

PART IV
TWO LETTERS REGARDING THE
EARL OF TRAQUAIR

London, 9 Nov^r 1748.

SIR,—You may remember to have often heard me say that where I once fix'd an esteem, no distance of time or place, no Sinister accident in life could alter my Sentiments. I dare say you will admit that I verify my old tenet, when I assure you that your long absence, and the Misfortunes befallen you since parting were so far from ever lessening you in my esteem, that my anxiety for the dangers and fatigues, you must necessarily have undergone, greatly heightened my regard. And tho I could have wished you on t'other side the Question, had it been agreeable to your opinion, yet I never could find fault with your acting up to your principles.

I often made it my business to inquire after you, from the time of your overthrow at Culloden ; but whether it was owing to Peoples ignorance of your fate, or that they did not care that your being in the Country should be publicly known, I shall not pretend to say : however the case stood I never could hear what was become of you till very lately, that a Gentleman told me he had seen you in Ed—n—gh.

The News was doubly agreeable, to hear of your being in the Land of the living, and at the same time in a Situation to appear again in your own Country, and let me tell you, my dear friend, that you are extreamly lucky. A second offence of so high a nature is seldom forgiven, and never forgot, but as there does not appear the smalest probability of a third relapse, I shall live in the agreeable thoughts of your spending your latter days in peace, and indulge myself with the pleasing hopes of having the happiness to meet once more with the

man I so much esteem. I did intend, so soon as I heard you was at home, to have wrote you a congratulatory epistle, but did not know how far sending letters by the Post, so soon after your appearance might not prove a little premature. Now that I imagine all danger of that kind is done away, I could no longer postpone the pleasure of giving you Joy upon your daring to shew face, and have at the same time accompany'd my letter with a new Pamphlet, which Occasions a good deal of talk here, beging in Return to hear from you, with your opinion, not only of the letter, but likewise of the L—d who, I imagine, is not unknown to you.

I understand there has been very different oppinions had of this N—ble m—s Conduct ever since Lord Lovats Trial, Several, both Whigh and Jacobites, having run him down, for not appearing, when so deeply concern'd, others again have stood by, and supported him, which I am ready to beleive proceeded more from their having acted the cautious part themselves than from any regard to him; the Strength of their arguments seeming always to terminate in this, that he was doing all in his power, but could not be answerable for events. Let it be which way it will, the Consequences to me are interesting, tho' at the same time, curiosity will make me anxious till I hear from you, and if you have not thrown off the old Man, I shall not doubt of having your real Sentiments.

The Author is much blam'd by some for supposing that there are such people as Jacobites in this part of the world, and by others that he should seem to reflect upon their Conduct.

I have endeavour'd to inform myself with Certainty who he is, but to no purpose; he has taken care to keep that a Secret, but shall however tell you, what I learnt last night, that the real reason of writing it, was to show the World how ready they are to adopt false notions of peoples Worth and merit, from seeming Sufferings, and on the other hand to Condemn such who have had no opportunity of making their cases known. And lastly, that one who has acted so much the reverse of what was expected from him, as this L—d has done, ought justly to be stigmatis'd.

If the facts alledg'd are true, I shall certainly approve the

design; but nevertheless wont allow myself to be thoroughly persuaded till I have the pleasure of hearing from you: which allow me to flatter myself will be soon, and be assur'd that I ever am, &c., &c., &c.

Edr, 1st Dec^r 1748.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of your very obliging letter by last Post, with the letter to the E—l of T—q—r.¹

I am very sensible of your goodness which made you have any thoughts of me, and shall esteem myself extreamly happy, if my affairs ever call me to England, as it will give me an opportunity to assure you in person, that I am still the same man you ever knew me; tho' with the addition of a few years, and a good deal broke with my late fatigues, which I never imagin'd I should have been able to have undergone.

Your letter having come to hand, whilst I was in company with some fellow Sufferers, I immediately communicated it to them, and likewise comply'd with their request to read the Pamphlet; with which they all seem'd pleas'd, tho I am certain it gave none of them so much Satisfaction as myself.

Ever since Lord Lovats Trial, an Abstract of which I had sent me, I have had the strongest Inclinations to say something of that Noble Lords² behaviour which to me allways appear'd very Singular, and which I never could allow myself to imagine was in his power to vindicate. My situation before the Act of Indemnity was such, as could not permitt of my saying any thing on such a Subject; and tho' a free man since, having had the good fortune to escape the exceptions, yet the Proceedings of our great ones here, against the Liberty of the Press, even in very trifles, has been so strange that none dare venture to put pen to paper.

I always imagin'd the honourable and advantageous Bargain

¹ The pamphlet referred to is entitled 'A Letter to the Right Honourable the E—l of T—q—r. *Nec nobis igonominiosum est pati quod passus est CHRISTUS nec vobis gloriosum est FACERE quod fecit JUDAS*, St. Ambrose. London, Printed for R. Freeman, junr., near St. Pauls.' No date. It is vehement and ironical, and attacks Traquair's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, as well as himself. The theory of atavism was not unknown to the writer.

² *i.e.* Traquair,

we made at the Union, had intittled us to the same benefit in that particular with our Neighbours: nor do I remember that any Law has since pass'd to deprive us of it. And tho I might have Convey'd it to London, I did not know how far it would be agreeable to you to concern your self in the Printing. My being quite a stranger to the Arcana of Politics was another Inducement to be silent. I was at a loss to know how far my setting his Lordships actions in a clearer light, than they then appear'd in to the World, might not have hurt him in the Situation he was in. Not from any regard to him but to myself, beleive me he enjoys none of my favour, nor can he that of any honest man, that knows but half the truth I do. And lastly: I imagin it might be justly esteem'd imprudent, especialy in one of my Principles, to say any thing, which might have a contrary effect to what I intended, whilst there were still some of my unhappy Countrymen in the power of the Government.

But now that this Gentleman has open'd the Ball, he has afforded a Solution to all my doubts and Scruples, so what ever the Consequences may prove, I shall not think myself to blame; and will not only satisfie my own Inclination, but your desire, by declaring my Sentiments without reserve.

The Author of the Letter now before me, seems to Insinuate that he is no Jacobite; tho' if I may be allow'd to judge from the tenor of the whole, there are few in the three Kingdoms according to the common Saying more through pace'd; nor can he blame me for aludging that his performance is imperfect; having himself stiled it out lines, so far indeed he has succeeded, that these out lines however imperfect are nevertheless sufficient to make his L—ds—p ever memorable. I shall not quarrel with the Gentleman for not professing his Principles; that is seldom prudent, but he must pardon me to say that if he is a freind to the Government, he does the Individuals little honour, to Suppose them cappable of gratetude, as he terms it, to such a man.

I write this supposing myself ignorant of the Author, tho' if I may be allow'd to conjecture (a thing I am very much averse to) he is pretty well known, and tho' he perhapps don't at present care to own it, if he is not greatly alter'd from what

I once knew him, he won't scruple upon a proper occasion to father his own child (tho' destitute of every ornament save truth alone) and that even to the L—d in Question.

To make apologys to you for want of proper Expression would be superfluous; it is an accomplishment very rare in this part of the Island; and what you know I was ever a Stranger to. To make myself understood is all I desire, without regard to one or t'other, and leave it intirely to your better Judgement to make it publick, or not, as you shall think fitt. You know how men and things are in the Capital, and will act accordingly.

But before I enter upon the subject it won't be amiss to tell you, that as all the Company seemd extreemly satisfied with it, and such who till then had been his greatest Advocates, asham'd of their Obstinaey became his most violent Enemys; I proposed that two or three who had access to know a good deal of what pass'd should assist me to return a sutable Answer; but being unable to prevail, you must not expect so ample a Discussion as you perhaps hope for.

To make it as full and satisfactory as you wish would render it necessary for me to mention Names, hitherto unknown, a thing I am so much convinced of your goodness, as to beleive you would disprove of.

The Design of the Pamphlet, which you was so good as to send me, merits commendation. Nothing can be more just to the present age than to sett a mark upon the base and treacherous; nor to posterity, than to expose them in such a manner, as to prevent others from employing such like people in affairs, upon which so much depends; and running foul of these quick sands, where their fore Fathers were shipwrecked, but least I should tire you with too long a preamble, I shall without further ceremony begin with some observations upon Lord Lovats *Trial*; which I intend shall be the bases or ground work of the following sheets.

I am well inform'd that there are already some very interesting remarks wrote upon a particular deposition, which perhaps may be soon publish'd whither they contain the same, or oposite observations to the few following, I cannot say, nor do I think it material. You may depend upon my advancing no fact as certain, that is not consistant with my own know-

ledge, and where I take the Liberty to suppose, it shall be to the detrement of no Individuall without just Grounds.

