

21st. APRIL, 1904.

On this date was read a paper by Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, entitled

THE CAMERONS IN THE RISING OF 1715:

A VINDICATION OF THEIR LEADER, JOHN CAMERON,
YOUNGER OF LOCHIEL.

Among papers of historical and antiquarian interest which have come into my possession is a statement by John Cameron, younger of Lochiel, in regard to his own and his clan's conduct in the Rising of 1715. That document, which I now exhibit, is of the period to which it refers, and probably in Cameron's handwriting.

During the last years of the reign of Queen Anne a project for the restoration of the Stewart line in the person of James, son of James the Seventh of Scotland and Second of England, was quietly encouraged by the Queen and other high personages; but her Majesty's sudden death in August, 1714, found the promoters of the project unprepared; and the scheme for the succession of the House of Hanover was carried into effect with apparent unanimity, and George I. ascended the British throne. No party was more cordial in congratulations and expressions of devotion to the "German Lairdie" than the Jacobites were, and the Earl of Mar, who was their leader in Scotland, not only addressed a loyal letter to the new King, but he also got Sir John Maclean of Duart, Macdonell of Glengarry, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, John Cameron, younger of Lochiel, the Tutor of Macleod, Macdonald of Keppoch, Grant of Glenmoriston, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, The Chisholm, Macpherson of Cluny, and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat—all of them sympathisers with the exiled royal race—to address to him a letter expressing their liveliest satisfaction at the prospect of being "governed by His Sacred Majesty King George, a Prince so brightly adorned with all Royal Virtues that Britain, under his Royal Administration, shall still be flourishing at Home, and able to hold the Ballance in the affairs of Europe;" and entreating his Lordship "to assure the Government in our Names, and in that of the rest of the Clans, who, by Distance of the Place, could not be

present at the signing of this Letter, of our Loyalty to His Sacred Majesty King George."* But these professions by Mar and his friends were only intended to deceive. On 27th August, 1715, the famous Hunting of Braemar was held, and the raising of the standard of "King James the Eighth" soon followed. The Hunting was attended by Glengarry, for himself and as representing Lochiel and other heads of clans. Chiefs and clansmen and Lowlanders rallied round the standard; but Mar was without military genius, and much valuable time was lost before he, on Sunday, 13th November, found himself at Sheriffmuir, face to face with the Hanoverian army, under the Duke of Argyll. By this time his army numbered 10,000 men, and great things had been expected of them—

- “ Will ye go to Sheriffmuir,
Bauld John o' Innisture,
There to see the noble Mar
And his Highland laddies ;
A' the true men o' the North,
Angus, Huntly, and Seaforth,
Scouring on to cross the Forth,
Wi' their white cockadies ?
- “ There you'll see the banners flare,
There you'll hear the bagpipes' rair,
And the trumpets' deadly blare,
Wi' the cannon's rattle.
There you'll see the bauld M'Craws,
Cameron's and Clanronald's raws,
And a' the clans, wi' loud huzzas,
Rushing to the battle.
- “ There you'll see the noble Whigs,
A' the heroes o' the brigs,
Raw hides and wither'd wigs,
Riding in array, man ;
Ri'en hose and raggit hools,
Sour milk and ginning gools,
Psalm-beuks and cutty-stools,
We'll see never mair, man.

* A Collection of Original Letters relating to the Rebellion, 1715:
Edinburgh, 1730—p. 5.

“ Will ye go to Sheriffmuir,
 Bauld John o’ Innisture?
 Sic a day, and sic an hour,
 Ne’er was in the North, man.
 Siccan sights will there be seen;
 And, gin some be nae mista’en,
 Fragrant gales will come bedeen
 Frae the Water o’ Forth, man.”

The expectations of the Jacobites were not realised.

“ Sic a day, and sic an hour,
 Ne’er was in the North, man,”

was the only prophecy that was fulfilled. The fulfilment was not, however, what the author of the ballad had expected. To the surprise of all Scotland the Highlanders, with the exception of the Macdonalds and the Macraes of Kintail, scarce struck a blow. The Mackenzies fled; the Macphersons looked on without firing a gun or drawing a sword; the Gordons, the Camerons, the Mackinnons, and the Stewarts of Appin broke away without showing fight. On both sides the order of battle was faulty in the extreme; and on the Jacobite side generalship or leadership there was none. The issue of the confused struggle was that the right wing of each army had won the day, and the left wing of each had lost it; and, taking the battle as a whole, no one could say whether Jacobite or Hanoverian had got the victory—

“ There’s some say that we wan,
 And some say that they wan,
 And some say that nane wan at a’, man;
 But one thing I’m sure
 That at Sheriffmuir

A battle there was that I saw, man.
 And we ran, and they ran,
 And they ran, and we ran,
 And we ran, and they ran awa’, man!

“ Whether we ran, or they ran,
 Or we wan, or they wan,
 Or if there was winning at a’, man,
 There’s no man can tell,
 Save our brave Genarell,
 Who first began running of a’, man!”

