too glaring to escape the most careless observer ; yet I hope to be forgiven for taking notice, that there are few crimes of a blacker dye than to keep a Prince ignorant of the very men employed in his service.* I can say

* Tho' Bohaldy was guilty to the highest degree in this respect himself, yet he was ready to find fault with others who in the least seemed to do so : for knowing that I had some time before sent the Prince a present

without vanity, that upon every occasion I did my utmost to serve the Royal Family to good purpose, with as much zeal and fidelity, and perhaps more activity than any hitherto employed, but it is plain from his Highness's recollection that he had heard nothing of my being employed, either from Semple or Drummond.

In what manner Bohaldy reconciled his conscience to such proceeding is none of my business to enquire: but it is plain beyond doubt, that this was putting it out of his Master's power to reap proper advantage from the zeal of his servants, and prevented him from shewing countenance to such as were entitled to it, and might be a means of bringing the odium of the neglect upon him though entirely innocent. It was assuming the merit of every thing to himself, and using the most effectual means to prevent business being done to any purpose, as no man of spirit will risk life and fortune with any cheerfulness, when his Prince neither openly acknowledges his services, nor even tacitly seems sensible of them: and this instance gives me strong reason to believe his Highness was not much better informed of others chiefly concerned, and that Bohaldy took little pains to acquaint him with the merit and services of those who afterwards appeared for him: but I shall say no more upon this particular, lest it should be thought that I resented it as a personal injury, which I solemnly declare I never did; and only add that it was extremely lucky his forgery about the arms was discovered, as it was an imposition of the most dangerous nature, making the Prince believe his affairs were in a prosperous way, all necessary provisions being either made or making, and had his Royal Highness given as much ear to him as he pretended, might probably have induced him, upon the faith of these and such like assertions, to undertake an expedition before anything was provided, the fallacy whereof might only have been discovered when it was too late either to remedy it, or save his character with the world.

of fine stockings by Mr. Smith of Boulogne, who forwarded them without saying from whom they came, he exclaimed against Mr. Smith as having sent them as his own present; and mentioned it to the Prince before me.

Next day when I had the honour to be presented,¹ Lord Semple and Bohaldy were both present, and as they officiously staid whilst the audience lasted, I shunned entering upon the business I chiefly came upon. The Conversation turned upon the defeated embarkation and the causes of the disappointment, which both Lord Semple and Bohaldy endeavoured to prove in the terms contained in their letter to Lord Traquair, the absurdity of which was so glaring that I could not refrain from shewing the Prince that the reasons assigned were not even specious, much less probable: and when talking of the strength of the Highlands, which they had imprudently asserted to be 20,000 men, I plainly told his Highness, that supposing the combined force of that country amounted to that number, he was not to depend upon a body any ways near to what was mentioned, and marked out to him the Chieftains principally to be relied upon, with the number of their followers; at which, though the two ministers looked somewhat disconcerted, they nevertheless continued to tread in their old steps by seeming to laugh at my ignorance, and boldly asserted the truth of what they had advanced.

The Prince, being upon his feet, ready to quit the room, asked me if I had any thing further to offer; to which I answered, that I had some things to lay before him, and begged to have the honour of a private audience, to which he consented, and appointed next day at the same hour; at which the two Gentlemen seemed struck on a heap but took no notice of their surprize to me, nor did I seem to observe it.

Next morning when I was ready to go abroad, Bohaldy came to me, and proposed to accompany me to the Stables, which I consented to, where having waited some time the Prince arrived, and Bohaldy withdrew.

I then told his Royal Highness, that as I had affairs of consequence to lay before him, I did not think proper to do it the day before; that I was come over with a full intent to keep nothing hid from him; begged his Highness would allow me to speak my mind, and if I was wrong he would be graciously pleased to interpret it as proceeding from my zeal and attachment to his interest without any selfish views.

¹ Cf. Appendix, p. 427.

The Prince seemed a little surprized at so unexpected a motion ; but assured me I might speak freely without fear of its being taken amiss.

I then begun by giving him an account of what had passed in Scotland and the particular intelligence received from Lord Semple and Bohaldy from the time the latter had been there. I informed him minutely of the contents of the two letters we had received in the Spring, and the one which arrived just before my departure ; shewed him the palpable contradictions they contained ; opened the bad consequences flowing from such false intelligence, and the many disappointments we had met with, though made to believe that all was to be depended upon : and finally endeavoured to shew him, that he was told one thing, and his friends another.

To this his Highness answered (without having once given the least interruption) that he was sorry to think his friends in Scotland should have any reason to believe they were imposed upon ; that Lord Semple and Bohaldy might have been to blame in some particulars, but there was no body without their failings ; and he flattered himself their conduct was not so much to be found fault with as was imagined.*

I thought I could easily discover from the answer, that if he was not entirely satisfied of the truth of what I had said, yet he inclined to believe it, but was averse to own himself at once convinced of the treachery of men then in his service, and perhaps did not care by declaring himself to give me too immediate a cause to triumph.

I on the other hand finding it incumbent upon me to make

* I believe it will be very difficult, if possible, to find an instance in history, where a young Prince acted with so much moderation and temper upon discovering that he had been ill used, imposed upon, and (if I may say so) treated like a boy incapable of advising in or directing his own affairs. Most would have flown out into a passionate and high resentment, without regard to anything but their grandeur, and the indignity thrown upon it : whereas, here is one of 23 or 24 years of age, never accustomed to controul, acting with as much coolness, caution and circumspection, as the most experienced Statesman. Whoever seriously considers this affair from first to last must be astonished to hear that his Highness had so much command of temper, as not only never to upbraid them, but even to receive them civilly.

good what I had advanced for my own honour as well as his interest begged to know of His Royal Highness, whether he had ever seen the letters mentioned: to which being answered in the negative, I begged as a proof of what I had said, that he would demand copies of them, and thereby satisfy himself if they were in the terms specified, offering to give him their dates which I had marked in my pocket-book;* but as he neither accepted nor refused, but seemed to evade the proposal, I begged to know what orders were to be sent to Scotland.

He then said, that though the embarkation in the Spring had been defeated, he had nevertheless reason to believe, as Lord Semple and Bohaldy had said the day before, that he would procure a body of troops before winter.

Thinking this a proper opportunity to give my reasons for doubting the French Court's sincerity in regard to the Dunkirk embarkation, I exposed the weakness of the reasons given by Lord Semple and Bohaldy for its not succeeding:† and then took the liberty to tell his Highness, that I was sorry to differ from him, but could not prevail with myself to think, that there was any probability or likelihood of his procuring assistance so early as he expected.

I represented that the French army then in Flanders was much inferior to that of the allies, and obliged to keep upon the defensive; that as their whole strength was then upon the Rhine, and a large detachment formed for the siege of Fribourg, it would be impossible to draw a body of troops from Germany to replace those in Flanders in so short a time as was necessary;‡ that the garrisons were already very weak, and, in

* Lord Traquair gave me the pocket-book at his house, when he shewed me the last letter from Semple and Bohaldy, saying the one in which I had wrote my remarks was not good enough. Though this circumstance may appear at first trifling, yet it shews his then displeasure at their proceedings. How he came afterwards to be led by the nose by them he only is able to account for.

† This was necessary to remove the prejudices he might have imbibed, and to prevent his being ready to give faith to any promises made by the French Court, or rather by Lord Semple and Bohaldy in their name.

‡ It was then to the best of my memory the beginning of August, so before a detachment could have joined the army in Flanders, and the

that case to give him such a body of troops as he expected would be leaving French Flanders much exposed to the enemy's inroads ; and finally the season was then too far advanced for the execution of such an enterprise ; so that upon the whole I did not see the smallest probability of procuring any assistance at that time.

His Royal Highness seemed to think what I advanced was not void of reason ; and said, that at all events he was determined to come the following summer to Scotland, though with a single footman.

Observing him say this with great keenness, I answered, that he could not come sooner to Scotland than would be agreeable to his friends there, but I hoped it would not be without a body of troops. To which, without making any doubt of procuring assistance, he repeated what he said before with still greater energy ; which made me believe he was really resolved upon it at any rate.

Although the design was noble and only becoming a Prince of the greatest spirit, yet I thought it my duty to shew him, that in that case he could not positively depend upon more than 4000 Highlanders, *if so many* ; that the Duke of Perth, Lochyell, Keppoch, Clanronald, the Stewarts, MacDonalds of Glengary, with Cluny and Struan Robertson's people, were all he could rely upon with any certainty from the West Highlands, in case of such an attempt, and that even they would be sorry to think he should risk himself without foreign assistance, for though their attachment to his interest might induce them to join, yet it would be with regret ; and though Lord Lovat and others professed as much zeal as they, yet I suspected they were not so warm, and might probably assign his landing without troops as a reason to sit at home.

To all which he answered, that he would try every method to procure troops ; but should that fail, he would, nevertheless pay us a visit.

necessary preparations been made to embark the troops, the armies must have been in winter quarters, and the weather so uncertain that an embarkation would have proved very difficult, and the execution very precarious.

I then ventured to ask him, if a sufficient number of arms was provided, the Highlanders being in much need of a supply especially of swords.

To this he replied, that it was upon that errand Bohaldy had gone to Holland, where he had procured as many as were necessary. As I knew Bohaldy had bought none,* I took the liberty to doubt by seeming surprized, that after having so large a quantity of arms as Bohaldy had pretended were provided some years before, he should have been obliged so lately to make a new purchase. But his Highness, to remove my doubt, said, that if any such number had been formerly provided, it was likely, as the scheme was not executed, the French had disposed of them. However, as I was resolved to open his Eyes by discovering Bohaldy's falsehood, it was necessary to push this matter as far as it would go, so I went the length to say plainly, that I doubted much of Bohaldy's having provided any, having been only four days in Rotterdam, which was too short a time to execute a business of so much consequence. He then appeared a little offended that I should imagine Bohaldy would venture to impose upon him in so gross a manner: but begging to be excused, I assured his Royal Highness, that I would not be so positive, if I had not the strongest reason to believe the truth of what I had advanced; and begged that to satisfy himself he would put the question home to Bohaldy by enquiring the nature and quantity, where, and from whom he had bought them, how they were paid for, and where lodged: which his Highness promised to do; saying that if it was as I alledged, it was very strange, for Bohaldy had assured him the day of his arrival from Holland that he had actually bought them.

I then told him what had passed betwixt Doctor Barry and me when at London; gave him an account of Bohaldy's letter about the Pilots; and asked if his Highness had heard of them, for they must in all probability have landed before that time, as they were to sail the same day I left London.

To this he answered, he had never till then heard any thing

* See page 88.

of them, but would enquire that evening of Bohaldy : and then went away, saying he must see me again, and would send me orders when to come.

Bohaldy had been all the time in the next room, and as I had reason to believe he would listen to what passed, I spoke low, though not so much so but I was persuaded he had overheard a good deal of the conversation, and was therefore in hopes he might have let something drop whereby I should know, in which case I was determined not to let him have the same opportunity the next audience, but he was too much upon his guard to let any thing fall to give suspicion, yet could not help shewing the utmost jealousy and concern, and from that time contrived to have his nephew continually about me under pretence of friendship as I was private and alone, which made me change my lodgings, though to no effect, for that Gentleman was so much with me, that I had no opportunity of committing any thing to writing as I had intended.

Next day I got orders to meet Sir Thomas Sheridan at the same place where I had seen the Prince : and he brought an order, desiring I might communicate every thing to him ; which I accordingly did, and took particular notice to him of the strong manner in which his Royal Highness had expressed himself upon his resolution of going to Scotland, repeating to the old Gentleman what I had said to his master, and begging him to reflect upon what might be the consequence of such a step ; and told him, that if his Highness continued firm in that resolution, it would be proper that his friends there should know it, that there might be no excuse for their not appearing if it happened,

Sir Thomas declared himself pleased with what I had said, regretted and severely condemned Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's conduct, and at the same time expressed great satisfaction, that now the Prince was let into the real state of his affairs in Scotland ; of which till then (he said) he had been kept quite in the dark ; begged I would put down all I had said in writing ; assured me however backward his Royal Highness had been to declare himself, he was nevertheless convinced of the truth of what I had said, and had even for some time before suspected foul play, but did not chuse to declare it too openly ;

and concluded by assuring me, that I should have another opportunity of seeing his Royal Highness, when he hoped I would conceal nothing from him.