In the Beginning of M[urray]s Accounts of the rise of the late troubles, he says, page 74th of *Lovats Trial*,¹ that in the year 1742 L—d Traquair informd him that he had enter'd into an association some years before with Lord Lovat, his own Brother Mr. Stewart, Lord John Drumond the elder, Sir James Campbell of Auchenbreck, the Duke of Perth, Cameron of Lochell, and Drumond the younger of Balhaldie, who they employ'd as their Agent to Rome and France. All which I became acquainted with soon after, and continued to have the other Steps taken Communicated to me in course as they happn'd.

Tho' there is nothing more disagreeable to me than to enter into private Characters, yet to comply with your request, and to sett his L—d—ps behaviour in a proper light, it is here necessary to give you as clear an Idea of the Abilitys and Inclinations of those he chose for associates, as I am able, together with a short hint of the first Spring of the whole.

So far as I could ever learn, the Scheme was quite accidental and intirely owing to a person of Destinction, since dead, who being desirous to have the Confidence of the Jacobite Party, and to be employ'd by them to the Court of Rome, propos'd to carry what orders, Instructions or Schemes they should think fitt to offer, ingaging at the same time to solicit the French King.

This Person was undoubtedly very proper, both from his connections in Scotland, and Situation of Life abroad; but not being agreeable to L—d T—q—r, his Overture was rejected; whether His L—d—ps Objections were good, and sufficiently grounded, you will be able to judge by the just Discription given of the Person he afterwards made choice of to act in that Capacity. It was nevertheless thought advisable not to drop the Scheme intirely, but to carry it on by other means, and we shall see by the Sequel the exquisite choice His

¹ 'The whole Proceedings in the House of Peers upon the Impeachment exhibited by the Knights, Cityzens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled in the names of themselves and of all the commons of Great Britain; against Simon Lord Lovat for High Treason. Published by order of the House of Peers, London, 1747.'

L—d—p made of an Ambassador, but will first endeavour to give you a short Sketch of the Characters of the several Associates.

Lord Lovat all the World knows to have been the most abandon'd and most detested man in his Country, and one who had never acted a fair part either in publick or private life ; but that I may not put myself to the Trouble, to find out proper words to express his baseness, with the Idea I have of him, from the knowledge of particular facts, I shall referr you to a book intittled *Memoires* concerning the Affairs of Scotland from Queen Ann's Accession to the Throne, &c., said to have been wrote by the late Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, than whom none was better acquainted with the Transactions and persons of his time, where you will find the Account he gives of Lovat, then Fraser of Beaufort, from page 76,¹ and ends about these words : ' Now let any impartial Judge consider, if it is probable that Frazer, with whom no honest man in Scotland would converse,' &c.,² and to the preface to my Lord Bellhaven's *Speech* in the Union Parliament published at Edinburgh in the Year 1741.³ It is surprising that a parcel of people in your part of the World, as well as some here, have call'd him up for a Heroe, notwithstanding his having formerly been shun'd by almost every body as a person absolutely void of Truth and honour, in so much that I can remember him not a great many Years ago so much hated by all good men of our Party that he was in danger of being assassinated in the streets of Edin^r and procur'd liberty for his Servants to carry Arms for his protection. But it is still more strange and unaccountable that even some few who have read his *Trial* are so blind and senseless as not to see plainly that he had done more to hurt them than any one Man in the Island, and even makes his brag of it, pleading merit from thence, on behalf of the Government ; nay it is as clear as the sun at noon day, from the Evidence given by his own Servants that he still continued to betray them, and happily at last blunderd himself to the

¹ P. 78 of 1817 edition.

² See *supra*, p. 11.

³ *The late Lord Bellhaven's Memorable Speeches in the last Parliament of Scotland*, etc. Edinburgh, 1741. The preface calls Fraser 'a very notorious criminal,' and quotes the statement of a Mr. Bell that 'he deserved to have been hanged five several times.' Cf. Introduction.

Scaffold. Happy had it been for his Country that according to his demerits he had ended his days at Tyburn twenty Years sooner. That I may not advance any general assertion, where it is either safe or prudent to produce the facts themselves, let me observe to you some particular passages as advanced by himself.

In his Not to be paralleld Speech to the House on thursday the 19th of March, page 181st of his *Tryal*, after some false childish truckling observations, he first makes the late King George talk as vainly and ridiculously as himself to introduce a fawning inference, that he had a true notion of the Greatness of the Family of Hanover, and then proceeds to prove his own Services in the Year 1715 by reducing the Town of Inverness, forcing the late Earl of Seaforth to retire, and then receiving his Submission, reducing the Duke of Gordon and receiving his Submission likewise; and adds: ‘My Lords, then I pursued the Rebels from place to place, and chased them from Hill to Hill. On this expedition I lost my own Brother, who was a very pretty fellow’ (great pitty he had not fallen himself), ‘and I never left off pursuing the Rebels till the Rebellion was suppress’d and extinguish’d, so that I may fairly say, that I assisted to keep the Crown upon the late Kings head, as much, if not more, than any one man of my Rank in Brittain.’

After a declaration of this kind (the truth of which is well known in Scotland), what oppinion can any reasonable Creature have of those friends to the Chevaliers interest who can talk of him with patience much less lament his fate, as a friend to their party, more especially when he considers that this proceeding was a peice of the basest Treachery to the Chevaliers familly, to whom it is known he came under the strongest obligations when in France, as he himself hints in page 183, where he says that his going to France in the Queen’s time was the foundation of his misfortunes, and concludes this open declaration of his Vilainy by telling plainly that for the sake of a paultry Independant Company, he would have prevented the Rebellion. That his assertion is false nobody is ignorant of who knows the Country, but that he would in that case have done all in his power to thwart it, is not to be doubted.

Reconcile with what is above mentioned, an Expression in

his Letter to Mr. Murray, page 135: 'and it is likewise singular that no Lord Lovat of twenty four that have been of my family ever fought or voted against their King.'

His loading his son in his letters to the late President of the Session,¹ page 43, and insinuating before the House, that the young Gentleman had a plott to take away his life, as in page 41, are incidents hardly to be mett with in history; for, allowing that he knew his son to be capable of playing with both hands, pages 144 and 145 in his letter to his Father, is the following very remarkable Paragraph: 'As to your Lordships conduct in the mean time, if I might give an Advice it would be not to lose on both sides. I am far from meaning by this that you should come to Perth, so far from it, that provided your Lordship could make Conditions for your own person and Estate with Lord Loudon, and the Precedent, I should be content with a thin Regiment; but in case they have neither inclination, nor Authority to give this, I humbly think you should immediatly come to a resolution, and put it in Execution: for if Your Lordships Clan does not all immediatly join the Prince, the cause will soon be found out. I would not much care if your Lordship Person, and Estates were preserv'd by their stay; but it will be hard if it does not better your condition with the Government, when it must evidently make it worse with the Prince.' Yet can this, however strong, be no excuse for a Father to distroy a son, as a means to save a few fleeting moments: in short, if such like people merit the good graces and favour of Mankind, even the Laird of M'leod need not despair of having his Vilainys forgot, and one day die a Martyr.

Is it possible that the E—l of T—q—r could be ignorant of most of the particulars above mentioned, or in general of the infamy of his Character; this I beleive no man will allow of, even supposing him less knowing than he realy is. I am rather of oppinion that he not only knew this, but an infinite dale more, and upon that account alone chose him as the fittest person with whom to associate, knowing that the reproach of either neglect or miscarriage in the Scheme proposed would

¹ Lord President Forbes of Culloden, died 10th December 1747.

naturally be imputed to him. And from what has since pass'd without going retrograde to reason, without Breach¹ of Charity, or beating the bush for Arguments, it may with justice be said that the world has great reason to believe that they understood one another, especialy considering the Contents of Lord Lovat's Letter to his son, page 143, where he says, 'I hope your Captain Lieutenant is come home by this time, and it was very right to send him, for he is certainly one of the pretiest fellows of your Clan. Give my Service to him, and tell him that I beg of him to remember all that I spoke to him about my Patent; and when you talk seriously with him about it, I intreat that you both put all the Irons in the fire that you can, to make the thing succeed. I ask nothing of His Royal Highness, but to give his countenance and to own publickly what his Father has done for me, which if he refuse, I must keep to the Oath that I gave, before the Duke of Perth, the E—l of T—q—r, Locheil, and other Gentlemen, that first ingag'd in the present project with me, that I would never draw my Sword till that was done.'

Don't this make it evident beyond all Contradiction that if he ever intended any Service, it was not principle but interest with doating Vanity that drove him on? T—q—r was quite well acquainted with the Conditions he had made, and consequently knew him to be a person actuated by selfish views, and therefore not to be trusted.¹

As to the Letter to his Son before cited, page 142 of his *Trial*, he expressly says that Mr. Drummond by his favourable representations of him had procured Several Letters wrote by the Kings own hand, that his Majesty would pay all the money he payd Fraserdale and his Creditors for the Estate of Lovat.