“ Among those who retired,” writes Chambers, “ were the Camerons. This clan, usually so brave, went home, partly ashamed at their own indecisive conduct, and partly disgusted by the general result of the day. It is related that, on reaching their native country, the young chief of Lochiel, who had led them out on this occasion, endeavoured for a long time to conceal the event of the day from his father, being ashamed to tell that old grey chieftain, who had fought for the house of Stuart from the days of Cromwell, and always maintained the honour of his name, that the day had at last come when the Camerons did not acquit themselves like their fathers.” * Among the Camerons themselves there was a deep feeling of disgrace and humiliation; and it was remembered against their unlucky leader that at his birth it was found impossible to place on his over-large foot the small silver shoe which had supernaturally come into the house of Lochiel to be put on the left foot of every son born into the family. †

The indignation in the Highlands was great, and bards poured rhymes of contempt on the discredited clans. Julia Macdonald of Keppoch (*Sile na Ceapaich*), in her “ *Battle of Sheriffmuir*,” does not spare Mackenzies, Camerons, Gordons, Atholl-men, or Rob Roy Macgregor. At present we are concerned only with the Camerons:—

“ Fire, faire, 'Lochiall,
Sud mar thriall do ghaisgich,
Nan ruith leis an t-sliabh
Lan fiamh is gealtachd;
Ged is iomad fear mor
Bha mu Lochaidh agaibh,
'S thall 's a bhos mu Ghleann-Laoigh,
'S mu dha thaobh Loch-Airceig;
Fir na seasadh ri teine
'S an cnap geire nan achlais!” †

Another Macdonald bard, who witnessed the battle, sang—

“ Bha 'n lamh thoisgeil air dhroch ceann,
'S an am 's an cridhe briosganaich,
'S nuair theann ar namhaid an nall
Ghabh Clann-Chamarain brisdeadh bhuainn.

* Rebellion of 1715.

† Maclean's *Hist. of the Celtic Language*, p. 266—quoting *London Literary Gazette* for March, 1824.

‡ Transactions of this Society, XX., p. 16.

Ruitheadh agus throtadh iad,
 Bhocadh agus leumadh iad,
 'S iad nan duibh-rith leis a ghleann;
 'S ann 's droch am a threig iad sinn.

Mur h-e 'n sronan bhi cho cam
 A chuir nan deann ratreut orra,
 Gun an cruadul 'chur ri crann,
 'S i 'n fhoill a bh' ann 's gum b' eucorach.
 Bha 'n ruaig air meirlich nam bo
 Feadh mointich agus fheitheachan;
 'S bho nach d' fhuair iad mir de 'n fheoil
 Cha deantadh leo car feuma dhuinn.' *

The Gordons, Macgregors, Macphersons, Mackenzies, Mac-kinnons, and the men of Atholl shared the discredit equally with the Camerons, but the circumstance that the clan of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron, who was now nigh ninety years of age, was found wanting, was especially deplored. How the aged chief received the news, if it was ever allowed to reach his ears, is not recorded; but so keenly did his son feel his unhappy position that he considered it necessary to pen the *apologia* which is now before us. It is not such a document as Sir Ewen would have put his name to; I have called it a Vindication, but it is a poor one; it exaggerates the risks and dangers from the garrison of Inverlochy; and altogether it is a disappointing paper from the pen of the *de facto* chief of the Cameron men. It does not give the true cause of the miserable appearance made by the clans—the want of a leader like Montrose or Dundee, and the failure of Mar to rouse a spirit of enthusiasm; but it is a useful contribution to the history of the period, and as such it is worthy of a place in the Society's Transactions.

In the letter written by young Lochiel to the gentlemen of his clan, from Uist, when on the way to France, he promised to return; but Fate had otherwise decreed, and although he lived till 1747 or 1748, he saw Lochaber no more. His place was taken by his son, Donald Cameron, "The Gentle Lochiel," who, with his clan, played so brave and so good a part in the Romance of the Forty-Five that they wiped out for ever the Reproach of the Fifteen.

* This Society's Transactions, XX., p. 21.

The document is as follows:—

“That my ffather and predecessors have been allways most faithfull and Loyall to His Majesty’s Royal progenitors, and have given frequent proofs of their courage & conduct upon all occasions, to assert their Interests and commands; which, since the Union of the Crowns, is evidenc’d by severall missive letters and certificates from King James the 6th, his present majesties Royal Great Grand ffather, King Charles the 2d, his royall uncle, and the late King, his Royall ffather of ever blessed memory, to Allan Cameron, my Great Grand ffather, and to my ffather.

“Tho the said Allan was about eighty years of age and infirme, consequently not in condition to take the field when the Marqs. of Montrose set up the Royall Standard in Scotland, his sons, my grandffather being dead severall years before, my ffather being a child, yet my Great Grandffather had part of his men wt his Lop. [Lordship] at the Battle of Inverlochy, commanded by a gentleman of his name, his near relation, who had a Leieutenant Collonells Commission, and continued wt that command all along during Montrose’s War, till my ffather was of age to head the Clan; this gentleman being wounded, and severalls of the Clan killed with him, was afterwards rewarded by a pension from the King during life.

“My ffather took the feild at eighteen years of age, and had severall successfull and remarkable ingadgments agt. the Rebels, the Enemy being generally double his number. In time of that usurpation, he having a Commission from his Majesty to the Collonell, Recd. for his services a regiment of seven or eight hundred men, was the last who capitulated, severalls belonging to him being killed, and his own lands by the enemy plunderd and destroyed; which is evidenc’d under the hands of the Earls of Midlton and Glencairden, his Majestys Generals.