Next day I was ordered to be at the same place, where the Prince did me the honour to meet me; and his Highness, being more free than formerly, said he was very well pleased with every thing I had said to Sir Thomas Sheridan, and desired me to mention what steps I thought necessary to be taken. To which I answered, that I was loth to offer advice upon an affair of such consequence, but certainly the steps to be taken very much depended upon circumstances; that as to Scotland, if the Earl Marischal landed with 3000 men, as was proposed, and a descent made in England at the same time, there was not the least reason to doubt of its being reduced to the King's obedience in a few weeks, and even supposing no descent was made in England, I did not imagine that upon his Lordship's landing any of the Loyal Clans would hesitate to appear;* but if his Highness continued positive in his resolution to go to Scotland, and no descent made there or in England, the affair would be more precarious, and required the utmost circumspection, for as I had said before to himself and in the presence of Lord Semple and Bohaldy, I was still of opinion that three or four thousand men might be raised, but more could not be answered for, without previously making his resolution known; and as to the English, he knew best the nature of their engagements, and whether they would appear, if he came with the Scots alone amongst them.

His Royal Highness was pleased to answer, that provided he procured such a body of troops as had been offered the preceding Spring, few precautions would be necessary, as he hoped, if they were once landed, all the King's friends would join; nor did he doubt of a general rising in Scotland if Lord Marischal landed with 3000 men; and that the English had given him

* It was my opinion then, and more so now, that had Lord Marischal landed with 3000 men, arms, ammunition, and money, that the insurrection in Scotland would have been almost general, and the army have reached the Capital by the time, if not before, the troops landed from Flanders.

the strongest assurances, nor could he doubt from the offers they had made that they would be less forward than the Scots ; but as he was unalterably fixed in his resolution to make an attempt, and as Lord Semple's and Bohaldy's scheme of fresh assurances was quite out of the way, he desired my opinion upon the measures proper to be followed in Scotland.

I told his Royal Highness that it would be necessary to write letters to the principal persons of the Party acquainting them with what he intended, and thereby learn what they were willing to undertake ; that at the same time a sum of money should be raised in the Country to purchase arms and enable them to take the field ; that the English should likewise be spoke to and let into the secret, and brought to a determined resolution what they were willing and ready to do upon every event. I likewise observed, that though I had no doubt of his being able to prevail with a number of French officers to follow him, yet it seemed necessary to gain some of the Scots Brigade in Holland, who would be more agreeable as being Countrymen, and might likewise be of more service by carrying over part of their regiments ; and assured his Highness that as far as was in my power I would endeavour to execute all or any part of the Commissions he should be pleased to entrust me with.

After some conversation upon this subject, his Royal Highness promised to have the letters wrote, with the other necessary instructions, and appointed me to meet him the second day following ; telling me at the same time that he had found what I had said about the pretended purchase of the arms was too true, for having spoke to Bohaldy concerning them, he had acknowledged there was no such thing,* and in regard

* It was a pity that upon this discovery, which rendered him unworthy of the smallest trust, the Prince did not immediately dismiss him from his service and incapacitate him for all business by informing the King, his father, and Court of France, and signifying to the English not to confide in him. Had this been done, Bohaldy would not have had it in his power to further debauch Lord Traquair and hurt his Highness by representing him in a very odd light in London when his Highness was in Scotland, saying his proceedings were entirely of himself and against the King's consent. Sir Alexander Baily can vouch this.

to the Pilots he had owned they had sailed from England at the time I mentioned, but mutinied when opposite to Dieppe, and had returned: and gave me orders to commit every thing I had said to paper, which I promised, as soon as I had an opportunity, which I should contrive before I left France.

I was next day invited to dine with Mr. MacDonald, the banker, where I saw Mr. George Kelly¹ for the first time; and, among other things relative to the Prince's affairs, he let me understand that Lord Marischall had been informed that I had used great freedom with his character, which he was the more surprized at, as I was entirely unknown to him. It was not difficult to guess from what quarter the accusation came, and to what it was owing.* The stronger Bohaldy's party was the better man he esteemed himself; and the more that joined him to run down this noble Lord the greater authority (he imagined) he had to continue his abuse, and tear his character. His daring to burn the letter I had wrote to his Lordship was as inexcusable, as his reason for so doing was evident. I therein (honestly and with a real intention to remove, as far as was in my power, every obstacle to the King's service) declared my sentiments, and had it been delivered might have been of great service, as it would probably have opened a correspondence between his Lordship and me, and certainly

* I have since frequently conjectured that this might have likewise come from Mr. Edgar, the King's Secretary, who was a great partizan of his Lordship's, and might have proceeded from some rash and youthfull expression that I had perhaps used in a letter I wrote at Paris to his Majesty the first time I was there, when his Lordship lived near Boulogne, and when I had not cleared myself of prejudice in favour of Bohaldy; but I declare what I then wrote upon this subject has quite escaped my memory; and I have too good an opinion of Mr. Edgar to think him capable of revealing his Master's intelligence, especially such as could tend to nothing but to create differences and confusion among his friends; and I impute the whole to Bohaldy's base and insidious practices.

¹ George Kelly, born in Ireland 1688, was Atterbury's amanuensis; imprisoned in the Tower 1723; escaped 1736; translated several works from the French. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ignores Kelly's relations with Prince Charles.

put it [out] of Bohaldy's power to carry on his iniquitous schemes, or misrepresent me to his Lordship.*

I was a good deal soured at this intelligence; it was a base double way of acting on Bohaldy's part, and extremely grating to me to think that what I had honestly and zealously intended for the interest of the Party should now turn out a personal reflection against me; but I was then become so thoroughly versant in Bohaldy's deceit and falsehood, and understood that Lord Marischall knew him not only to be a thief in private life,† but a most audacious liar‡ in politicks, that I thought any particular explanation needless; therefore made little other reply to Mr. Kelly than by disdaining the accusation, and desiring him to take the first opportunity to write to his Lordship and assure him that what was said in my name was absolutely false, and that there was none of his Countrymen who had a higher opinion of his Lordship's merit.

The day following I attended the Prince by his orders, and received instructions from him to the Earl of Traquair, requiring him to repair immediately to London and acquaint his friends in England with his resolution, and to demand a categorical answer from them what they were willing to do, and whether they would rise in arms at the same time with the Scots, or wait till they marched to their assistance. He likewise enjoined me to endeavour to raise a sum of money

* I have often blamed myself since for not acquainting Mr. Smith and Mr. Kelly with the whole affair; but men at the age I then was¹ are seldom capable of the most solid reflections, and are often too ready to esteem things of consequence as trifles. Were such a thing to happen to me now, I would not pass it so lightly over, nor be so easily persuaded to have any connection with men of Traquair's and Bohaldy's stamp.

† After the battle of Sherifmuir, in the year 1715, when the Earl Marischall enquired for a portmanteau, he was told by one of his servants that the groom who rode before it had been slain, upon which his Lordship imagined the enemy had got it; but his servant told him that was not the case, and all would have been safe but for the young Laird of Bohaldy (the person here mentioned), who with a party of Macgregors had plundered the whole baggage, in place of fighting.²

‡ See p. 51.

¹ Murray was twenty-nine at the time.

² Cf. Introduction to *Rob Roy*.

either in Scotland or England, or both ; gave me a Credential, written with his own hand, authorising me to treat with the officers in the Scots Brigade, and a letter to Lord Elcho in return to one I had delivered from his Lordship ; enjoyed me to say all the obliging things I was capable of to his friends in Scotland, and to acquaint them that, in case he did not make a descent in England, they might depend upon his appearing among them the next summer. He then told me that the letters I required should be delivered to me that evening at Mr. MacDonald's, the banker, and desired me to return home with all possible expedition.

After assuring his Highness that nothing should be wanting on my part to obey his commands, I begged to be excused for not having wrote out the memorial as he had desired, Bohaldy having kept so strict an eye over me that it was impossible to write without giving him more cause of suspicion than was perhaps necessary, and therefore asked his Highness's leave to stop a day or two upon the road, when I should write and deliver it to any person he should send for it ; and then took my leave.

Lord Semple and Bohaldy dined with me that day, and having enquired of his Lordship if he had yet had any intelligence of Mr. Honeyman and the Pilots, with visible surprize and confusion, and at a loss what to say, he looked across the table to Bohaldy, who immediately answered, Yes, my Lord, you remember that last night's post brought us accounts that they had sailed some time ago, but having mutinied when near Dieppe they returned to England ; but their Conductor (added he), being a man of extreme good sense, disposed of them with great address, and prevented a discovery.

It is here worth while to observe that Bohaldy said the accounts had only reached them the night before, whereas the Prince had acquainted me two or three days before that they had received these accounts some time before that, though they had all along denied to me their having heard anything of them ; and now to conceal their falsehood, doubted it. What could have induced them to disown their knowledge is more than I can account for, unless from some maxim in politicks peculiar to themselves, and plainly demonstrating

that they had got into such a train of falsehood and dissimulation that even in the merest trifles they could not deviate from it.

In the evening Sir Thomas Sheridan brought the letters to Mr. MacDonald's, and having got them sewed up in my saddle I set out next day for Senlis, where I wrote the memorial,¹ as desired, and delivered it to Mr. MacDonald, whom the Prince had sent to receive it.

From thence I continued my journey to Dendermond to speak to Captain Clephan of Villegass's regiment, in consequence of the Prince's instructions, to endeavour to procure a number of officers, and if possible, men, to come over to Scotland next summer.

This Gentleman with whom I had become acquainted the year before in Scotland, and whose father (Major Clephan) had served the King in 1715, and afterwards lived in the family, though he seemed (and I sincerely believe was then) very well inclined to serve the Prince, shewed nevertheless more than ordinary caution, lest his talking privately with me should have created suspicion in his brother officers, by whom he was universally beloved, having [been] long in the service.

I shewed him however my Credentials: and he professed himself very ready to promote the cause. and promised to talk with such officers as could be trusted.

Colonel (now General) Graham was the person to whom I chiefly intended to have applied: but as he was then in the Camp, whither it would have been altogether improper for me to return, I begged the Captain to take the first opportunity to talk with him upon this subject.

I intended to have staid longer to try what could be done, but the Captain's shyness, and the Prince's orders to make all

¹ See Appendix (No. 15), p. 379.

There is printed in Browne's *History of the Highlands*, in the Appendix to vol. ii., a letter signed 'J. Barclay,' which, according to Mr. Browne, was written by Murray, and refers to this. It will be noted that 'Barclay' refers to a letter dated '24,' while Murray's letter is dated the 21st. The letter of the 21st, however, was probably followed by another letter sending another memorial. This letter and memorial I was unable to find at Windsor. 'J. Barclay' and 'Barclay' were signatures adopted by Murray, *v. infra*, p. 136.

possible despatch, made me set out next day with Captain Anderson (likewise of Villegass's regiment) on my way to Rotterdam, where we arrived in two days, and found Lord Elcho there waiting my coming.

I had taken occasion to sound Captain Anderson during our journey, and finding him well inclined, I talked to him more fully at Rotterdam, and let him into the reason of my jaunt to Dendermond; upon which he readily engaged in the scheme; gave his honour that he would come over, and promised not only to use his interest with Captain Clephan, with whom he was very intimate, but with the other officers of the Brigade.

After two or three days stay here, I set out for England in company with Lord Elcho; and upon my arrival at London went immediately to Doctor Barry, who behaved after a very different manner from what he had done before, by appearing very shy and unwilling to speak upon business.

I was at no loss to guess the cause of this change, but saw plainly that it proceeded from Bohaldy; the jealousy I had given him at Paris had made him represent things in such a manner to the Doctor, as in some degree to create the same jealousy in him.

I was nevertheless determined that nothing of this kind should prevent me from executing the Commission I was charged with, and therefore told the Doctor that as he was the person trusted by the King's friends in England, I judged it proper to inform him of the Commission I had received. I told him that the Prince stood then very much in need of money, without which he could not bring his affairs to bear; that though the Scots were very willing, yet their abilities were small, and though they could provide hands, without a sufficient sum to arm and entertain them they could be of no service; but it was not so much on account of the Scots that the Prince then made the demand, nor did he require any large sum; he had indeed occasion for some thousand pounds to buy up arms and other necessities; but as to what might be requisite for the maintenance of an army after a descent, he would procure elsewhere, whereas his present demand was only on account of his own more pressing and immediate exigencies.

To which the Doctor answered (very coolly, and with an indifference which I could not help thinking very unbecoming one so deeply engaged) that he could not imagine it was possible the Prince should be so much put to it for money, Lord Barrimore and others having that summer made him a large remittance by the way of Amsterdam, whither (he said) the ministry had traced it, but there lost sight of it.