Shall we say that Traquair likewise made his terms, the thing dont seem in the least improbable: a Dukedome, I dare say, would not have proved disagreeable, but his immoderate love of pelf is so universal well-known, that I should rather incline to believe that a good sum or the payment of his debts would have better satisfied his Ambition.

¹ There is a blank in the manuscript here, caused apparently by a change of amanuensis. What follows is in a new hand.

The next he makes choice of, is his own Brother, who, tho a much honester man than himself, was nevertheless the most knavish choice imaginable. A person of an indolent, lazy, loitering temper, of no consequence nor Interest in his Country, known but to very few, and little conversant in the world : was the most unfitt man alive to be concern'd in an affair that required activity, address, and a general acquaintance with the Party ; which he has demonstrated to the world, by living retired in the Country almost ever since ; and never so much as concerning himself in the least ; but his lordship knew that if it was possible to rouse him from his Lethargy to do business, he was the only person able to accomplish it ; and was sure to make him transact it according to his own liking.

The third, a worthy honest man, of an untainted reputation, full of probity and Candour, inheriting every virtue of his family, ever devoted to the Interest of the house of Stuart, but whose age and infirmity render'd him incapable to be of any considerable Service but by way of advice.

Such a man was extreamly fitt for his Lordships purposs : he was agreeable to the party, and his Situation prevented him from thwarting the measures taken ; it was but upon some occassions that he could be consulted, and his Lordship tooke the outmost pains, notwithstanding the near connexion betwixt them, to represent him as a weak and timerous man unable to advise, and unfitt to be acquainted with any thing of consequence. This may perhaps surprise some, you it never can, who knows that little souls are incapable of every thing that is honest and open, their actings are ever low and hidden like those cowardly Curs who bite slyly without barking.

The fourth, a person whose natural temper, and misfortunes in life deprived of the two most essential qualifications to acquire Interest and popularity, in a Country where almost everybody professed an oposite principle ; but there is one thing I must take particular notice of in regard to this Gentleman, not only for his vindication, but to give you if possible a strong Idea of his Lordships veracity.

From the best information possible, and after the strickest inquiry, I have the greatest reason to believe that he was not

at Ed^r during the time of their association, nor had he been there for some time prior to it, so that I must be allow'd to think, till better prooffe is brought, that his Lordship named him, judging it necessary to have one in that County, and he the only person of distinction he could pitch upon, the least suspected of being in the Jacobite Interest: tho it is obvious to all who are in any degree acquainted with his history, that he never gave any substantial proofs of it. And I can venture to affirm that there was not a man told of his being ingaged, and the pretended part he was to act, who did not look upon it as an absolute chimera, and foretold what afterwards happened, that he would either do nothing, or gett himself secured as he had done upon a former Occassion. If he was at all inclined that way, or realy and substantially ingaged, it would appear to have proceeded from discontent not principle, and as people in bad circumstances are generally esteemed ready to imbarg upon any botom, where there is a Chance to better them, his Lordship must have flattered himself that naming of him would pass with the multitude, which if it was the case, as there is the greatest reason to believe, from his never having made any atempt or shewn the smalest inclination either to join the Chevalier in person, or assist him in any shape: it was a cruel barbarous action, to give it no worse term.

There are cases where a lie is venial and of little moment, but when the consequences proves so fatal, as in the present, it then becomes unsufferable. The Gentleman has been now a prisoner for above these three years, and God knows when he may be releived: but of that we may be assured his Lordship is quite indifferent; happy in his own preservation.

To give you a discription of the other two people concerned, adequate to their merit, I mean the Duke of Perth and Cameron of Lochiel, would require the pen of a Pliny,¹ a Pope, or an Addison, so shall only say, that they were men of real worth and honour, generous, openhearted, and benevolent, equally just in publick and private life, and inferior to none of any action for undaunted courage, and shining humanity.

Do you think it is possibly for his Lordship to frame an

¹ ? Plutarch.

excuse, for having ingaged such two men alongst with the others I have discribed? For my part I do not, nor have I ever met with the man who dared to apologise for him.

Some there are who tell you that had he not prevailed with such as they, he never could so much as have pretended to offer a Scheme: his own insignificancy in his Country being known to everybody: and Lovats vilainy had long been a proverb, and his name so very dispicable as even to stink in the Nostriles of every Shoe black.

This we will readily grant, and that it was necessary to have people not only whose attachment to that cause was undoubted, but who had both Interest and resolution to support it; yett could I beleive that there was a Scotsman so base and little as to attempt a paliation of this crime, I should lament its being impossible to erase the unhappy day from out of the Calendar, upon which my Country had the missfortune to give him birth.

Why in the name of goodness engage them together with men who had neither Power, Inclinations, nor abilitys for such a task. He was not ignorant of his own Intentions at the beginning: if he had no mind to act up to his professions, why so divilish as to drag to ruin two men who seemed destined to be associated with people of their own Stamp, aliens to such drivilers as his Lordship? If he realy was well inclined from a Spurt of passion or fancied courage, so soon as he found himself either unable or unwilling, why did he not put a stop to the whole or timeously declare off, so as they might have chose another in his place, but to lull them into security by fair and repeated promisses and at the same time do nothing, is never to be forgiven.

The great conductor of this business¹ must now be brought upon the Stage, where I shall exhibit to you an Ambassador, of his Lordships choicing who far out shines all those employed by our late and present Ministers, who must be allowed save in two or three instances to have excelled for this twenty years past all the European Courts in their happy appointments.

¹ Balhaldy.

The Qualifications necessary for such an employment have been so often mentioned, and are generally so well known, that, I should incline to pass them over, but as his Lordship has been so fortunate and judicious as to make choice of the very reverse, I shall mention some few of them for the sake of the contrast.

An Ambassador ought to be a man of fashion and Character, a man of family and fortune, a man of address, and smooth, gentle insinuating person, master of the modern languages, and his own temper upon all occassion.

In place of which we find the descendant of a Cobler, himself a broken butter and cheese merch^t, a stickt Doctor, a Jack of all Trades, a Bankrupt indebted to all the World, the awkwardest, Porterlike fellow alive, allways in a passion, a mere Bully, the most forbidding air imaginable, and master of as much bad French as to procure himself a Whore and a Dinner.

You will certainly be at a loss to guess what could intice his Lordship to make use of this rare piece, but that you may be no longer at a loss, you shall have his own reasons, in substance the same tho not in words.

The man ashamed to himself the name of Drumond (the law not allowing him to carry his own) and thus intituled himself to the protection of the family of Perth, and was first Cousin to Mr. Cameron of Locheil by his Mother. When obliged to abscond from his creditors, he was protected by Lovat, as a fitt person for his private Jobs, and so became one of his Bull dogs. His poverty made him dependant, was possessed of a Consummate assurance, gasconed to a degree of redicule, extreamly dictatorial, had an exquisite faculty of finding fault, always certain of what he asserted, and ready to swear himself black in the face upon all occassions. His business, and what ought justly to have been expected from him, [was] to use all proper means together with the others concernd to promote the general Interest, and to lay himself out to discover every method whereby to fix those who were wavering, and to gain over such as professed themselves of a different way of thinking.

This was the part that a sincere good honest man ought to have acted, and what he had the assurance to promiss; but so far from keeping his word there are not the least traces to be

mett with of one step he ever took with any of his Country men towards either.

If he believed what he advanced, it was a plain demonstration of his ignorance, shewed that he had been indolent enough not to inform himself of the Situation of the party, superlatively weak to take all upon hearsay, and proved beyond a doubt his want of capacity for such an affair.

The business was of no trifling nature, it was of the utmost consequence to his Country, as has since, alas, been too plainly seen, and too severely felt: so that no degree of weakness can ever excuse a man to impose upon people for years together by making them trust to his activity and adress in the management of their affairs by repeated promisses of care and industry when conscious to himself of doing nothing.

Can this be explained away in any sence, save that of studied and premeditated treachoury? A man may be guilty of a sudden folly, heated with Wine or led away by passion, but the height of Stupidity itself could not for so long a time blind him to that degree of ignorance, as not to discover that he was of no Service.

You will perhaps be surprised, and think that whilst I am exposing this man, I yett in some degree do him honour, by aloting him the principal part in the Drama; without mentioning the Consent and aprobation of others to the choice of this new fashioned negotiator, but be assured it is with no other view than to conform to truth, to satisfy your request, and to expose him to the just vengeance of his miserably abused Countrymen.

It is true the others did consent, but why? to please the Earle and Baron,¹ Their own innate uprightness not permitting them to have any suspition, and their over easyness of temper preventing them from inquiring into the Character and Capacity of the person employed, or reflecting on the Life he had led, which would have been more than sufficient to have made them cast about for a better man, at least one not liable to every objection as was his case; so to the Earl and Baron I in Justice and Conscience must Chiefly atribute our miscarriage, and to give the Divil his due, own that had it not been for a

¹ *i.e.* Traquair and Lovat.

most pressing Letter wrote by the former, Drumond would not have attempted his Embassy ; so conscious was he of his own inability, at least Charity will have us believe so from his having at first declined it.