“That after the happy Restoration of King Charles, my ffather was most active in securing the peace of the Country in reducing Rebels and outlaws to obedience, as is attested by the then Lord High Chancelour of Scotland, and Leiu-tenant Generall Drummond there.

“That in the Rebellion agt. his present Majestys Royall ffather, when Argyle landed in Scotland, my ffather being then at London, the private Commitee of Scotland having wrote up to his Majesty to appoint my father to return to Scotland to help to surpress the Rebellion, he at his Majestys order

went home to convocate his freinds and followers, and was the first head of a Clan who joynd the Marques of Atholl when he came to Inverera, who, having sent him with a party after Argyle, made his escape from the Army, he came so quickly to the ferry of Portindoragin Coull, that he did pursue and take Campbell of Ilingreig, wt his eldest son and some others, which he gave as prisoners to the said Marques.

“ That how soon the Earle of Perth, who was then Chancelour of Scotland, had account that the Prince of Orange was to land in England Sr. John Drummond of Machonie being Leiutenant of Argyle Shyre, and then at Inverera, his Lop. [Lordship] wrote to my father to march immediatly with as many of his men as he could suddenly get together to assist Sr. John Drummond to keep the peace of that Shyre, they being afraid of ane insurrection, Argyle having gone over to the Prince of Orange, and Campbell of Auchinbreak in Holland since the former Rebellion, and then with that prince.

“ Therefore, to call together such men within the Shyre of Argyle, as they had most confidence in, qch. they Randesvouzed at Kilmichell, being the first time I had the honour to have any command in his Maties [Majesty's] service, my ffather having given me ye command of a party of his men (tho I was, in time of the former Rebellion, with my father at Inverera, I was too young to have any command). After Randesvouzing about twelve hundred men there, they were all dismissed, except my ffather's, and some of Apine's men with whom my ffather continued at Inverera wt Sr. John Drummond untill the Chancelour wrote to my ffather that the King was obleided to leave England and retire to ffrance; Therefore Desyred he would march to Drummond Castle with his men, where the Chancelour was to meet him in order to goe straight to Lochabar, and from thence to Imbarque for Ireland, and that I was to goe alongst wt. the Chancelour, which he obeyed; but how soon we came to Comery, within six miles of Drummond, we had acct. that my Lord Chancelour had taken another resolution and took shipping in the road of Leith, where he was seiz'd and sent prisoner to Stirling Castle; which how soon my ffather understood he marched home.

“ We continued pretty quiet that Winter, till, towards the latter end of the Spring, that my ffather had account the King was come to Ireland. Upon which newes he immediately sent to Glengary, being his nixt neighbour, desyring a meeting with him, who, how soon he had discoursed, my ffather sent

to the Tutor of Clanronald (Clanronald not being of age), begging he would meet him in Suinort, the tuttor being then in the Neighbourhood in Muidort, who accordingly mett my ffather. My ffather went from thence to Mull, and had a meeting with the Gentlemen of the Mcleans, Mclean being then abroad, These and some other neighbours being all very ready to rise in Armes for his majesty's service, my ffather appointed a Randesvouz with them in Lochabar, the 28th of May.

“ At my ffather's returne home My Lord Dundee came to Lochabar, who was mightily pleased yt. affairs were so advanc'd agt. his arrival, his Lop. was entirely satisfied to hold yt. day for the Randesvouz which my father had appointed. At the same time great offers were made to my ffather by the Prince of Orange's Authority under the hands of MacKay, his Generall, and Cromarty, then Viscount of Tarbat, such as Titles of honour, & Governour of Inverlochy, where they were to plant a garrison, Collonell of a Regiment of foot, and a considerable sume of money in hand, with other things contain'd in these letters; which he entirely rejected, and show'd the letters immediately to my Lord Dundee.

“ My Lord Dundee, having intelligence that MacKay was on his march, while Coll. Ramsay was marching north with twelve hundred men to joyn him at Inverness, his Lop. marched before Sr. Donald's, Clanronalds, and Mcleans Islanders had time to come up to Badinoch, in order to intercept Ramsay, where my ffather mustered Eight hundred and fifty men of his own, besides officers, which made much about the half of my Lord Dundee's party on that march. After the Castle of Ruthven in Badinoch being garrisoned by the enemy surrendred to Dundee he pursued McKay from the braes of Strathspey to Edinglassie, where McKay was reinforc^d with some regiments of foot and Dragoons, my Lord Dundee then retyred to Lochabar untill the Islanders whom he expected came up.

“ In the mean time part of my ffather's men, and of the other Clanns who had made that march, were allowed to goe to their severall homes for some dayes, and to be ready at a call, there being no garrison then placed at Inverlochy in Lochabar to disturb them or hinder their joyning.

“ How soon the Islanders came Dundee began his march towards Atholl, my ffather marched wt what he had of his Lochabar men, and left my cousin Glendisory and me to bring up the rest of his men who live at a greater distance, which

we rais'd in very few dayes, and we marched so hard that we cam up the next day after the battle of Killikranky was fought, being the second day after my Lord Dundee entered the Country of Atholl. Other neighbours suffered a great dale at that ingadgment, but my ffathers loss was the more that he was obliged to attack ane entire regiment with less than the half of his Clan, and was at the same time flanked by the fyre of another Regiment. Our Clan had a considerable loss at that unhappy business of Crombdale, where Major Generall Buchan commanded the Army, and likewise at Dunkeld, qr I had the honour to attack at the head of my ffather's men.