There is a reflection naturally arising from this story, which I cannot dispence with observing. The Doctor said positively, a remittance had been made that summer, yet the Prince then knew nothing of the matter, and did me the honour afterwards to assure me that it never came to his hands. The Doctor did not say, nor did I ask, to whom it was remitted ; but it is not to be doubted that Semple and Bohaldy were the men, being then their immediate correspondents. What then became of this money? Either Semple or Bohaldy must have appropriated it to their own use, or the person charged with the remittance must have converted it to his. If no such sum was ever sent, his Lordship and the others concerned must have imposed upon the Doctor ; or he advanced a falsehood to me : but whether true or false, I take it upon me to say from the best authority that it never came to the Prince's hands.

Some few days after this conversation with the Doctor, a paragraph appeared in the news papers, insinuating that some preparations were then making in France : and having been assured by Lord Elcho, that it was suspected at Rotterdam that I had been in France, I thought it proper to leave London, lest any such information should be transmitted, and make me observed or suspected there ; so having procured a meeting next morning with the Doctor, when I repeated my Commission, and begged him to communicate it to the King's friends, I set out for Scotland the day following.

The first person I saw there was Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, whom I found at his uncle's house at Marlefield ;¹ and acquainted him with my having been in France, the Prince's resolution of coming to Scotland, and the pressing occasion there was for money.

To which he answered frankly, that he was ready to contribute all in his power ; that he had not then much ready money, but would purposely uplift some Bonds.

¹ Near Yetholm.

From this place I set out for Traquair, but being informed his Lordship was from home, I continued my journey to my own house; and next morning sent an express to his Lordship at his brother-in-law the Earl of Nithsdale's,¹ to acquaint him with my arrival and anxiety to see him.

Three nights after, his Lordship came to Broughton, when I told him that the Prince desired he might immediately repair to England to execute his commission there; and then shewed him a journal containing every minute particular that had passed from my leaving Scotland untill my return: which having read, he answered that he could not then take upon him to make a judgment, the affair requiring consideration, and that he was obliged to return next day, being to settle some of Lord Nithsdale's affairs, but would see me again soon.

After supper, being concerned to see the little anxiety he shewed upon so critical a juncture, I told him the affair was of the utmost consequence, as he must observe from the contents of the Journal; and above all it was indispensably necessary that he should take an immediate resolution of complying with the Prince's request: but to this he answered in a peevish complaining manner, that it was hard to oblige him to be journeying to and again from England; that he was surprized the Prince should think he had nothing to do but run his errands; and immediately went to bed. What difference was here from his behaviour upon my return from France 16 months before? Then he was all readiness to obey Bohaldy's summons, and went accordingly; but now the tables were turned. Bohaldy was to be no longer the sole director; the Prince was about to act independently; and his Lordship did not chuse to run *his errands*.

The most confined genius will be able to make abundance of reflections upon this particular: so I shall save myself the disagreeable task.

I was heartily chagreened to find the man, to whom so great trust was committed, and upon whom so much seemed to depend, not only careless and remiss, but even backward and averse to execute the orders enjoined him. Being determined that the blame should not ly at my door, and that nothing in

¹ Lord Nithsdale of the '15 died at Rome in 1744. The estates had been conveyed to his eldest son in 1712. He died in London 1776.

my power might be left undone, I immediately dispatched an express to Lochyell then in the Highlands, and another to the Duke of Perth, begging they would both come to Edinburgh.

Lochyell instantly complied, but the Duke declined for some time, having lately returned home, and was still uncertain how far it was safe to appear openly in town.

Lord Traquair called at my house on his way home, and appointed to meet me some days after at Edinburgh; whither I went next morning, and having met Lochyell in the evening, I shewed him my journal, and acquainted him with my private instructions.

It would be difficult for me to describe the resentment this Gentleman expressed against his cousin;¹ so shall only say in general, that there were few epithets, however bad, which he did not liberally bestow upon him. He further declared it as his opinion that those principally concerned should unanimously send over a memorial to the Prince, representing their detestation of Bohaldy's behaviour, and requiring him to be dismissed from his Royal Highness's service as a person in whom they could repose no confidence: and at the same time professed his readiness to appear in arms if the Prince landed; but said it was his opinion, that he ought by no means to attempt it without the 3000 troops proposed.

Upon Traquair's arrival I met with him and Lochyell, and passed an evening together, when the whole affair was fully talked of; and though his Lordship laboured hard to gloss over Bohaldy's conduct, yet things were so glaring, that he could not help blaming him in some particulars.

This part of the conversation being ended, we jointly insisted upon his Lordship's obeying the Prince's orders by setting out for England: but he excused himself, by saying it was not immediately in his power, nor did he see any pressing necessity for it, but he would order matters so as to be able to go in a few weeks.

Being concerned at this delay, I endeavoured to convince him that there could be no stronger reasons for his journey than what then subsisted: for if the French made no descent in England, it was plain from what the Prince had said, that he would come to Scotland early in the Summer, and if the descent was made, it would most probably be in the spring; so

¹ *i.e.* Bohaldy, whose mother was a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.

which ever way things happened, we had but a few months wherein to get ready, the necessary preparations not to be made on a sudden, and besides these preparations might vary according to the answer we should receive from England. If they were found determined not to take arms, except a force was landed in their country, it would be madness for us to attempt it; and it would therefore be necessary to acquaint the Prince, as soon as possible, with their resolution, to prevent his coming. If they were willing to join the Scots, it behoved us to know whether they would rise at the same time, whereby to divide the troops, or if they would join us upon our marching into England. Should they think they were able to make themselves masters of their own country, the Scots would undertake to do the same; if not they would march to their assistance: so it was in every view proper to be informed of their resolution, in a pointed and distinct manner, to prevent all blunders, as it was evident the Scots behoved to act differently, as the plan should be laid, either to march into England, or not.

It was obvious, there would be great difficulty to procure money in Scotland, to enable the Chiefs to carry on the preparations requisite, much more to enable the Prince to purchase arms; and there was great reason to doubt whether, if the French refused to make a descent as proposed in the Spring, they would assist him with money to carry on his expedition: which reason alone made his journey expedient to try to raise a sum there, which it was not to be imagined they would refuse, provided they were willing to rise in arms, as they must be sensible, that to capacitate their neighbours to form in a body would make a diversion of all the troops in Scotland, distract the government, and make their game the more easy: but upon the whole, it was the Prince's earnest request, and ought at any rate to be complied with.

In spite of all these arguments, which were too evident not to occur to any man of moderate understanding, and which his Lordship cannot fail to remember I took the liberty to use, and Lochyell urged, he nevertheless continued immoveable, and would by no means consent to go for some time.

A few days after this interview, Lochyell acquainted me,

that Mr. MacDonald then the younger of Glengary¹ was arrived from France, freighted with heavy complaints from Bohaldy against me, which though he, young Glengary, did not entirely give ear to, yet as he was unacquainted with me, he could not help in some measure giving credit to what he had been told; but as he, Lochyell, was thoroughly convinced the allegations were false, he had not only endeavoured to undeceive Mr. MacDonald but had likewise proposed a meeting, to give me an opportunity to convince him he had been imposed upon.

It will easily be imagined, that I was too sensible of Lochyell's friendship, as well as the advantage it might be to the Party to make the smallest difficulty about this interview; so desired my compliments to that Gentleman and assured him that the sooner I had the pleasure to see him, the more agreeable it would be.

In consequence of this message, we met the following evening, when Mr. MacDonald informed me that Bohaldy had sent his nephew, Captain John Drummond, express after him to Dunkirk, to acquaint him with my having been at Paris, and my having there advised the Prince to go over to Scotland at any rate, [with] or without assistance, to endeavour to make himself master of the Country, and (as he termed it) *seat himself upon the throne and leave the King at Rome*:² and begged Mr. MacDonald, in the most earnest manner, to make this known to the King's friends in Scotland, to shew how dangerous a man I was, and to put a stop to my future negotiations.

I was pretty much embarrassed how to clear myself of so vile, so base, and so false an accusation, a fact so diametrically opposite to the intent of my journey, and the advice I had actually given. To have ridiculed the story as improbable would not have been enough, though it deserved no better answer, and to prove a negative, was no easy matter. I therefore thought it necessary, in my own vindication, to let Mr MacDonald into the motive of my journey, to inform him of the footing upon which I went, and the manner in which I conducted myself.

¹ Mr. Andrew Lang's Pickle the Spy.

² See the Chevalier's letter to Louis xv., p. 508.

With this he seemed quite satisfied ;* and then produced a letter written by Mr. MacDonald the Banker at Paris, representing Lord Semple and Bohaldy in their proper colours, setting forth the Prince's unhappy situation under such managers ; and referring to the consideration of his friends, whether it was not necessary to send over a person of character and credit to be with him, and manage his affairs separately from them.

It will not be doubted, that this proposal of Mr. MacDonald's was very agreeable to me ; and that I applauded the scheme. Lochyell likewise approved of it ; but no resolution was then taken to move in it.

At this time, the Lairds of MacLeod,¹ Appin,² and Lorn (Macdougall) came to town ; and as I had formerly had a long conversation with MacLeod upon the subject of the King's affairs, I proposed to Lochyell that we should have another meeting to deliver him a letter from the Prince. Lochyell accordingly made the appointment ; when after some discourse, I told him I was charged with a letter from the Prince, and then put it into his hand. After reading it, and appearing extremely well pleased, he expressed a strong desire to hear a description of his Highness's person and character ; which I having attempted very candidly and without reserve, he declared in a kind of rapture, that he would make it his business to advance his interest as much as was in his power, and would join him let him come when he would.

Having sat a considerable time, which was all spent upon the same topick, and Macleod having again and again repeated his resolution to promote the Prince's interest, and join him when he came, we broke up, but went to another Company in the same house, where were Lord Traquair, Mr. Stewart of Appin, and young Glengarry, where Macleod was no sooner seated, than as much affected with what had passed, he called for a large glass, and drank a bumper to Prince Charles. We

* I appeal to Glengary to vouch this fact ; and to Mr. MacDonald the Banker to acknowledge his letter.

¹ Norman, 19th of Macleod, b. 1706, M.P. for Inverness-shire 1741-1751, d. 1772. See *infra*, p. 112.

sat there for some time ; and when the Company was breaking up, I stopped Lochyell, and told him, that notwithstanding Macleod seemed so forward, and had promised so positively, yet I was determined to engage for no man, lest it should be imputed to me, that the Prince upon my intelligence and assurance had been encouraged to make an attempt without having sufficient grounds to go upon. I was resolved to have (if possible) every man's opinion and his own hand, and not to proceed after the vague, loose, and uncertain manner the other Agents for the Family had been accustomed to do ; and therefore begged he would go to him next morning, and procure something of that kind from him in writing.

Lochyell seemed much pleased with this scheme ; promised to go to him : and told me next day, that he had been with him before he was up, when he repeated the same things, and came under the like engagements he had done the night before, and as he said was so frank and hearty that he was loth to ask any thing from him in writing, lest he should think it was doubting his honour ; besides, as he continued to lye in bed, he thought it improper.

But, as I was still desirous to engage every one in such a manner as to leave them no room to resile, I begged Lochyell would repeat his visit next morning, and procure his advice and consent in writing : which he accordingly did, and as I can well remember, it was in the following terms : ‘ That having maturely considered his Royal Highness's resolution, he was of opinion that to land in Scotland without assistance from abroad might prove an unsuccessful attempt : but as he was entirely devoted to the interest of the Royal Family, if he should land, he would join him at the head of his Clan.’

Having procured this assurance, I naturally imagined it was impossible for him to fall from his engagements ; and upon a further meeting I had with him, after informing him of what advantage it would be to insinuate himself into the favour of the Party in England, and let them know the Scots strength, and how forward they were, he promised to follow my advice ; and assured me he would do every thing in his power to promote the Cause.

As my transactions with this man came in so naturally and

closely with what I mentioned of Mr. MacDonald of Glengary, I delayed making any observations on Bohaldy's uncandid proceedings with regard to me : and indeed I am loth to spend time in tracing him in all his windings, and thereby rendering this paper more tedious and complex than it would have been by giving only a succinct narration of facts, yet as it is natural to desire to have every thing made plain, without which it is impossible to see into the dangerous consequences attending upon circumstances, I will venture to look back to what passed betwixt Glengary and me, and thereby shew the false, treacherous and mischievous step Bohaldy in his great wisdom was pleased to take.

First then let us observe the mighty pains he was at in Rotterdam to persuade me, that my going to Paris would be a means to discover the Prince, and hurt his affairs : yet the same *cautious man*, notwithstanding all his care and foresight (to say no worse) sends a *boy* (for his nephew was no more) unacquainted with the world and business, to inform a young Gentleman of the secret he had seemed so much afraid of being divulged. He had the honour of being the King's correspondent, the Prince's confident, and the Party's agent : could he then discover any person sent, any message delivered, or proposal made, without being guilty of the most flagrant treachery and breach of trust ? The consequences flowing from such a discovery might have proved fatal to the whole Party, had either his nephew, or Mr. MacDonald, inadvertently mentioned my journey : for it is not to be doubted that I would immediately have been seized, a plot trumped up, and the persons, with whom I was so nearly and publickly connected, rendered suspected (I should rather say discovered, as their principles were no secret) and brought to trouble.