We find in the same page of the *Trial*, that at the distance of two years, their agent returns fraught with the agreeable reception he had mett with at Rome, and full of the assurances he had procur'd from the French Court of their favourable inclinations and, after a short stay in Scotland, which he employed in persuading his constituents that all necessary preparations were made for a powerfull Invasson, procured sufficient Credite for his Suport, and like the mock Doctor Struts of the Stage, with ample and positive promisses that his Physick would operate the Autumn following.

You may imagine that I write ludicrously, but if you will look into the trial, you will find in the same page, that our mountibank did not hesitate to assure the few he had access to see, that everything was prepared : and that so minutely as to specify particulars, such as men, money, arms, amunition, &c., and this with the help of his Lordship and his good freind Lovat then in Town, with whom they had several meetings (tho Murray has took care to keep that to himself), who seemed to give implicit faith to whatever he advanced, so far prevailed upon the integrity of others unacquainted with dissimulation and design, that he gained their belief, and by that means fixed himself in their good graces.

One would imagine that had his Lordship known anything of bussyness, he would immediatly have taken a proper method to put the gentlemen in whose names he had promised (at least such as he could have trusted with safety) so far upon their guard, as without letting them into the whole affair (know so much in general) as to make preparations in a private manner, suitable to such an undertaking : but instead of this it is all hudled up in the breasts of those first concerned, and they left to depend upon him and his Agent to bring all to the desired Issue as if their summons had been sufficient to make the Country take arms upon an hours notice.

The next prooffe of his Zeal, assiduity and good management is a Chasm without any necessary step taken from his agent's

departure in the Spring till the Dec^r following, and then Parturiant Montes, &c., in place of the powerfull assistance promissed, appears a Letter from Mr. Drumond. Shall we suppose the contents? Was it necessary, the difficulty would not be great nor the danger of erring very probable, but as it is known to many, take the substance in a few words: specious reasons for non-performance according to promise and the same possitive ingagements for the Spring following as had been given for the Autumn preceeding.

This I do in my conscience believe would have mett with a general assent, as his Lordship was pleas'd implicitly to acquiese, had it not been treated by Murray with that redicule it deserved: and no wonder, it must have been treated in the same manner by every man of comon sence the least acquainted with business. If people are always to depend upon general assertions and specious promisses, especialy in affairs of that nature, without specifying particulars, which I am ready to believe you will think indispensably necessary, they may spent ages in an intercourse of such idle letters without ever being a bit the wiser, and perhaps be discoverd in the midle of their Carreer as has been the case of most plots, and have the honour of being hanged for doing of nothing, lamented by some few, and laughed at by ninety-nine of one hundred.

I dare say it is needless to persuade you with how much reluctancy his Lordship consented to Murray's going to learn the truth of what was wrote: the case was that he had persuaded the others to be of his Oppinion, so our little Lord finding that neither his eloquence nor his Interest could prevail, seemingly aproved, and insisted on his going as the person they most relied upon. As I happened to be consulted upon this affair, you may believe I not only aproved of the design, but pressed it very much, for which I have been thankful ever since, being entirely satisfied upon his return that it was all imposition, and that Drumond continued the farce more to procure victuals than reputation.

To enter into details of every particular might neither be proper at this time, nor suitable to this undertaking: there are many, and these very interesting accidents, that are passed over in Murrays narration; indeed the most, if not all he

says, is a general Storey of no consequence to either party, whether known or not, but as he has thought proper to save his Lordship from the shame and disgrace of rendering these facts publick, not for any personal regard, I venture to say, but on Acc^t of the party in general, I should be the last man in Scotland to propall them; so shall leave them as they now stand, till some one more able shall think fitt to make them known to the world.

To come nigher to the time when something was expected from him, we find upon Murray's return from France, he gave them to understand, that if any such thing as was promised had been intended, that nothing save fair words was then to be looked for: and at the same time acquainted his Lordship of Drumonds being come to England, and his desire of seeing him in London; to which you will observe he readily complied, as you will find him setting out very soon after, which I can assure you he did with ample protestations that he would soon bring things to a bearing.

It was not then to be imagined, nor would it have entered into the heart of man, had we not this flagrant example before our Eyes, that any man who had the least regard to the show of honour, lett him despise the reality of it never so heartily, would have taken such an affair in hand if he had not known himself both capable and willing to execute it. This Generous principle made those who knew his design, but who were unhappily prejudiced in his favours, deliver themselves entirely up to his guidance, and flatter themselves that then was the time when affairs would be brought to a Crisis, and that the mighty promisses made would finally be performed, or a Stop put to the whole.

Let who will blame these concerned for being so far deluded, I can't help thinking them in some degree excusable: they were prejudiced in his Lordship's favour by his continually buzing Zeal and Loyalty in their Ears.

Men of sence have no need of cunning, and men of honour and probity are the least apt to suspect double dealing: it is no easy matter to see through the malicious designs of those who make it their business with uncommon keenness to persuade men of their Sincerity and attachment. His Lordship left no

stone unturned to persuade his fellow associates of his Zeal ; but when the affairs became more serious, and that his little shifts and tricks could have no effect, you will find him like a Coward skulking behind the ramparts, when others were generously exposing themselves on the breach to repel the Enemys assaults.

It was more than plain to the meanest capacity that the Scots could not succeed of themselves—I mean those whose courage answered their inclinations. Had all those who were named been unanimous, or even those who had solemnly promised, acted the honourable and fair part, I may with safety say, that there would have been no occasion for aplying to our neighbours in England, or to the faithless French.

Had even old Lovat, with his detested Cousin, the Laird of Macleod, joined in consequence of repeated engagements, the Battle of Gladesmuir had never happened : Pug¹ had not stood agast, nor would Hawley have been found with dismall and afrighted looks attempting to raly three cowardly Dragoons three miles from Falkirk : Clifton Muir had not been dishonoured by the precipitant flight of dismayed, dismounted horsemen, one Boot off and t'other on, from a handfull of brave Macphersons, nor had Drumossie Muir proved the fatal field of H[ano]v[eria]n barbarity, followed by every shocking attendant upon inraged and merciless victory. Posterity will have difficulty to believe that their predecessors, Gentlemen and Officers, not only refused to give quarters, but damn'd the more compassionate Soldier for loading themselves with prisoners, their own fellow Citycens : *O Tempora ! O mores !*

But to return. To what end did his Lordship undertake the Journey ? Was it to ingage the pretended English Jacobites in the Scheme ? If they frankly complied it was no difficult matter to agree upon the time ; if they refused, either positively or gave evasive answers, and would not come under any fixed engagements, they were equally not to be depended upon, and his Lordships indispensable duty was to have reported so much to his countrymen and fellow conspirators,

¹ I have consulted many authorities, but I am unable to identify 'Pug.' It may be Cope or the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Lang prefers the latter.

when they would naturally either have laid aside their undertaking for that time, or proceeded upon another plan.

In place of this we find him, some months after, returning to a few brave, wellmeaning people (big with expectations of his Success), with a parcel of frivolous, childish, and trifling assurances of the favourable inclinations and good intentions of a number of English to the Chevaliers Interest, without being able to say (some very few excepted) who they were, what they were willing to undertake, or in any shape ready to contribute in men or money to the scheme in hand.

Was not this more than enough to satisfy every man of reflection that he was either Rogue or fool? To you I venture to say it appears as plain as the most simple demonstration in Euclide; to those of the poorest, most groveling capacity, it gives ground sufficient to determine that he never was capable to talk seriously with any man of knowledge in the Country; if he did, they certainly discovered him to be a person quite unfitt to manage an affair of such consequence, and neither caring to risk being discovered by his folly, nor absolutely to refuse their principles. They put him off with good words and specious excuses, which he had neither the sense nor honesty to declare. Pardon me to detain you here with a few Observations upon this head, which perhaps may not prove disagreeable

It was my opinion, not only then, but ever since, that there was a sett of people in your part of the Island¹ who could with Justice be stiled a Jacobite party, it was to be supposed, or rather taken for granted, that they had the Interest of the cause too much at heart not to keep a necessary correspondence with the Court of Rome; and there to give of sufficient testimony of their attachment and readiness to exert themselves upon a proper Occassion. No body will doubt of their finding persons amongst themselves much more capable then the Earl of Traquair, and as much, if not more so, than any of his Country men. They were the only proper Judges of their own Strength and inclinations, and there are some to whome, justly or not I dare not take upon me to say, the epithet has been given, whose publick appearance in Life has more then

¹ *i.e.* England.

abundantly evinced their abilities for affairs that require the greatest delicacy.