"That, after the King's affairs miscarried in Ireland, and that his majesty despaired of sending us any succour as he design'd and allowed such of us as were in armes during that war to capitulate, and that ye Prince of Orange had granted ane indemnity for our lives and fortunes, even during his government my ffather, tho old, was frequently imprisioned by the Garrison of Inverlochy, sometimes kept 4 months, other times 6 months, and I often charg'd to Edinburgh, and sometimes oblig'd to keep the hills so as not to dare to come to my own house untill these alarmes were over.

"That the Marques of Drummond can attest, since his Lop. came first to Scotland from ffrance during the Prince of Orange's time, and during his Majesty's Royall Sister's Government, that I was ready to goe into any project tho never so desperate, towards the restouraon of the late King and his present Majesty, which I always ingadg'd to all the Messingers that came to Scotland from the late King or from his present Majesty, My Zeall and mannadgment on all these occasions being very well knowen to his Lop., as well as to oyr persons of merit and distinction.

"That of late, in latter end of his Majesty's Royall Sister's Government, when Mcintosh of Borlum went over, he can informe how stirring I was to gett people to goe into a concert for his Majesty's service, and that I went with him, after being with the Marques of Drummond, to my Lord Atholl, Broadalbine, Huntly, and oyr to incurrage them.

"That, after my Brother Allan had gone to his Majesty on his Royal sister's death, and returned to Scotland wt his Majesty's Instructions that I was doing all in my power to advance his Majesty's service; which I gave my Brother under my hand.

"That, after he returned to his Majesty wt ye answer of his instructions conforme to his Majesty's order, when Sr.

John Forrester arrived soon after, The Marqs. of Drummond, who was still ready to take all opportunities to serve his Majesty by interest or otherways, sent for me that I might acquaint such of my neighbours in our part of the Highlands as I thought would be interested yrwith, to take care of themselves (for fear of being taken up by the Government, especially such as lay near Garrissons, not doubting but his Majesty would land sometime before the month of May) which accordingly I did. The Marques of Huntley, or Seaforth, were not then in the North, but my Brother acquainted me he had seen them, and brought their sentiments to the King, as well as the other Nobility and Gentry he had been with, and was myself on my guard from that time, so that I lay few nights in my house, being within three hours march of the Garrison of Inverlochy, untill I had acct of the Earle of Mar's coming to Scotland.

“How soon his Lop. came to Mar he was pleased to write to Glengary and to me that he had a designe to see us both at Mar; Upon which Glengary and I met in order to goe together to receive his Lop's commands, but we having considered that our going both there at the same time might give ground of Suspition to the garrison of Inverlochy, and they advertise the government too soon might be of bad consequence; Upon these considerations we thought it more proper that one of us should goe, and the other stay at home to advertise the rest of our neighbours to be all in readiness at a call. Therefore, since I lay nearer the Garrison of Inverlochy, my going would be more suspected and sooner taken notice of, it was judg'd fitter that Glengary would goe, and that I would write with him to my Lord Mar, which I did to the same purpose, adding that whatever orders his Lop. would be pleased to send me and the rest of my neighbours for his Majesty's service, We would unanimously receive them.

“Upon Glengary's return Glendaruale came along with him, who engaged that the most of ye Campbells in Argyle Shyre would joyn us, particularly Auchinbreak and Lochnell, to whom he had orders from my Lord Mar to rise immediately in armes for his Majesty's service, and Glengary brought our order for the Clans, which he delivered me to intimate to the rest. A day was condescended on for our randesvouz at Glenurcha, and Glendaruale was to goe from my house nixt day on his way to Lorn, Glengary, he and I having stayed together in ane Isle belonging to me closs by my dwelling, not venturing

to stay a night at my house for fear of the Garrison of Inverlochy.

“That night I asked Glengary and Glendaruale what measures they proposed to my Lord Mar would be taken with the Garrison of Inverlochy, Seing that all my friends, their familys and effects, and mine, lay exposed to the enemy how soon we left the Country, besides what his Majesties service might otherwayes suffer by leaving such a strong party of the Enemy behind us at liberty to doe what they pleas’d. They told me all that could be done at that time was to leave a detachment of each clan to keep them within their trenches, with which I was satisfied if performed, since no better could be done then ; But, if not, that I could not make such a compleat rising as otherwayes might have been expected.

“Glendaruale and I concerted before Glengary parted with us that we should meet on a prefixt day at Lochnell’s house, in order to influence Lochnell to joyn us.

“This would remove some of the difficulties I lay under by the Garrison in caice the Campbells, who were my next neighbours on that hand, had joyn’d us ; besides such a number gain’d for his Majestys service, so that I was resolved to be att all pains to gain them if it was possible ; Accordingly went to Lochnell’s house the day I appointed with Glendaruale, where I found Sr. John McLean and severall of his freinds who had occasion to meet there on some private business.

“I told Sr. John and Lochneill, finding them merry, that they had reason to be cheerfull, for that ye King’s Standard was to be set up Thursday nixt, Therefore this was the time for all Loyalists to appear for their King and Country.

