

A SELECTION  
FROM THE  
PAPERS  
OF THE  
EARLS OF MARCHMONT,

IN THE POSSESSION OF  
THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR GEORGE HENRY ROSE.

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ILLUSTRATIVE OF EVENTS

FROM  
1685 TO 1750.

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*IN THREE VOLUMES.*

VOL. I.

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LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET  
MDCCCXXXI.

DIARY RESUMED.

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LORD STAIR sent for me; when I went to him I found the Duke of Montrose<sup>1</sup> with him, and that they had been engaged in talk together on the subject with which Lord Stair continued; that last night an account from Edinburgh had alarmed the whole council; that the Pretender's son was near Edinburgh, and probably would soon be master of it; and that this day the ministry were to meet to consider what to advise; that he understood that [the] Duke of Bedford<sup>2</sup> and Lord Halifax were to offer to raise regiments for the King's service; and that he thought fit to let us know it; that Lords of our country might, if they approved of it, do the same. The Duke of Montrose said, that he had not been considered in his country, or else he might have been of some use, and that he would do his utmost as Duke of Montrose, but he could not carry a musket, though he could a fusil, in England. I said, that we had been all pretty equally treated, but that I supposed Lord Stair asked our opinions what we judged proper to do, *rebus sic stantibus*, and that I would do anything they two thought fit; that I desired only not to incur the ridicule of pretending to do anything, that the Duke of Bedford performed by dint of riches, but that in zeal for liberty I would vie with him, or any of 'em all in England; and that I desired to avoid being laughed at justly for an offer to raise and be paid for the militia under the name of a regiment. The Duke said, he thought the offer would be ridiculous, because his country was now possessed by the rebels, and therefore he could do nothing in it, and that the ministers would reject what part of our proposal they thought fit, and load us with the rest of it, merely to undo us. To this Lord Stair replied; and the dispute growing warm, I told Lord Stair, that as no offer had yet been made, we could not tell whether we could concur or not. But as he would first know it, I desired he would do me the honour to accept of full power from me to offer to raise a regiment, or do any other service he found would not appear ridiculous; and that if he thought it fit, I would go to court to be ready to make the offer personally if necessary. He thought I should go thither: I went with the Duke of Montrose. Lord Stair coming out from the King told me, that finding the King had refused the Duke of Bedford's offer, telling him the storm would soon blow over, but that he thanked him for his zeal, he had delayed making my offer till

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<sup>1</sup> William Duke of Montrose, who succeeded to the title on his father's death in 1741.

<sup>2</sup> First Lord of the Admiralty.

a more proper opportunity. I told him, if it could be of no use, it need not be made. He said, he had desired the King, since he knew nothing of his army, to name somebody that his ministers trusted, and that the King answered, 'You know as much as I do.' I told the Duke of Montrose, that the affair of the offer was over, and I supposed would not be accepted hereafter, so that the dangers he foresaw were vanished.

I went to Lord Stair to ask him whether it was worth while  
 Afternoon to communicate to Lord Tweeddale a letter I received this post, with news of proclaiming the Pretender at Duns<sup>1</sup>, and the acting justices refusing to assist Mr. Carre to apprehend the offenders; and finding Lord Tweeddale there at dinner (a connexion being a forming between 'em), I read the letters to 'em both, and stated the case to 'em, to which neither of 'em made one word of answer. I was piqued at this in Lord Tweeddale, who this very morning, at Lord Stair's, asked me whether I had sent my arms to Berwick, and said, I did right in it, and on the 2d inst. at court, when I told him I had a number of arms at the King's service, superciliously intimated that my house might be searched for 'em; so I told him, that in case the same fellows, encouraged by their impunity at Duns, should commit the same insult at Greenlaw<sup>2</sup>, and this should be represented here so as to affect my friends or property, and so as to oblige me to relate the thing as it was, and to charge all that ensued on the impunity at Duns, I expected from him to be cleared from any imputation of doing what I should do out of private malice to any man. Upon this he warmed, and said he did not see how Mr. Hay of Drummelier could hinder what had passed at Duns any more than he himself could at Gifford-hall. I told him, I thought I had spoke plain English, and so repeated what I had said. We went into the other room, where Lord Stair told me, the council had met since he saw me at court, and hearing what the Duke of Bedford had offered, were all of opinion, that the King should be advised to accept it, and that many others, such as [the] Duke of Rutland, [the] Duke of Montague, and [the Duke of] Kingston, and Lord Halifax being named, he had said, that several Lords of Scotland were ready to do the same, but that he hoped every Lord Lieutenant would not be made a colonel. Lord Tweeddale came in and told us the Highlanders had taken Edinburgh.

Lord Bolingbroke, on hearing what passed yesterday, said, he laid a great stress on the Duke of Bedford's being refused, and that the court surely  
 Sept. 21st.  
 Saturday.

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<sup>1</sup> In Berwickshire.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Marchmont was Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw.

resolved not to suffer such as we to have any military power; and on what had passed concerning- the affair of Duns, he advised me to remain quiet and proceed no farther.

My brother, being come to town, was of opinion, that I ought not to persist to go down to raise a regiment, after what had passed, without sufficient authority from the King, to protect his commission from insult, and myself from being betrayed here, by rendering all my endeavours ineffectual, and then exposing one for not succeeding.

Sept. 22nd.  
Sunday.

I told Lord Stair, that without more authority than a commission to raise a regiment, friends thought it would be ridiculous after what had happened to attempt to raise one, and that, with more authority, I saw no reason to ask the King to pay for what might be done merely by his authority. He said, that Cope's army must beat the rebels, and then there would be no use of regiments; but if that should not happen, then it would be impossible to raise troops.

Sept. 23rd.  
Monday.

I told Lord Bolingbroke, that the Duke of Bedford had just told me, our army was totally defeated<sup>1</sup>; that we had but one battle more, wherein every man must do his best. He said, he thought this was the time, when people should endeavour to keep themselves cool, and that unless there was a third party for the constitution, there was none worth fighting for. I told him, I was afraid of spinning the thread too fine, lest it should break, when so much depended upon it.

Sept. 24th.  
Tuesday.

Mr. Maul, the Duke of Argyle's Secretary, affected much familiarity with me, and on my saying that our country was sacrificed, he said aloud, that, by —! he could account for it only by supposing it to be treachery.

Sept. 24th.  
Tuesday.

The Duke of Newcastle took me aside, and told me, Mr. Vane and others had wrote up to desire, that the dragoons and regiment from Berwick might be sent to Newcastle; and he asked my opinion about it. I told him, that the town's-people would do as much as they could at Berwick; but that the smallness of the garrison left might tempt the rebels to attack it, and that all the gentry of the south of Scotland were fled into it. On this he went away to the King, and being returned, said he had represented what I had said to the King, and they would

Sept. 26th.  
Thursday.

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<sup>1</sup> At Preston Pans, on the 21st September, 1745.

do their best, but wanted my opinion. I told him, I thought weakening Berwick for the sake of a single battalion drawn back to Newcastle would give a blow to the King's affairs in the north, whereas parties of dragoons from Berwick might starve the Highlanders in their road through Northumberland. He then asked me, whether the county of Berwick was in England or Scotland, and how Berwick was distinguished from the county. I told him, my brother served for the county as a Scots county, and I had served for the town as an English town, as I could not serve for any place in Scotland. He said, that was decisive, and so left me.

I told Lord Bolingbroke, that we in Scotland were lost, in a  
 Sept. 26th. dispute who should be Viceroy, but that I  
 Thursday. thought we Ought to try every thing to save  
 ourselves, and therefore was going to the  
 Duke of Montrose, to see if he would offer to do whatever  
 service we could; and that I desired him to tell any of the  
 English ministers he saw, to consider whether we could be of  
 any use. I went to the Duke of Montrose, and proposed to  
 him to ask the ministers, whether they, who knew the King's  
 affairs, thought we could be of any use, because we were  
 ready. On his agreeing to it, I proposed telling Lord Stair of  
 it; and his Grace bade me speak; so we went together to him,  
 and I told him what we had thought of. He said it was  
 extremely right, and would have a very good effect. I said, we  
 feared it might be treated as officious or meddling; he said,  
 that it must be well received; I told him, if it was so, we  
 thought of sending an express for the Duke of Queensberry,  
 and assembling others, so as to act all in conjunction to  
 defend our liberty; he said, he found but one man in  
 England, and that was Lord Thanet, who thought that the  
 King should make a declaration to satisfy his people, that he  
 meant to defend and secure our free constitution; and then  
 every man would rise in arms for him. At last he agreed,  
 together with us, to call Lord Tweeddale into a separate  
 room at court, and ask him, if we or any Scots peers could be  
 of any service at court, observing, that the affairs of Scotland  
 were considered lightly, and that it was reckoned sure that  
 the troops now a-marching would quiet every thing, as soon  
 as the King was gone in. I told Lord Stair, that as he could  
 judge the *air du bureau* better than I could pretend, I  
 desired to know, whether he thought we ought to speak to  
 Lord Tweeddale, as had been agreed; he answered with  
 indifference, he thought it could do no hurt. On this I  
 beckoned up the Duke of Montrose, and asked Lord Stair, if  
 he thought we should then take Lord Tweeddale aside; he  
 repeated the same answer, and turned to speak to some  
 other body; on which the Duke pulled me by the sleeve, and,  
 going into a window, said, that we saw what was likely to  
 happen to our offer, so that we had best postpone it. I told

him, that my only concern was, that our country was in a condition that made every hour precious, and we might be able to do nothing if we delayed; he said, that he and I could witness for each other; that we had done our best; and if we did sink, we should at least do it with a clear conscience.

When I came from court, Lord Gower<sup>1</sup> came in, to whom I told, that the Duke of Montrose and I had been to offer our services; he said, he was glad we had done it, on which I told him what had passed. He said, that the ministers could not tell what to depend on concerning Scotland, one side constantly contradicting the other. I told [him] that I myself out of Parliament, and all I could influence in Parliament, should loudly complain, that Scotland was thrown out of the King's protection. He said, he did not see that; I answered, that Scotland was undone in the dispute between two men, who should [be] viceroy of it, and the English ministry considered only which of these two men should be absolute lords of the kingdom, and thus the King had lost his crown, which he seemed not to value; that all this might have been prevented last winter, if, instead of holding up the Duke of Argyle to be king, and insisting on all of us bowing to him, they had obliged his Grace to shake hands with the rest of the nobility, and be content with his share; that when Lord Stair had at that time spoke to me of the secretary's place, I had told him, that I would not accept it if offered in opposition to the Duke of Argyle, or without a concert with him, and that he, Lord Gower, knew, we had told him, that we wanted no better than to act in concert with any man for the relief and service of our country; but we had been despised, and not even Sir John D---- could get 500*l.* a-year without bowing to the Duke of Argyle; that then the Duke was brought to do nothing, unless he could do every thing, and Lord Tweeddale thought he had credit enough in the closet to suffer nobody to have power but himself, and, therefore, from resentment to the Duke of Argyle, and to all of us who had not cringed to him, he had neglected the common and necessary precautions to defend the kingdom, as they could not have been taken without giving power to some of us, and he had gone about giving his opinion, that the regulars would beat the irregulars, which were always contemptible; thus, supporting an opinion of Lord Granville's perhaps, or, to serve his own purpose, he had lost the King one of his crowns; that one saw how high the dispute was carried between him and the Duke of Argyle, by Mr. Maul's carriage at court, and that the ministers seemed to attend to nothing else; that they were both to blame; but, that things being so, we ought however to do our best to save the constitution. He said, that was the great point; that he

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<sup>1</sup> Privy Seal.

felt the situation of those who acted as ministers without the King's confidence; that they laboured on though every thing was up-hill work, of which he gave some instances; that if they treated this affair as important, Lord Stair laughed at them, and Lord Tweeddale gave no help at all; that he wished they could do any good, and that animosities ought to be laid aside. I told him, I did it so far, that if I had had as much enmity to Lord ---- as he had to me, I would shake hands with him now for fighting in this cause, but that I would fight only for liberty, and not fight that one might put on the yoke instead of another. He said, we ought in the first place to remove the present danger. I told him, I could submit as well as another, if tyranny was to be established, by whomever conquered; but a slave with whole bones was not so absurd, as one who had got his bones broke to establish his own slavery; but when the worst happened, I could go to Holland like my grandfather; that at court we were treated as little better than slaves now; but, to bring the thing to an issue, I desired him, as one of the ministers, to let the question be asked by the ministry at Lord Tweeddale, and by any of 'em that saw the Duke of Argyle at him, since they were the two believed in Scots affairs, whether any thing could be done by the Scots nobility for saving the country, and for the King's service, and that we were ready to do whatever was practicable; that then I would send for the Duke of Queensberry, and we would act in concert; and that, for my own part, I was to ready to go any where, provided I should not be deserted, and defeated here above, in order to be laughed at for attempting what it might be made impossible to execute; and that I should be assured, that the two heads of the Scots faction should not be, one or other of 'em, made tyrant over us, but would join with the rest to put Scotland on the same foot with England. He said, he did not see how that could be secured; I desired him to try, whether any thing could be done or not. He told me in the conversation, that the Duke of Argyle stood ill in the King's opinion, and Lord Tweeddale very well.

I told the Duke of Montrose what I had told Lord Gower in  
 Sept. 28th.      general, and asked him whether he did not  
 Saturday.      think it proper for his Grace to ask Lord  
                  Tweeddale, whether or not we could be of  
 any service to the King; that I would do it with all my heart;  
 but that his Lordship never spoke with patience to me; and I  
 believed, as he talked more quietly with him, he would give  
 his Grace time to tell his Lordship, that his Grace and I had  
 talked together on the state of our country; and we were  
 ready to do any thing we could for the King's service. The  
 Duke said, as it was making no particular offer, he would tell  
 Lord Tweeddale, that if we could be of any use we were  
 ready. Lord Haddington, &c. coming in, I desired the Duke

to call him into the room where we were, which we did, and we told him in general what we were talking of.

The Duke of Montrose, on his return from court, related to me a long conversation he had had with the Marquis of Tweeddale, which began by his Grace telling him that he and I had been considering the state of our country, and that we, and he believed many others, were ready to do all the service we could, and therefore he asked his Lordship, whether or not we could be of any use; and if not, he hoped he would inform the ministry of our zeal, and that it would not appear impertinent. The Marquis answered, that he did not see any use we could be of, unless it were to go down with Mr. Wade<sup>1</sup>, or we had something to offer, and that our or his Grace's zeal was very well known. The Duke said, that we could pretend to offer nothing, not being acquainted with the King's affairs or designs, but were ready to do any thing that was thought advisable for the King's service; and then the conversation turned into other political discourse about Scotland, wherein the Marquis said, he wished this whole affair might be inquired into.

Having sent to know when I could wait on the Duke of Queensberry, he came, and afternoon, In the afternoon. told me, he was just come up post, having, before the news of the battle, thought this affair to be of little consequence, the more, that his people having at the first wrote up to him their desire to arm, and he having bid them advise with the crown lawyers, (they had wrote to him that the crown lawyers, whom he understood to be the Justice Clerk, the Advocate, and Solicitor, were of opinion they ought not to arm, nor could, without a lieutenant with the King's authority, but that even it was more prudent not to arm;) that since he came to town, he had seen only the Prince and Lord Stair; that this last had treated it lightly; that the Prince had told him, he had made another effort for leave to go with the army, and had got no answer yet; that he desired the Duke to go with him, but that, in the midst of all, he let drop, that this interrupted our schemes in Germany on the continent; on which the Duke expressed his concern to see him thinking of that in the present conjuncture; and the Prince said, he had been already told of that, and fell into further discourse. I told his Grace all that had passed with regard to us as Scots peers, and that he had eased me of a great deal of pain, whether to send for him or not; that now he was here, I was willing to do any thing he thought fit. He said, he thought we should speak to some of the English ministers, since Tweeddale had made

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<sup>1</sup> Field-marshal. He left London to take the command of the army forming in the North of England, on the 6th of October, 1745.

such an answer. I told him, I would speak, or write a letter, or do any thing that was thought fit; that the Duke of Montrose was afraid of forcing ourselves upon the ministry by doing any more, having told me this morning that now we had done all we could, unless we intended to force ourselves upon 'em; but that I believed, this proceeded only from his Grace's thinking that the ministers would use the opportunity to draw us into some ruinous measure, especially as his Grace's country lay nearest the Highlands; but that before any other step I would advise him, if he thought fit, to speak to Lord Tweeddale, just as the Duke of Montrose had done, that we might all stand on the same ground and rank; and if he got the same answer, as I supposed he would, unless Lord Granville had shewed the Marquis, that he was baking a fine pie for himself. We should then concert together what we ought farther to do, and. that I would agree to any thing he thought proper. He said, he would see Lord Tweeddale to-morrow, and let me know what passed, but asked if I thought any thing could be done. I told him, he knew what could be done in his country, or if there was any post, where people rising could hold themselves till all were armed; but that I thought if at the same time the Highlands were armed, the same was done in Fife, in the west about the Duke of Montrose's, Glasgow, Air, and so on, and in the south east under the cannon of Berwick, that the rebels would not know which part to go to first, and thereby the whole force of the country might be raised, and armed against them; but this was only a rude notion of my own, that required further discussion; and that to make it a proposal in the condition our affairs were, might be to engage those that hate us to defeat it, notwithstanding the consequences of such conduct.