Taking this to be the case, the Chevalier must have been thoroughly acquainted with their Situation, and was alone proper to acquaint his friends in Scotland with what assistance they might expect from their Neighbours, and lay a fit Scheme to make them act in conjunction for the good of the Common cause. Such a Scheme was neither difficult to contrive, nor dangerous to execute, neither did it require any very tedious preparations, nothing so easy where money and good Will center in the same people, than to provide a Country with Arms and ammunition.

Upon the other hand, let us suppose, there either was no such party, or that it was very inconsiderable and composed of members too timorous to acknowledge their principles in a proper manner at Rome; it was the height of folly to imagine that they would ever acquire courage to associate heartily with, or be prevailed upon to appear in the field by a Set of Scotsmen, whose superior heat led them to spurn at the dangers which intimidated their more cautious neighbours: and would, to all men of Judgement, have proved a sufficient guard against having the smallest dependance upon them.

Tho' his Lordship's general assertions seemed very uncertain, and little to be trusted to, they did not fail to have a considerable effect: the Chiefs satisfied that in every event they must bear the heat and burden of the day, could not help being tickled; nothing so common as for people to cheat themselves into a belief of what they hope and wish for: and his more positive assurances of French assistance, considerably raised the Spirits of the party, which was now become a little more defused, and extensive, in Spite of his pretended caution to the Contrary, and proved to be so well conducted by some few, that nothing ever perspired: nay a Gentleman nearly concerned in the Government, and who during many years had laid himself out for intelligence, took Occasion to express his Surprise by saying that the Jacobites were now become wise, not a word being to be heard of them; whereas formerly an old Woman could not pass at Rome, but they were acquainted with it. However odious and unjust the latter part of his

allegation was, nothing was more certain than the truth of the former.

It was at the same time the opinion of some, that the people of England had not stopt at general assurances of good Will, but to his Lordship alone, and had not neglect^{ed} to give the Chevalier an account how far they were ready to go; which, no doubt, was the most Charitable conjecture, as it would have been harsh and cruel to imagine them so abandondly selfish, as to see their neighbours so far involved and in a manner ready to enter into action, without acquainting the Chevalier with their Sentiments, and either preventing what they imagined would prove an unsuccessful undertaking, or effectually to incourage and strenthen them by giving assurances of what they were ready to do in such and such cases.

His Lordship, it would appear by page 77th of Lord Lovat's *trial*, named some people of distinction as ready to support them; whether true or false, I shall not aver, depending little upon what he says and from what followed, Charity would induce every good man to believe his assertion was false; if he really told truth I cannot prevail with myself to lament their being exposed, with that feeling of concern and anxiety I at first did. I have been assured from very good hands that Lovat did not scruple during his confinement in the Tower to tell plainly that if he had not depended upon their assistance he had never concerned himself in the bussiness: but Lovats words was so little to be minded, that I should rather from thence infer their innocence.

But to return from this degression—if what so naturally must occur to every reader can be properly stiled one—his Lordship after his arrival in Scotland retires to the Country careless of what shall be the Issue; and leaves the whole to his all perfect agent, who soon after had the assurance to repair to Rome; there to prevail with P[rin]ce Ed[war]d to come to France.

I have the strongest inclination imaginable to satisfie your curriosity, in regard to this so matterial transaction; but as it is of the most delicate nature, and what has hitherto occasioned so many and various conjectures, not yet proper either to be refuted or confirmed, I hope you will excuse my Silence and be

contented with the Little I imagine it prudent to say upon that head.

Is it to be imagined that had he given no stronger assurances from England than his Lordship did to his freinds in Scotland, he could never have prevailed, or is it to be thought that the English would put more confidence in him than in the Duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochail, men of Established Characters, and undoubted honour? If they did, to what could it be owing? To Nothing surely but the most despicable opinion of his Lordship: what else could induce them to repose a superior confidence in a person so void of Merit? Was things to be taken in this light we must allow that the Chevaleirs freinds in England were either a parcel of ignorants, which I can never grant, or that he represented them as best fitted his own purpose at the time, which again will admitt of consequence as distant from reason and probability as the former. At least so highly to their discredit as every good man would be sorry to hear, much more to believe.

As I proposed to write my sentiments and knowledge as far as good policcy will allow, I shall here observe one particular which will justly convince you of the littleness of the Object I am now treating of: in point of time, it ought to have been introduced before, but as that could not well be done without breaking the thread of my Storry, I shall hope for forgiveness.

Before his Lordship went to England, L[or]d M[arischa]ll had been for some time living near to Bologne in France, who, as he was sensible what a strange man was employed from Scotland, not only refus'd to be concerned himself, but declared both in publick and private against their proceedings: this raised the Agents Spleen with that of his ever lying associate L[or]d S[em]ple and made them use all methods possible, not only to asperse his Spotless Charracter, but to render him ridiculous: and even carried it such a length, as to endeavour to prevail with a Gentleman¹ then at Paris to writ him a Letter finding fault with his conduct, and to give him to understand that his Countrymen in general were dissatisfied with his proceedings;² than which nothing on Earth could be

¹ Murray.

² Cf. pp. 46, 52, and 98, *ante*.

more false, for nobody was better belloved, or more justly esteemed by all ranks or denominations of men. The Gentleman, sensible of the base design, and desirous of being an instrument to make up all differences, as the only proper means to propogate the Interest of the party, having sounded Coll^l C[eci]l at London, soon after his arrival in Scotland, wrote to his Lordship a most ablidging and polite Letter, setting furth the bad consequences attending on party quarrils, and proposing him as the only fitt person to put an end to all disputes; to reconcile the jarring individuals and bring them to act in concert for the general Good. This Letter, than which none could be better calculated for the present Juncture, was shewn to Traquair at his own house before he sett out to meet with his Agent; and which he seemingly very much approv'd of, not only commending the Letter, as well calculated for the Occassion, but frankly ingaged to forward it: but which we shall see by the Sequel proceeded from nothing, but this laudable custom of temporising, when unable to make sufficient Objections. One would imagine that two lines from his Lordship saying that he had fullfilled his ingagements would not have much incroached upon his time; yett during his whole stay in England, he never had the good manners to lett the Gentlⁿ know whether he had complied with his request or not; but upon his return, saluted him with the agreeable news that he had read it to his freind Mr. Drumond (without any Authority (by the by) from the writer), who dissaproving of the contents, as not suting his purpose, they had with one Consent committed it to the flames. Thus you see how far the Jacobite party are beholden to the Lord in question for promoting their interest; here was a Step which, had it took effect (and where was the ground of Doubt? for my own part I have none) would in all probability have proved the most condusive of all others to procure a good understanding betwixt the different persons employed; and facilitated the Execution of their affairs, with that unanimity and concord to which (I am sorry to say) they have been too often strangers! which he in the midst of his professed Zeal, not only neglects, but puts an effectual Stop to. Is it not unaccountable that, notwithstanding his repeated blunders, and premeditated treachery,

some few of the party are nevertheless so blinded, as to pity him for his apparent sufferings, however little adequate they are to his demerits and unequal to what he would have been doomed to by every man of Sence and honour.

You may easily beleive that the Gentlⁿ, anxious to know the effect of his Letter, rec^d the acc^t of its fate with the utmost surprise and indignation, and tho at another time and upon an Occassion of less consequence, he would deservedly have used him very ill, yet rather than be the cause of any differences, he stifled his resentment to a more proper opportunity.

No body is more apt to forgett injuries than I am, but I must confess had it been my case, I could not have passed it over. Amongst Gentlemen a letter is esteemed sacred and not to be violated upon any pretext whatever.

You'le observe from the *trial*, page 79th, that after the elapse of several months, and not till the news papers had given repeated Acco^{ts} of the intended imbarkation at Dunkirk, the result of all his fine spun management proved to be two Letters from Drumond, wrote with so little care and attention, as not only to prove plainly contradictory of each other, but of themselves, and happily became an antidote against the imposition intended: so true is the old Saying that certain folks ought to have good memories. The person he shewed them to easily perceived their deffects, and with great reason insisted that an explination should be procured; as the sole method whereby they might be enabled to judge what steps to take. Tho his Lordship was very much averse to join in anything that seemed to savour of finding fault with his favourite, yet things appeared so obvious, that notwithstanding the utmost reluctancy, he was oblidgeed for once to shew himself on the side of reason. In the same page last cited, you will find that the Letter proposed was accordingly wrote and subscribed by the Peer himself, and sent with all convenient Speed to London; but as it does not appear that any answer was made, you may, from my former acco^{ts} of his epistolary conduct, be ready to imagine that he used the same freedom with it, which he had done with t'other, but to do him Justice, he did forward it according to promiss, tho it afterwards was purged by fire in Obedience to his Ajents orders.