“As all the joy imaginable appeared, not only by Sr. John’s expressions, but every way about him, to the Contrary Lochneill’s and his freinds spiritts sunk, and begg’d we would keep all as privat as possible for fear of the Garrison’s about. I answered Lochneill that it was past all kind of reserve now, Since we were immediately to raise in Armes, and yt Glendaruale was to be with him that night with a Commission from the Earl of Mar. Sr. John went off next morning to Mull in order to rise his freinds, and I waited three nights at Lochinnell’s for Glendaruale to make sure of Lochnell, but had no word of him or from him ; which made me very uneasy, having lost so much time. Therefore would stay no longer. In the meantime I desyred Lochnell to goe to Lorn,

where he would certainly find Glendaruale, and in case Glendaruale came that night to send after me; if not, that Lochnell should goe to Lorn nixt day. Upon these terms Lochnell and I parted, and I went to raise my men of Morvine. In two days after I parted with Lochneill he sent his Brother to acquaint me that Glendaruale was come to Lorn, and that he was to be with him that night there.

“Therefore, being very sensible how much it would advance the King’s interest in these parts to have the Campbells in Argyleshyre fully ingadged in his Majesty’s service, and likeways how much it would facilitate ye rising of his Majestys freinds who lay next adjacent to them, I was resolved to spair no trouble to get them once to rise, and trysted Lochneil munday nixt to Apin’s house with Glendaruale and others, having seen my own freinds of Morvine and Suinart Saturday and Sunday before, who were very ready to rise wt me for his majesties service; But in the meantime told me if there was not some course taken with the Garrisson of Inverlochy, and, if Lochneil and Auchinbrake did not joyne, The Countrey would be left in such bad circumstances, leaving enemies on all hands behind them, that its impossible I could expect to make such a compleat rising as I could if any of these obstacles were removed.

“On munday I went to Apin’s, where I found Lochneil and Apin and others, but not Glendaruale, as I expected. I asked Lochneil if he was now fully resolved & ready to joyn; he told me in these words, that he was fully resolv’d to answer the Government’s citation, and that all wise & prudent men would doe the same, for that it was promised that none would be desyred to rise till once the King Landed, and then it was time enough.

“I answered how could he ever hold his face in any Company, besides his duty to his lawful Sovereaigne, and to his Countrey, after to my certain knowledge he having receiv’d the King’s money, to desert his majesty; that he would be the man most reflected on of all his name, haveing made so many promisses to the King’s freinds, and that, after others had answered for his honesty to the Earl of Mar, that when it came to the push to go off qn others are joyning; but, seing no Arguments would prevail, I parted wt him.

“Finding by this that none of the Argyleshyre Campbells were to joyn us, and that there was no methode taken wt Inverlochy, which was still in condition to ruine my Country

and friends, I Resolved to goe with all expedition to the Earle of Mar in order to represent to his Lop. that the circumstance of my Country and freinds was worse stated than we expected, my Campbell neighbours having refused to joyn notwithstanding we were made believe that we might rely as much on their Loyalty as on any of ourselves, and particularly Lochneil.

“ Without making any furdur delay I sett out for Dunkell, where my Lord Mar was then. I took Teymouth in my way, and saw Broadalbine, who was very hearty, yet saw difficulties in raising his men, the King not being come, and Auchinbreak and Lochneil, who were to command his men, having broke measures with him and others of his frindes, which he complained to me.

“ When I came to my Lord Mar, and represented all this, his Lop. answered that I could expect nothing to be done to Inverlochy at that juncture. I told his Lop. that I was very sorry for it, for that I could not expect to raise all my men at that time, the Country being left wholly to the Mercy of the enemy, there being none in the Highlands exposed to that degree but my friends and me.

“ However, that tho. I might reasonably expect to be the first sufferer, I would bring as many for his Majesty's service as the above circumstance would allow, without lossing time.

“ I parted that same night wt my Lord Mar and took journey homeward, met wt Generall Gordon on his way to Glenurchy, and I told him, it being my orders to joyn him, that I would doe it with all expedition, and, tho. my circumstance was worse than any of my neighbours, I would bring what number I could in my present Situation to his Majestys service, without any furdur delay. So I went straight home immediately, rais'd 'twixt six or seven hundred of my men, as well armed & cloath'd as any in the Army, and march'd by the Garrison of Inverlochy in the Enemies view in day light, wt. in less than Cannon Shott, notwithstanding of the Governour's threatnings to destroy my Country how soon I left it.

“ I marched straight towards Inverera in order to joyn Generall Gordon there, If I found he was gone yt length: but when I came within eight mylles of Lochou I had acct. that Generall Gordon had returned from Inverera, having stay'd two or three nights there, and that he was that night at Strathfillen. On this Intelligence I altered my march and followed him to Auchtererdar, where we continued encamped

untill my Lord Mar came up with the rest of the Army from Perth, and appointed a general randesvouz on the moor of Auchterarder.

“Nixt day Generall Gordon, with the Clanns, was ordered to take possession of Dunblain; but as we advanced a little before sun sett to the bridge of Ardoch, within three short myles of Dunblain, we had acct. from a woman (my sister, who lived in Dunblain) sent express from that place, that Argyle had possessed that place ye afternoon wt his Army. Upon this Information Generall Gordon sent back ane express to my Lord Mar, upon qch his Lop. came up wt the rest of the Army yt night.