The Duke of Queensberry told me, that he had seen the  
 Sept. 29th. Marquis of Tweeddale, who, with many  
 Sunday. shrugs and hints, had told him, that he did  
 not see that any thing could be done by us in  
 Scotland; that now the thing must be decided by the King's  
 army, and that commissions of lieutenancy would be too late.  
 I said the answer given expressed a great deal of dignity to  
 us. The Duke said that, to give him due, he has expressed  
 that our zeal was very laudable, and very well known. The  
 Duke of Montrose said, that now we were vindicated, and  
 unless, to use a Scots expression, we should *dud ourselves in  
 their faces*, we saw we could do nothing; that indeed in that  
 case they might put us upon some bad affair to do us an  
 injury. I asked the Duke of Queensberry, if he thought it now  
 necessary to say as much to any of the English ministry; but  
 both the Dukes thought we had done all that was decent for  
 us, or necessary to shew our readiness, if We were thought to  
 be of any use.

The Duke of Queensberry came, pursuant to his answer to my message last night. I told him, I wanted to lay before him some thoughts of my own relating to our country; that, distrusting myself, I had wrote em to my brother also, and expected every minute his answer, and that no time being to be lost, I hoped, he would excuse my troubling him in case he found what I had thought of impracticable; that considering what a blow would be given to our country, should the opinion of the general dissaffection there prevail, though it be groundless, and that our friends were left there like part of the cargo to be trampled upon and crushed by those, who made the active crew. I would ask his Grace, whether our so immediately acquiescing in Lord Tweeddale's opinion, that nothing was to be done, might not be taken rather as an excuse, than as a mark of our zeal, as he might say that, for several particular, reasons; that indeed the Duke of Montrose thought he could not go with safety into his country, but I did not know whether his Grace was in the same case; and, as to myself, I should be as safe in Berwick as any other body; and that if people armed in Northumberland, they might do the same in the Merse, which was divided from it only by the Tweed; that, on the other side, we were liable, no doubt, to be laughed at, should we fail in executing any offer, after Lord Tweeddale had said nothing was to be done, and were liable to be, as the Duke of Montrose said, drove into some bad step on purpose; but that I foresaw none, beside being put to more expence than I could bear, and that I would venture the laugh, to try whether any body would arm or not; but that I would be glad of his opinion, and would concur with him in any thing. He said, he did not see what use could be made of any thing we did; that he heard the magistrates in his country had run away, which could not fail of striking a panic into the people, and that the Highlanders would be in possession now of the whole country; that he was thirty miles from Carlisle, and that he could not say whether he should be able to do any thing or not, and then we should be ridiculous. I answered, that I saw no other risk we ran, and that was not great, neither could we incur it, if we had the interest I supposed in our own country; that, for my own part, I would run that risk, merely to try whether I had any interest in the country or not; for, if I had none, and was as much contemned there, as I was affected to be here, I saw no reason why I should refuse to submit to any Viceroy set over us, as much as any of my own tenants, having no better right then to be considered in the distribution of Scots power; and that, from this want of interest only, I thought we could fail, unless Scotland was really Jacobite, and that then I should be sorry to speak for them; but peaceful slavery being the best kind of it, I thought they deserved to be kept quiet by force, and I should submit to an army, which, I feared, was the view of our ministry. He asked, what I would propose to do? I told him, what I had thought of was, that as, no doubt, it was too late for lords lieutenants to do much, we should offer to go down, where we might be safe, as his Grace to Carlisle, and I to Berwick, with the King's commission to raise regiments, and leave to make 'em of two battalions, if the number came to us; that I

thought this best, as men might come from parts of several different counties, over which one lord lieutenant could not have power, but that I would also desire a commission of lieutenancy, to be used only in case we found it could be of service, such as to call out gentry, &c., to whom the other commission might not extend, and that for the commission to raise a regiment, I thought of it, because now the counties could not pay the men as militia, and therefore they might starve without the King's pay. He said, that no doubt the Highlanders were now all over the country, and he did not see the use these men would be of; that Cavers was come up, and he wanted to see him, and that he feared for the castle of Edinburgh, which once taken the rebels would be in a better state to carry on a long war against England, than ever Scotland had been, and that he supposed they would invade England. I told him, if so, then we should be at liberty behind their backs, and that as to use our people would be as much so, as the Duke of Bedford's could be; and that I believed, the Highlanders could hinder the militia from assembling, but not be able to prevent one body of twenty men, &c. from coming to take arms at a safe rendezvous, and that I must think them as incapable of good conduct as our own ministers to suppose they would disperse their people about so as to grow loose, to plunder, and desert when they saw such a war rolling down upon 'em from England; that the country was too wide to be kept by such force as they had, being all against 'em and people rising in every quarter; that if they took the castle and maintained a long war, our people would then be of use no doubt; and if we delayed arming them, we should still come later, or must lie here idle, while others were fighting for our liberties and our friends; that indeed we might tempt 'em to send and revenge themselves by burning our houses; and if they resembled Our ministers I might suspect 'em of it: but that on the whole I would be glad of his opinion. I then read him the letter just come in from my brother. His Grace said, that as he stood with the Prince, he must acquaint him with this, though his Royal Highness had no reason to expect leave to go down. I told him, I thought he should when he had resolved what to do, for he could not expect arguments to dissuade him from the Prince. He bade me tell him what Lord Stair should say to me.

I told the Duke of Montrose what I had thought of. He said, that he could not go with safety into his country, unless the Duke of Argyle was to join to bring down his men too, and then they might gather a strength into the shire of Air. He said he would propose nothing unless the ministry here would all unite, put things on a right footing, and act in concert. I told him, that was what we should never see at any time I believed, but had no reason to hope for now; that I would hear what Lord Stair said, and inform him of it. The Duke of Montrose said, he thought, they ought to send me down with all the credit and weight they could give me, and then perhaps it might have a much greater effect than anybody could imagine.

Lord Stair called me into his inner room, and told me, that if five or six considerable men would join with Lord Thanet to desire the King to declare that he meant to support our liberties and a free parliament, by ---- the thing would be over in four days. He said, Lord Gower should mention it to the Duke of Bedford, and that the Duke of Marlborough was very right now, but Mr. Spencer should be sent for to keep him so. I said, the Duke then ought to write for him, for he was at Bath for his health, and it was a pity to bring him away for nothing.

I asked him, if he thought anything could be done in Scotland? he said to be sure not, for the Highlanders were masters of the country. I told him that since he was also of that opinion, no more could be done; but that had it not been so, I had thought of offering, notwithstanding our answer from Lord Tweeddale, to go down to Berwick, and try whether I could not raise a body of men for the King's service. He said, the rebels were coming into England; on which I said, then we might arm behind them. He said, the offer might be made, and I should be thanked for my zeal. I told him, I did not want, far less seek that; but since he was of that opinion, whom did he think I should offer it to? He said 'To the Scots minister, to be sure.' I said, he had given us his answer, and then he said, 'Why, you know the man,' and so went out of the room. On my way to the Duke of Queensberry's I met a letter from him, telling me he was called to the Prince, and that by talk with Cavers, he found it would be impracticable to execute the project I had mentioned, and that he was so convinced of it that he would not make the offer.

Lord Stair took the Duke of Montrose and me into the window at Kensington, having before told us Oct. 6th. he wanted to talk to us. He said, that the Sunday. offer we had made, and to which Lord Tweeddale could give us no answer, had been laid before the council; that it had been there said, that several Lords of Scotland had offered to do any service they could, and that although nothing could be done so long as the rebels remained masters of the country, yet should they march into England, Peers of Scotland authorized by the King might then raise regiments behind them, and cut off all communication between them and Scotland; that this had been thought very right, and that it was thought likewise that such, as could do this, should be spoke to, that they might think of what people they would employ under them, and keep themselves ready when the case happened. I told Lord Stair, that as the King's troops would decide the affair now, this looked to me like sending us a thief-catching, and that after what had passed, the taking this up, as was done, looks

very like what the Duke of Montrose had suspected, drawing us into a scrape, that is, to send us away on the meeting of the Parliament, that nobody might be here whilst they fixed slavery on our country; and therefore I desired to know in the first place, what the ministers intended to do as to Scotland, and how the King's speech and the addresses would speak of Scotland. Lord Stair said, he knew nothing as to this last, but that the other had been approved of in the council. The Duke of Newcastle came up, spoke to Lord Stair of the King of Sardinia's defeat<sup>1</sup>, and then asked Lord Stair, that the dragoons might be decimated, who said, this must be over first. I then shewed the Duke of Newcastle Mr. Carre's pass from Berwick, &c. Coming home with Lord Stair, he told the Duke of Montrose and me, that he had spoke to the Duke of Newcastle about what he had told us, of raising regiments, &c., and that the Duke said, it was very right, that the Peers to do it should be prepared to go down; then he named the Duke of Buccleugh, who I told him was near town, so that he might send for him. He said, either he or his son should raise a regiment; the Duke of Montrose said that we ought first to have a meeting.

Lord Stair said, that all the letters from the Advocate were wrote like a man of sense, of courage, and one versed in state business. The Duke of Montrose mentioned the Duke of Argyle's saying, he had wrote to the Regency<sup>2</sup> and had got no answer. Lord Stair said, that was not true; he said too, that the King was greatly exasperated against Cope. He said, orders were gone to intercept Mr. Hay of Drummelzier, whom Sir John Hall had met going down to Scotland; that one order was sent to Newcastle, and another to Berwick.

The Duke of Montrose came to me, and told me that Lord  
 Oct. 7th. Stair had talked to him, after I had been set  
 Monday. down at home, of sending for the Duke of  
 Buccleuch; that he had advised him first to  
 speak to the Duke of Queensberry with whom the Duke of  
 Buccleuch was most intimate; and that thereon Lord Stair  
 had sent an express for the Duke of Queensberry; that Lord  
 Stair was so warm in what he imagined, that he would  
 involve us all in a thing that was impracticable, and injurious  
 to us, and that he would not be drawn into it. I told him, that  
 the project seemed to me so full of absurdity, that I did not  
 suppose it would take place, and therefore I saw no necessity  
 of disputing about it, but that we should have patience, and

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<sup>1</sup> Count Gage passed the Tanaro on the 16th September, 1745, defeated the King of Sardinia, and drove his army under the walls of Valencia.

<sup>2</sup> The King was at Hanover when the Pretender's son landed in Scotland.

only take care, that it should not be taken to be a proposal from us any farther than our general readiness to be of any use that was practicable. The Duke said, he had made his visit to the Chancellor last night, who had told him, that he was glad to hear several Lords of the north had offered to raise regiments for the King; that he had answered that he had in general told Lord Tweeddale, that he was ready to do any thing in his power, but that now, the rebels being possessed of the country, he could do nothing. The Chancellor said, that nothing was thought of till the rebels came south; the Duke answered, that it could not be foreseen what would then be feasible, till the case happened, since they would probably leave a body behind them.

He said, the Chancellor said, there was nothing in Cope's orders to make him go to Inverness, but that he might have gone to Stirling, or where he thought most proper; and that the Chancellor also said, that he had thought lightly of the Highlands, but he saw they made a third of the island, in the map. I asked, if the Chancellor discovered what way the ministry intended to treat Scotland; the Duke told me, what he had said to the Chancellor, and that the Chancellor had answered in general terms.

Lord Stair came in, sate down between us, and told us, that he had sent for the Duke of Queensberry, and then said, as what he had spoke of to us would come before the council, he had thought of speaking to the King upon the subject, and wanted our opinions about it; that he proposed to tell him, that he had a great number of faithful subjects in Scotland, who had been misrepresented to him, though they had the principal interest in the country; that their ancestors had made the revolution, supported, and effected the Protestant succession, made the Union, and ventured their lives and fortunes in the last rebellion, when what the conduct of others had been his Majesty knew; and he, Lord Stair, knew that he did; and their families and they had, at all times, been in the same interest, and firm friends to his Majesty's family; that, although they were not favourites, they had been ready at the beginning of this rebellion to have armed, and done whatever they could, but that they had been neglected, and had now lost their estates; but were ready to do any service they could still; and that as soon as the Highlanders, who were now possessed of the whole country, should move to the south, they would arm behind them, and cut off their communication with Scotland. He asked, what we thought of this, and looked at me, whereupon I said, 'My Lord Duke.' So the Duke of Montrose said, that he could have done service at the beginning, but that now he did not see that it was possible, and that he could not tell what would be so, when the Highlanders came south, nor what use it

could be of to arm them; that he would be at liberty to do what should then be feasible, and not be tied down by an offer, for the ministers to send him down on a fool's errand, perhaps to be taken, &c. To this Lord Stair replied, and they entered into a dispute, which I took an opportunity to interrupt, by telling Lord Stair, that, as I understood the thing, I thought, that, by saying the first part of it to the King, his Lordship did a very great and essential service to his country; and that we peers could never enough thank him for taking this occasion to set us right in the King's mind; what effect it might have, I did not know; he said, that could not fail. I added, that, as to the last part of it, I thought it might easily be freed from the Duke's objection, by making it general, and instead of offering to arm, &c., by offering to do any service in our power, whenever his Majesty or his ministry should think proper to employ us. The Duke repeated his objections to particular offers, with his reasons, only not mentioning what he had said to me, before Lord Stair came in, that, if he should go about to arm near Glasgow or Stirling, without the Duke of Argyle doing the same thing, this Duke had only to give the word to the Highland robbers, and let them in upon him, to overrun his whole estate.

Lord Stair pulled out a paper, writ in his own hand, to help his memory to the substance of what he was to say to the King, read it, and at the end a list of the names of peers, which he would repeat to the King: Dukes of Douglas, Queensberry, Montrose, Roxburgh, &c.; Earls Rothes, Hadington, Hoptoun, Sutherland, Dumfries, Marchmont, &c.; Marquis of Lothian, Lord Napier, Elphinstone, &c. He said, Lord Thanet had spoken strongly to Lord Harrington on a declaration from the King for liberty and free parliaments; that Lord Harrington had said, it could not be, as it would imply that the King had done something to the contrary; but that it would be very proper for the King's speech. Lord Stair said, he believed it would be in it, &c. I told him, care should be taken, how Scotland was treated in the speech, that we might not be enslaved, or put under our old tyrant, on a false pretence of Jacobitism, that seemed to be artfully designed and propagated. Lord Stair said, he would speak of it at council; but that there was no danger, since our interest and the English was the same; he said too, that he was ill received at court, being suspected to be at the bottom of the demand for the declaration for liberty, &c. At court, Lord Tweeddale was more than usually gracious, and shewed me the Pretender's printed declaration of 30th September in answer to General Guest's threat to fire on Edinburgh, wherein, after calling it inhuman treatment, he says, he will make all possible reparation to the town, and reprisals, not only on the estates of those in the castle, but of

those in the country, who are known abettors of the German government. He shewed me too a paper of intelligence from one James Wallace sent by Cope to Edinburgh, who says, that the castle had fired about ten guns, only two whereof had had any effect, but killed nobody, and some had been without ball; that, as soon as the castle fired, the young man left the abbey, and went to the camp; and that people said in Edinburgh, the Highlanders were eight thousand. He laughed at such intelligence. I then told him of the man come up with Mr. Carre, and what he said. He said, he hoped I had it in writing. I told him, I had, and I supposed he had it, for the advocate and Sir John Inglis had employed the man, and he had told them all; he said, the advocate was on the road, and had all the papers with him.

Lord Stair, coming out from the King, desired the Duke and I to let him make a visit for a few minutes, and then we should go together; but, on his staying longer than any body else, the Duke would not wait; so we went together. He said, Stair was so warm, he would draw us into a scrape; that his grandfather had lost his estate at the head of a party; he would not lose his at the tail of one; that he would not be transported; and that they might say what they would, why he would not; he cared not, since he was not in the army.