I would most willingly give you an Acco^{tt} of this motly transaction, which would not fail to amuse you, and prove of what service his intended marriage was to him upon this Occassion, as mentioned in the Pamphlet before me: but as I can plainly observe through the whole of M—ys Story, he seems only to have intended to expose him, and has industriously studied to leave him a back door whereby to escape, I shall postpone mentioning any particular that might hurt him in the Eye of the Law, or put the ministry upon the Scent, by which they might discover any thing against him; and besides the reflection that from thence might fall upon me, for being too minute, it would in all likelihood prove a detrement to others, who had the Misfortune to be concerned with him: a time may soon fall out, when it will be more proper than at present to oblige the world by exposing such raritys to publick ruin.

From this time untill the noise of an invasion was over, we find him in the utmost dilemma, and if fairly considering his natural failings, in some small degree to be pitied; uncertain whether a descent might really be made, in which case it would have been almost impossible for him to evite joining; the consequences of which appeared so horrible, as were more than sufficient to terrify a mind of his timide Stamp: the dangers of the field were of themselves too great, but the Miserable attendants upon Civil Warrs, such as Prisons, Axes, halters, and the Butchers knife, presented a Scene past bearing. On the other hand, to have made a Journey at that critical Juncture to England, foreboded no less than a long confinement; yet as it would not have provd so fatal as the others, he would have risked it without scruple, had any feasable or lawfull excuse presented itself, but it was necessary that such an one might occur as might leave no room to his freinds to suspect that the Journey was only calculated to save himself: but here his ingenuity failed him; fear got the better, resolution was wanting to determine: uncertain and unable to fix upon any thing, he smugles himself about the Country, like a fraudulent Bankrupt, now publick, now private, not knowing which of the two would render him least suspected: the laugh of his own servants, and mocking stock of the Country.

The Embarkation at Dunkirk blowing over, and peoples minds become less agitated, he resumes a little seeming courage, expressing some small curiosity to know what was agoing forward, with the reasons why the Scheme had not been put in execution when brought to such a length; tho even this did not shew it self till drove to it, by the repeated complaints of others, who were quite angry to find that after all they had done, they should be left in the dark at so critical a Juncture, by an Agent who lay under the greatest Obligations to them, and whose bussiness it was at any rate to transmitt to them the most immediate and satisfactory intelligence.

To suply the deffect of the Agents negligence recourse is had to Murray, the only proper person they could find, ready to neglect his own Interests and run all risks to come at the bottom of an affair, which seemed not easy to be accounted for; but before his Journey could take place, we find the letter mentioned in the same page came to hand; containing reasons for this miscarriage so rediculous as is hardly to be imagined; and stuffed with proposals so chimerical and absurd as never could have been offered to any man but himself; from a false notion that whatever he aproved of, would be agreed to: but the fitch was too plain, and he forced to own that they tended to nothing, but to continue the Agents in their pentions, and to launch out into a boundless Ocean of negotiations of which in all probability there could be no end; if not by bringing ruin and distruction upon the people concerned, by the untimely discovery of an unformed plot. That his Lordship was greatly dissapointed in the Effect of this Embassy we may easily believe: could he have imagined that it was in Murrays power to have kick'd up his favourit's heels, then in a tottering Situation, he had certainly fallen upon an efectual method to prevent his Journey. Sed quos deus vult perdere, etc.

To have recourse again to the *trial*, you will find that upon Murrays arrival at Paris, he makes it his bussiness to demonstrate to the Chevalier from the Letters sent to Scotland that he was told one Story and they another; that Justice was not done him, that they had no good grounds for what they wrote, and that it was rather a means to depress than to keep up the Spirits of the party.

The Scots are a people not accustomed to vapours, and require no Julips to supply the defects of nature; on the Contrary, they look on the least symptom of despair as a weakness unbecoming their Climate: false glosses, false encouragements have the same effect upon them as strong liquors upon one in a fever: they exhilarate them for a time, and make them think their Salvation is at hand, whereas when they find that things do not answer, the disappointment is too much for nature, and depresses them below the common run of their expectations, which is ever the case with the people of the highest Spirits: who, tho they are incapable of despair, and an abject dejection, yet from frequent disappointments they at length become dubious, tho never indifferent, whether their hopes and desires will have the wished for end.

I don't tell you that he talked in this figurative Stile, but that what he advanced tended to the same purpose; and made it evident that the Agent they employed was playing double and amusing his constituents with vain and never to be looked for promises which might one day or other have the most dismal effects.

To say more upon this subject might be telling tales, so I shall only add, that as it was done with that openness and honesty becoming a person intirely devoted to the Chevaliers Interest, so it was on the other hand rec^d by him with that modesty, caution and reserve, befitting the wisest Statesman. He does not, like most young people, catch at the bait and allow himself to be hurried away, but returns an obdiding and dubious answer; unwilling too hastily to disapprove of the proceedings of a person in his Service, and at the same time to give all proper countenance to one, who seemed to speak from the heart and upon good Grounds.

As this would appear a proper introduction to a degression from the present subject, I have a mighty impulse to oblige you with a fair, candid, and dissinterested Character of this young Gentleman; who has made so great a noise in the World: imagining it not to be treason to give a just description of the qualities and perfections of any man: even of one abjured and attainted. Prudence and worldly wisdom often

prevails with folks to hold their tongues, tho against their inclinations; however lawfull their speaking out might be: this I assure you is none of my case, I have nothing to hope, and nothing to fear; but what to me appears a far stronger reason, imposes silence upon me. I look upon my self as incapable to do him Justice, so must confine my self to say happy that nation, peculiarly happy the Country which could enjoy such a P—e, such a F—th—r.

Upon M—ys return to Scotland, he says in general terms, page 30th, that he had communicated his proceedings to some concerned, but as he has slurr'd over that affair with great indifference, I shall supply the Story as far as it came to my knowledge.

Immediatly on his arrival at his own house in the beginning of Oct^r 1744, he dispatched an express to Traquair, who came to him two days after; and being shewn a distinct Journal of every thing that had passed both at London and Paris, and told that the Chevalier expressly required his immediate atendance in England, his Lordship in place of taking the smallest notice of the bussiness about which he had been call'd, and in his acustomed fidle-fadle way, so well discribed in the letter, pretended that he was under a necessity of returning next morning, that the affair required some time to consider it; and so hurried to Bed, declaring his surprise after a childish manner, that the Chevalier should have given such Orders; intimating that he thought it strange that he should imagine that he had nothing to do but to run his Errands.

Locheil on the other hand did not hessitate one Moment to come from the Highlands as soon as a letter could reach him; and after being informed of the true State of the Case, very readily declared his Cousin¹ to be the man he had always suspected him: cursing the hour when he had been imployed.

His Lordship some time after at a meeting with Locheil and others, finding how the Land lay, after shewing the Outmost reluctancy, and in how supream a degree he was weded to the man, or I aught rather to say affraid of him, as much as ever a School Boy was of his Master, was oblidged seemingly to

¹ *i.e.* Balhaldy.

acquiesce, and acknowledge how sensible he was of his misconduct, not withstanding of which we shall after this find him acting in every Step according to his directions.

As there is nothing I am more averse to than trifles, it is with some regret, that I trouble you with the following particular, yett as general assertions may be thought unfair, it may be necessary to give you an example of the extravagant vanity of the Agent, to shew how unfitt he was to be employ'd in an affair of so much consequence, nor would I do it had I not with several others read it in the Journal above mentioned.

In the way from Holland to Paris, as a means to persuade Murray that he was a man of mighty consequence and in high favour at the French Court, talking in a misterious manner of his Journey to Rome, the winter preceeding, he told him that how soon he had settled with the ministry to go, Mons^r Amelott acquainted the French King with his intended Journey; which when his Majisty heard, he should say (the Agent then going under a borrowed name) O Mons^r Malloch, that is Mr. Macgregor, I know him very well; he must cary three or four Domestics with him, it is dangerous traveling in Switzerland. From this particular, the truth of which I can see no reason to doubt, lett us suppose no one other instance had been given, was it not alone sufficient to satisfie any reasonable person, that the man was either mad, or at least so stuffed with vanity and self conceit as to render him incapable of doing anything to purpose?

The Chevaliers resolution of coming to Brittain was so well qualified and calculated so exactly to the humour of the people he had to deal with, as nothing could have been more conducive to his Interest, the probability of Success so apparent, the design conducted with so much Secrecy and the time so well chozen as no impartial person will venture to find fault with.

The Scots, tired of their unhappy Situation, ever since the infamous Union, from an intrinsic bravery, were ready to embrace any Occassion to recover their antient honour and independancy and to shake off the intollerable burthen, under which they had so long groaned: the English, if any such there were, it was to be beleived possessed much the same principle

¹ Amelot.

tho from different motives; and would not fail to join their Neighbours as soon as they should declare themselves.