“We joyn’d that night, and encamped at Kinbuik, and by day light marched to the moor yrof, where my Lord Mar, after the Army was drawn up in order of battle in two lines, and the Clanns in the front, call’d a Councill of war of all the Nobility, Generall officers, and heads of clanns, and propos’d whether or not they thought it proper to fight Argyle in the grownd which he then posses’d himself of. We agreed to fight and to march along the Skirt of the Sherriff moor till we came above the Enemie.

“In the mean time my Lord Marrishall was ordered with his squadron to attack a party of ye enemys horse which appeared on the top of the hill, and Sr. Donald’s Batallion, who happened to be that day on the right, to sustain him; and at the same time the whole Army to begin our march, we were then ordered into four Colums. How soon the Earl Marrishall came close upon the Enemies horse, which we saw on the hill, he perceived Argyle’s whole Army on their march up ye hill; of which he immediately acquaints my Lord Mar; upon which our whole Army marched up in very great haste, which occasioned some confusion, tho never men marched with greater cheerfulness towards ane Enemie.

“The horse were call’d all to the right of ye Army; none stayed on the left; so that the right hand was engaged before the left could come up. And before I came to the ground, where I attempted to draw up, the fire began on the right, and some of the Lowland Regiments of foot being on the left of the front line where I should have been by the order of battle when the Councill of War was called, were it not our being chang’d into columns, and that those that were in the front of the two collumns made off. The second lyne were so far advanc’d on the hill as those who were in the front

of the first line, so that such as were in the rear of the columns upon their march, tho of the first line, were oblig'd to continue in the second line, which was my fate.

“ While my men were drawing up closs by a Regiment of the lowland foot who were formed in my front, (I being in the right of the front of my men waiting impationly for ane open by which I could get a view of the Enemy in order to advance and attack them) this Regiment of Lowland foot. after they had fyr'd at ye enemy, and recd. their fyre, broke in all at once upon my Regiment and carreyed them off before the half of them were formed, or of McKinins men who were drawing up wt them, as well as some of the Mcphersons. A litle before this Regiment broke in upon mine there was a party of the black dragoons came pretty near us, at whom those who were on my right, and the few of my men who were drawn up in the right of my Regiment, fyred and kill'd severalls, and beat them back. I being advanced some few paces before the right of my Regiment, in order to get sight of the Enemy, me being in a hollow grownd, which how soon I had gott I look'd about to order my men to advance, but to my great surprise saw them caryed away in this manner, and all those who were nixt to me and drawn up on my right and left gone off. All this time we saw no generall officer, neither received any orders; only by the confusion we observed our right had been broke. So finding my self in this situation, with three or four gentlemen of my freinds who chanc'd to be nixt me, made off, and found none of my own men untill I cross'd the River of Allan, where I found some of them with Apin and some of his men.

“ I rallied there all I could meet with, and caused such of them as had fyred to charge their pieces. At the same time I perceived Rob Roy Mcgrigar on his march towards me, coming from the Town of Down, he not being at the engadgment, with about two hundred and fifty, betwixt Mcgrigars and Mcphersons. I marched towards him wt the few I had got together; perceiving Argyle opposite to us, I intreated, he being come fresh wt these men, that we would joyn and cross the River to attack Argyle; which he absolutely refused; so that there was such a very small number left when Rob Roy went off, and not knowing well then what became of our right, could not attempt any thing with that number. Major Lawder was present at all that passed there.

“ So night coming on, and not knowing what was become of the rest of the Army, having no word from them, I went that night to a little village above Bracko and sent to Drummond castle to know what account was to be got there. My Lord having gone that night to see My Lady, sent me word to joyn the Army nixt day at Achterarder which accordingly I did. From thence We marched all to Perth, where I continued wt a Battalion of my men till the King arived.

“ A litle time after we came to Perth some of our number pressed my Lord Mar to look for termes from the Government, which his Lop. resisted with all riggour, tho by the grumbling and importunitys of that sett of people he condescended to send Coll Loraine (?) who was then prisoner, to Argyle.

“ The Duke of Mar called all the heads of clanns to his quarters, and told us how much he was press'd to capitulate by part of our army, and before any spoke I had the honour to tell his Grace that it would be the greatest hardship imaginable to enter into any termes with the Government till once we were assured what was become of the King, not knowing but he was then at Sea, coming to us. So all who were present of the heads of the Clanns assured his Grace that they would stand by him to the last.

“ Upon this the Duke of Mar proposed to all ye Nobility and principall officers of the Army to enter into ane association that none would attempt to make any separate terms without the consent of the Major party, qch we all signed, and continued so untill his Majesties arrivall.

“ Soon after his Majesty came to Perth I had ye honour to receive his Majesty's orders to goe home to ye Highlands to raise all who were there of my own men, and of my neighbouring Clanns, and to march them to ye Army. So I parted about the midle of Janry, and left ye command and charge of my men I had in the Army with my Brother Allan. I went by Teymouth, and saw Broadalbine, who was very earnest I would raise his men in Lorn, and to march them to the Army with the rest of my command.