That this must have ensued will appear, beyond any cavil, from every circumstance which must infallibly have been discovered, upon the enquiry which would have followed my confinement.

My having retired to Perthshire, and being with the Duke of Perth the year before in the time of the Dunkirk embarkation ; my going that summer to the army, where I had no plausible business ; my disappearing for some time at Rotterdam, and

my return thither again, coinciding exactly with the time when it was said I had been in France, would have proved such convincing arguments against me, that had I been possessed of the deceit of Bohaldy himself, with the tongues of men and angels, it would not have been in my power to clear myself satisfactorily with the ministry of the charge against me. Besides, as I was generally intrusted with the whole papers and correspondence relating to that affair, had my person been seized when I had so little reason to suspect it, a part if not the whole of these papers would have been seized likewise: and what appearance must it have made to the world, when it came to be known, that from the spleen, envy, jealousy and unjust revenge in this obscure creature, many people of distinction were brought to the block and gallows, and the strength and glory of half the nation utterly destroyed? Posterity would have been amazed and shocked to think, that any member of the human race had been guilty of so vile an act. And what would the present age think, did they know that this man, notwithstanding so palpable a piece of treachery, not only dares to shew his face and pretend to honesty, but even finds people so credulous as to give faith to his pretended loyalty, and trust him as a person devoted to that Interest?

Though MacLeod is the fittest person I know to rank with the gentleman last mentioned, and comes naturally to be spoke of here, yet as his future conduct is universally well known; and as it is possible the previous steps to the transactions of those times will not be much longer a secret, there will be no more room left for reflection and conjecture, but every man will be able too to see with his own eyes, and judge by the strength of his own capacity, his ideas of right and wrong, truth and falshood, when this person must become a landmark to all travellers.

This naturally leads me to observe that no humane, no good, benevolent, unprejudiced person can reflect upon the Prince for an undertaking, which till now perhaps appeared to them rash and inconsiderate, or proceeding from youth and heat of blood, as none will be under the necessity of puzzling his brains, to find out why he made an attempt of such consequence to himself and friends with so small a force.

No man will be at a loss to determine, who are the people, dead or living, who merit the most applause, or the severest censure, and who ought most justly to be branded with the names of Coward and Traitor.

Is it in the power of nature to be guilty of greater cruelty, deeper villainy, than to deceive and impose upon the generous and well meaning, by making them believe he is their friend and will support them to the utmost, when at the very time he is determined to undermine, disappoint, nay even oppose them?

Can man be guilty of a baser action, than to persuade his fellow-creature to enter into a scheme upon the faith of his assistance, and yet fail him?

And can a Prince be blamed with justice for making an attempt, when promised to be seconded by people who not only professed friendship, but offered their services with the most solemn asseverations, and *even gave it under their hands?*

Surely never man had more reason to believe than the Prince; nor did ever man so basely betray, as did MacLeod; whom I shall leave for the present to the racks and tortures of a guilty conscience, and the just and severe judgment of every good man.

I applied next to Mr. Stuart of Appin, Chief of a considerable following, and who professed a strong attachment to the Royal Family; and finding him very ready to engage, I ventured to acquaint him with the expectations we had of assistance from France, but at the same time desired his opinion of what the Scots were able to do of themselves, and as a means to judge accurately of the number of each Clan, I begged he would give me a list, which after comparing with others I had before procured, found it rather inferior to them all, but from my after-knowledge was sensible it was the justest of any, and not above four sevenths of the number given in by Bohaldy to the French Court.¹

¹ The chief of Appin at this time was Dugald tenth and last of Appin. The authors of the *Stewarts of Appin* (Edin. 1880) state that he was a boy at the time of the '45. This could hardly be the case, since Murray consulted him. His father, who fought at Sheriffmuir, and was attainted, died, according to the same authorities, before 1739. Charles Stewart of Ardsheal led the clan, according to the *Lockhart Papers*, to the number of two hundred and sixty, to the Prince's standard. Dugald of Appin took no part in the '45. He sold Appin in 1765, to Seton of Touch. Cf. p. 442.

This Gentleman, finding me very desirous to be satisfied of every particular in relation to the Highlands, assured me that as soon as he got home, he would send me some papers of his Father's concerning the rising in the year 1715, from which I would learn a good deal not only of the nature of the people but the manner of raising them, with the situation of the Country, etc.

At another interview, I took an opportunity to acquaint him with the Prince's resolution of coming to Scotland: and told him, that as I was resolved to act upon a different plan, from what others hitherto concerned in the King's affairs had done, and that it should not be imputed to me that any attempt had been made upon my intelligence alone, I begged he would give me his *signed opinion*; which he consented to, and gave it much in the same terms with Macleod's.

I intended to have spoke likewise to Mr. Macdowal of Lorn, having been sometimes in company with him, when he seemed by his conversation as much inclined to assist the Royal Family as any other; but having mentioned my design to Lochyell, he dissuaded me, saying, he believed there was no fear of him, as he was very well affected, but as he had but a small following, he would naturally join Sir James Campbell, when the Country came to be raised, and as he was connected by marriage to the Campbells, he thought it was as well to let him alone, lest he should let anything drop to give them suspicion: so I advised his being with him from time to time in the tavern, where the Royal Family was generally the subject of discourse.

Lord Elcho was now come to town, and several of the most considerable of the King's friends, with whom I had frequent meetings; and convinced him, Lochyell, Sir James Stuart, Glengary, and others of the necessity of Lord Traquair's going to England, begging they might use their influence with him; upon which they desired I would write him a letter to press his departure, which I accordingly did, but could obtain no satisfactory answer, his Lordship finding some excuse for a further delay.

As there was now so near a prospect of things coming to a Crisis, I thought it time to render the Party a little more

extensive :* and as a means not only to make them better acquainted with one another, but to draw them to make publick declarations of their principles, and thereby leave them no pretence to excuse their appearance when things came to an open rupture, I schemed the forming a Club, where all the well affected might meet. Having communicated my thought to Lord Elcho, he approved and perfected the scheme: the Club was soon formed, and consisted of the principal people of the party, together with several of the Inhabitants of the City: and I cannot help thinking but it was of some service, and might have been of more, if all who appeared there had taken the field.

As Lochyell and Glengary had communicated the contents of Mr. MacDonald the Banker's letter to some of the chief men of the Party then in town, they seemed all very anxious about the Prince's situation, and desirous that he should have some body with him, in whom they could confide; and proposed my going over. As this was a thing upon which they were very intent, I assured them, that there was nothing in my power that I would not do to forward the interest of the whole, but did not see how it was possible for me to undertake it, as I was not able to support myself with credit to him, without ruining my family at home, which was what I could not in honour do, nor did I believe they expected of me; and to send any person to be a burden upon the Prince would have a very bad look, especially as his circumstances would not admit of an additional expence: besides, it was to be considered, that as it would be impossible for me to be privately abroad, in all probability I would lose my Estate by the late act, which declared it treason to correspond with the Prince, or Duke of York.¹

To this it was answered, that a sallary should be appointed by the Party such as would enable me to live with credit, and without putting the Prince to any charge; and as to my Estate, such a conveyance might be made, as to put it out of the power of the Government to touch it.

* I was authorised to do this by the King's orders, as mentioned in page 97 by my late instructions from the Prince: and the situation of affairs rendered it indispensably necessary.

¹ 17 Geo. II. cap. 39.

Though there were very palpable reasons for my not complying with this request, and among others the salary's being withdrawn as soon as they saw nothing effectual could be done, and which I made no scruple to tell them I expected would happen, yet to shew that I would do every thing to promote the Cause, I agreed to go, provided there was a possibility of securing my estate to my children, and to leave no room to imagine I trifled with them, I offered to consult Mr. Macleod of Nuik, and pitched upon the Earl of Traquair (who was one of the promoters* of this scheme, and then present) to be with me at the consultation.

As they all professed an anxiety to have this affair finished, I made an appointment with Mr. Macleod next day; and in the evening his Lordship accompanied me to his house, where I told him the proposal that was made to me, with the conditions upon which I had consented, and desired to have his opinion if it was possible to make such a settlement.

After Mr. Macleod had said some obliging things upon my readiness to serve the party, he declared that he very much doubted if such a conveyance could be made, but he would consider seriously of it; and appointed the next evening at six o'clock to give his opinion.

Lord Traquair and I attended him at the hour, when he read and explained to us clauses of several acts of parliament; gave it as his opinion that no deed of conveyance could be framed to evade a forfeiture; and assured me in a very friendly and earnest manner that the thing was absolutely impossible (the truth of which has frequently appeared since 1746).

After leaving him, we went to the tavern, where we had appointed to meet the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and

* 'Tis amazing to think how fluctuating this man was. He could not upon my report after my return from Paris be persuaded of Bohaldy's falsehood. He soon after joins in opinion with those who did, and was the warmest promoter of my going to superceed him, and after his going to London changes again, and neglects the errant upon wh he was sent. I have often conjectured that his neglect was as much owing to his Correspondence with Bohaldy and the love of money as to any thing else.¹

¹ This note is in Murray's own hand.

Lochyell, where his Lordship reported what had passed, upon which, with some reluctancy, they accepted of my excuse; and Lord Elcho and Lochyell, seeming greatly disappointed, expressed great eagerness and desire that some method might be fallen upon to have Bohaldy dismissed the service, and at last proposed that letters should be written begging the Prince to have him committed to the Bastile; but the Duke of Perth and the Earl of Traquair being against any violent measures, lest our friends in England might thereby be alarmed and intimidated, their proposal was dropt.

As I was aware that every thing I had advanced to the Prince would be boldly contradicted by Lord Semple and Bohaldy, and that persons capable of making so false a representation of my proceedings to the Party in Scotland, as they had endeavoured by Glengary, would not stick to transmit them to Rome in the same odious colours, I made out a Journal of affairs from the time I was first concerned, containing copies of all the letters received, with remarks upon them; and got Lochyell to compare them with the originals, and attest each singly. I likewise gave a full account of every step I had taken from the time of my leaving Paris till that day, with the written opinions of the principal people concerned in relation to the Prince's intended expedition into Scotland, together with letters upon that subject from the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Stuart,* and Lochyell, which I proposed to transmit to the Prince by Lord Traquair when he should set out for London, from whence he might be able to judge not only of the truth of what I had advanced, but likewise of the situation and inclination of the party, and to shew him that they were all unanimous against his coming without a force, except the Duke of Perth, who was always of opinion that if the English performed the engagements they were said to have come under, no foreign troops were necessary.

The Earl of Traquair, after repeated solicitations both by

* Sir James will do me the justice to say that, having found me one evening writing the above mentioned paper, I communicated my design to him, shewed him what I was then about; and that he approved of it. Many of the letters were copied by Lochyell, as I had not time to do all myself.

letters and personally, having postponed his journey for some months, returned to Edinburgh, and at a meeting in the tavern under the Piazzas of the Parliament Close, where were present the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lochyell, Glengary, and Sir James Stewart (but am not certain if the latter was there at the time) when I delivered the packet to his Lordship, with a full account of the contents, and begged that he might immediately upon his arrival at London dispatch it either by a private hand, or by the trading sloops (which sailed daily or weekly) to Boulogne, to Mr. Charles Smith, with instructions for him to forward it forthwith to the Prince.

His Lordship was likewise instructed to be very explicit with the English, and to receive a plain and distinct answer from them; to know what they would do, and expected us to act, provided the Prince landed in England in such a manner as was expected the spring before; what they were willing to do should he land in Scotland with a body of troops; and, lastly, what assistance they would give in case he came single: that by this means the Scots might be at no loss to know what they were to depend upon, and the manner after which they were to act, if once Masters of their own Country.

His Lordship took great pains to persuade the Company that nothing should be wanting on his part, and after some expressions of zeal for and attachment to the interest of the Royal Family, promised to forward the packet without delay; but as he thought things could not be represented to the Prince in too strong a light, he was resolved to follow soon after to France himself, to acquaint him with the situation of the Country and the opinion of his friends, using this very singular expression, that he would see the Prince, *though in a bawdy house*.*

He set out post for London next morning, where, notwith-

* The present Earl of Weems,¹ and Laird of Glengary,² can vouch this. The latter has since repeated it to me in my house in London.