In the evening, conversing with my brother, it was agreed that he should talk to Mr. Fazakerly<sup>1</sup>, &c., of the necessity of the affair in Scotland being brought into Parliament; that, by seeing the real causes, the remedies may be found, but point in particular against nobody, only that justice might be done the country unjustly accused of Jacobitism; and that, if such an inquiry ended in enslaving us to the Duke of Argyle, it would be no more than we should suffer without it.

Mr. Carre and I went to the Duke of Newcastle, to whom he delivered the Mayor of Newcastle's letter;  
 Oct. 8th. and we gave an account in general of what  
 Tuesday. had passed and what my last letters said about Berwick, and the rebels raising money. He asked, what we took to be the cause of this. We told him, the factious dispute between those in power in Scotland, who considered only how to create blame to one another. He said, the advocate was raw in these affairs, but that the justice clerk was a man of sense. I said, he certainly did not err for want of sense. Mr. Carre said, he might have what sense he pleased, he would never have any credit in that country. I told him, I wanted to blame nobody, though I thought there were many to blame; that my only view was to fix this royal family on the throne, and to secure [the] constitution and

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<sup>1</sup> Member for Preston.

peace of the country; and therefore I would say, the source of the evil was that the King's friends had all been neglected for a long time, and his enemies employed. He said, the King desired this affair might be inquired into, and that whoever was to blame might be known, and suffer for it. I told him, I hoped care would be taken to make a good use of this, and secure the peace of the country and the King's interest in it. He told us, three regiments were to sail this day from Willemstadt for Newcastle, by virtue of the first orders to the Duke, to be done in any of three cases, either, 1st, Of the French going into winter-quarters; 2d, Of the English prisoners coming to the army; and 3d, Of hearing of any embarkation for Great Britain, the two first cases having existed. He told us, they had news of three ships with arms sailing from Hamburgh for Scotland, and he supposed they would have officers on board. Likewise he said, Marshal Wade said, that if Berwick was taken, he could not go to Edinburgh. I told him, the Marshal knew nothing of the south of Scotland, whatever he might do of the Highlands, for Berwick was thirty miles farther about to Edinburgh than the road, that did not go near it. He called in Lord Mark Kerr, when I showed him the plan, who said it was very exact as I explained it. He said, that the best account he had got was from Lord Home, and that he had told the King so. I told the Duke, I would at Kensington give him the plan with the relation of what had passed, and a memorial by the man, who had directed the King's artillery at the fight.

At Kensington, after the Duke of Newcastle came out from the King, I gave him the papers, and he told me, that he had told the King, I had such papers to give him. The Chancellor asked me the number of the rebels. I told him, by the best guess could be made, about 5000; that I had an account of the affair, whereby it would appear what a despicable pack they had been at first, and that if he pleased I would bring it to him. He desired I would, &c. Before this, Lord Tweeddale had showed me the Pretender's order, signed 'I. Murray,' for the collectors of the cess to bring in their books and pay in what was due, on pain of military execution; and Lord Stair had taken me aside, and told me, that he had said to the King what he had told me, and that the King had heard him very graciously; that he had added to the general thing, that the Peers there were ready to arm when the rebels marched south, and cut off their communication; that the King said, he thought it was right, and had spoke to his ministers about it, and bid him, Lord Stair, talk of it to them. I told him, I foresaw that the ministry would be for putting the Duke of Argyle upon us. He answered, that it might be so, and no more. Mr. Carre told, that Peter Crawford had said to him, that the Duke of Argyle had represented the rebellion at first to the ministers as a trifle; but that here part of the ministry

had treated it as an invention only to bring home the troops; that the Duke had asked arms, and had been answered, to apply to Sir John Cope for them, which he looked on as a slight, being what no man of spirit would have done; and so he came away from Scotland.

Lord Stair told me, that he had had this day a good deal of  
 Oct. 10th. conversation with the King, who had told  
 Thursday. him, that the Duke of Argyle had proposed,  
 that the principal thing to be done was to send forces to Stirling, to cut off the retreat of the rebels. Lord Stair answered, that it was very proper, but that the King's troops at Inverness were too far off, and that if the Duke of Argyle would arm his Argyleshire men, and send them to stop that pass, no doubt it would prevent their return; and that if he had armed two hundred of 'em at first, he would have put an end to this rebellion; to which the King said, that the conduct then passed his comprehension. He told me, the Duke of Queensberry was very right; and on some more difficulties the Duke of Montrose made when we joined him, he said to him, that if we, who thought in the same way, did not all act together, we should make ourselves contemptible.

The Duke of Montrose sent for me, and made many  
 In the objections to what Lord Stair had said, and  
 Evening. that we would not be drawn into a scheme  
 in which there was not common sense. I told him to have patience, and that I hoped, he would not call it drawing him in if I armed, though there were no regular troops at Stirling. He said, if others did, he must follow. I said, that depended on the different situations of countries. I told the Chancellor, he would see by the papers, how small a force had ruined my country. He said, it was indeed surprising. I said, we, who had long seen the causes, had expected the effect, not indeed so great, but enough to undo the King's friends. He talked of news. I told him of the sally from the castle on the 6th, and the people's zeal, and the supposed march into England, &c.; but that the great object was to secure the country hereafter, and remedy what had past. He said, no doubt something must be done; many remedies had been spoke of; but the difficulty was, which was proper; that the disarming the Highlands had been tried. I told him, no doubt it was right; but that alone would not do, since foreign arms could be brought in, as they had been now; but that the King had two-thirds of the country zealous for him on principle; and that he might see from Charles the Second's time in men, cess, and now in members of Parliament, the south of Tay was always computed two-thirds of the whole. He said, it had been proposed to arm, but that the Duke of Argyle had represented it as illegal

without certain orders, but what had never been explained; and that Lord Tweeddale had said, it might be arming as many foes as friends. I said, as to the south it was a gross misrepresentation. He said, it meant only the Highlands. I said as to them, there were families as well known to be for the King as others against it, for they would always be on opposite sides, like Sweden and Denmark; but all at present would soon be over; and I hoped the like would be prevented for the future; that the country had been sacrificed to party. He said, it was clear that things must not be put on the same foot they had been. I told him, if we were to be transferred from one viceroy to another, the country would be totally undone. He said, a remedy must be found, but this must be over first. I said, that would soon be, if the King's troops would march; but that the Parliament was coming on very fast; and, considering the load of reproach the country lay under, not the popular but the neglect of the King's friends, no Scotsman could sit still in Parliament without losing all credit in his country, as it was impossible that the King's speech and addresses should be silent on this rebellion; and at the same time I was very sensible, that whatever was done might soon get a twist to some party end or other, and rather do harm than good, unless the King's ministers would join in the direction of it, with a view of settling the King's interest in that country. He said, that he thought any thing of that kind had better be delayed till this was over, and that the speech and addresses would be without any reflections. I said, I would take the liberty to speak to him as one of the King's ministers, who would weigh this matter; the Duke of Newcastle having such a hurry of business, that one could not find time with him; that he knew the House of Commons; that any body that was impertinent or had a view to distress, might, on the address, say such things, as no Scotsman could let pass without discrediting himself; that all the friends I had were there; but that I had none that were not the King's; that he knew therefore my brother could not be silent; that I would say farther, that he could not omit to take this thing up as soon as it was named for the sake of the country; but as he had no view but the good of the country, and that the south of Scotland were friends to the King and the present ministry, if they had any view of putting matters on a right foot, I could assure him, that my brother would be glad to act in concert with the ministry, and to direct things jointly, so as no party might take advantage from what was done. He returned me a great many thanks, and said he would take an opportunity to talk this matter over with me again. I told him, that after what I had offered to Lord Stair, I had told him, I would not go down till I knew whether Scotland was intended to be sacrificed or not, lest the national interest should be destroyed whilst I was busy about a provincial service; and that Lord Stair had said, he would

mention it in council. He said, he would consider of it, as it was a matter that deserved great consideration. I told him, I would not detain him from the cabinet council, nor should I venture to trouble him unless he ordered me; but that I hoped, he would carry it in his mind, that my brother had no view but to set the country right in concurrence with the ministry, if they chose to make use of the opportunity which he was under a necessity of making use of. He said, he would take the liberty to send for me, or tell me an hour at court. He said, it was odd that Sir John Cope should fail so, and that must be examined. I told him, that had Edinburgh not been taken, the rebels could never have faced Sir John. He talked as one uninformed of the state of that town; so I mentioned the zeal and number of volunteers, and Sir John Cope's refusing arms to many after he came to Dunbar. He said, that when arming, the Highlands had been talked of; it had been said that the regular troops would decide it; whereupon he had said, that the country also required protection; and this ought likewise to be considered.

The Duke of Queensberry said, he had heard only in  
 Oct. 11th general what had passed from Lord Stair and  
 Friday. the Duke of Montrose; that he saw no use  
 regiments could be of if singly placed about the  
 country, and that if they were formed into one body, we  
 ought to consider who would command us. He appointed  
 this evening to go to Lord Stair. I told him, I should concur  
 with him and the Duke of Montrose, but that as to my own  
 opinion, it would be first to save the country from being  
 oppressed, and next at any risk to save my friends, for that, if  
 the country was to be armed, they must be so and not their  
 enemies. I told Lord Bolingbroke what had passed, and what  
 I had said to the Chancellor; he said, that he did not see that  
 I could possibly have conducted myself better. At Lord  
 Stair's, the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose being come  
 in, Lord Stair said, that he wanted to consult us what was  
 farther to be done. He then repeated what he had said to the  
 King, and added, that last night at the cabinet council, our  
 general offer having been talked of, the council thought that  
 they could say nothing to it, unless it was more particularly  
 specified, and an offer of some scheme proposed to them. He  
 said, that unless something was done of this kind there was  
 an end of the matter. This occasioned a long discourse  
 between him and the two Dukes: the substance was, the  
 Duke of Queensberry said, that he had no doubt of raising  
 the number of men, but he did not see how they could be  
 made effectually useful, so as not to disgrace us; and that we  
 should be laughed at for coming in at the fag end of the day.  
 Besides that the Highlanders would probably leave some  
 force behind them. Lord Stair replied, that as to useful, he  
 did not think the men raised could be so, but that the offer

was very important, as it shewed we were ready to serve the King, and that, without it, it would be said, that we declined having any thing to do in this affair; and that, as soon as the way was open to the castle, we might then arm safely. The Duke of Montrose said, that without a regular force to cover him from those, who might come from the Highlands, he was now of opinion he could not arm. He entered into a detail of his country, and said, he thought that some things should be added to our plan, so as to shew what use might be made of the forces to be raised in Scotland by cutting off the return, &c. Lord Stair said, it was very right, but that not above five thousand men should be raised by principal people, which might be done; that no Highlanders were left to come down; that two thousand men were raised in independent companies, and Lord Loudon's regiment, and that they were ordered to drive the rebels' cattle, &c., which would make 'em all return. I said, I thought the first point was, whether we should make a particular offer, and if we thought so, we should consult the manner of it with other peers, without entering into military operations. The Duke of Queensberry objected to making his court even at this time. The Duke of Montrose said, he was for making an offer, whereby such things should be said as would make it appear useful. These peers were named, first the Duke of Buccleugh, whom the Duke of Queensberry is to talk to to-morrow, then Lord Rothes, for Fife, was named, and others for different places by Lord Stair, who added, that Lord ---- might take it ill, if he was not named for the Merse, after which the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Dumfries, and others, were named. I then said, that as this was meant for a political use, to shew that we would and could serve the King, I would do nothing that should enable the Duke of Argyle to say we were forced to call his lackeys to our assistance to do any thing; that I knew Lord ---- could fly as soon as raise a regiment in the Merse, but he might offer if he pleased, only that if he was made part of our plan, I would have nothing to do with it, but do what I thought proper myself. On this Lord Stair [said] 'No doubt he may do as he pleases, but 'he is not to be joined in this.' The Duke of Queensberry then talked of the Duke of Buccleugh, and then I said, that my fear was, they would send us out of the way when the Parliament began, to be left free to do what they would with Scotland, and saddle us with the Duke of Argyle. This the two Dukes agreed to, but Lord Stair said, by ---- they could not carry that point in the closet. I said, I wished so, but I thought to prevent it we should have the thing taken up immediately in Parliament, to fix the collar about the Duke's neck and then let 'em do their worst. This they approved, but feared it might not be done soon enough, before they might send us away.

The Duke of Montrose came in the morning to reconsider  
 Oct. 12th      what passed last night, to reduce it to what was  
 Saturday      practicable. I told him, I thought we ought to  
                  specify no farther, than to say, we were ready to  
 arm, if it could be of any service to the King, of which we  
 could not presume to judge; he agreed, and desired I would  
 see the Duke of Queensberry. I told the Duke of Queensberry  
 my opinion. He said, he would go no farther than we had  
 gone; that it would make us ridiculous, and we should be put  
 into a ballad, for our regiments of no use. He said, he heard,  
 that Lord ---- was to offer to raise a regiment, in order to get  
 rank.

Lord Stair came in from court, and told me, it was to tell  
 me good news; that he had seen the Duke of Hamilton<sup>1</sup>, who  
 was ready to join with us, as his father had done, and in our  
 project would do as we did; that when he came to town again  
 on Thursday next, he would go to court; that he complained  
 of not being lord lieutenant of his county, which,

Lord Stair said, was a proper thing to mention on this  
 occasion; I told him, the two Dukes were not of opinion to  
 presume to enter into further particulars, than to offer to  
 arm, if it could be useful, and one of 'em would not go so far.  
 He said, there was no help for that, and was going away. I  
 told him, I heard Lord ---- was to offer to raise a regiment.  
 He said, that he had done it that day. I asked, how it was  
 received; he smiled, and nodded, saying, 'to be sure,  
 graciously.' I told him, that then what I had proposed was  
 done; that I need not remind him, Lord Stair, of the long  
 connection that had been betwixt his family and mine; nor  
 tell him, that my friends and myself had been worse used by  
 Lord ----, than he had been in Galway by Lord ----; that I had  
 therefore been surprised at what he had said last night, and  
 must tell him, that Lord ---- and I could not be in the same  
 connection, nor under the same protection, our ties being  
 incompatible. He said little but single words, and that  
 Lord ----'s offer was separate from ours; I answered, that, the  
 thing being done, I washed my hands on't.

I went to Lord Cobham, who said, he should not be  
 surprised to see us Scots ready to leap over the  
 Oct. 13th      house. I told him, we were undone; I only  
 Sunday.      wished the English would have before this time  
 thought a little more of Scotland, for that we had all foreseen  
 the danger of our country, which had been thought of here  
 only as a present to be made to some great man. He  
 mentioned the not arming us, which led me to tell him of the  
 offers I had made, and Lord ----'s stepping in, and being

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<sup>1</sup> James, sixth Duke of Hamilton.

accepted. The Duke of Queensberry, who had just come in, interrupted, and said, Lord ---- had only offered to raise a regiment in the county. I asked his Grace, whether we had thought of any thing else; and on his looking surprised, and being silent, I told Lord Cobham, that, provided the King's service was done, and the country protected, it was not my business who did it; but that I could not but feel the treatment I received, for his Lordship knew, that Lord ---- had been set up by the Duke of Argyle, as he depended on him, merely to oppose me and my friends in the county; so I had done.

Before this, he had said, that he knew we were all disgraced for the excise<sup>1</sup>. I told him, he was mistaken, for that the Scots had acted then, as he knew, principally with a view of joining a body of English, to gain, by supporting them in what was their object, their assistance to relieve Scotland from the subjection to one man.

Before I went to Lord Cobham's, Lord Rothes<sup>2</sup> came in, and shewed me a memorial he had given to the ministry, proposing to send two battalions, with arms, &c., to Dundee, to cover the arming of the country, and then to take Perth, Stirling, &c.;

I approved of it; and he said, they would not part with a single regiment, though the transports might remain there to carry 'em back when wanted. General John Campbell, at Lord Cobham's, talked much of arming about Dunbarton Castle; said, the Duke of Cumberland, at his desire, had sent some gunners to try to get thither; and that he had desired Lord Harrington to send a ship with arms thither.

When I mentioned to Lord Cobham, what Lord Stair had said of the cabinet council's opinion of our general offer, he said, that he had heard nothing of it at that council, farther than general talk of raising the militia.