“ The weather was so extraordinary hard, and the snow lying so deep on the hills, that I had difficulty to make my way to Lochabar; and, as I was ready to march wt my own men, after I concerted every thing necessary wt my neighbours, and with Mclean of Lochbuie, who did not Sturr before, I had a letter from the Duke of Mar acquainting me that His Majesty was to leave Pearth and march north to joyn his freinds there, wt orders to me to march with what was at

home of my own men, and of my Neighbours, to Strathspey by the way of Stratharag, and there to wait till furdere orders. There came afterwards another order for me to march with all my command north & in order to joyne Huntley and my Lord Seaforth about Invernes, to reduce that place. Accordingly I appointed all my neighbours to meet me at Moy in Lochabar. In the meantime I marched such as were furdest off of my own men, being within twelve miles of the place where I appointed my randevouze, I had account of the Kings embarking at Montrose, and that a great dale of the Nobility and Gentry, the Irish officers, wt the rest of the Clans, had entered Lochabar, & were to be that night at my house. This newes was very surprysing, being ready to march in a few dayes with about fifteen hundred men North, conforme to my orders; and such as were then with me were very much grieved to return.

“Nixt night I went home, where I mett the Noblemen and others who were going to the Isle of Sky. Glengary came there. Sr. Donald, Clanronald, and Apin desyred him to stay there that night untill I came, in order to concert what we could doe furdere for his Majestys service, the Safety of such Noblemen and Gentlemen as came amongst us, and our own; which, these gentlemen told me, he refused, when I came home that night.

“My being so near the Garrison of Inverlochy was the reason why none of the nobility or officers could stay then with me, since I could not be a night wt safety in my own house. Therefore they went all to the Isles, as the safest place for their retreat, and where such as had a mind to goe abroad would probably get the best and readeest opportunity, either by a Ship from France or some Scott Merchand Ship.

“From the time the Noblemen and these gentlemen went to the Isle of Skye we were not much troubled with any of the forces, untill the beginning of Aprile, there being none then in the Highlands but what was at Inverlochy who came out sometimes in parties of two or three hundred in the night, but went into the Garrison nixt morning before we could get together.

“Generall Gordon, from ye time the army dissipated at Badenoch untill he had acct. of Cadogan’s coming to Atholl in order to march to Lochabar, stayed at Badenoch; but how soon he had acct. of the Enemie being on their March he came straight to Invergare Castle, where my Brother Allan

mett him, he being return'd from Kintail, where he had been to wait on my Lord Marqs Seafort.

“Nixt day Generall Gordon trysted Kepoch, Glengary, & me half way betwixt Glengarys house and mine, where we mett at the hour appointed; Brigadier Ogilvie and my Brother present likewise.

“Generall Gordon, after showing us his Commission as Commander in cheif, with very ample power from his Majesty, told of Cadogans designe of coming upon us, being already at Blair of Athole on his march, and proposed what number of men we could expect to make against that day se'night, this being on Fryday, 30th March. The number we condescended to be gote together amongst us on such advertisement, betwixt my Lord Seafort and all, was about two thousand five hundred men. It was then agreed that we should Rendevouze at each of our particular dwellings, and be ready to march upon advertisement, in order to meet Cadogan at his entering Lochabar; to which we all agre'd. At the same tyme we hade account that one Coll Cleyton was come to Apine with five hundred foot, and that a party of one hundred more went by water from Inverlochy to join him; that Apine's men had begun to take protections, and to deliver their arms, as some others had done before. This was the more suprysing that Apin had sent us no word. However we prosecuted our designe, and Generall Gordon determin'd to goe on munday to meet my Lord Seafort, and my Brother to goe with him. So we parted on these tearms.

“The nixt day I sent expresses to all my frindes to meet on fryday following at my house. At night I hade account that Coll Cleyton was come to Inverlochy with his party, and that he was to march some tyme the nixt week to my house in order to get in the arms of the contry. On this newse I went nixt day, being Sunday, near the Garrison to get Intelligence, and had account that Cleyton had sent to the minister to advertise his whole parishioners to meet him on Twesday at my house to give in their arms, and, in case of their not answering, that he would burn and destroy The contry.

“It was night before I hade such a certant account of this that I could rely on it; so I went home under night, and sent express to the Generall and Glengary aquenting them of what I had learn'd concerning Cleyton, desyring Glengary would be at me Twesday by ten alocke with what men he could bring, and that I would get as many as possible on such short notice for that Cleyton was to be at my house against twelve.

My Brother press'd to return to me, but Glengary advys'd General Gordon by all means to bring him with him to my Lord Seaforth's, since he had been with his Lo. a litle before. Therefore the General told him it was absolutely necessary he should goe with him, since they were all to return so soon. I apointed such as could be at me of my men to be with me Twesday morning; but such as lived on the road betwixt the Garrison and my house took all that day to put their Catle and effects out of the Party's way, and these who were some furder off did not come till night.

"Glengary came about half an hour before Cleyton and his party. which consisted of nine hundred men, tuixt his own party and what he brought from Inverlochy. Glengary had about a hundred men, and I had much about the same number. We did not think fit to attack him at such a great disadvantage that night, we not being the fourth part of his number.