The Chevaleir, possessed of too much good sence to make any attempt, without reasonable expectation of Success, was nevertheless desirous to persuade such freinds as are above mentioned, that in all events he was determined to make an attempt, knowing that in proportion to the danger there was in the undertaking, they would in the same proportion act with Vigour and resolution. Thucidides says, that to States as well as individuals, from the greatest danger redounds the greatest Glory.

Lett who will give themselves the air of Criticism, and judge of the prudence of an Attempt from its Success, yett can that be no reason for an honest man to truckle to the voice of the times: the Scheme was good, the time well chosen; and if men were willing to embark in his cause upon their own bottoms without foreign assistance, what Spirits, what vigour, resolution, and alacrity, must an additional Assistance have given them.

The Chevalier knew their abilitys. No man was ever better vers'd in the humours and dispositions of a Country than he; and tho perhaps within himself he was convinced that with his freinds alone (I would be understood to mean all those who had promissed their concurrence) he was able to effect his Scheme, yett reason and prudence taught him, that to secure the whole beyond a Doubt, the appearance of his Alleys was not only necessary, but decent. S^t Evermond observes very justly that, '*Tout ce que parroit extraordinaire, parroit grand si le succes est heureux, come tout ce que est grand parroit fou quand l'evenement est contraire.*'

The consternation and unmanly panick in which not only the Country in general was thrown, but those who ought to have known their own Strength (infinitely supperior to what the Chevalier could gather in the north of Scotland, had they been able to make it usefull notwithstanding they would now have us beleive, that they never had any the most distant apprehensions of his Success), was of itself sufficient to demonstrate that the attempt was not so desperate and romantick, as they would persuade the World: would they but allow themselves to reflect upon their many uneasy hours (the memorable

black friday cannot so soon have iscaped their memorys) if they did not blush they would at least be asshamed, and would not attempt to impose upon Mankind by such barefaced hypocrisy.

Had Publius Scipio joined the Gauls on the oposite banks of the River Rhone, and oblidged Hannible to have return to Spain; his only refuge after a fruitless attempt to pass that River: or had his Army been cut to pieces in the Alps by the Allobroges, the Carthaginian hero would have been transmitted to posterity, as a mad, wrongheaded young fellow, replete with Ambition, without either forethought or reflection. Had Alex^r the Great been overpower'd by Darius's numbers, or distroyed by King Porus in passing the River Hydaspes, we may easily determine what Charracter he would have left behind him. Had Hannible been the same Hannible at Zama, he was at Thrasimine and Cannæ, or had Scipio there mett with Xantippe as was the fate of the unhappy Regulus, he had not mounted the Triumphal Car, nor been assigned the glorious Surname of Africanus.

Had Gustavus Erricson¹ been butchered by the Dalecarlians when he first crept from his subterraneous habitation, and harrangued his Countrymen to take Arms for the Recovery of their Libertys, people would probably have denounced him a rash fool, who merited no better fate, things then not being ripe for his purpose; nor would his Successor Charles the twelfth have ended his days with greater renown, had his little Army been beat at Narva, by the inundation of Russians.

Let us mention a passage of Diodorus in regard to Dion:² who would beleive that a person with two Transports should have conquer'd a Prince with four hundred Ships of War, one hundred thousand Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, provisions, and Money in abundance to maintain, and hire, mercenarys; was besides Master of most of the Citys of Grece, with many Seaports, Arsenals and impregnable Citadales: and infin assissted with many and powerfull allys? The first Cause of Dion's Success was owing to his own magnanimity,

¹ Gustavus I., King of Sweden, b. 1496, d. 1560. Gustavus's Army of Liberation was at first composed of the miners of Dalecarlia, amongst whom he had taken refuge, working with them in the mines.

² Dion of Syracuse, who expelled Dionysius the Younger, 356 B.C.

and Courage with the Affection of the people for whose Libertys he fought; but the cheife reason was the pusilanimity of the Tyrant, and the hatred his Subjects bore him: upon the whole these particulars concurring at one and the same time, brought his great undertaking to that happy Issue, which posterity will with difficulty beleive. Dion's interprise was more desperate than the one we now treat of; the Action was great, his Success glorious; from whence we may naturally infere, that those who promiss'd him assistance did not betray him; his small following did not at all intimidate them: it was on his magnanimity, Skill, and Resolution they depended; he was as much a Prince, as much to be revered, and admired with seven followers, as with seven thousand. Don't then lett us pretend to make idle reflections, and draw unfair and ungenerous conclusions when we have such examples before our Eyes: the Chevalier is indued with as great a Soul, as much resolution, as any of those above named: his attempt was as glorious, and required equal fortitude with theirs; and in the oppinion of all the knowing part of mankind, is as worthy of praise and admiration.

But to return, the Chevalier being wisely and naturally fixed in his resolution to come to Brittain, he was desirious that his freinds in England should appear immediatly upon his landing; yet left it to their own Choice, whether it should be before, at one and the same time with, or soon after the Scots, to facilitate which he required the Earl of Traquair to go to London for the last time, to procure a categorical answee from the people he pretended to have dealt with; with their ultimate resolution, how, in what manner, where, and when, they would eviddence that attachment and regard for his family which they had so long exprest.

You write me that the author of the Letter is very much blamed for complaining of the English; or so much as supposing that there is a Jacobite in that part of the world; perhaps with reason; I pretend to be no Judge, so wont take upon me to determine; indeed I have often been induced to think that there was none of that Stamp, save the unhappy few who joined us at Manchester: if the Alegation is false, to his Lordship the reflection is only due, against him their batteries

of vengeance ought to be erected, for my own part I am so vain glorious as to think that no man could impose himself upon me for a Jacobite was he really not so.

No body has a more sincere regard (I say it without flattery) for the few people named then I have: they have on all Occasions bravely stopt the Gape, and generously presented their breasts, to stem the torrent of Bribery and Corruption, and to support the independant bases of a free nation: but that I may speak as a blunt Scotsman, a freeborn Brittain, and in Conformity to the resolution I laid down to my self, at the beginning of this Letter, the three patriots named ought in Justice to attribute it to his Lordship and his agent, not to Murray.

It is a considerable time since I was informed by a Gentleman in the Office, whose Authority is not to be doubted, that long before Murray was in their custody, nay when they imagined he was dead, they had a Letter of Drumonds, sign'd by himself W^m Macgregor, and address'd to the Chevalier wherein he tells them in express words that he had transacted his affairs for some years with L—d B—re,¹ Sir W. W. W.,² and Sir J. H. C.³ by the means of D. B.⁴ if they are wronged, to repeat what I have said above, lett them blame my Lord and his Agent; none else that I know of is in the fault.

I have been the more particular upon this Subject, knowing that Murray alone bears the blame of these Gentlemen's ever being known, further then by the general voice of fame; but I hate oppression of all kinds, who ever the Object be. For my own part, I am far, very far from thinking that any of them were concerned, it would appear to me so very inconsistent with the rest of their Characters, that I should be averse to think there was such a contrast in nature, had they been the men they are designed. I hope there is not a Subject in Brittain so much prejudiced as not to be persuaded that they would not only have Scorned to trukle, but have acted with that Candour and magnanimity they have shewn on all other Occassions.

¹ Lord Barrymore.

² Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

³ Sir John Hinde Cotton.

⁴ The Duchess of Buckingham, or, more probably, Dr. Barry.

To discus what concerns the packet with which his Lordship was charged, and to shew the many inconveniencys flowing from that neglect would prove endless, the Letter writter has already in that particular stigmatised him pretty effectually ; tho he has neglected a very material incident, which happen'd at that time. It must certainly have escaped his memory as I cannot persuade my self he could be altogether ignorant of a particular known to such numbers : so shall only assure you, that what he says of the assurance his Lordship gave, and his reiterated promisses to forward the packett is to my knowledge a possitive truth, with this addition that his Lordship from his great Zeal and keenness to serve the party did not think the contents of the packet sufficient, tho uncommonly strong, but assured his constituents that he would not only forward it with the utmost dispatch, but follow it himself, let what would prove the Consequences, and support the arguments it contain'd with what he had further to say, concluding the whole with these very remarkable words, that he would see the Chevalier himself, should it be in a bawdy house: this story requires no explanation, no man however dull but is able to draw a proper inference from it ; so shall leave you to interpret it according to your liking.

Some of our wise heads in this part of the World object to this part of the letter, as if the Chevaliers landing without the force required was intended by the Author as a reflection upon his Judgement ; but I hope it will be satisfactory to observe from what has been before mentioned that notwithstanding he would have been sufficiently enabled to have carried his point, with the assistance of those, by whom he was promiss'd, he nevertheless did not neglect to procure abundant assurances from such as were able to support him from abroad. The Letter writter could have no such intention, nothing more false, otherways. I am most unaccountable deceived in my man ; he certainly had no further vein then to shew how much his Lordship had neglected the Interest, together with the Caution of his Countrymen to disprove a rediculous and false oppinion industriously Spread abroad by their Enemys ; that they were men of desperate fortunes, ready to ingage in any undertaking however distant from any probability of Success.