I shewed the Duke of Newcastle my letter from Berwick.  
 Oct. 15th He said, he had one, and laid it before the King,  
 Tuesday. but had not answered it, as it contained no  
 request. I said, I only shewed it him, that he  
 might be so good as to do me justice with the King. He said,  
 he had done it, but desired to keep my letter with the answer  
 annexed, for a day or two, as it was more particular than his.  
 I then spoke of Mr. Jack, whom he promised to recommend

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<sup>1</sup> The resistance to Sir Robert Walpole's Excise Scheme.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Rothes, a General Officer, Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards, a member of the Privy Council, and K. T.

to the Duke of Montague<sup>1</sup>. The Chancellor spoke to me only of Mr. Jack's paper and plan.

Lord Stair said, he wanted to talk to me about our affairs; that it was impossible, but the state of the nation must be carried to be considered; that Bolingbroke should be talked to about it, as the fittest man; and that we should make some plan, and then try the English members. I said, they seemed to me regardless of our country. He said, our country must not be mentioned; it was theirs; and that ours must follow of course. He said, it must be taken up from the revolution, upon original papers. I told him, I would wait upon him. He said, the news by the post was, that the Mackenzies, the largest clan next to the Campbells, being about three thousand men, and the Fraziers, and Macintoshes, were in arms to join the rebels, and had besieged the President of the Session in his house.

At court the Duke of Argyle came up to me, and said, there was a vast confusion. I said, there was a great crowd, &c. He said, he meant the nation; I said, a limb was torn off from it. He said in 1715, he remembered my father had brought two battalions out of the Merse. I said he had, and two troops of horse. He repeated, he remembered the two battalions. He said, when he came back from Argyleshire, from danger of being taken, nobody at Edinburgh would believe any thing of it. On my mentioning Wade's saying, that this could not have happened, had the Highlanders been disarmed, he said, there were now three companies at Inverary, but no arms to give 'em, and that the Camerons had been in arms several years, and he had paid 7½ per cent, of his rents to be safe from plunder; but that when he had spoke of it, it was not regarded. He agreed, Scotland had been neglected; he mentioned the gate of Edinburgh being opened to let out a hackney coach, and then the Highlanders. He said, as to the post-office here, they could read a bill of exchange wrote in the letter *unico contextu*, and so might read a printed paper.

Lord Stair called me away, and shewed me a paper, containing a sort of speech in general on the necessity of doing something on this occasion, by way of laws to secure the constitution. I said, it was all right. He said, we, that thought alike, should act together. I agreed, but feared the English had no regard to our country. He said, ours must follow of course, and that no ministers could withstand it; that he had sent Keith to Mr. Spencer with the paper, who had approved it, and that he Lord Stair would shew it to the Duke of Bedford, and then talk with some principal people;

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<sup>1</sup> Master-General of the Ordnance.

that Lord Gower was right, and had been in with the King this day, who had said to him twice, that he was much obliged to him; that we should concert together, but the Duke of Queensberry was going out of town. I told him, perhaps he did not think he could do any thing, being out of the scene. I asked him, if he himself had thought of any thing particular to follow his plan by way of laws to be proposed. He said, these would easily be agreed on; it was impossible there could be any difference about them. He then said, Mr. Pelham had said, my brother had spoke perfectly well, giving sparring blows to every body.

Mr. Nimmo, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Carre, my brother and I  
At Dinner. talked of turning this affair to the advantage of  
Edinburgh in particular, to be further  
considered.

A list of the principal people, and those of most integrity at  
Oct. 21st Edinburgh, made out, to be sent for as soon as  
Monday. the committee should be named by the House  
of Commons.

The Duke of Queensberry sent for me to tell me, that he  
Oct. 22d talked with Pitt and my brother at the house;  
Tuesday. that Pitt had said, if we did not get the  
committee now, we never should, but that it  
was a matter attended with niceties and difficulties, and  
therefore he desired a meeting, but a small one, of Lord  
Barrington, Mr. Lyttelton and Pitt, with my brother, the  
Dukes of Montrose, Queensberry and me. I said, that the two  
gentlemen he named were influenced by Mr. Pitt, so that it  
was only multiplying himself, and that none of them could  
have objected niceties and difficulties to him; these must  
have come from himself, therefore were to be discussed with  
him alone, and afterwards he might talk 'em over in private  
with others; that I knew enough of meetings to expect no  
good from 'em, and that as we could only expect the  
committee in this juncture, I was resolved Scotland should  
have an answer, 'aye,' or 'no.' That the leaders of every other  
faction in the House were already engaged, and that the  
thing must to the end be kept on the footing of impartiality;  
that it was levelled at nobody in particular, but meant to  
serve the country, and that by this I would stand and take  
any side by the hand for this purpose; that a meeting must  
give offence to some or other, as had been done in the Scots  
petition, or foment an opposition to it, which I wished first to  
see in the House of Commons, where answers would be  
ready as good as the objections; that at the same time I  
would walk barefooted from one end of the town to the other  
to gain Mr. Pitt to it, but would not spoil business by  
meetings; that I had enough of cabals, so mentioned what

had passed relative to myself at Lord Stair's; but that I would not offend him, and he would be so if we had a meeting without him; but that I would enter into no connexion to lend my shoulder to any who did not lend his to me; that I could not pay guineas, and take shillings. He said, that had been very odd. I said, I would concur with any body in the general cause, and would not quarrel with Lord Stair, or any other, and therefore would not have a meeting when the same thing might be done by private visits, for in the other way I saw dangers and no utility. He said, Lord Tweeddale had been with him and the Duke of Montrose, and had said, that it was true, he had been of opinion against arming the country; but that he had done no more than others; and he wished, that all the letters that had passed about it were printed. He appealed to the Duke of Montrose, whether he had not been two years ago for naming Lord Lieutenants, but that it had been refused, and that he had still the commissions ready for signing. I told his Grace, that I had never heard of this till now, but that nothing was levelled against him; the inquiry was general; and that I would, whenever he pleased, come to his house to meet Mr. Pitt, but no number however small; and that I desired, he would let me know, whenever he had fixed an hour with the Duke of Montrose and Mr. Pitt.

I told Lord Gower the necessity of inquiring into the state  
 Oct. 23d of Scotland now, and that I had told the  
 Wednesday. Chancellor of it, and offered to concur with  
 the ministers. He said, he had never heard  
 of it, and asked, if he might tell the Chancellor and Mr.  
 Pelham of it. I agreed, and told him, we were ready to concur  
 with them, if they had any good intentions for Scotland.

Mr. Pitt came here, and told me he had wanted with some  
 Oct. 24th of his friends to meet some of the Scots  
 Thursday. peers, not to make objections, but to offer  
 their assistance, if any thing was proposed,  
 and to desire to know what we intended, to what end we  
 meant to direct our view, and what consequences might arise  
 from this thing at this time, that harm might not be done. I  
 asked what. He said, we might shew the contrary of what we  
 intended. I said, it must appear that the country was  
 zealously affected to the present government. He asked what  
 evidence we had, and whether we might not expose the well-  
 affected families to the rebels. I told him, as to the general  
 state of Scotland, the orders and letters in the hands of the  
 ministers were all wanted; and the parole evidence would  
 only relate to the city of Edinburgh, which it was important  
 to put into a right method. He said, it was so, and he would  
 assist. I told him, I was not for meetings till the thing was in  
 the House, that it might not seem directed at any one in

particular, as it was meant nationally to put us on the same footing as England, and that in this light I wanted one of his character to second it, and my brother should move it. He said, he would do so, for my brother would move it ably, only he, on account of his health, could not take much pains in it, and hoped we would assist him. I offered him my help in this or any thing else. He said, he must talk with his friends, so could not engage till then, and agreed it should be done on Monday, as the sooner the better, not to protract the session, to give room for motions meant to draw negatives. He said, he thought it ought to be moved without any hostility, of which there had been some shewed by my brother the first day; and that it should be proposed to be in a committee of the whole House, only precluding any refusal of papers, by offering, if any necessary were not fit to be seen, it might then be made a private committee.

My brother told me, he had spoke to Mr. Pelham, who had expressed great civility, and seemed pleased, when he offered to concur with him in the inquiry, meaning nothing but national good by it; that Mr. Pelham had asked, whether he had told the Duke of Argyle of it. My brother said 'no,' as his Grace never spoke to him; that Mr. Pelham had told him some particulars about arming the militia in Scotland; that he had told Mr. P. he intended a private committee to prevent any papers being made an ill use of, which he approved; and that it should be under the direction of those who were not willing to do any hurt by it, which, Mr. P. said, he did not suspect; that Mr. P. spoke to him freely of the suspicions of many who affected great zeal.

Mr. Oswald came in from Mr. Pitt's, where, he said, it had been agreed to support the motion on Monday, only Mr. Pitt thought it should be an open committee, which is to be further considered. He said, they had all approved of my reasons for avoiding a meeting, and all agreed to do justice to Scotland.

I told Mr. Lyttelton, that as Mr. Pitt and we began the  
 Nov. 6th world together, and I had Nov. 6th, hoped,  
 Wednesday. we should go through it in friendship, since  
 we thought in the same manner on public  
 matters, I should be sorry, if the heat on Monday last  
 between him and my brother was to leave any rancour in his  
 mind. He said, it left none, and was all over. I told him of the  
 Chancellor's telling my brother, that he must move for a Bill  
 to adjourn the Sessions, which he was to do as this day. He  
 said laughing, that the Chancellor wanted to bring my  
 brother's hand to the Advocate's ear; and then said, the  
 Parliament would be adjourned when the Land and Malt

were passed, that is, in a fortnight; and then this crisis would be brought to a decision.

Lord Rothes having told me yesterday, that Lord Stair  
 Nov. 12th desired him to get a meeting of the Scots peers  
 Tuesday. to concert measures concerning our country  
 and sending to me this morning, I went to  
 him, and told him, I was ready to concur, but expected no  
 good from meetings. He said, he found [the] Duke of  
 Montrose willing, and was going to him. I told him, I should  
 be at his orders. At three o'clock I got a letter from Lord  
 Rothes, that he was to see the Duke of Queensberry, since  
 the Duke of Montrose declined it. I said, I was ready; but  
 desired meetings might not be multiplied.

Lord Rothes came, and told me, the Duke of Queensberry  
 At Night. was very hearty, and had told him, that he had  
 some time ago spoke to the Duke of Newcastle  
 on letters from Dumfries, desiring to arm, but had got no  
 answer. He said, that the Duke of Montrose's doubts were  
 now removed, and that we were to meet to-morrow at eleven  
 at the Duke of Queensberry's. I told him, I was ready; and  
 desired him to think what was proper to be done. He put it  
 upon me; but said, he would do all he could.

The Duke of Montrose, Lord Rothes, and I came to the  
 Nov. 13th Duke of Queensberry's, where after some  
 Wednesday. talk it was agreed to offer to arm our  
 countrymen. I desired we might write  
 down the propositions, as they were agreed to, that we might  
 follow some method. On which I wrote down our agreement  
 to offer to arm, by raising, without commissions of  
 lieutenancy, regiments of one thousand men each; and so all  
 the particulars of our plan. Then it was agreed, that the Duke  
 of Queensberry should write to the Duke of Buccleugh for his  
 concurrence; that the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes  
 should acquaint Lord Tweeddale with our resolution; and  
 that in the evening Lord Rothes and I should inform Lord  
 Stair of it. I then proposed, to avoid delays, that we might  
 meet again at seven o'clock, with an agent, to put our plan  
 into form without further meetings; which being agreed to, a  
 preamble was talked of; whereon I read what I had wrote this  
 morning for that. This produced a silence. After a little I told  
 'em, they might alter it as they liked; all I meant was to say  
 something to avoid our being represented as presumptuous  
 in Scotland. On this, exceptions were taken to passages of it,  
 that might alienate the new converts, and others that seemed  
 to condemn the conduct held; whereupon it was reduced to  
 two sentences declaring the loyalty of our countrymen, and  
 that we believed they believed us so much so, that they would  
 arm under our command.

At six the Duke of Montrose, Lord Rothes, and I went to Lord Stair, and read him the propositions we had drawn up; to which he agreed, and said, he would write to [the] Duke of Hamilton to come up to town. He then mentioned Lord Dumfries for one, besides himself. He told us, that he had mentioned something of this kind to the ministers; that the Duke of Newcastle said, it was right; and that Lord Harrington said, he thought it wrong; so that he thought it would be rejected; that the Duke of Argyle was the only man who was to be permitted to arm in Scotland; and that he would readily accept of him, Lord Stair, as his deputy; but that he would concur with us, and present to the King any thing we thought proper.

We went to the Duke of Queensberry's, when Mr. Wilson, the agent, came; and with his assistance we agreed on, and I drew up, the plan to be laid before the King to-morrow. Lord Rothes made Lord Tweeddale's name be put into the title of it, saying, that he had told them, that he approved of it, and desired to concur in it; so it was done.

I sent to the Duke of Queensberry to add to the plan,  
 Nov. 14th      which had been left with him to get a fair copy  
 Thursday.      for King, that the officers taken from the army  
                          might return to half-pay when our corps were  
 broke. He came hither, and said, he had not copied it, for his letter to the Duke of Buccleugh had not gone till this morning, by a mistake; and he objected to Lord Tweeddale's name in the title, lest it should give the thing an air of party, and make it odious in Scotland. Lord Rothes came in, and said, the Marquis of Tweeddale objected to the preamble, as not necessary for him to assure the King of his zeal; and that it might offend the country. He said, the Duke of Montrose thought it right, but would submit to others. On this, he went to bring the Duke of Montrose. On their coming, we agreed that the preamble was proper for us, and that Lord Tweeddale's name should be struck out of the title; but that, as he had said, he could not go in with Lord Stair with it to the King, as by his office he went in alone, we should desire him to present it, and leave Lord Stair's name in the title. Lord Rothes said, he might take this ill, as he had declared his concurrence in it; so it was agreed, that the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes should inform him of it; and also that we should delay presenting it till to-morrow, that he might go out; and by that time we should have the Duke of Buccleugh's answer. I proposed being ready what to do, if Lord Tweeddale thought it was best to have it offered to-day; but this was thought a useless difficulty.

The Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes told us, Lord Tweeddale agreed to all, but could not go out, and therefore

authorised Lord Stair to declare his concurrence to the plan, which we had left to himself to do verbally, and to deliver it to the King; that he had also said, that it ought to be done today, as there was to be a cabinet council to-night, wherein some resolution about Scotland might be taken; and then we should come too late. On this it being agreed, that it should first be offered to the King, my servant was immediately set to copy it; and the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Rothes went to Lord Stair to tell him of all, keep him at home till the fair copy came, and press him to present it this morning.

The three lords returned, and said, Lord Stair was coming hither, but had objections to presenting it without communicating it to the ministers. To this the Duke of Montrose objected, that then it would not make the same impression on the King.

Lord Stair came in, heard the plan read, approved of it, and then objected, that he could not present it this morning, nor without communicating it to the ministers, and so was for putting it off till to-morrow. I said, that time gained was a principal point, and that, if he shewed it to the ministers before the cabinet council, he might then produce it there, and to-morrow morning another should be sent him for the King, with the Duke of Buccleugh's name, if he concurred, provided his Lordship assured us, that nothing that should pass at the cabinet would hinder his laying it before the King. On these terms the Duke of Montrose agreed; and then Lord Stair asked, if we would not choose to have the names of other peers. We said, if more troops were wanted, he might in general say, that others too were ready; that this would prevent delays, and was the method taken in England, where first one, and then another, had offered.

At court, the Duke of Montrose and Lord Rothes told me,  
 Nov. 15th that Lord Stair said, our paper had been a  
 Friday. bomb in the council; that he had told the Duke  
 of Newcastle and Lord Harrington before of it;  
 the first approved it, and the other not; that at council the  
 Chancellor had said, it required consideration, after it had  
 been laid before the King; most of the others said nothing,  
 but, by their countenances, were surprised.

The ministers at court seemed very busy, and the Duke of Argyle much employed; so Lord Rothes said, the thing worked. Lord Stair went in to present the paper to the King, but went out another way; so we waited till all were gone; and going home I saw his chariot at White's.

Lord Rothes came, and told me, that Lord Stair had not  
 Nov. 16th presented our paper to the King, not having;  
 Saturday.

been able to get an audience, and that he had hindered the Duke of Newcastle from presenting it, saying, he had orders to do it; that he was to present it to-day; and he, Lord Rothes, was going to the Duke of Montrose, to go along with him, to remind him of it. I told him, that, if Lord Stair did not, the Duke of Montrose should do it himself, or Lord Rothes, or else we should go to the Duke of Newcastle, and desire him to do it. He said, the Duke of Newcastle was gone out of town. Lord Bolingbroke thought the proposal too modest.