¹ Lord Elcho's brother Francis, who, however, did not assume the title till after his brother's death in 1787.

² 'Pickle.'

standing his promised diligence, he did not arrive in less than fifteen days, and that after three months delay, notwithstanding the Prince's orders and the repeated solicitations of those chiefly concerned.

Mr. MacDonald of Glengary being now about to depart to the Highlands, I wrote a letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald, and in it inclosed one from the Prince, and gave them to this Gentleman, who undertook to deliver them; and Sir Alexander returned an answer, saying in general, that as soon as a proper plan was laid down, he would not only be ready to join himself, but endeavour to engage his neighbours.

I had taken many opportunities to shew such as were chiefly concerned that nothing could be done without money; and as I had the Prince's positive orders to endeavour to raise a sum, it was now necessary that some resolution should be come to upon that head; but seeing all my endeavours had produced nothing but an acknowledgment of the necessity there was for it, and expressions of regret that it was not in their power to be assisting that way, I resolved to set about it once for all by applying to such only as I imagined might be prevailed upon, and esteeming it not only needless, but below the Prince's dignity, to speak to those who had formerly refused. I thought it better to raise but a small sum, by confining my application rather to a few, than to attempt a number, lest by the refusal of one, and their whispering to each other, they should be encouraged to deny me.

I had already got a promise from Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, whose compliance I judged might prevail upon Mr. Charteris,¹ to whom I had given some hints that such a thing would be of great service: but justly thinking his brother, Lord Elcho, the properest person to prevail, I proposed it to him, telling him what Mr. Nisbet had engaged to do, and that I likewise intended to apply to the present Duke of Hamilton, who seemed very well inclined.

His Lordship very frankly undertook to speak to Mr.

¹ Francis, son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss, and Janet, only daughter of Colonel Francis Charteris of Amisfield. He succeeded to the Charteris estates and to the earldom. He died in 1808.

Charteris: and said, he did not at all doubt but he would contribute, provided any others joined with him, but added that I needed not give myself the trouble to speak to the Duke of Hamilton,¹ for he and Sir James Stewart had already endeavoured to prevail with him to continue the yearly allowance which his father had formerly given to the Earl Marishall, but he would scarcely give them an opportunity to speak upon the subject, and that he was got amongst a mixed set of people, and did not appear to have a relish for things of that kind.

I had likewise occasion to talk with Sir James Stewart upon the same subject, whose opinion (I must acknowledge) I would at all times have been ready to prefer to any of my Countrymen. He expressed himself in much the same way with his Lordship, which I thought a very bad presage; for if they, who were his intimates, could not influence his Grace, there were small hopes of my doing it, who had been but a few months acquainted with him. However, as it was my duty to stop at no seeming obstacle, I resolved to make a trial, and for that purpose contrived to be more frequently with his Grace than I otherwise should; and having reason to believe I was not disagreeable to him, I took occasion to speak to him on the 23rd of February (O.S.), the Duke of York's

Feb. 174

birthday. There had been a very brilliant assembly that night, where all the Gentlemen of the Party appeared, and the dancing being over, the most of them retired to solemnize the night at Walker's tavern, where having drunk pretty plentifully, they separated: and as I found his Grace had no inclination to go home, and thinking it would be a good time to speak to him, I proposed retiring into another room, which he agreed to.

After drinking some healths suitable to the day, I introduced the subject, and endeavoured to shew him how necessary it was to have a sum ready, should the Prince resolve to come over. Far from making any difficulty, he said that he heartily

¹ James, 6th duke, b. 1724, suc. 1743, m. 1752, Elizabeth Gunning (afterwards Duchess of Argyll), d. 1758.

regretted the then situation of his affairs would not admit of his being so liberal as he inclined; his father having left very large debts, which he was resolved to pay; that he would contribute what was in his power: and desired to know, what people I had or intended to speak to.

I replied, that I had already procured a promise from Nisbet of Dirleton; had employed Lord Elcho to speak to his brother; intended myself to speak to the Duke of Perth, and get him to talk to Mr. Murray of Abercairny,¹ and Mr. Graham of Balgowan; and that I would likewise apply to Lord Traquair, as soon as he returned, but considering the expence of the journey he had lately taken at the Prince's desire, could not expect much.

The Duke seemed pleased with the persons I had pitched upon; said, he would resolve on the sum he was to give in a day or two; and desired I might then come to him: so after a long conversation upon the situation of the country, and the Prince's designs, we parted.

Happy to think I prevailed, where there had been so small hopes of success, and that this would be a spur to others, who pretended more zeal and loyalty, I acquainted Lord Elcho, who, quite surprized at the Duke's answer, said, he had spoke to his brother, who had very frankly offered to give a sum.

I spoke next to the Duke of Perth, who without the least reserve declared, he was ready to give all the money he could raise, and the same day proposed to Lord Elcho, that if his brother would agree to give the like sum, he would mortgage his estate for ten thousand pounds Sterling; a noble offer, and only worthy of so good, and so great a man.

His Grace had likewise applied to Mr. Murray of Abercairny, who agreed to give £500: but whether Mr. Graham of Balgowan had been spoke to, I cannot now recollect, though I am certain no bill was granted by him.

The first time I waited on the Duke of Hamilton, he said, he had considered the affair I mentioned to him, and had re-

¹ James Moray of Abercairny, son of William Moray, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Graham of Balgowan.

solved what to give; but desired to know how it was to be transacted, and to whom the money was to be paid: which, as it was a material circumstance, I declined taking upon myself to determine or advise, but left it to his Grace to do as he should think fit. Upon this he proposed to have a meeting with the Duke of Perth and Lord Elcho; which was brought about some days after, when it was agreed that the several Contributors should grant Bills for their respective sums payable to me at the Whitsuntide following.

The Dukes of Hamilton and Perth, with Mr. Charteris gave theirs for £1500 each; Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton engaged to give £1000; and Mr. Murray of Abercairny £500: but neither of the two last could be prevailed upon to grant Bills. Their reasons I do not pretend to assign, as they gave no other that I know of, but that they did not think it proper: nor can I allow myself to believe that it proceeded from any fear of discovery, especially on Abercairny's part; for though it was an affair of the utmost consequence to all concerned, yet so fond are some people of telling secrets, that soon after Mr. William Murray¹ (now Earl of Dunmore) asked me in a sly manner if such a subscription was not carrying on, and if the Duke of Hamilton had not contributed liberally.

A good deal surprized how the thing had taken air, I pretended to be quite ignorant of it, and asked how he came to imagine any such thing was in agitation: to which he replied with a simper (intimating he was of consequence enough to know what was going forward) that his friend Abercairny had informed him of the several persons concerned, and that he among others had subscribed £500.

It may be reasonably imagined that this Gentleman was not his sole confidant, people of that communicative temper seldom centering their confidence in one person: and had his indiscretion made his donation known, as the voice of the world has gone for some time, it is not to be doubted but the discovery would have been laid to my charge; but with how little justice is well known to the ministers of state in the year

¹ William 3rd earl, joined the Prince at Perth, surrendered after Culloden, pled guilty of treason, pardoned, suc. his brother 1752, d. 1756.

1746, and to Abercairny himself, who in that case would not have escaped their notice.

Mr. Macleod's opinion (as already mentioned) that no conveyance could secure my estate from forfeiture, having prevented my going to France, the Gentlemen, who proposed that scheme, still continued very desirous that some person of confidence should be with the Prince, and Lord Elcho having given some hints that he was inclined to go, I thought it a proper time to encourage him, and therefore mentioned the affair at our meeting with Duke Hamilton, who was very fond of it: but his Lordship, after taking some days to reflect, declined it.

It would be stifling my real sentiments (which I am determined not to do in this narrative) not to say that I always sincerely regretted Lord Elcho's not going over, as I am convinced it would have been of the utmost consequence to the King's affairs. The general run of mankind may venture to say of him what they please: but I have had the honour to know him intimately, and am persuaded he is as void of that fickleness of temper in matters of moment of which he is accused by some of his party, as he is of the cruelty and brutality laid to his charge by the other. He has very good natural parts, and is far from being deficient in acquired knowledge; has a very quick lively apprehension, and not ready to be led away with any airy superficial scheme: so that I am convinced, had he gone over, to say no more, things would not have been the worse for us.

Though I looked upon the Duke of Hamilton's contributing, the conversations I had with him, and his professions at this meeting, as pretty deep engagements, yet as his appearance in the field would have been of great consequence to the Cause, I thought it proper to draw some declaration from him before that Company, from which he might not so easily have it in his power to get off, as if he had made it privately to me: and with that view told him, I was then going to write to the Prince, and would not fail to acquaint him with what his Grace had done, and would be glad to know if he had any advice to offer, or if I should say anything from him in particular; upon which he desired I might not neglect to offer his

humble duty, and to assure his Royal Highness that he would join him with all the force he could raise.*

It being now a considerable time since letters had been expected from Lord Traquair, some began to think he was about to return, and therefor declined writing, though it was nevertheless thought pretty odd that he had been quite silent and not even intimated that the packet was forwarded; and though I had wrote to him again and again, he had never vouchsafed an answer.

I acknowledge, his silence did not affect me so much as it did others, being one of those who imagined, that he had finished his negotiations with the English, and would shortly return. Indeed it seemed strange to me that he had not mentioned his having forwarded the packet, having very solemnly and voluntarily promised to do it: and at times the fate of my letter to the Earl Marischall made me uneasy; but never imagining that his evil spirit Bohaldy was with him, I was ready to blame myself for judging of him harshly, and daily looked out for his return.

The season of the year being now far advanced, and no accounts from France, I became vastly anxious, being thereby confirmed in my opinion that the Prince would come, as he would certainly have acquainted us, had he altered his resolution; or had he received the packet, giving his reasons why he was not dissuaded: which altogether made me quite unhappy to think we should be left entirely in the dark as to the English resolutions.

I expressed my concern to such of the party as were in town, and had a meeting with some of them, where it was resolved, that a letter should be wrote to his Highness, signed by the whole, and sent by express: and I was desired to write their sentiments, which I did immediately, as it was proposed to be sent by Mr. Ogilvy's ship, which we knew was to sail next day for Boulogne.

* The Earl of Weems may remember this, and that when we were talking of the union and of the indignities imposed upon Scotland by the English since, his Grace expressed himself strongly upon the subject, and concluded by saying, let us now act as becomes Scotsmen, and set our feet on the backs of the English.

I acquainted his Royal Highness, that I had wrote fully to him by Lord Traquair, which I hoped had reached him some months before ; but that having had no news from his Lordship, nor no answer from his Royal Highness, we were of opinion that the present situation of affairs made it requisite to write our sentiments : and then observed, that if he came to Scotland, it was absolutely necessary to have a body of 6000 men, in case the English were not as forward to join as we, and that they should land upon the East coast at any port from Peterhead to Dundee, to prevent the forces in the North from joining those in the South.

This letter was signed by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lochyell, Mr. Nisbet of Dirleton, and me : and if I remember right, there was a postscript, likewise signed, begging of his Royal Highness, that Bohaldy might not be acquainted with the Contents of the letter.

I likewise wrote to his Highness, begging he would write letters to some of the principal people in Scotland, and send commissions to such as I thought might be of service, and particularly one for the Duke of Hamilton making him Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Air, Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, etc., and one for Lord Ogilvy,¹ appointing him Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Angus and Merns.

Having finished the letters, we were at loss for a proper person to carry them, I therefore proposed that the Duke of Perth should prevail with Mr. (now Doctor) Drummond the Clergyman, nephew to the Laird of Logie : and as all approved the choice, his Grace went directly from the company, and sent for him. In the interim Lord Elcho wrote a letter to Captain Ogilvie of Leith, desiring him to delay his voyage for one day, that Mr. Drummond might have time to prepare himself, who (the Duke of Perth upon his return told us) had engaged to go, but to our great surprize he positively next Evening refused, without pretending any other excuse than the approach of the holidays, when he would be missed by the

¹ David, eldest son of 4th Earl of Airlie, b. 1725, escaped to Norway after Culloden, became Lieutenant-General in the French service, pardoned 1778, d. at Cortachy 1803.

Congregation, though he might have procured one to officiate for him, and his being missed was a matter of no moment, being then Colleague to Mr. Harper.

Lord Elcho applied next to Mr. (now Sir) Steuart Threpland, who likewise excused himself: so I proposed it to Mr. Norvel of Boghall, who I had no reason to believe would refuse, being a man who had asked and obtained the King's commission, and one who upon all occasions expressed uncommon zeal for the interest of the Royal Family; but he also refused, saying he was not well.

Finding it would be difficult to find a person of any character, when refused by such as we had spoken to, I offered, if the Subscribers would consent, to get a person, who had formerly served me, whose honesty I could answer for, and who would religiously observe the instructions I gave him.