You would naturally be induced to think that any man who had so long pretended an attachment to a family, would immediatly upon intimation of their request have complied ; but as I hinted to you before, that he shewed no inclination, but rather an aversness to undertake the Journey immediatly, notwithstanding the necessity there was for it ; you won't be surprised when I tell you that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be prevailed upon to go so soon as he did : tho near three months after the time prescribed ; and that after repeated Messages, Letters, and Solicitations, in answers to his many excuses and delays ; but it was obvious he had no inclination to execute any commissⁿ not immediatly dictated by his Agent : there was the Loadstone that attracted him, as you will observe, in his former Journey, which as it was at Mr. Drumonds disire alone, he makes the utmost expedition, scarcely lets a week pass from the receipt of his Summons, till he setts out and reaches the Capitoll, in four or five days ; but the case was now quite alter'd, no such attractive power moved him. This was the Chevaliers earnest disire, full three months was requisite to consider whither it was reasonable to comply or not, and fifteen days necessary to compleat the Journey.

At last when no better could be, when no further excuses could be framed, he agrees to undertake the task enjoined him which perhaps from what is already mentioned you would not have expected, as you most certainly have observed, that he had one very cogent reason to prevent him ; as it was obvious by the Commissions imposed upon him, that he must shortly discover the truth or falsity of what he asserted : a thing which he and every man who conducts himself after so unaccountable a manner must be naturally averse to : and lett me add a second, which perhaps you are a Stranger to : it laid him under the disagreeable necessity of coming to an eclaircissement about his marriage ; a thing he dreaded, almost as much as any other, having ever shewn peculiar delight in delaying without coming to any explination, save by discovering an unworthy member to shock a Ladys Modesty, and disgust her of his profered addresses : sorry I am from my inmost Soul that he could fall upon no such method to loosen himself from the ties he was bound by to his political associates.

As I am almost tired of a disagreeable Subject, which nothing could have persuaded me to have handled, but the love of truth, and your earnest desire, I shall endeavour to draw to a Conclusion, as I esteem it unnecessary to dwell much longer upon the prooffe of his Lordships bad conduct ; of which I am persuaded You are fully convinced : so shall only observe some two or three other particulars to support and strengthen the truth of what is contained in the Letter and to satisfie you that I did not accuse him falsely when I told you that you would find him notwithstanding his avowal of his agents double dealing still continue to be actuated by his persuasion and example. In the first place then, as to what is mentioned of the Instructions he had given him in Scotland, how to forward the packet by three different Channals, you may beleive me when I assure you that two of the three, to witt Boulogne or Rotterdam, were equally certain, nor was there any difficulty to be apprehended in the third method propos'd, which was to find a trusty person to go from London to Paris, and there put it into the Chevaliers own hand ; that his Lordship did chuse this last method is known to many (amongst others Mrs. Oglethorp) as well as that a person was actualy found ready to undertake it ; at which his Lordship seemed extreemly elated till such time as the Gentleman¹ (M'kenzie) made a very reasonable and moderate demand of thirty pounds to defray the expences of his Journey, which put an intire stop to all future attempts of that nature. This particular fact is so well known, and the person intended to have been imploy'd has sufferd so severely and unjustly for his honest intentions, without any gratuity, or consideration from his Lordship, that if he was not lost to all sence of Shame, it must sleeping and waking stare him in the face, and make him hide his dirty head from all intercourse with the world, amongst his Hills in Tweedale.

This will easily convince you of the truth of the fact inserted in the Letter, that he never sent any intelligence from the time of his leaving Scotland ; as it was not easy to imagine that a man so abandontly wretched would put himself to any expence to send intelligence to Scotland when he could not so far get

¹ See p. 129.

the better of his passion as to lay out a trifle to execute a busseness of such vast importance to his Country, there is another piece of secret history, which notwithstanding his Lordships great care to conceal, reach'd the Ears of some of his Constituents; which added to his strong attachment to his purse, allways appeared to me as one of the principal bars to his forwarding the Letters.

His freind Mr. Drumond hearing of his Arrival in London, with all convenient dispatch repair'd thither; and might himself have carried over the packet but that he imagined the Contents were as little agreeable to his Schemes, as the letter he had burnt the Year before; nor is it to be doubted but it would have met with the same fate, had it been the dispatch of any single person: but as there were several concerned, his Lordship was affraid that he might not come off at so cheap a rate as he did with the former: tho upon reflection I cannot help thinking it a little strange for as it contained one of his own he would have had a stronger plea; at least, a more plausible excuse, than in the former case: but his having kept it so long made him certain that if it was possible to forward it from Scotland, it could not arrive in time before the Chevalier's departure; or at least not in time sufficient to make him lay aside an interprise his honour was then so deeply ingaged in. I venture to say it is needless to put you on your guard not to overlook the little low cunning of keeping Drumonds being in London a Secret: had that been known by his freinds in Scotland, he had immediatly been blown and no excuse whatever could have paliated his treachery.

Where the author blames him for not repairing to Scotland to join the Chevalier, it is only mentioned in general term, as a Step he was oblidged in honour to take and what ought to have occurd to himself as soon as the first news of the Chevaliers Sailing from France was whisper'd in Town, which, however Just in itself and deserving of the most severe reflection, renders him nevertheless somewhat more excusable than he must appear to you, when I assure you that I was witness to Murrre sending him a letter in the beginning of the month of June, or end of July; two days after he re^d the news of the Chevaliers intended Voyage, wrote in a cant stile, but such as he could

well understand, and was accustomed to; desiring he would immediatly repair to Scotland. So had he intertain'd the least inclination to do his duty, he had ample warning and could not have mett with the smallest Obstruction as the government had then no suspicion, at least no sufficient grounds to apprehend an Invasson, or secure any of the Subjects.

As to his behaviour in England, whilst his Countrymen were in Arms, it is so universaly well known and spoke of that it would be losing of time to inlarge upon it. The few freinds he now has remaining, however desirious they are to vindicate him in matters of a more asaret¹ nature, are so conscious to themselves of the Justiss of that acusation that they are either silent, or attempt to laugh it over as a matter indifferent; severals of them being sensible, that they were not sparing of their reflections on that Score: little thinking that he was really the man he has since turn'd out, or that his Vilainys should be minutely [propounded to]² the world.

It has been objected to the Author of the Letter as if guilty of a particular piece of Cruelty and injustice if not to all the three at least to one of the Churchmen he names for leaving it in the power of the world to conjecture which of them is meant to be the Spy, as a means equally to hurt the Charracters of either: but I am greatly deceived, if I have not guesed at the cause.

To acuse a man of a fact of that nature, which cannot admitt of a positive prooffe is by no means the proper way to convince the world of the truth of the assertion, no means so effectual as to take such a method as to make a person acuse himself: the old alegation of a Guilty conscience &c. seldom errs, and if I am rightly informed, the dose has opperated upon Mr. Hamilton; as I am assured from the very first moment he took it to himself, and has continued so blinded, as to declare in all companys that he knew himself to be the person meant. Such a behaviour is of itself enough to convince mankind, that the Author only did him Justice, without laying himself under the

¹ *Sic.* ? secret or assured.

² The MS. is partly torn away at these words.

disagreeable necessity of designing him as a commission broker, an attestor of forged deeds, or putting him in mind of his ungarded Oath in Chancery.

And now to conclude with a few words concerning the last charge laid against the author, which is alledg'd to have raked unto the dust of his ancestors from private peck and resentment to draw severe conclusions against him, I shall only say that as I have made the history of my Country as much my study as most people, I am sensible he has not brought the hundredth part of the Scandal against the Treasurer¹ he Justly might: his vilanys were so flagrant, that there is scarcely a man of years, even amongst the lower rank of people, however little conversant in books, who are unacquainted with his history, his son was too insignificant to make²

noise tho the particular there mentioned is in the mouths of every body: ³ and as to what is said of the Father, was it either necessary, or convenient, or did you even desire it, I could oblige you with the names of several concern'd yet living; so till I hear better reasons advanced than have hitherto been given, I shall continue to think that the Author of the Letter has in y^t particular strickly conformed to the rules of Christianity, by only visiting the Sins of the fathers upon the Children, when the later

[THE MS. BREAKS OFF ABRUPTLY].

¹ Traquair's great-grandfather. He was Commissioner to the General Assembly of 1638, and is accused with every show of justice of betraying Montrose to Leslie. Cf. Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 335. Sir John Stewart, first Earl of Traquair, was made High Treasurer of Scotland in 1630.

² MS. torn away.

³ The *Letter* says: 'By starving his Father as a pretended punishment for betraying the King, he gained, if not the Favour, at least a kind of indulgence from the Loyalists, without thereby hurting himself in the eyes of the Republicans, who in consideration of his Father's services could not with any tolerable grace distress him.'