"I told Glengary that I did not doubt but I would have a good party to gether nixt day; Therefore that I expected he would not disperse his men. However, Glengary went home that night, and I stay'd all that night with what men I had gote together within a myle of Cleyton, and nixt day, being Wednesday, I got more of my men together, these who had been putting their Catle out of the way; upon which I sent to Glengary to come up, but he sent me no return.

"Upon Thursday night my nephew, young Bohaldy, came up from my frindes of Morvine and Swinart, to aquent me that they were on their march, and, according to my order, they would be with me next day.

"Upon this notice I went straight, fryday morning, to Invergery to talk with Glengary, and in hopes to heve found General Gordon ther as was concerted, and to aquent them that I had gote such a good party together; but when I came to Invergery, and found that General Gordon was not return'd, I told Glengarry that my men were come against the day appointed for our Randevouze, and that the McLenes and Muidort men were proposing themselves to come to us, so that it was for us now to joyue; that we would very soon destroy Cleytons party, and then make head against Cadogan; and desyr'd he would let me know his last resolution. He told me plainly that he was fully resolved to surrender himself to athole, and his house to Cadogan, and that he expected in a day or two Cadogan would send a party to take possession and garrison it. He likewise advys'd me to doe the same.

This answer of Glengary's suprys'd me mightily. Amongst other things, I told him I did not think fit to take his advyce, and that I thought that he ought to have told his designe sooner, both to General Gordon and his neighbours; so we parted.

“ Therefore, seeing Kepoch did not joine, notwithstanding I wrote to him, and that Glengary went off two dayes thereafter in order to give himself up prisoner to Cadogan at Inverness, I thought it hard to expose my frindes alone, Glengarys house being garisson'd by the enemie on the one hand, and The Garissin'd of Inverlochy in their Center, and ships on the Sound of Mull to destroy such as liv'd on the coast; so that I allowed some of them to take protections, as others in my neighbourhood; to which they condescended with great reluctancy.

“ My Brother Allan came to the contry the day thereafter from General Gordon, who he left with my Lord Seaforth in Kintail, and got a party of my men together at the head of Locheill. He was, in concert with others, to joyne him, but, hearing that Cadogan had passed all of a sudden with a few horse to Inverlochy, my brother marched under night over hills with a small party of choice men in order to intercept him half way betwixt Inverlochy and Glengary at his return, and miss'd him very narrowly. The particulars of what pass'd whyle General Gordon was in the Highlands my Brother hes given such a true account of that I need not enlarge. I was afterwards oblidg'd to lurke up and down the contry of Lochabar, and at last was necessitate to leave it and goe amongst those of my frindes who lay furder from the garison, in Swinart and Morvine, where ther was partys soon sent in search of me. Having then account from my Brother, who followed General Gordon (when he was informed that he was gone to the Isles), that the General was to seize a ship ther, in order to goe to france, I went back to Lochaber as private as possibly I could, and was resolved to stay some few nights to order my affairs before I left the contry. I had account that on Capt. Ogilvie, with a party of the forces and a detachment of the Independant companys, was within 2 myle of me; so was oblidg'd to come off without looking after any of my private affairs. I made the best of my way to the Isle of Sky, where my Brother was waiting me, from whence we went together to Wist [Uist] and found General Gordon there.

“ From the tyme Cleytone came first to my house there

was a party of the forces kep't ther, even when we came away, destroying and plundering all they could seize of my effects of all kinds. Having come away from my frindes without tyme to aquent them (since I did not think fitt to slipp the occasion of that Ship, and the good Company), I return'd my nephew, Bohaldy, who was then ready to come with us, and in Wist General Gordon gave him likewise orders to bring back to france ane exact account of the state of affairs in the Highlands, I wrote the following letter with him to the principal and leading gentlemen of my name, which I then showed General Gordon :—

“ ‘ Seeing that by the present posture of affaires my continuing with you cannot advance the King my master's service, nor our Contry's, nor contribute in the least to your safety or my owu, obliges me to leave you so abruptly, and take this occasion, with some other worthy persons, to follow my prince, and run the fate of the rest of my Contry men who suffer abroad in such a just and honourable cause, least, by my staying amongst you at this juncture, you be harrassed and ruin'd by partys in search of me, as you have been for some weeks past, and so rendered uncapable hereafter of rysing with me for the service of your King and Contry, of which I entreat you doe not in the least dispair notwithstanding of our late misfortunes.

“ ‘ Meantyme, if the Government call on such as have taken protections to appear at the Garisone of Inverlochty or any other town, and that it be found dangerous to answer that citation, in that case I desyre you take . . . [paper worn] as you have preserved and let me know your . . . [paper worn] by my nephew, young Bohaldy, who is left behind for that purpose, that I may come to your relief wt what succours I can bring, to live and dye with you. Lastly, I earnestly recommend to keep good heart, and not be dispirited, to live in intyre frindeship with on another, to harbour and entertain with pleasure such as have not taken protection and have kept their arms, whyle you are allowed to live peaceably yourselves, to take pains to keep the comons in minde of their duty, and not to doubt but all will end to your satisfaction and mine in the happy restoration of your rightful and lawful Sovereigne, for whom, under God, we all suffer. Your observing punctually what I have here enjoyed will preserve your Loyalty and the reputation you and your predecessors have gote with my ffather and predecessors, and oblidge me to aply my utmost endeavours to make you a hapy clan.

“ ‘ Wist, june 24th, 1716. ’ ”