Lord Cathcart told me, he had carried our proposal copied  
 Nov. 17th by Keith, Lord Stair's secretary, to the Duke of  
 Sunday. Cumberland, but that he knew not his opinion  
 of it yet.

Lord Stair told me, that on Saturday he carried in our  
 Nov. 18th paper to the King; that he seemed pleased with  
 Monday. it; but said his ministers found great  
 difficulties in it. Lord Stair said, it was meant  
 only for his service; the King said, the Parliament would  
 form objections to it, as had been done to the former;  
 whereupon Lord Stair shewed him the difference, to obviate  
 'em, and told him, it was laid before him for his judgment;  
 and if he liked it, he could make others come into it, and that  
 it was his business, which we should not stir in but under his  
 orders; upon which the King told him, he was obliged to do  
 what others chose for him. He told me, that Mr. Pelham  
 seemed against it, and more than ever determined to set the  
 Duke of Argyle up in Scotland.

At court I told Mr. Pelham, that the French were  
 employing their favourite men against this country, as I was  
 assured. He said, they intended an invasion. I then told him,  
 our paper was intended only for the King's service, and to do  
 our duty to our country, and not to add, or give any distress,  
 or with any factious view; and that, if any such use was made  
 of it, we did not intend it. He said, Stair had been with him,  
 and told him what had passed in the closet; that I knew he  
 was warm; but that he had asked the King, if any of his  
 ministers had given an opinion about it. The King said,  
 'No and that Lord Stair must have mistaken him; for he said  
 only, it would meet with difficulties in Parliament. He told  
 me of a great person soliciting personally against the former.  
 I told him, I wished what they were now doing in Scotland  
 might answer, but that it gave great uneasiness, and even  
 Lord Stair believed, he was resolved to put that country into  
 the former hands. He said, Stair did not consider the  
 ministry was now a chaos, but would have people break from  
 their old friendships, before they could adjust any thing; or  
 else he supposed things; as if any body could think of putting

Scotland into the same management it had been in these last twenty years. On this the Duke of Newcastle came up, to whom I told what had passed on our proposal, as to presenting it by him. He said, the Parliament would find difficulties; that Lord Tweeddale had desired an answer might be given soon; and he had answered, that the King would refer it to his servants to consider. He then asked me, how soon it could be executed. I said, the country was at a distance, but that the people were ready to rise, only that money must be sent down, or else they could not subsist. Mr. Pelham added, 'and arms.' The Duke said, it must be considered, what Parliament would say. I said, it ought never to come to Parliament, unless it was thought for the King's service; the Duke said, that was speaking like myself; and so we parted.

I went to Lord Stair on a message from him, and found the  
 Nov. 22d Duke of Queensberry with him. He proposed  
 Friday. to apply for an answer to our proposal, as  
 necessary to vindicate ourselves. The Duke  
 said, he saw no hurt in desiring the ministers to answer us, though he thought it done already in effect. I said, I did not know how the thing stood; that it might be improper to hurry 'em, if they were considering of it, and that I thought we had done our parts, and wanted no vindication. On this Lord Stair grew angry, and said, if we thought so, there was an end; and that, if we would not act all in a body, we neither could desire, nor deserved, any consideration. The Duke said, that, if he meant acting with Lord Tweeddale, he would not, for he was become odious in the country, and could only bring us to the same state. Lord Stair said, he thought as his Grace did. The Duke of Montrose came in, and said, the ministers intended to give us no answer, but to leave us in suspense. The Duke of Queensberry went away, saying, he would concur in whatever we resolved. I said, the case being as the Duke said, I thought we ought to desire an answer, if Lord Rothes was of the same mind. On this it was agreed, that Lord Stair should desire the King to order us an answer, and to do it without meeting with other peers, as Lord Stair hinted we ought to do.

At court Lord Rothes said, he was against this of Lord Stair, unless he knew what was to follow, for as to any complaints in Parliament, he would not concur.

I asked Mr. Pelham, whether they would give us any answer. He said, he thought they should, and he was ready; that I knew well enough the difficulties he must meet with in Parliament, when he did not know who were to vote for or against it. I told him, I hoped they would give us answers, one way or other, after considering the present state of

Scotland, which any ten rebels might plunder; and that they would not think of bringing down the Highlanders upon us, which would undo us entirely; and that I hoped, it was not true, what I had heard (Lord Stair said it) said, that we were considered as people, who since 1715 had been obstinate opposers of what were called the King's measures. On this he took me into another corner, and said, he assured me, none of the King's ministers thought of us in that manner, and, he was sure, none had ever said any such thing.

I met the Duke of Newcastle, who took me aside, to know if I had heard any thing. I said much the same to him, as to his brother. He said, as Lord Stair was to speak to the King, he would order an answer. I said, I thought it had better come without this. He said, all possible regard should be had to the south of Scotland, and he did not desire to see the Highlanders there, either to defend them (the south) or offend us; and that, as to us, we ought not to believe every thing that people's imagination prompted them to say.

Lord Stair sent Mr. Keith to tell me, that the Duke of  
Nov. 24th Newcastle had said, there was a cabinet  
Sunday. council held on our proposal; and at court he  
told me, the Duke of Cumberland had just told  
him it was to be tomorrow. He laughed, and said he saw well  
enough what answer was to be given.

Lord Stair sent Mr. Keith to tell me, that last night the  
Nov. 26th cabinet council had met on our proposal; that  
Tuesday. neither the Dukes of Argyle, or Bedford, or  
Lord Tweeddale, or Cobham had been present;  
that Mr. Pelham made difficulties about the Parliament, and  
the Duke of Newcastle joined in them, as well as in saying  
the proposal was very right, had it been done before; on  
which Lord Stair said, if it was right, no more time ought to  
be lost, no more delays made, as some of 'em seemed to do.  
Mr. Pelham said, if more force was wanted, he should advise  
bringing over the Hessians. Then Lord Stair [said] that every  
body would think, and he did think, this was plainly giving  
the exclusion to the whole Scots nation, and done only for  
this, although their zeal for the King could not be called in  
question. On this they fell all into private committees; and at  
last the result was, that the alternative should be proposed to  
the King, either to accept of these regiments, or to send four,  
or five battalions from Wade's army to give the superiority in  
Scotland to the King's friends, or to send for the Hessians.  
This resolution was occasioned by Mr. Pelham's saying, there  
was news of several Highland clans being ready to rise to join  
the rebels. At Battersea I read considerations on our  
proposal to Lord Bolingbroke, who said, that they were

strong sense. He was much provoked at the thoughts of bringing over the Hessians.

Lord Rothes told me, that last night another cabinet council had been held on our proposal on the King's referring back to them the alternatives, and that there the  
 Nov. 28th Duke of Argyle had named several Lords ready  
 Thursday. to do the same thing, the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Lothian<sup>1</sup>, Hopetoun, &c. and Sir James Grant, but it was unnecessary, the towns of Edinburgh and Glasgow raising 1000 men each, and Stirling 400; whereupon it was agreed to reject our proposal, and to name the Earl of Home to command the Edinburgh subscription men, and the Earl of Glencairn those of Glasgow.

Lord Stair told me, that at council our proposal was  
 Nov. 29th thought not needful; but the Duke of Argyle  
 Friday. had Paid much compliment to it, and had read a long list of other peers, who would do the same, and were equally entitled to be provided for, to which Lord Stair had answered, that we did not desire to be employed, or to exclude others; that we only proposed to arm the country for the King's service as he thought fit; that then the Duke of Newcastle writ down what was agreed on; and he went away. He called me into another room, to ask if we would not think it fit to authorise him to say something in our names to the King. I said, I had heard the Duke of Montrose was to go to the King, and I had thought of doing so too, but would delay it till to-morrow. He then said, he would send to the others named in the proposal to meet at his house at ten o'clock to-morrow. The Duke of Montrose, after he came out from the King, told me, he had been in the morning with the Duke of Newcastle, and talked through the proposal with him; that all he had answered had been the time necessary to raise these men, and the difficulties in the House of Commons. He then told me, that he had [been] very graciously received by the King, who had said, he was very much obliged to the Lords who had made the offer, and that he liked it; but his ministers found difficulties in Parliament. Then he said, he wished some method was thought of to prevent the like of this for the future, and expressed his confidence in the Duke's loyalty and zeal.

The Dukes of Queensberry, Montrose, and I met at Lord  
 Nov. 30th Stair's, who proposed to tell the in our joint  
 Saturday. names that we had made our proposal only for his service, and were ready to serve him in any shape he thought proper. The only objection made to this was, its being already done. I told them, I would go in to the

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Clerk Register.

King this day. Then Lord Stair<sup>1</sup> talked of the danger of our becoming a province to France. I went into the closet to the King after the ministers were gone out. I told him, I did not come to trouble him about a proposal wherein I had a share. He said, 'I liked it, but the difficulties, it would have met with in the House of Commons, made it impracticable.' I said, we were too happy to have his approbation; it was our duty to submit to what was thought for his service. Then I told him my share in it, and what I had done before. He said, 'You know what a distress it would have been, and what an effect abroad it would have had, had it been rejected in the House, or carried by a small number; you know how the last was carried, so many voting against it.' I told him, I did not mention it, but to shew that we were ready to serve him in any shape; that our wish would have been to have had him form the plan, and left us the honour of the execution only; that my family, he knew, had always been zealous friends to his cause; that I was the same, and ready to set my life and fortune at the same stake; that my brother had voted against the last regiments, but had no view in it of distressing his service, nor would have any such view at any time; that he was the only person with whom I had any influence or interest in the House of Commons; and that I could assure him, he would exert all his talents to serve his family; that it was in this view we had agreed that he should propose the act making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's son, when it was neglected by others. I told him, that I desired to inform him of the state of Scotland; that all the South was zealous for him. He said, they were all Presbyterians, who had always been for his family; that Dumfries, Glasgow, and others were good towns, but that he could not say so much for Edinburgh. I told him, he had even there at least four out of five. He said, there were a great many Jacobites there. I said, that in the South there were not a hundred Papists, and that the people were zealous for him, and all those that had property. He said, he believed so, except Lord Kilmarnock. I said, he was a man of desperate fortune, whose estate would go to his creditors, when his person was under forfeiture; that I had an estate in the country where he lived, and there was none of property there; and in another county, there was but one man of property, a Jacobite, against whom a warrant had been granted. He said, 'Mr. H.,' but that he had not been taken. I said, there was not a man of 'em could carry out a hundred men against him in the South. He said, the southern parts liked the Union, and found benefit by it. I said, his

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Stair was at this time Commander in Chief of the Forces in England, having received his appointment in February 1744. He had resigned the command of the forces in Germany in disgust, after the battle of Dettingen, and ended his embassy to the States General in October 1743.

Majesty knew that it had been made to bring the crown into his family. He said, 'Yes, but they had felt benefit by it too.' I said, no doubt they had; that I could assure his Majesty, he had twenty thousand good men ready to arm for him in the South; and that all we desired, was to have him for our King. He said, he had ordered the Duke, (who was in very great spirits, and extremely pleased with the civilities he received in the country) as soon as this was decided, to detach a body of troops to Scotland, and that the Scots regiments were to recruit in the south of Scotland; but that I knew that London was the principal place. I said, his Majesty was the best judge; that his people in Scotland desired no other; that I had lived in his foreign dominions, and therefore could assure him, that he had nowhere better subjects than in the south of Scotland; and who wished to see his interest superior, abroad and at home, and to see him respected on the continent as well as here; that they had nothing to do with the English factions. He said, 'You have factions amongst yourselves; there are the Highlands against the Lowlands, and others; but one must do the best one can.' I said, there were no factions against him; all we desired, was to have him cast an eye upon us, and to have access to him. He said, he had never refused anybody. I said, I was far from meaning so, and that I had taken the liberty to trouble him, only to represent the state of Scotland to him. He said, he looked on the two countries as one united, and would equally regard them both; that Scotland had always been well affected; but indeed the last elections had not gone as he desired; but, he hoped, it would not be so more. I said, that the elections had never gone against him; that indeed if any subject would act without regard to his interest, and pretend to set himself up, it would create difficulties; but that all we desired to know was, his Majesty's own opinion. He said, he never would let any subject set himself between him and his people. I said, that was all we desired; we wanted to behave like good subjects, and have none between him and us. He repeated, he had never refused any. I told him, I am sure I ought not to think so; since he had shewed but too much goodness in hearing me so long; that it was the first time I had ever had the honour to speak to him; and I desired he would be assured, that he had not a subject more affectionate to his cause than I was; that I wished the method proposed now, to arm in Scotland, might answer. He said, 'What would you have me do? they have offered it; they have offered it.' I said, I wished it success; but could have wished in this, and in ours, that his Majesty, who understood these matters better than any in his council, had formed the plan. He said, the House of Commons would not consent, as I saw by the last. I said, I believed many voted then, because they thought he did not approve of it. He said, 'I did not approve of it at first. But these lords having shewed so much zeal, my

ministers thought it was proper; and when I did approve of it, it should not have been obstructed.' He said, great zeal had been shewed everywhere; and when this was over, some scheme must be thought of to prevent it for the future. I said, the south of Scotland would be glad to concur in any his Majesty judged himself to be proper. He said, his ministers would propose something to secure the south of Scotland for the future. I said, whatever service in that, or any thing else I could do for his family, I should always be ready to do. I begged leave to assure him, he should always find me a faithful subject; and if he ever did me the honour to speak to me again, he should always find me a man of truth. When the King mentioned the Duke, he said, he had some regiments together, with which he was sure he would give a good account of the rebels. I told the King, I hoped so; and did not doubt it; that they were a pack of robbers from the head of Argyleshire; that his Majesty knew well enough from what country they came. He said, 'yes;' they were the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appen, and the Athole men.

My brother<sup>1</sup> told me, he had been last night with Mr. Drax<sup>2</sup>, the Prince's secretary, on a note from him, when he had notified to him, that the Prince expected all his family to go together to support the measures of the administration, and that, as Mr. Hume did not act so, he was to write him a letter discharging him. In the conversation Mr. Drax said, that the Prince was to support the Pelhams, and that his dismissal was to be ascribed to Lord Granville. He also proposed, that my brother should see the Prince. My brother said, that the Prince had not spoke to him these two years,—in answer to Drax's assuring him, that the Prince had a great regard to him. He said too, that he had nothing to say to the Prince, other than that he would support all the measures he thought conducive to the King's interests, but no others; and that he would not betray the duty he owed to his own country, part of which he represented. Mr. Drax said, then he had nothing to do, since he had no more to say, than to execute his orders, by writing him a letter, which my brother expects this day.

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<sup>1</sup> The Honourable Alexander Hume Campbell, twin-brother to the Earl of Marchmont, member for Berwickshire, was then attorney-general to the Prince of Wales. In 1756 he was appointed to the office of Lord Clerk Register, and held it till his death in 1761.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the House of Commons. He was made Secretary to the Prince in January 1745, on Mr. Lyttelton being made a Lord of the Treasury.

Having asked an audience of the Duke, and being ordered  
 Jan. 8th to come at two o'clock, I told his Royal  
 Wednesday. Highness, that hearing he was going to  
 Scotland, I came to make him an offer of my  
 service, to assure him, not only of my zeal, but of that of all  
 the Lowlands; and that the gentry and people will be glad to  
 shew it by supporting his Royal Highness in whatever  
 manner he should think proper. He thanked me; said, the  
 King would not send him for some time, and until there was  
 a greater army there; that he was persuaded of the loyalty  
 and zeal of the Lowlands, and desired to see me again before  
 he went, that he might advise what was fit to be done for the  
 defence of the country: he then mentioned the Highlanders,  
 and said, the men were bad, and not so properly rebels, as  
 robbers, the only rebels being their chiefs I recommended  
 Mr. Jack to him; and he bade me bring him his papers. I  
 assured him of my desire to shew my respect to him, and be  
 of any use to promote the King's service, and his glory. He  
 said the zeal of my family was very well known; and he  
 desired my friendship. I told him, I would be glad of every  
 occasion of expressing my duty, and, through him, to the  
 King. I added, we had been made obnoxious in Scotland,  
 only for desiring to have no viceroy. He said, he saw no use  
 of any, as we were part of the same kingdom; that the  
 Highlanders were always ready to come down to rob, he  
 supposed, but that the Lowlands were not to be considered  
 in the same light.