This being agreed to, I quickly dispatched John Macnaughton after recommending him to Captain Ogilvy's care, and charged him to take the name of Douglas, telling him what account to give of himself, in case the ship was visited by a man of war. I gave him a letter to Mr. Smith of Boulogne, desiring he would furnish him with what money he thought proper, and sent him to the Prince wherever he was; and likewise another letter to Mr. MacDonald the Banker at Paris, in case he should go thither, desiring him to give him what money was necessary, with a suit of cloaths and shirts.

Soon after this, I received a letter, which from the character alone I judged to be Lord Traquair's, consisting of three or four lines at most, saying that the Lady's friends seemed as well inclined to the match as before, but it was thought proper to have the wedding cloaths from France before the solemnity was performed. This, I solemnly protest, was the substance, and I believe pretty near the very words: for indeed it was too extraordinary to be forgotten.

I was no stranger to his intended marriage; so was quite at a loss to say whether this letter related to it, or to the business upon which he was sent; for he did not take the least notice of the packet, by saying it was or was not forwarded: neither did he give the smallest hint of his having been or intending to go to France, as he proposed; or about the money he was

desired to procure ; in short, nothing which could give the least satisfaction.

If it was to be understood upon the footing of business, nothing further could be learned from it, than that the English thought foreign assistance necessary ; which the Scots never doubted. It was therefore giving us no intelligence, not even enabling us to judge if the landing of French troops in Scotland would be agreeable to them ; which was one of the questions he was particularly desired to ask. His business was to procure distinct categorical answers to the several questions he was instructed to propose, to endeavour to raise a sum of money, to write to the Prince what he had done in consequence of his orders, and to return to Scotland to inform the party of his proceedings ; but in place of doing all or part of this, these few above mentioned unmeaning lines were all the satisfaction his Lordship ever gave to either, having taken no more notice of the Prince, than if he had never been employed by him.

A few days after the receipt of this insignificant letter, I was informed of Mr. Blaw of Castlehill's¹ return from France, whither he had been sent about Christmas by the Duke of Perth with letters to the Prince. I was uneasy at his having been seen in Edinburgh, lest any of the servants of the government having learnt where he had been should get him secured ; and whilst I was thinking how to get him persuaded to leave the town, I received a visit from him. He told me where he had been, and of a scheme he had formed to seize the Castle of Edinburgh, the particulars of which I have entirely forgot. He informed me likewise that he had left Sir Hector Maclean in Holland, whom he expected by the first ship. I represented the danger of his being seen in Edinburgh ; and begged of him, that if he had any regard for his own safety, or the King's interest, he would go to the country and keep out of the way till all suspicion subsided, which he promised, and as I was informed did next morning.

Being at this time confined to the house, Mr. Macleod of

¹ John Bleau or Blaw of Castlehill, near Clackmannan, cf. *Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 166, 167, and 180, as to his visit to France in Feb. 1745 and subsequent arrest in June and imprisonment for two and a half years. He was hanged for murder in 1767 at the age of seventy-five. Cf. Charles's *Transactions in Scotland*, II. 10.

Nuik made me a visit, and acquainted me that the Laird of Macleod was come to town, and desired to see me, having a packet to deliver from the Earl of Traquair. Being unable to go abroad, I begged he would do me the favour to come to me; and was overjoyed to think, that we should at last receive full satisfaction from his Lordship: but how great was my surprize in the afternoon, when Macleod delivered the same packet (which I had sent to London by his Lordship about four months before) without any intelligence, or any reason for returning it, only that he could not get a proper person to send it by to the Prince.

If this fact is maturely considered, it will be found to have been one of the most unaccountable that ever man was guilty of; and to what cause alone to attribute it, few people may be able to guess. The ways proposed to him to forward it were easy and safe: yet supposing it had been otherwise, and that he found it impossible, he ought not to have kept it so long, but returned it immediately. He knew the contents were of the utmost consequence, and of a more interesting nature than his Royal Highness had perhaps ever received. He declared as much in company the night it was delivered to him. He approved of the necessity there was to transmit it, promised to do it, and even went the length to say, that it was an affair upon which so much depended, that he would follow it himself to enforce the arguments it contained, with what further occurred to him: and he had not only declared against the Prince's coming without foreign aid, but wrote him a dissuasive letter, which made part of the packet. If he was really and sincerely desirous that the Prince should not come, he knew there could be no more sovereign prevention devised than the opinions of the heads of the Party: all which were in the body of the Packet.

If he was convinced, which seemed evident (unless he was acting with a designed treachery all along) from his outward keenness that I should go over, that Semple and Bohaldy had not acted a fair part, and that it was necessary to have them dismissed from the Prince's service, what more effectual method could be fallen upon, than to forward this packet, which contained copies of all their letters attested by Lochyell, with

my remarks upon their several contradictions and inconsistencies?

If he had the Prince's honour and interest so much at heart as he pretended, surely nothing could be of more service to him, than to be let into not only the present state of his affairs, but the whole transactions that had passed for some years, of which he knew little but from the memorial I had given : nay, his Lordship knew, it was impossible for the Prince to learn these by another channel ; and yet notwithstanding all, he retained it in his custody.

Could there be a baser neglect, a more barefaced breach of trust ?

I may, and am confident all the world will, pronounce it a sacrificing of his Prince, and a betraying of his Countrymen, in the grossest manner.

Had he been averse to the employment, why did he not declare it openly and above board ? There were none to controul him, or force it upon him ; they could have fallen upon many other methods of conveyance : I would even have gone privately myself, had no other been found.

If he altered his mind after he arrived in London, the only part he could have acted with seeming honour, was to return it directly, that we might still have had time to send it over : but to keep it in his custody about four months, seems to have been a designed and studied trick.

He knew well, that if there was no landing in England in the Spring, the Prince resolved to be in Scotland early in the Summer. Why then did he keep it up till the month of May, when in all probability it could not arrive in Scotland much sooner than he ?

If he imagined the contents were not sufficiently strong of themselves, and that the Prince might continue his resolution notwithstanding, why did he not either go himself, or represent this to the English,* and prevail with them either to send one of their number with the packet ; or if it was

* If they had declared against joining, Lord Traquair's silence was a means to draw the Prince into a hazardous and unsuccessful attempt, and leave his Countrymen in the lurch.

thought dangerous to send it, to inform his Royal Highness by a private hand of the contents, and lay the sentiments of both nations before his Highness at one and the same time?

But as this is an affair of the greatest moment, and ought to be made as plain and evident as truth will permit, I shall give a short account of his proceedings about it, after he arrived in London.

It seems he thought the best way was to find a person here to carry it to Paris, and was recommended to a Gentleman of the name of Mackenzie, as one in whom he might safely confide. This young man cheerfully undertook to carry it: but told his Lordship, that his circumstances would not admit of his being at the expence of the journey, and therefore hoped he would be considered; and being asked what sum he required, moderately demanded forty pounds.

One would imagine that a man of Lord Traquair's figure and fortune, and above all one who professed to have the interest of the Party so much at heart, would not have made two words to the bargain, but dispatched him immediately: yet it is most certain that he absolutely refused, alledging the demand was extravagant.

To this the young Gentleman replied, that he was far from proposing to make a job of the journey, but was as desirous as his Lordship or any man to be of service to his Prince, and did his circumstances admit, would do it at his own charge; that it was not only the bare expence of the journey that was requisite, for being a Gentleman it was necessary he should appear as such for his own credit and the honour of these who sent him, and must therefore have a suit of Cloaths, which would take a considerable part of the sum, and as to his travelling charges they should be as moderate as possible.

In short, his Lordship still refusing, and the Gentleman willing to go in the nearest way possible, he higgled him down to £25, and desired him to prepare immediately for his journey: but when he was ready, his Lordship, without assigning any reason but the expence, told him he was not to go, and did not so much as offer him the smallest gratuity, notwithstanding the young man had been at the expence to equip himself,

and was afterwards obliged to apply to Mrs. Oglethorpe,¹ who made a small collection to pay the debt : all which the young Gentleman himself, and Mr. James Leslie formerly his Lordship's Chaplain, now Tutor to the young Marquis Mezce,² with several to whom Mrs. Oglethorpe told it, can testify.

Being sensible, that by this neglect, his Royal Highness was left much in the dark as to the sentiments of his friends, and what a disappointment it would be to the whole Party, I thought it necessary that the packet should still be sent, though perhaps too late to answer the end proposed : yet it was doing the best in my power, and endeavouring as far as in me lay to make up for the other's fault.

After this first resolution, I had many doubts whether to forward it, or not. It occurred, that as the other dispatch sent by Macnaughton was in general terms, it might not be sufficient to prevent his coming, as he would esteem it rather a wish than an advice. It likewise occurred, that as the packet had not reached him, he could have no reason to believe his friends were averse to his coming, and had very probably already communicated his intention to the French Court,* and informed them of the strength he thought he had to rely upon ; yet (allowing he was convinced it would be wrong (he could not with honour fall from his purpose,† as it would not fail to be interpreted to his prejudice, as proceeding from timidity, which would hurt him in his private character, or from the want of friends, which would be vastly detrimental to his interest, by lessening the idea they had of the strength of the Party. Yet in spite of all, I resolved it should go, and enlarged it with a scheme for seizing Edinburgh Castle, with

* He would naturally have assured them of the whole Clans, notwithstanding what I had told him, trusting to my having communicated his intention to them, and receiving no intelligence to the contrary.

† For though he had shewed the contents to the ministry to convince them he had reason, yet there would have been some ready enough to put a wrong gloss upon it.

¹ Anne, daughter of Sir Theophilus, and sister of General Oglethorpe (founder of Georgia). The legend that she was mistress of the Old Chevalier has no foundation in fact. Cf. *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1898.

² Mezières Eleanor Oglethorpe, Anne's sister, married the Marquis de Mezières, and her son was wounded at Fontenoy.

the Battallion quartered in the suburbs, together with fort Augustus and fort William, with the small parties on the North coast, accompanied with a map of the Country, marking the different situation of the Clans, with their proper routs to Stirling, where I proposed they should all rendezvous: and when finished, which was in a few days after receiving it from Macleod, I gave it in charge to Mr. MacDonald the younger of Glengary, who was then going to France from the West coast.

There is one thing occurs to me here, and which I cannot forbear to mention, for though it may not perhaps be thought material, yet I am inclined it should be known, as a proof that my assiduity in the King's affairs did not proceed from self interest or ambition, and that the office I was afterwards invested with was so far from being my desire, that it was the most distant from my thoughts, and even disagreeable to me, as not suiting my genius: and that the application I gave to business of that kind proceeded entirely from a desire to promote the interest of the Party; seeing plainly, there was no other willing to take the same fatigue, and that if I had not, things would have been neglected. But to come to the point.

Besides the packet, I gave Mr. MacDonald private instructions, wherein among other things he was enjoined to apply to his Royal Highness, that in case of his coming to Scotland, he would name me one of his Aid-de-camps, a post infinitely more agreeable to me for many reasons than the one he did me the honour to confer upon me, as being more agreeable to my inclinations, giving less cause of jealousy or envy, and rendering me less remarkable, and my actions less liable to be criticised and canvassed by the army.

As I do not mention this by way of apology or alleviation of any thing that has been laid to my charge, but purely for the reasons above mentioned, I beg it may not be so interpreted, for I am far from thinking the office of Secretary was either above my birth, or services (at least endeavours to serve): on the contrary, I think there was none in the army fitter for it, or better entitled to it; and I have the vanity to say, that I was perhaps the only man in that station, whose actions were approved of by all. I say by all; for if there were any who

found fault, their numbers were too insignificant to be minded, their consequence too trifling to deserve notice, or such as would have grumbled, whether there had been reason or none.

But, as this particular has been mentioned with no other view, than to shew that far from having used any intrigues to obtain it, it was the most distant from my thoughts, and what I would have refused, had it been in my power.

I will venture to say further still, that had I been nominated to the post I applied for, though the honour would have been sufficient for any subject, yet if some of the persons, who acted in that station, are recollected, to have been ranked with them would not have been more than adequate to my services.