I carried to the Duke Mr. Jack's papers. He said, he had  
 Jan. 23d got the King's orders to go to Scotland. I  
 Thursday. offered him my service, if I could be of any. He  
 thanked me, and said, he would not put me to  
 the trouble. I told him, if I could be of any use, I should think  
 it a very great pleasure. He said, the Lowlands were in  
 general well affected; that he should be mostly in the  
 Highlands; that Hawley<sup>1</sup> would probably beat the rebels  
 before he got down; that indeed if he did not, and they  
 turned south, it would be well for the King's friends to be  
 there, and that he knew little of the country. I said, that if I  
 could be of any service to him, so far from thinking it any  
 trouble, I should rejoice at the opportunity of having the  
 honour to be known to him; and that as he put it entirely on  
 the trouble, I assured him, that I should think it an honour  
 and a pleasure. He said, he knew nothing of these matters;  
 he would talk with the King's ministers, and let me know. I  
 told him, I should be extremely glad to receive his orders. He  
 said, he should let me know, and would be glad of my further

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<sup>1</sup> General Cope commanded the Forces in Scotland during the  
 Rebellion, until he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Hawley,  
 in December 1745.

acquaintance; he laid the blame of the affair of Hawley<sup>1</sup> on want of discipline; and said, were he there, he would attack the rebels with the men that Hawley now had; he said, soldiers must be told what they are to do; and he believed, now they would do it.

I told Sir Everard Fawkener<sup>2</sup>, that I had offered my services to the Duke; and I desired him to put the Duke in mind, that I might know as soon as possible, whether it was thought proper for me to go down or not. He said, he wished I were to go. I told him, that I had been told, it was not thought so. He said, he knew nothing of that. I told him, I only mentioned it to shew my reason of doubting, which I desired to be clear about as soon as possible. He said, he should be sure to take care of it.

Hearing at court, that on Hawley's not being to fight for ten days, the Duke had desired of the King, either not to go for Scotland till the news of the action arrived, or to go immediately, so as to be present at it, and that the King had agreed to the last, whereon the Duke was to set out this night at twelve, I threw myself in the Duke's way; but as he said nothing, I desired Sir Everard Fawkener to remind the Duke of what he had said, and to assure him of my readiness. I sent down a servant to wait for Sir Edward, and asked, if he had any commands. He sent me word, he would write to me this evening.

I got a general answer from Sir Everard Fawkener, that the Duke had said nothing in Saturday particular. My brother gave me an account of a conversation Mr. Winnington had with him on Thursday, vindicating Mr. Pelham from having any hand in turning him out of the Prince's family, assuring him that there was no design of throwing Scotland back into the hands of the Duke of Argyle, and desiring him to give over his persecution of Mr. Pelham. My brother told him, as to the first, he did not value it; as to the second, he should believe it when he saw it; and that as long as they used Scotland ill, he would treat them as ill as he could; and that when they did right, he would support them as he had already done.

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<sup>1</sup> The defeat at Falkirk, on the 17th January 1746. General Hawley advanced against the rebels in order to compel them to raise the siege of Stirling Castle, but was worsted with considerable loss.

<sup>2</sup> Military secretary to the Duke of Cumberland.

Lord Westmorland came to see me to ask my advice about  
 Jan. 27th his affair of the money he paid for the  
 Monday. grenadiers, and which he had not received on  
 his dismissal<sup>1</sup>. He said he had spoke to  
 Pelham of it a fortnight before the King went abroad, and  
 Pelham having spoke to the King of it, told him, the King  
 said, he had no manner of right; that he said, he thought that  
 should be examined. Pelham said, he had not thought of  
 saying that. Now Lord Westmorland asked whether an  
 application to the House of Lords, founded on the Petition of  
 Right, might not be proper. I advised him first to write again  
 to Mr. Pelham out of decency to the King, and insinuate, that  
 he would not stop there, which he approved of; and next,  
 that I thought in the House of Lords it would come in merely  
 as a personal complaint, and therefore in the worst manner,  
 whereas it would more easily slide into the House of  
 Commons, where my brother had some thoughts of bringing  
 in the subject of the army. To this my Lord agreed.

My brother told me, that on the ministry insisting on Mr.  
 Jan. 27th Pitt being Secretary at War, and the King  
 Monday. having said, he should not be his secretary,  
 Lord Bath had gone to the King and told him,  
 though he had resolved never to take a place, yet now finding  
 his ministers would force a servant on him, rather than he  
 should be so used, he would undertake to get him his money.  
 The King said, the ministers had the Parliament. Lord Bath  
 said, his Majesty had it, and not they; and that hereupon the  
 King thanked him; and it was expected the ministers would  
 all be out.

Feb. 10th Lord Harrington and the Duke of  
 Sunday. Newcastle resigned.

Lord Cobham told me, Pitt's affair had been given up, he  
 Feb. 11th having in many pretty words, of which he  
 Tuesday. had plenty, said, he would not go into the  
 closet against the King's will; but that the  
 resignation now was founded on the King's following other  
 advice; that Lord Bath had affected to exult, and to shew his  
 power, and that nothing could be had but through him; that  
 after Pitt's affair Lord Harrington and Bath had had a  
 conversation together, wherein the first had said, that he  
 supposed the last had a plan for carrying on the King's  
 affairs, since he interfered with his ministers, and made it  
 impossible for them to serve; and that Lord Bath had said, he

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<sup>1</sup> John seventh Earl of Westmorland. He was deprived of his  
 regiment for having connected himself in politics with the Earl of  
 Chesterfield and Lord Cobham, not being permitted to sell it,  
 although he had paid 8000*l.* for it.



king must expect, who nurses up a faction by governing by a party; and that it was a most indecent thing, and must render the King contemptible. He said, the law was to resign; and resignations would have held a fortnight. Lord Cobham told me, that the King had yesterday sent Winnington to stop the resignations; that he had offered Winnington the Seal of Exchequer, after Bath had resigned it; but Winnington said, it would not do; that Bath had sent a letter to Lord Carlisle, directed to him as Privy Seal, and had carried him to court, to receive the seal; but had gone in to the King, resigned the Exchequer Seal to him, and then sneaked down the back stair, leaving Lord Carlisle kicking his heels at the fire in the outer room. Lord Cobham got a letter to go to the Duke of Newcastle's at half an hour after two.

At court I met Lord Granville, who is still Secretary, but declared to be ready to resign, when the King pleases.

I saw Lord Granville go out of the closet, having resigned  
 Feb. 14th the seals; he met the Duke of Newcastle going  
 Friday. in; and they made each other a dry bow, and  
 passed on. A little after Lord Harrington came  
 in, and then Lord Gower, and next Mr. Pelham. They  
 remained in, except Lord Harrington, who went away.

Lord Bolingbroke said, Lord Pembroke<sup>1</sup> had spoke very  
 strongly to the King; and that when Lord Bath  
 Feb. 12th said to the King, he ought not to be forced,  
 Wednesday. the King answered, 'You forced me first.' He  
 said, Lord Bath was gone to Richmond, to  
 write a pamphlet. Some other body said, the Duke of Bedford  
 had told the King, 'We are willing and able to serve your  
 Majesty, if you will let us.' To which the King answered, that  
 he had taken other measures.

Mr. Mallet told us, that he knew from Mr. Lyttelton, and  
 Lord Bolingbroke vouched it, that the Prince had on  
 Wednesday morning sent round Mr. Ayscough and others, to  
 assure people, that he knew nothing of what was done,  
 submitting only to the King; from whence it was concluded,  
 he must then have known what followed that day. It was  
 said, that now Lord Bath and Granville would be pushed at  
 in Parliament.

Among those named to come in, I said, I was told, I was to  
 have been half a secretary. Lady Bolingbroke said, she had  
 heard it; but my Lord said, he had not; but with so much  
 confusion in his looks, that I think he had heard it, and  
 believed it. He owned, he had heard my brother was to have

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<sup>1</sup> Groom of the Stole.



## DIARY RESUMED.

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I WAITED on Lord Chesterfield by appointment at nine  
1747 o'clock. He received me with great civility and  
Aug. 30th openness. He said, he was glad to see me  
Sunday. and in the way I was in. I told him, I had  
come up out of deference to what he had  
wrote to my brother. I thanked him for the regard he had  
shewed to my brother, and, I was told, he had expressed for  
me. After common compliments he said, that I must not  
remain in the situation<sup>1</sup>. I was in, but it must be mended,  
and for this I must have an audience of the King. I said, I  
came in where I was, as receiving by my brother the price  
Mr. Pelham thought fit to offer him, and that if his lordship  
would allow me to inform him, that the Duke of Argyle had  
declared a determined enmity to my brother and me, and all  
our friends, I believed, he would think it no easy matter to  
mend my situation. He said, the King hated the Duke of  
Argyle; Mr. Pelham was the minister, who liked him best, not  
from affection, but the old habits of Walpole's time; and that  
the Duke of Newcastle was his enemy, except on the days  
that the Duke of Argyle coaxed him, and treated him as the  
sole minister. He went through the Duke's conduct last  
winter here, and this summer in Scotland, and said, it was  
impossible it could hold long as it was, the King detesting  
him beyond all recovery. He then said, he would tell me all  
the state of affairs here that was conducive to mending my  
situation, (for in short I must not continue long in Lord  
Sutherland's place) and the means to be used for it. He went  
through all he had done last winter without appearing in it,  
to bring about Mr. Pelham's concluding with my brother. He  
said, the first opportunity he had of speaking to the King of  
my brother was, after he had spoke for the Jurisdiction Bill<sup>2</sup>;  
and that when I was named to succeed Lord Lothian, he  
spoke of me to the King, who said, I belonged to  
Bolingbroke; to which he replied, that he, Lord Chesterfield,  
might rather be said to belong to him, since he visited him as  
often as ever he could, and found no man understood his  
Majesty's foreign affairs so well, and could enable him so  
much to serve him. The King then said, I was able, but had  
been a writer. He answered, he thought his Majesty had laid  
aside all retrospect, but that others had been writers too, and  
that he knew nothing of that. He said, that I must go in to the  
King after I had kissed his hand, and that I should tell him of

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<sup>1</sup> That of First Lord of Police. See the Duke of Newcastle's Letter of 21st July, 1747, announcing to him his appointment.

<sup>2</sup> The Bill for abolishing the Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland, brought in on the 17th February, 1747.

the state of Scotland in general, and that his Majesty had [a] great many enemies there not sufficiently observed, and might mention Stuart's affair, whom the King looked upon to be screened by the Scots government, although there were facts enough to have hanged him, had he not been screened; but that I must not say anything personal against the Duke of Argyle, that I might not be accused of bringing an article of impeachment against him, the first time I went into the closet. I said, that I would be entirely directed by him; but I must offer to his consideration, whether it would be safe for me to mention the Jacobites in Scotland, as the King would tell the ministers, who would tell the Duke of Argyle, and he would write down a misrepresentation of it to injure me in my own country. He said, I must avoid that, but speak to the King, as I could do, with ability, and to humour the King's notions of things, which he was explaining to me, and that I must tell him, that I belonged to him only, for that was what he liked. I said, I had told the King so before, and we had parted very good friends; that the King hated complaints, and, he knew very well, was not a reasoning man. He said, that was true; but I should lament, that he had enemies in Scotland, and talk as he had told me would be agreeable. I asked what effect an audience would have, since the King left all to his ministers? He said, True, but it would make things go easy when the King liked a man instead of objecting to him; and it would enable my friends to serve me. I said, I had no friends, unless he would do me the honour to let me reckon him so; that I should follow his directions in everything. He said, I must not think so, nor talk so; and that I must assure the King of my zeal, and of my readiness to do him any service in this part of the kingdom or the other. I said, as the King did not reason, what might be the effect of this? might not the King think, I was asking to be one of the peers in case of a vacancy? He said, that was now over, so he could not think so. I mentioned the case of a vacancy. He then said, that he meant I should ask it in general, without doing it in particular. I said, I supposed I must wait on the Duke of Newcastle, who had wrote to me about the place, and on Mr. Pelham, before I went to court; and whether I should say, I had seen him, and tell them of the audience intended, as they seemed very suspicious of audiences. He said, I should say, I had seen him, and that he bid me ask an audience. I asked, what I was to do, if they were against it, as people of as great quality as me had not taken audiences in such cases? He said, they could not be against it, for nobody of my rank kissed only hands in the crowd, unless they were ill with the King, and he would not see them, as had been his case, when he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

As he had bid me tell nobody, I asked his leave to tell my brother. He said, he had told him. I then asked, if my brother

had hinted what was his opinion. He said, 'No.' I then said, that though I would obey what his lordship ordered me, yet I must beg leave to mention the matter to my brother; which he agreed to. He then entered into the state of the court here, and said, that the King hated the people about him, but after having made a vain attempt to get rid of them, finding they had the Parliament, he was now resolved to be quiet, and let them do what they thought fit; and that when they differed, he bid 'em do what they thought best, as indeed he was not capable of deciding in any nice case, so that there was really no government at all; that, as it was very plain that we miscarried in war by mere inferiority of force, he and Mr. Pelham were for negotiating to get peace; and the Duke of Newcastle was for war, without understanding the meaning of the word; that the Stadtholder too was for showing what he could do; and the Dutch proposed wonders, and to raise 45,000 men more, than they now had, next year; although they might as well raise as many millions, because they had not the finances; that the King was for war, unless when he frightened him, with showing that we were on the brink of ruin; and that the Duke of Newcastle was only for war to fall in with the King's humour, in hopes to be the first minister, and the favourite, now that Lord Harrington had ruined himself with the King; that Lord Harrington had been the favourite, had received great favours, such as the troop of guards for his son, and the renewal of the term of Lord Stanhope's pension, and had been trusted with the electoral secret; that however he had been the warmest for resigning on the last change, and had desired to be first to resign, which the rest were very glad of; and that he had done it without the least regard to decency, telling the King, in the closet, that he could no longer serve him with honour, and flinging the purse and seals down upon the table, instead of delivering them into the King's hands, which had provoked the King beyond expression, and so as never to forgive him; the King having told him, Lord Chesterfield, that he had less reason to complain of the rest, whom he had found in office, and who had independent fortunes, than of Lord Harrington, whom he had made a peer, and given him an estate, &c.; that when the rest came in again, the King wanted to capitulate, and keep out Harrington, but the others could not desert the man, who had been the first in the measure; that however the King continued to treat him, whenever he came to him, with the greatest incivility, calling him to the Duke of Newcastle a rascal, as he called the Duke a fool to him (Harrington); that Lord Harrington on this talked of resigning, but still went on, in hopes that it would mend; that things were in this situation when he came from Ireland, where his conduct had quite softened the King to him, and particularly the letter he writ over here, whereby he put a stop to lord Kildare's regiment, and the other mob

regiments, as he called them; and that whilst there all his recommendations had been like as many nominations, not one having been refused; that on his arrival here the Duke of Newcastle had spoke to him of being secretary, if Lord Harrington quitted, or was turned out; and that he had refused it, saying he would keep Ireland, as long as he was in place, for he liked it, as it just answered Lord Shrewsbury's description; it had business enough to keep a man awake, and not enough to hinder him from sleeping; that thus things went on till his great illness obliged him to go to Bath, from whence he returned the last day of October; that he was sent for to come to a meeting that very evening, but begged to be excused, for his absence for three months hindered his being *au fait des affaires*; that at that meeting Lord Harrington had said, that he neither could nor would stay in his office. His motive was, that Lord Sandwich<sup>1</sup> from the Hague carried on a private correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle; that saying this more firmly than usual alarmed the rest; and immediately the Duke of Newcastle, the Chancellor, and Mr. Pelham thought of making some compromise (for this, says Lord Chesterfield, we do in all business, *pousser le temps par l'épau*le); that they did not expect any sudden resolution from Lord Harrington, so Mr. Pelham went next day to the Duke (of Cumberland) to get him to prevail on Lord Harrington to continue; that at that very time Mr. Pelham was with, the Duke, Lord Harrington went to Kensington with papers to the King, who was then ill, having been cut for the piles; that as he had since his re-entry always been for peace, and thereby had had frequent differences with the King, he began an expostulation with his Majesty (but, he believed, rather to try if he could mend matters, than intending, when it came *au fait et au prendre*, to resign); that in this expostulation he told the King, he had grounds to suspect, that Lord Sandwich, though in his province, corresponded with the Duke of Newcastle; to which the King said, he did so; 'And why may not I correspond with my foreign ministers through what channel I please?' Lord Harrington answered, 'Your Majesty then owns it to be so, which I only suspected before;' and then asked, 'Does your Majesty then think that I can continue to serve you with any honour?' The King replied, 'No, really, my Lord, I don't think you can;' and that Lord Harrington, finding himself thus drawn in, said, 'Sir, you will then give me leave to bring you the seals to-morrow;' which the King consented to; and Lord Harrington went away without telling any body; that after him the Duke of Newcastle went in with papers; and the King told him, that Lord Harrington had resigned. This surprised the Duke; and he asked the King, who he thought of to

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Sandwich went as ambassador to the Hague on the 3d August)

succeed him. The King said, he thought it must be Chesterfield; and asked, if he would take them, for he was the fittest, if he was willing. The Duke said, he did not know at present; but that some time before he had found him unwilling. The King bid him ask him, for he thought, it must be Chesterfield; that the Duke, coming out, met in the antechamber Mr. Pelham, with the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lincoln, who was Lord in waiting, and some other; and in order, for some triumph over his brother, to pass as first minister, he just told them, Harrington had resigned, and the King had appointed Lord Chesterfield to succeed him; that Mr. Pelham said, 'Appointed, my Lord!' and that he thought it very odd, that should be done, and he should first hear of it in the antechamber; on which the Duke, to soften matters, said, upon his honour he had not mentioned him, but the King had named him himself. On this they talked with a good deal of warmth; that, whilst this passed, he, Lord Chesterfield, was coming to court with Lord Gower; that in the stone passage below, he met Lord Lincoln, who wished him joy of being appointed Secretary; that he answered, he did not know it, and thought it strange, he had not been asked about it before; that, when he came up stairs, he found the two brothers in a heat, and was told what had passed. The Duke of Newcastle pressed him to accept, being frightened lest on his refusal Lord Granville should be named; that he desired that he might be allowed to the next day to turn himself round, and consider of it; that, when the Duke of Newcastle was gone, Mr. Pelham told him, that, in the manner this matter had been carried, he must accept, or else he could not continue in, for, if any other was put in, he must resign, as he could trust no other; that for this reason he did accept of the seals, but desired to go in to the King alone; that the next day he did go in to the King, who was still ill, and told his Majesty, that if he had given him leave, before he went to Ireland, he would have removed such impressions as his Majesty had received against him; that by this time he hoped many of 'em were removed; and that if his Majesty had any remaining, he was able and should be glad to remove these. The King said, that his naming him shewed he thought he would, and was able to serve him. Lord Chesterfield said, he must take the liberty to capitulate with his Majesty; that as he came in to serve his Majesty, and not himself, he desired, that whenever he found his service either not agreeable, or not useful to him, he might take the liberty to resign the seals, without it being taken for an affront or disgust at the particular time; to which the King answered, 'Then, take the seals, for I can believe *you*;' which expression the King has often repeated since with particular emphaticalness; that thus he came into this office<sup>1</sup>, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Chesterfield was appointed Secretary of State for the

continued in it with the satisfaction, that being well received in the closet gives, more than being ill received; but that no real business was done; there was no plan; and in differences of opinion, the King bid them do what they thought fit, and continued very indolent, saying, that it signified nothing, as his son, for whom he did not care a louse, was to succeed him, and would live long enough to ruin us all; so that there was no government at all. He said, we should talk over more at dinner.

Mr. Grevenkop<sup>1</sup> having told me, that great fault was found with my not sending a proxy to the election, after dinner I shewed Lord Chesterfield the Duke of Newcastle's letter, on my being named to the office, I had, and read my answer to it, and then told him, I thought it odd, that so immediately before an election I had no notice what was the list approved of by the ministry; and asked, if I should touch [on] that to the Duke of Newcastle. He said, by all means, for it had been the *cheval de bataille* of the Duke of Argyle against me. I said, my brother had doubted, whether in an audience the King might not propose something particular to me. He said, by no means, and that the King would keep in general. I then turned it from what I meant, of some foreign employment, and said, he might perhaps ask such particulars as required answers, that would affect the Duke of Argyle, which it might be imprudent in me to enter into. He said, the King would only ask in general, if Scotland was quiet, and such things as would let me in to say no more than I thought fit. He then offered to carry me to Kensington, and invited us to dine with him to-morrow.

General Huske, whose courage and conduct prevented the  
 August rout at Falkirk becoming total, and young Lord  
 31st Huntingdon, dined with us at Lord  
 Monday Chesterfield's, where there was much talk of the  
 Jacobites in Scotland; and I saw, Huske  
 thought, the ministers there encouraged these people. He  
 said, he foresaw Archibald Stewart would be brought off,  
 and, he supposed, Sir James Stewart would soon come  
 home, and we should see him in office there. I found, Lord  
 Chesterfield was for schools and villages, to civilize the  
 Highlands.

After dinner I told him, I was to see the Duke of Newcastle, and asked his advice. He said, the Duke would talk much of Scotland, and of his schemes of war abroad;

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Foreign Department, in October, 1746.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Grevenkop was a Danish gentleman, who had been Page of honour to Alexander Lord Marchmont, during his embassy in Denmark, and who remained attached to his family.

that I should tell him, I knew only public facts; but that he did not see why I might not tell him (if he asked) what was the opinion of the King's friends in Scotland as to the manner of carrying on business there. He said, he had told Mr. Pelham of our being to wait of him; and that he would be glad to see us to-morrow.

We then entered into a long discussion about my going back to Scotland. He said, he thought no man of business of a certain character should be absent from the scene of business; but that there was no crime in my going, if I were back again by the sitting of Parliament: however that, were he in my place, he would not go out of town. I said, then that decided it. He said, the place I was in was only leading to another; but that I must mean the character of a man of business, or mean nothing. I then asked, if I should see the Chancellor, when he came to town. He said, certainly; that he would ask many questions, as my brother knew, and that he hated the Duke of Argyle, who also abhorred him utterly. He then gave me leave to call on him in a morning, and said, he would be at Kensington to-morrow. He said, he had seen Mr. Pelham, and told him, we were to be with him this day, unless he had prevented us by telling, he was out of town, but were to wait on him to-morrow. Mr. Pelham said, he supposed, we were not pleased. He answered, no doubt; we were sensible of the opposition we had met with; but that it did not reach him.

My brother and I went by appointment, between nine and  
 Sept. 1st      ten, to the Duke of Newcastle's. Being called in,  
 Tuesday      he received us with great civility, and many  
                   professions; which being returned, he said, he  
 would tell us the foundation of all his politics, which was,  
 that in Scotland those only who were attached to his  
 Majesty's family should be employed, without regard to any  
 other factions or divisions; but that this was impracticable,  
 for now there was no government at all there; nothing was  
 done; the Disarming Act and the Dress Act were neither of  
 'em executed; indeed, part of this last had been suspended  
 on the representations of General Huske; and that Lord  
 Finlater<sup>1</sup> wrote to him, that the King's enemies were as  
 numerous and open as ever, especially in the Highlands; and  
 yet no notice was taken of them. I answered, that everybody  
 believed from his zeal for the King's family, that that would  
 be the foundation of his politics; but that I must add, we had  
 better have no government at all in that country, than one  
 founded on other principles; for though the King had many  
 zealous friends there, yet he had too many determined  
 enemies.

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<sup>1</sup> Vice-Admiral of Scotland.

I then complained, that I had no intimation of the list of Peers. He told me, he had wrote cautiously, after communicating his letter to the Chancellor; and that the only person he had sent the list to was the Justice Clerk<sup>1</sup>. I said, I could not expect any notification of it from that quarter. He then said, George Drummond had taken the merit of Ker's election at Edinburgh, and that the solicitor, who was not easily imposed on, believed the Duke of Argyle had done all he could to serve Mr. Scot, who said, he lost his election for voting for the Jurisdiction Bill, and said, the Duke of Cumberland had sent over officers to vote against Scot, either not knowing what the ministers intended, or not liking Mr. Scot; that the only other election, he had interested himself in, was Mr. Mitchell, whom he thought fit, and an honest man; and he believed, he owed his election to the Duke of Argyle, who had made Sir Archibald Grant drop it. He said; he had wrote to the Advocate<sup>2</sup> about it. He said, Craigg had wrote up a paper, saying, that the Court of Session had adjudged so and so, very much reflecting on the Government; and that on inquiry to the Advocate, it was found not to be true. I said, every man must answer for his own actions; but it was certain, papers and debates had been in that Court, which Lord Arniston<sup>3</sup> took up as scandalous in any Court sitting under the King's authority. He said, he wondered the President<sup>4</sup> Suffered it. I said, he certainly meant well, but might be hurried away by his love for the civil courts, and his aversion to the military, without considering the state of things; and that the King's enemies sounded high every little slip of the army, to throw dirt at the Duke, who had acted with great ability, and deserved the thanks of every friend the King had, as he had those of every one such in Scotland. He said, he would say a thing, which he ought not say to me, but he was a plain man: it was, that the list of peers being made up of all the parties in Scotland, without distinction of any, but as they were attached to the King's family, must shew, the ministers acted on that principle only. I said, that were there no man in it, but who was known to be under that predicament, it would certainly have had that effect. He seemed not to understand me, so I repeated it. He said then, he was sure they meant to have no others. He then spoke of Lord Morton, as one against the Jurisdiction Bill, and laughing, said, he knew Morton; he had oddities, and was very diverting. He then mentioned the want of a general there, and said, Albemarle<sup>5</sup> had done very

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Fletcher of Milton.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Craigie, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Dundas of Arniston, a Lord of Session.

<sup>4</sup> Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

<sup>5</sup> The Earl of Albemarle commanded the right wing of the King's army, at the battle of Culloden; and had the command of the

well there. Word was brought, Mr. Bentinck<sup>1</sup> was there. He said, he hoped to see us sometimes, and that my brother had no opposition. I told him, all the people, who had any favours from the crown, had opposed him, as they had done every one through all Scotland, who had voted for the Jurisdiction Bill. He said, 'Really!' and added, that surprised him. The Duke of Newcastle said, the Justice Clerk had wrote, that he had offered to choose a Whig set of magistrates, to concert with the people in Edinburgh, who had opposed the present set; but they had rejected the offer, and would have all their own way. When I told him of being advised to ask an audience, he said, it was perfectly right, and that he was just going to suggest it to me. We went from thence to Mr. Pelham in Downing-street, who received us blushing, and very reservedly, but made us some compliments, and particularly to my brother, though he did not say one word of his election. He spoke of the English elections, particularly Middlesex, and then of Mr. Ker, for Edinburgh, who had wrote to him, representing Mr. Drummond as the fittest man for the being chosen, and himself as obscure. I said, Ker was a low man, but a Whig. He said, Oswald had been talked of, and seemed to think the Jacobite interest had been the cause of this election, and disappointing George Drummond, but the Whigs had carried it for another. I said, he would not find three Whigs in the council except George Drummond, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Ker. I told him of intending to ask an audience. He said, I had better put it off to another day, this being post-day. I said, would it not be most respectful to leave that to Lord Holderness<sup>2</sup>? He said, I had better delay it. I said, it was only to thank the King, and that the Duke of Newcastle bid me ask it as this day. 'O then,' says he, 'he knows best what business there is.' I then told him, I had complained of not knowing the list; that I could not expect it from the Justice Clerk, who had been too long in business not to have learnt artifice enough to avoid giving me notice of it, to injure me here. He blushed, and said, he would enter into no private altercations; but, if I meant it should be set right with the King, (I said, I did) that should be taken care of.

After I was out of the room, he stopped my brother, to tell him, my warrant was signed at the Treasury.

We went to Kensington, where I kissed the King's hand.

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forces in Scotland, when the Duke of Cumberland returned to England.

<sup>1</sup> Sent to England on a special mission by the Prince of Orange, and of whom farther mention is made,

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Holdemess, a Lord of the Bedchamber, afterwards minister at the Hague, and Secretary of State.

As soon as the King went in, I was called in. I told his Majesty, that I had desired the honor of an audience to thank his Majesty for the honor he had done me, and to assure him, that in none of his dominions had he either a subject or a servant, that would with more zeal and readiness exert every talent he had in his service, and to promote his interest. The King saying nothing, I added, that I need not inform him, that my family had at all times been attached to his by principle; that I might have perhaps been mentioned to him heretofore in no advantageous light; that I therefore begged leave to assure him, that I had always held the same principles; and that in proof of it, I would remind his Majesty, that I had been the author, and my brother the proposer of the act to make it high treason to correspond with the Pretender's eldest son; that I hoped, his Majesty had seen the truth of what I had said, when I had last the honor to see him, by my brother's having in the last session of parliament done his part to serve him; and that his Majesty might have heard from Scotland, that I was the loudest in vindicating the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke. He said, I knew that in these cases there was no pleasing every body; that some would find fault, because others were pleased. I said, his Royal Highness had conducted himself with great ability; that all the complaints of the army were in themselves nothing, and, if I might use the expression, were yet less, when compared to the mischiefs done by the rebels; but it was the malice of his Majesty's enemies; for I was sorry to say, there were yet some such in that country, and particularly in the Highlands. He said, his son did not go there to please them; they naturally would be angry at him. I said, that country had infinite obligations to the Duke. I added, I should only farther assure his Majesty with truth, as I knew his character to be to love truth, that, independent of all factions, my attachment should be both out of principle and gratitude personally to him. He said, if I gave him my word, he should believe me. I told him, since he permitted the expression, I gave him my word of honour, that neither my brother nor I should ever deviate from the principle of supporting his person and government, and contributing all in our power to his service. His Majesty smiled, and then I withdrew. As soon as I came out, the Duke of Newcastle, as he was going in, made several signs and grimaces to me, as being glad I had been in. A little after Mr. Pelham introduced Mr. Bentinck<sup>1</sup>, who told me, Monsieur Fagel<sup>1</sup> had desired him to make his compliments to me and my brother.

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<sup>1</sup> Count Bentinck, who was sent to England by the Prince of Orange on a special mission respecting the prosecution of the war. The Count was extremely sanguine in his views and calculations of co-operation on the part of Holland. The noble family to which he

I went to Lord Chesterfield at nine o'clock, and told him what had passed yesterday at the Duke of Newcastle's. Mr. Pelham's, and with the King. He said, that Mr. Pelham meant me a kindness in what he said about the day of audience, for that on post-days, or, as they called them, long letter days, the King towards the end grew froward, and that therefore he had wished I might go in first; that now he would tell me what the King had said after my audience; that when they came in, the King said, Lord Marchmont had been with him; and he answered, he had seen me coming out. The King said, I had made him very strong professions (or assurances). On this the Duke of Newcastle said, what I had told him, why I was not at the Peers' election, not knowing the list; the King added, 'and not being one himself;' to which Lord Chesterfield said, it was very probable and natural to me not to vote for some in it, since I was not one myself. The King said, he found I was a very great friend of William's (meaning the Duke<sup>2</sup>). The Duke of Newcastle said, I had told him, that it was a mark of being a friend to the King in Scotland to speak well of the Duke, and for an enemy either to find fault with him, or to be silent. The King said, he believed William had been rough with them; to which the Duke said, I had said the Duke had not done the tenth part of the harm to the King's enemies, that the rebels had done to the country. Lord Chesterfield said, he saw I was as well with the King as anybody; that sentimentally well with him, so as one man has an affection with another, nobody was; that he went on with his ministers, because he saw they had the superiority; that if he liked anybody, it was Lord Granville, who carried on his business agreeable to his views, and in the manner he liked; but that he had no support. He said, the King was resolved to be quiet, and bid 'em do what they thought best for their country; that he was an old man, and did not care how he left things to him, who was to succeed him. He bid me take care not to know what he had told me. He talked afterwards of the ministers doing just enough to disoblige the Duke of Argyle, and no more. He said, the Duke of Newcastle had told the King, I had said, that Ker chosen for Edinburgh was a Whig; and he said, the Duke of Argyle pretended he was forced to come into Sir Hew Dalrymple's election, to carry another, meaning Mr. Fletcher, for the boroughs. He desired me to call in upon him now and then of a morning. Grevenkop told me, Lord Chesterfield had told him, what the King had said of my making strong professions. I said, it was only giving my word for the oath of

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belonged was always zealously attached to the family of Orange, and in strenuous opposition to the French party in the republic.

<sup>1</sup> The Groffier of the Republic of the United Provinces.

<sup>2</sup> Of Cumberland.

allegiance, which I had often taken as a justice of the peace. He said, Lord Chesterfield had asked, how I was pleased with my audience; and he had said, very well; that he had spoke about sending me abroad; and Lord Chesterfield had said, that was quite over; he had indeed thought of it some months ago, but that it was now at an end.