But to return. As broad swords were greatly wanted, and very difficult to be procured, I made enquiry if any could be had in Edinburgh: and finding that an armourer had got betwixt three and four hundred blades, I bargained with him to mount them at half a guinea; which was of some service, for though I did not get the whole, Colonel Gardner having obliged him to provide some for his regiment, yet the rest came in good time, and shews there was no particular in my power that I neglected. I was even so minute as to provide several sets of brass moulds, and employed a gunsmith to pick up all the muskets he could find, and by his means procured a number: all which was conducted with so much secresy, that there never was the least whisper or suspicion of it to this day, though several boxes of them were carried to my house in the Country, and a part conveyed to Mr. Buchannan's of Arnprior for the Duke of Perth's people. I likewise bespoke a number of Targets at Edinburgh, which were made, and brought to the army the night before the battle of Prestonpans.

y 1745 About the end of May, I was acquainted by express that Macnaughton was returned: upon which I immediately went to Edinburgh, and received two packets from Mr. Smith of Boulogne, which had been sent from the Prince by Macnaughton; and which Mr. Smith had secreted, lest the other had been suspected and searched.

They contained the commissions and letters I had wrote for, and a letter from his Royal Highness, saying he was to set out from France in a short time with some money and arms, and

expected to be in Scotland in the month of July ; that he proposed to come to the island of Ouist, and would make such and such signals.

It will not be doubted, that this letter gave me great concern, as it was plain that had the packet, committed to Lord Traquair's care, been sent in time, his Royal Highness would not have attempted this enterprize so poorly provided. It likewise appeared, that though Mr. MacDonald arrived in France before his departure,¹ it was very improbable he would put off his voyage for the reasons I gave before : and though I did not doubt that such as had promised to join would still keep their words, yet I was afraid others might be backward, and that as soon as it was known he came without foreign assistance, it would hurt his affairs in the eye of the world.

I thought it likewise unlucky to be taken very ill of the ague, of which I had had two severe attacks that summer, and which now made me unable to bestir myself : but as it was absolutely necessary, that the Gentlemen of the Highlands should be immediately acquainted, I sent for Captain Graham of Braco, and begged of him to carry the Prince's letter to the Duke of Perth, and wrote to his Grace, begging him to send it by express to Lochyell, with directions to communicate it forthwith to Lord Lovat and Macleod, and desired his Grace would lose no time to make a proper disposition in that part of the country allotted to him.

The day after I dispatched this letter, I sent for Lord Ogilvy, and after putting him in mind of the strict attachment his family had always preserved to the house of Stewart, and how much it would redound to his honour to continue steadfast to the principles of his Ancestors and these he had hitherto professed, I told him the Prince would soon be in Scotland, and delivered him a letter and commission, appointing him Lord Lieutenant of Angus.

His Lordship seeming a little timorous and unwilling to engage, I said all in my power to encourage him ; so having read the letter, he took the Commission, but said, though he accepted of it, yet I was not thereby to understand that he meant positively to engage : to which I replied that I was not

¹ Young Glengarry did not see the Prince before he sailed.

vain enough to think any thing I could say would influence him, but hoped his own good sense, the love of his country, the principles of his family, and the honour the Prince had done him, would prevail with him to act a part which every body expected from him.

After he was gone I reflected, that as he was young, should he communicate what had passed to some of his friends, especially his Lady's¹ relations, he might be dissuaded; or if he did not, yet it was possible he might overlook it as a matter of no great moment: so I sent for the reverend Mr. John Mackenzie, who had been his Tutor, and without telling him the particulars which had passed, I begged him to be frequently with his Lordship, to take every opportunity to inculcate the principles he had been taught, and shew him how prejudicial it would be to his character to take any steps opposite to what his family had hitherto done; observing that as the times then went it was very necessary, his Lordship being young, and just entering into the world, when men were most ready to forget their old way of thinking and adopt that of their company. Mr. Mackenzie, pleased to find me anxious about his late pupil, promised that no pains should be wanting on his part; and, I truly believe, was as good as his word.

The same evening I received a message from Sir Hector Maclean, by Colonel John Stewart, acquainting me with his arrival, and desiring to see me; but being unable to go abroad, I promised to wait on him next afternoon: and as soon as the Colonel was gone, reflecting that things now began to thicken, I thought it would be proper, in case of accidents, to put my papers out of the way; so after sealing them up, I committed them to the care of the reverend Mr. David Rae, letting him know the nature of them, and begging him to keep them concealed.

Next morning I went to Leith, and got a packet from Mr. Smith containing the letter and commission I had desired for the Duke of Hamilton; and upon my return to town went to wait upon Sir Hector Maclean, where I unexpectedly found

¹ Lord Ogilvie married Margaret, daughter of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall. She was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh in June 1746, escaped to France in November of the same year, and died in 1757, aged thirty-three.

Mr. Blaw of Castlehill, notwithstanding I had desired him to keep in the country.

Sir Hector immediately acquainted me with the Prince's intended voyage, and the signals he was to make.

He said he was charged with a packet of letters to me, which was not to be opened till the Duke of Perth was present, and as he thought his going to Drummond Castle would be improper, desired me to write to his Grace to appoint a place of meeting, which I accordingly did that night by express, and by the return was desired to be at Linlithgow on the Wednesday following; but on the Tuesday morning¹ Sir Hector was most unfortunately taken into custody, and carried prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh.

People generally reflected upon Sir Hector for having appeared too publicly, without considering the remarkableness of his person, which made him liable to be taken notice of; but I am satisfied that, notwithstanding the excursion he made to Newhaven in company with Colonel Stewart and Mr. Hepburn of Keith, he would have been very safe if no innuendoes had been made to his Landlord, or had his Landlord been wise enough to keep his secret.

I will readily allow that he had done better not to have staid in town; but when I proposed his going to my house in the Country, he excused himself by saying that he had shoes and boots making, which he could not get done anywhere else, which would have been no good reason in any other man; and though I was much inclined to propose his having them sent after him, yet it would have been indelicate, as his natural lameness made it requisite to have them tried on; so that I was always of opinion his misfortune was chiefly owing to his landlord's blabbing to that worthless wretch Rutherford of Drury, who gave the information against him.

But to whatever unforeseen accident it was owing, I can safely say it was one of the greatest misfortunes that could have befallen the Prince at that time, as it might easily be made manifest that had he gone to the Highlands and joined his Royal Highness his army would have been much more

¹ 5th June.

numerous than it ever was: and if Macleod was capable of speaking truth, he would acknowledge that had Sir Hector seen him, which he was resolved to do, he would have had but one of two choices, either to turn out, as he had not only engaged to do to him when at Boulogne, but made him assure the King in his name, or be put to death, an alternative which Sir Hector resolved, and I fancy the other would not have chosen.

But to return to the day on which he was arrested. I was informed of it very early by my own servant, and immediately dispatched an express to prevent the Duke of Perth's coming to Linlithgow, which happened very luckily, as will be seen by what follows. About ten that morning, Mr. John Douglas, the Surgeon, came to see me, and talking of what had happened, amongst other circumstances said that two letters had been found in Sir Hector's pocket, one signed J. Barclay,¹ the other Barclay; and that one of them mentioned the writer's being ill of an ague, which prevented his waiting on him, but that he intended to take a vomit and the bark to enable him to go with him to Linlithgow on the Wednesday, where he would meet them. This Mr. Douglas alledged was the reason of his coming so early, imagining they were both written by me, the one had mentioned giving a description of my case, so thought to put me upon my guard in case it was, lest, as he expressed himself, a worse thing should befall me.

At first I endeavoured to laugh at it, seeming surprized that he should imagine the letters were written by me, and asked how he came by his intelligence: to which he replied, it was from Mr. Ross, the messenger. It immediately occurred that my safest way was to acknowledge it, and thereby put him upon his guard not to drop any thing to his acquaintances which might render me suspected, and which he might very naturally have done, if not put upon the secret. Besides, I thought, as this messenger was chiefly employed, Mr. Douglas might prevail with him to acquaint him should any other warrants be issued. So, having asked his word of honour not to mention to any body living what I was going to impart, I acknowledged myself the author of the letters, and begged he would see Mr. Ross, and engage him, in case he received a

¹ Cf. p. 101.

warrant against any body, to inform him before he put it in execution ; and agreed, if there was one to apprehend me, he should immediately send me a key at whatever hour of the night or day it should happen.

To prevent any discovery by papers, in case I should be arrested, I sent for Mr. Macdougall, and made him dispatch a letter by express to Mr. David Scot of Houndhillshope in Tweddale, with the key of my Closet at Broughton, desiring he would go immediately to my house, where he would find a strong-box in the closet, which I begged he might carry with him and secrete, as it contained papers of a very dangerous nature.

I sent likewise for Mr. Allan Cameron of the Dutch Brigade, and proposed to employ some of his Recruits to rescue Sir Hector should he be sent from Edinburgh, but met with little encouragement from him.

I staid in town that day, and having considered that Sir Hector's being taken might discourage the Highlands, and the contents of the packet which was seized at the same time not being known, nor any person to give orders to observe the signals the Prince was to make, I resolved to go myself, and accordingly went next day in a chaise to Mr. Macleod's of Nuik, where I staid the day following ; and being informed by him that Mr. Smith had orders from the King to pay some money to Sir James Campbell, and that it was proper he should have it as soon as possible, I wrote a letter to Mr. Smith by Mr. Campbell, grandson to Sir James, begging he would pay the money to him, which he did.

As that young Gentleman belonged to one of the additional companies quartered at Perth, and seemed very loyal, I proposed his joining with Lord Nairn, who designed to have raised some men in that country to surprize the troops at Perth, and prevent their joining or being joined with those North or South of that place, which he faithfully engaged to do, but afterwards failed in, and even acted with great violence on the other side.

The following evening, I went to Hamilton, and delivered the Prince's letter and commission to the Duke, which he accepted with great chearfullness, and said, he was ready to do

every thing that depended upon him to forward the Cause: and having told him a scheme I had formed to interrupt the return of the express which had gone to London upon Sir Hector Maclean's being arrested, and that I had no horse fit for the expedition, begged he would furnish me with one; to which he answered, that he had not one in his stable capable to undergo the fatigue, but had sent his groom that day to buy one from Mr. (now Sir) James Dunbar of Mochrum,¹ and if it was proper I should have it; but next morning, I found the groom had not bought the horse.

From thence I went to Sir James Steuart's, and informed him of what had happened with the letters and instructions I had received from the Prince.

Lord Cardross² (now Earl of Buchan) happened to be there at this time, and as he had professed a regard for the King's interest, Sir James proposed he should be present, as there was nothing of that kind but what he might hear: and his Lordship having joined us, I informed him of the contents of the Prince's letter, and read a copy of the King's Declaration and Manifesto, of which they both declared their approbation.

I then told them, as I despaired of being able to rescue Sir Hector Maclean, I proposed to interrupt the return of the express which had been sent with the papers that were taken from him, imagining I might thereby learn the contents of the packet, or at least understand if the ministry had got any light into our affairs, and thereby be able to prevent any orders they sent being put in execution: and the same evening returned as far as Livingston, six miles West of Edinburgh.

As I had reason to believe my servant John Bain³ (now vintner in Borowstounness) a very trusty man, and in whom I might repose confidence, I asked him some leading questions to know, if he would undertake a thing in which there was a good deal of danger and difficulty, and finding him willing to attempt any thing I could desire, I told him honestly, that it was an

¹ 3rd baronet, an advocate, died 1781.

² Henry David Erskine, 10th Earl of Buchan, b. 1710, d. 1767.

³ Cf. pp. 295 and 483.

affair of the utmost consequence to me and many people, whom he knew I conversed with, and might cost him his life if taken in the attempt, so bid him consider seriously, but having answered briskly that he would risque any thing I should require of him, I gave him a letter to Mr. Macdougall,¹ with one inclosed for Captain Graham of Braco begging him to meet me at Calder next day.

I told him, that Mr. Macdougall would give him money, with which he should buy the best horse he could find in town, and then set out by the post road to Belford one stage beyond Berwick, and wait there the return of the express, and as soon as it arrived to pretend an excuse to be gone, to take his letters from him betwixt that and Berwick, tye the boy, cut the girth of the sadle and carry off the bridle, to drive the horse a little way along the sands, then cross the country to my house through Teviotdale, where he might take a fresh horse, and send the one he rode to Lord Kenmure's, and then continue his journey to Lochyell's house in Lochaber, where he would find me.

Next day, Captain Graham met me at Calder, and brought a letter which Mr. Macdougall had received from Mr. Scot, saying if he did not immediately send for his cask of Rum (meaning the box of papers) he would stave it, and positively preserve it no longer than that evening the 10th of June.

It will easily be imagined that this letter made me very uneasy, as the box contained the Cypher by which I wrote to the King and Prince, with all the letters I had received, and copies of such as I had sent, together with a short journal of all that had passed from the time of my being first engaged in the King's service, and likewise a full account of the whole, which I had made out that summer from my memory and the short journal.

I had the strongest inclinations to go immediately to that Gentleman's house the same night, but as it was above 20 computed miles distant, through a wild boggy country, the roads extremely deep by the excessive rains which had fallen for some days before, my horse jaded, and myself very weak, I

¹ Murray's brother-in-law.

found it would be impossible to get there in time. And indeed I could not allow myself to believe, that he would either be so groundlessly frightened as he seemed by his letter, or capable of breaking open a chest to destroy papers of that nature, especially as he had always appeared a friend and welwisher to the Party, and had been so cautious as to bury it in his Garden and planted Cabbages above it (as I have been since well assured). I therefore concluded, that Captain Graham should upon his return to town in the evening desire Mr. Macdougall to write to him by express, and beg he might bury the box (not knowing then that he had done so) and thereby free himself of any uneasiness he was under from having it in his house.

My principal view of desiring this meeting with Captain Graham was, to try if any method could be fallen upon to postpone the departure of the Dutch Recruits, there being then about 2000 men ready to sail from the Firth of Forth, many of them Highlanders: and as the Prince was soon expected, I had formed this scheme. There being many of the Officers well affected to the cause, I projected, that in case of his landing before their departure, they should either be persuaded to desert and join, or make offer of their service to General Cope, and when once armed, make themselves masters of Edinburgh and the regiment quartered in the Canongate.

If those who were quartered upon the coast of Fife were not brought over, they might march to Perth: but as this was an affair of the most delicate nature, I only proposed to protract their voyage, till the Prince landed, without mentioning my scheme of offering their service or deserting, lest a sudden proposal of that nature should have deterred them, and perhaps hastened their departure.

Captain Graham frankly promised, that nothing should be wanting on his part: but said, he was afraid, if the transports were once victualled, and the convoy arrived, nothing but contrary winds would detain them.

I went next day to Kippen, and from thence to Drummond Castle, where I staid till the evening following, and then set out for Lochaber: but being afraid lest my going at that time should create suspicion in the country people, being

alarmed at Sir Hector Macleane's being taken into custody, and as they are naturally an artfull inquisitive people shrewdly suspected that there was more intended than they could learn, I went under a borrowed name, and pretended to be come from England to buy wood.

The second night I reached Keppoch's house, and after talking to him about the Prince's scheme (for Lochyell had informed him of the contents of the letter) and the situation of the Country, I begged him to get things in as much forwardness, as the time and circumstances would permit.

I set out next day to Lochyell's house at Achnacarry, but being known there by all the family, I stopped at an Inn about a mile from the house, and sent a Gentleman, who had gone with me as a guide, to acquaint Lochyell of my arrival.

He soon after met me in his garden, and told me, he had received the letter by express from the Duke of Perth, and sent it by his brother (the Doctor) to Lord Lovat, with whom Macleod then was, and expected he would return the next day.

Having asked him what was his opinion, he answered that he had not looked upon the letter as very material, not imagining the Prince was yet determined to come to Scotland, having had no prior intelligence from him for so many months, nor any accounts from Lord Traquair; which he could not allow himself to think would have been the case, had he been resolved to come over, as the English would have been informed of it, and acquainted us by Traquair what part they were to act.

I then repeated every particular circumstance which had happened from the time of his leaving Edinburgh, in the month of February, especially the fate of the letters sent by Traquair: and argued from thence, that his coming was certain, his letter being so explicit as even to mention the signals he intended to make, and likewise from his having sent Sir Hector Macleane before with dispatches, and orders about the signals.

I also observed, that though Traquair had failed us, yet there was no reason to doubt the English would appear: they had been long engaged in the affair, had given assurances the year before; and therefore it was not to be imagined they had

so little regard for their own honour as to sit still, if he was once amongst them : nor was it to be doubted but their agents had informed him of every thing that had passed, though Traquair had said nothing to us. If this resolution to land in Scotland was disagreeable to them, they would most certainly have made remonstrances against it ; and would likewise have acquainted us not to depend upon them.

I then freely gave it as my opinion, that considering his Royal Highness had advertised his friends here of his design so many months before, and though they had objected to his coming without troops, yet they nevertheless engaged to join him ; so taking things in that light, I did not see how they could in honour excuse themselves : it was true indeed, that as the packet had never reached him, his coming could not proceed from these assurances ; yet he knew very well I had informed him of his resolution, and as they had sent no positive message to prevent him, that, together with the many repeated offers of their service, was sufficient to make him rely on their assistance : that I looked upon myself as indispensably obliged, though no more bound than any of them, to join, and was determined to do it as soon as I should hear of his arrival, let what would be the event : and concluded by saying, that I would endeavour to influence him nor no man, further than was my duty, though I must be allowed to have my own way of thinking of every one who flinched after having so deeply engaged.

To this he replied, that he was extremely glad I was come, not having considered things in that light ; and in case I had not, he should have thought no more of it, nor would he have given any orders to observe the signals, or receive him upon his landing.

He then acknowledged he did not see how any man of honour could get off, especially those who had been the first movers of the whole ; for allowing that his coming to France, from whence this expedition proceeded, was owing to Bohaldy's having represented things in a wrong light, and as though he was their agent and might be disowned by them ; yet it could be no reason for refusing to join the Prince, especially as he was to throw himself naked into their arms, and thereby shew

the entire confidence he had in them : so, for his own part, he would not delay one moment to give him all the assistance in his power.

Next day Doctor Cameron returned, and informed us that he had taken an opportunity to shew the letter to Lord Lovat and Macleod together : that Lovat, before he had made an end of reading it, said in a passion, that he should not be allowed to land, and that if he did, by G—d no man should join him : that upon this, Macleod stopped him, desiring he would not be in such a hurry ; saying he did not look upon things to be so bad, nor was he to be used in that manner, and that they ought seriously to consider of it ; and that after much conversation, they proposed a letter should be written, dissuading him from landing.

This answer was so odd and unexpected, that Lochyell and I were at a loss what to think, especially of Lovat, who had been a chief mover of the whole, and had procured the conditions upon which he engaged to join : at least he had the assurance of his patent from Bohaldy ; and had been informed of the arrival of his Commissions of Lord Lieutenant and Lieutenant General, though Lochyell had delayed delivering them, as his Lordship was very apt to be careless about his papers, and to communicate his greatest secrets to Frazer of Gortuleg, a man of very bad character, and by no means fit to be trusted with any thing of that kind.

Lochyell was of opinion, notwithstanding this strange behaviour, that considering how deeply he was dipt, and his eager professions of readiness to appear in arms, this was only a sudden sally, and that he would nevertheless join, when he saw his neighbours take the field.

He declared he could not believe that a man at his years would still continue to act the double part, but was rather inclined to think, that he would take this opportunity to clear himself of all the aspersions the Party had thrown upon him, and end his days with credit, as the only way to persuade the world of the truth of what he often asserted, that if he had a mind to open his breast, he could vindicate himself against the many heavy charges laid against [him], and prove that he had all along acted from a principle to serve the Royal Family.

He likewise further gave it as his opinion, that his Lordship had already gone such lengths, that, did things come to an open rupture, his appearing seemed to be the only chance he had to save himself.

As to Macleod he did not at all hesitate, or in the least doubt of his joining, both from his behaviour at Lovat's, and his voluntary engagements at Edinburgh, when there was neither force nor obligation upon him, nor any great pains taken to persuade or entice him.

Though I had not so favourable an opinion of Lovat as Lochyell, and had great doubts of his future behaviour from this answer, yet I said little for fear of discouraging him.

I only observed, that his appearing, after he saw his neighbours in arms, would not be doing much to the purpose: that he had always bragged, if old Lovat turned out, all the Highlands would follow his example, as thinking it a going game: that the part of the Country he had engaged for would all be disheartened, finding him sit still; which would be a vast loss to the Prince, as a good appearance and brisk attack in the beginning was every thing in undertakings of that nature; and therefore desired, he should either see him, or write to him in the strongest terms possible.

As to Macleod, since he had seemingly behaved so well, I thought it would be proper for me to see him: so proposed to go to Glenelg and meet him there before he got to the Island of Skey to engage him to employ proper people upon the Island of Wuist to observe the Prince's arrival and answer his Signals; and from thence to cross the Country and endeavour to have a meeting with Young Clanronald.

This being agreed upon, it was next resolved to send an express to M'donald of Cappoch and Steward of Ardsheil and likewise to apply to Glengary who for very substantial reasons had not hitherto been let into the secret. I set out next morning in company with Doctor Cameron, Lochiels brother and John M'donald¹ son to the Laird of Scotus, and the evening following we reach'd that Gentleman's house in Knoydart.

¹ Son of Æneas, his brother Donald fell at Culloden.

Here I acquainted his Eldest son with the reason of my journey, and as he did not think it advisable for me to go to Glenelg, lest I should be discovered by the Officers of the garrison at Bernera, and thereby create suspicion either of M'leod or myself, proposed my staying at his father's and leaving it to M'leod to appoint some other part of the Country where we would be less liable to be observed.

This advice was too just to be rejected, so I sent this Gentleman to acquaint M'leod with my being so far on my way to meet him together with my reasons for not coming further and to beg him to appoint a place where we might have an interview. He returned next evening with M'leod's compliments, saying he could not see me there without giving the Country occasion to suspect something more than common was in agitation, but desired I might come over to the Island of Sky where he was obliged to go next day.

To have complied with this request would manifestly have contradicted the pretext upon which I came into the Country, and given reason to every body to suspect my errand, as none who came to purchase woods would go in search of them in that Island: besides, the Country was already sufficiently alarmed by Sir Hector M'leans being in custody, and as the inhabitants are naturally inquisitive, had I gone thither (which I could not have done unknown to y^m) it might have made a noise, and prevented my return to the low Country; so I concluded to go back to Lochiel and send Mr. M'donald to M'leod. Next day we took our different routs, having first enjoined him to tell M'leod that I was greatly disappointed in not seeing him, to give him my reasons for not coming over, to inform him that the Party seemed ready to appear upon the Prince's landing, to know his resolution, to beg he might appoint proper people to observe the signals, and finally directed Mr. M'donald to follow me to Lochiel's house with his answer. In a few days he returned, and said that having executed his Commission, M'leod desired him to acquaint me, that he thought it would be proper I should write and inform His Royal Highness, that some of his friends were of opinion he ought to return, but at the same time desired him to assure me, that did his Royal Highness persist in his resolution

to Land, he would join him as he had promised, and if the letter was sent he would take care to have it delivered: he likewise promised to appoint a proper person to observe the signals, and concluded by saying, that tho he was hopefull his neighbour Sir Alexander M'donald might be prevailed upon to come to the same resolution yet he could not take it upon him to answer in his name.

Tho' I was far from thinking that it would be consistent with the Prince's dignity to return, could he be prevailed upon to do it, yet no blame might be laid to my charge, nor give any one occasion to say I had neglected to acquaint him with the sentiments of his freinds, I wrote a letter giving him an account of the Situation of the Country with Lord Lovat's and M'leod's Sentiments, of which after making a duplicate I show'd them to Lochiel, and delivered both to Mr. M'donald, desiring him to carry them to M'leod and prevail with him to employ two persons lest one should miss him.

As it was necessary for me to make as short a stay as possible my family being then at Edinburgh, and Clanronald being at a considerable distance, I found it would be very inconvenient to waite for a meeting with him, so beg'd Mr. M'donald that after he had seen M'leod, he would go to him, and let him know in what Situation things were, and that I was convinced he was too well enclined to require any entreaty to serve his Prince.

Having thus finished what was thought necessary in that part of the Country, Lochiel proposed I should have a meeting with M'pherson of Cluny on my way South, and use all means to gain him: not that either of us doubted his inclinations, for he was deeply engaged, and had alalong professed himself as much a friend and adherent to the house of Steward as any man in the Highlands, but having been made believe so often that things would come to a Crisis, yet still disappointed, he at length accepted of a Company in the Highland Regiment which was then raising;¹ so being openly engaged on the Side of the Government, it was necessary to be at some pains to remove any Scruples he might have of incurring the name of

¹ Cluny was gazetted to Lord Loudon's Highland regiment on June 8th, 1745. Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 10.

Deserter, and now having done all in my power in Lochaber I left Lochiel's house in Company with Mr. Cameron of Dunggallon* and went to Badenoch where I procured a meeting with Cluny at an Inn where he was busied in raising men for his Company.

* This gentleman surrendered himself some time after the battle of Culloden to Gl. Campbell and was sent prisoner to the Castle of Edr. He had fortunately been of a party which I had sent to S^r James Campbell of Arkinlasses house in Stirlingshire to protect it when the Army marchd South, and as he was a sweet blooded young fellow and behaved very civilly the protection was attributed to him whereby he procured the interest of that family and of almost¹

[Here the ms. breaks off.]

¹ This note is in Murray's handwriting.