Being invited to dine with Lord Chesterfield, he came in  
 Sept. 3d. before dinner, and told me, he had been at  
 Thursday. court; but that there was no business done of  
 public days, the King hating to be kept from  
 the company in the drawing-room, where he made it a rule  
 to speak to every woman that he knew. He said, there was no  
 mail; but they heard the siege of Bergenopzoom went on,  
 from one Stuart, a Scots merchant in Flushing, who was very  
 active in sending intelligence, and had been so during the  
 rebellion, for which he was named King's agent. He then  
 entered into foreign affairs; said, we had no plan; but the  
 Duke of Newcastle was for war, to get the King's favor,  
 without which he could not exist; that it would stand us  
 eleven millions and a half to go on next year; that the  
 Stadtholder was for war, because those who had opposed  
 him were for peace; and this reason he had dropt in a letter  
 to him; that the Dutch proposed adding thirty thousand men  
 next year; and we were in a negotiation with Muscovy, to  
 take as many more between the Dutch and us; but he should  
 be sorry, that all depended on them; for, beside the difficulty  
 of bringing them to Flanders, that court was quite frivolous,  
 and there was no fixed government, the woman, who  
 governed, not hearing her ministers,— sometimes because  
 she was dancing, sometimes because she was praying; that  
 Denmark was engaged for three years by a subsidy to France;  
 but indeed he thought, by giving 'em more money, we might  
 get some troops from them. I said, we had better make one  
 effort, one campaign, than continue inferior. He said, we  
 had, and were now evidently inferior; but still we were  
 against peace; though, if we lost Bergenopzoom, fear might  
 make the King listen to it before another campaign; for the  
 French had repeated their offer of peace, upon restoring all  
 that had been taken. But the Duke of Newcastle was grown  
 fond of Cape Breton, to obstruct it. I said, if the French were  
 sincere, two Cape Bretons would be well sold at that price;  
 but that I doubted. He said, Marshal Saxe had opened  
 himself in confidence to Ligonier<sup>1</sup>; had told, he meant this;

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Ligonier, who fought with distinguished valour at the head of the infantry at Fontenoy, and who, commanding the cavalry, rendered the army the most important services at Roucoux, and at Lauffeldt, where he was taken. His capture led to overtures for peace made to him by Marshal Saxe, the result of which was an agreement to hold the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

for that the King hated war, and he, Saxe, had the French against him; that now he was favourite, and thought, if he had peace, he could support himself; that he had introduced discipline into their army; he had made as many enemies as he had made soldiers; and that, if we would make peace on this foundation, and a settlement for Don Philip, which should be no more than reasonable, we might have it; that Lord Sandwich<sup>1</sup> was gone to the army upon this proposal; but as he was entirely the Duke of Newcastle's, he did all he could to obstruct it; and the Duke of Newcastle, not being able to refuse it directly, did it indirectly by communicating it to the Dutch, the Empress, and the King of Sardinia, which the French complained of, as they considered us as the principal ally, and with whom things were to begin, though all meant to make no separate peace, but bring to a general one; that however no system was made, nor plan thought of; the King would be quiet, and there was no decision. I said, I was sorry for it, but that he must look forward; things could not continue as they were; and if we were to strip to the shirt, we must resolve in time, though I thought such a peace would be an honourable one, and good; and that the reasons, both ours and the Dutch, against it, were so absurd to one not used to those affairs, that I durst not pretend to say any thing to 'em. He said, some of their towns, like Menin, were dismantled, but would be so, if they took 'em back in war. I said, I wished we had such a peace, provided our ministers would not do, as the English ministry had always done, think it the completion of all things, and look no farther, as if the day of judgment had put an end to all human affairs; but I much doubted Saxe being able to make such a peace, or to support himself by it. He said, he (Saxe) thought he could, with shewing *la modération du Roi*, who had given *le repos à l'Europe*, &c.; that, in a late council of war, all the French had been for raising the siege of Bergenopzoom; that Saxe had spoke last, and was against it, saying, the town would be taken, as he knew from Mons. Lowendahl<sup>2</sup>; and on that the King got up, putting an end to the council by saying, *Je suis de l'avis du Marechal*.

Lord Chesterfield said, that every man of sense talked as I did; that it was the King of Prussia's interest now to stop

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He was of a noble Protestant family of Languedoc; and entering the British army at the age of fifteen, illustrated his career of military service by an uninterrupted series of chivalrous exploits. He was afterwards created an Earl, and made a Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Ambassador at Aix-la-Chapelle; First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord North.

<sup>2</sup> A Dane much confided in by Marshal Saxe, who carried the town by storm, having surprised it.

Sept. 13th.  
Sunday.

France: but that they, who saw the *dessous des cartes*, knew, that it was impossible to bring him to do it; that France flattered him in the grossest manner; no chaplain ever flattered an archbishop more; that they made him believe, they were entirely directed by him; and that, what was very surprising, he was their adviser to push on their successes, and had blamed them last year for not pushing on to the very heart of Holland, and signing a peace at the Hague; that this year France had desired him to offer a *médiation armée*, proposing an equitable peace, and declaring, he would join against the party refusing; that he answered, the French were fools; that he would not do it this year, that the maritime powers, and the House of Austria, might be more *épuisées*; but he would do it next campaign. Lord Chesterfield said, that all this he did [not] know problematically, but had seen it; that on the other hand the House of Austria and the Elector of Hanover could not be brought to talk with the least prudence or discretion to him; and that, from these motives, and old resentments, [the King of] Prussia was persuaded, he could not expect to keep, and to increase his power in Europe, but by their *abaissement*; that he had introduced a French system in the North, into which he was now endeavouring to engage Denmark, as he had done Sweden by a treaty lately made, whereby that country was fed by France, not only by a subsidy, but by pensions to every individual; and that Prussia would not let France be principal contracting parties to it, telling them, they should be invited to accede, and they had the real power by supporting the system with their subsidies, but they wanted to *briller*, which would render the treaty odious in the Empire; whereas now it would have the good effect of stopping the efforts that might be made by their enemy, Russia. Lord Chesterfield said, that the government of Russia was like our own, impotent and inefficient to that degree, that they were now laughed at in Sweden; for that, though he had sent 'em weekly accounts of what was doing there, and desired they would only send 5000 men into Finland, or a few galleys to cruise on the coast, to frighten Sweden, they had only sent memorials, threatening the Swedes for joining the enemies of Russia, which, though at first they did alarm Sweden, were now so contemptible, that the Swedes were going on to destroy every one, who was not of the French faction, and to cut off the Senator Ackerhielm's head, who was the chief of the patriots there, without the least foundation. I said, this being the case, we must look for our resources at home. He said, though the government had not the same appearance, as in Scotland, where everybody saw there was none, yet there was as little here,—nothing was done; and, if any thing was proposed, it was answered, 'I am very busy just now; we shall talk of that another time;' that he had accounts from Carlisle, that the Jacobite party was very public there, and

that the French prisoners were the best received of any people; that it was said, in a year they would be masters again; that they went out a shooting there, under pretence of moor-game, but in reality, to have meetings on the borders of Scotland, with people who met them there; that on this, and various other reports, he had said at a meeting they lately had, that he never had seen a time, when, if they could get a tolerable peace, it was more to be wished for; that they had no resources from abroad adequate to the distress; and that, from the spirit and number of the Jacobite party, notwithstanding their having been crushed in the late rebellion, he was of opinion, they must be supported from abroad with the hopes of a greater force than had been as yet employed; that the Duke of Newcastle said, that he did not doubt, but there were imprudent Jacobites; but, that he could not believe that the crushing the last rebellion had made more Jacobites than there were before in Scotland, where their number was much diminished by the last rebellion, and that in England the people were well affected in general, as appeared by the election of this Parliament; for, said Lord Chesterfield, it is by this election of the Parliament we judge of every thing.

At Lord Chesterfield's, before dinner, Count Bentinck came in to take leave, setting out to-morrow for Holland. Lord Chesterfield and he fell into conversation, whether the French would attack Breda or Zeeland. Count Bentinck thought, they would not do either, for that Chanclos would stop them before Breda. Lord Chesterfield said, he was too weak, and began reckoning our loss of battalions, among which, he said, were three Dutch cut off at Bergenopzoom; on this they fell into some heat, Bentinck denying it, and asking for particulars, and Lord Chesterfield saying, he did not indeed know their names, which seemed to pique Bentinck, whereby I saw, there was some deeper difference between them in their opinions. Mr. Villiers<sup>1</sup> came in as Count Bentinck went away; and Lord Chesterfield told him, that Bentinck exactly resembled Lord Stair, who would allow no facts or reasoning against his own hopes and schemes.

Lord Chesterfield told us, Sir Charles Williams<sup>2</sup> had sent over, in twelve sheets of paper, a letter giving the characters

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<sup>1</sup> The Honourable Thomas Villiers, second son of William Earl of Jersey, who, after having held the missions of Dresden, Vienna, and Berlin, was created Earl of Clarendon.

<sup>2</sup> Then envoy at Dresden, and afterwards at Petersburg, where he had a commission of an extremely delicate nature confided to him by George the Second, which probably led him to the intervention spoken of by Rulhiere, in which he certainly was disposed to act a

of the court of Dresden, and, he believed, very exact; that Bruhl was represented as a frivolous trifling fellow, whose vanity was excessive, and was a bad man rather by accident than otherwise. Villiers said, he was the greatest criminal possible to his country, and that he and the King, with their expenses, had ruined<sup>1</sup> the richest electorate he had seen; that they were living on anticipation; and it would appear at the next Michaelmas Leipsic fair, whether they could go on or not; that our King expected payment of the money he had lent, at that fair; so it was worth Lord Chesterfield's curiosity to inquire after it.

Lord Chesterfield said, the King wanted back his capital; but, he believed, he would not get it. Villers said, the county of Mansfeldt was mortgaged for part of it, and that he knew the whole secret of that affair. Lord Chesterfield then mentioned the Treaty of Commerce<sup>2</sup> with the Emperor's hereditary-dominions from Trieste as a good thing, but that it had some clogs, that made it impracticable, although the Empress now would not insist on perpetuating the drawbacks on Silesia linens; that Wassenaer<sup>3</sup> seemed to be very indifferent about it at this time; but that the merchants in the city approved much of it, and were ready to build houses, as the trade was to be carried on by our own officers, and in our own houses, without paying more than the ancient duties; but that some people were against trying new things; *we had done very well hitherto*; and why should we not go on in the same way? as if we could not do better. By this, I understood, Lord Chesterfield meant the Duke of Newcastle, or perhaps both him and his brother. Mr. Villiers said, Sir John Barnard had heard of this treaty; that it was a great stroke; and, though the court of Saxony seemed not sensible of it, it would go near to destroy the fair at Leipsic, which was already much diminished, as well as that at Breslau, which was increasing, and probably would do so, as

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more considerable part than that which he took upon himself, but with which he was obliged to content himself.

<sup>1</sup> This ruin had to be consummated by the occupation and systematic spoliation of the Electorate by the Prussians during the seven years' war, consequences of the policy of this same King-Elector, and of his prime minister. Peace, the fertility of its soil, the industry of the inhabitants, and the paternal rule of his successor, did wonders towards the restoration of that fine country.

<sup>2</sup> Our first purely commercial treaty with Austria appears to be that of 1478, ratified by Maximilian in 1487; but of any such treaty as that which, it here appears, was made about this time, there seems to be no trace discoverable in our archives.

<sup>3</sup> This is the title of a Dutch noble family. It should seem, that M. de Wasner, the Imperial Envoy, was meant. This mistake has occurred before.

being nearer to those countries, such as Hungary, which brought money to carry off goods. They talked then of the Jews; and Lord Chesterfield said, the Empress, if one might say so, was much priest-ridden; that she had not only been inflexible to the maritime powers' application for the Jews<sup>1</sup>, but when old Stahremberg, who is at the head of her finances, spoke in their favour, she fell into a passion, [and] bid him be silent, saying, she wondered he was not stopped by his regard to God and Jesus Christ, whom these people had crucified. Villiers said, Stahremberg too was reckoned to be a Jesuit.

Mr. Grevenkop came in from having dined with Lord  
 14th Sept. Chesterfield at Camden-house. He said, he  
 Monday. came to tell me, that Lord Chesterfield would  
 have me go to court to-morrow, and continue  
 so to do sometimes, that the King might be used to my face;  
 that, as Lord Chesterfield had wanted to know how I was  
 with the King, he had been that day with Lady Yarmouth<sup>2</sup>,  
 who told him, the King had spoke very advantageously of me,  
 and said, he believed I was his friend; that he had very few in  
 Scotland; but he believed, I was one. Grevenkop then talked  
 of Scotland, and bid me open myself upon it to Lord  
 Chesterfield, and amongst many questions, he said, one  
 question must be a dead secret between ourselves, and that  
 was, what should I think, were the Duke to go down thither  
 for six weeks in the winter? I said, it would have a very good  
 effect, unless they sent him down accompanied by his young  
 aides-de-camp, to offend people, and to debauch parsons'  
 daughters, to alienate as good friends as any the King had;  
 and unless it was so much against the Duke's inclination as  
 to make him averse to that country, besides the offence it  
 might give the Prince<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The liberation of the Austrian Jews from their heavy yoke was reserved for her son, the Emperor Joseph the Second, who did much to improve their civil and moral condition.

<sup>2</sup> The King's mistress.

<sup>3</sup> Natural affection and common interests might probably have prevented the existence of the unfortunate jealousies and differences which prevailed in the Royal family—at any rate would have hindered their assuming a serious shape, or being prolonged, had it not been for the interference of selfish or impassioned counsellors, who could irritate and inflame on both sides with impunity, under the plea of public duty; whilst the intermeddler in the disunions of a private family must take care to act covertly, and with much circumspection, if he would escape the loud and bitter censures of the world.

Mr. Coxe fairly avows his decided disapprobation of the harsh and criminating tone of the King's message to the Prince of Wales, when the overt breach took place between the father and the son,

After dinner Lord Chesterfield pulled out a paper, and  
 14th Sept. desired me to look at it. He said, it was  
 Monday. founded on the present state of their  
 negotiations, which were a continuation of  
 what the late Pensionary<sup>1</sup> had carried on; that Mons. de Saxe  
 had proposed in general a treaty, to be carried on by the  
 French King and the Duke, and wherein he and Ligonier  
 could treat *plus galamment* than professed ministers,  
 whereby all should be restored on both sides, a settlement  
 got for Don Philip, in which Spain should be made  
 reasonable, and the Genoese restored. Sir John Ligonier  
 said, he would report what passed to the Duke. Whereupon,  
 Mons. de Saxe gave him a paper. This overture was thought  
 too general in England; and therefore it was proposed, that  
 the King should send a minister to the army, to communicate  
 with the French. On this the French sent Mons. Puisieux<sup>2</sup> to  
 Liege, who dined there with Lord Sandwich<sup>3</sup>, and proposed  
 to him in particular, as the ultimatum of France, a mutual  
 restitution of all taken on each side; a reasonable  
 establishment for Don Philip; that the Genoese should be  
 restored; as also the Duke of Modena; and that the French  
 should be at liberty to fortify Dunkirk on the land side, or  
 else to keep Furnes as it now is; and that the outlines of a  
 peace should be agreed between Britain and France in the  
 first place, as the two principal powers. Lord Sandwich was  
 ordered to take no step without concerting with the allies, so  
 that he proposed opening conferences to treat. To this Mons.  
 Puisieux consented, and said, the King would name a  
 minister, but that this method would render the treaty more  
 difficult. Lord Chesterfield said, it was the very design of  
 taking this method, as none of our allies are for a peace, the  
 Empress wanting more to get some of what has been given to  
 the King of Sardinia; this King wanting all the Riviera de  
 Ponente; the Prince of Orange thinking war proper to  
 increase his authority; and the Duke of Newcastle being the  
 only man in our cabinet who talks always for war<sup>4</sup>; that

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in which Sir Robert Walpole gave vent to his own angry and  
 resentful feelings, regardless of the wise and moderate suggestions  
 of Lord Hardwicke; and these papers, in the following volume,  
 bear but too full evidence to the persevering efforts of members of  
 the opposition in raising impediments to reconciliation.

<sup>1</sup> Of Holland. Each province of the United Netherlands had a  
 Pensionary; but the province of Holland paid so large a share of  
 the burdens of the State, and had such a preponderance in wealth  
 and population, that her Pensionary was, in fact, the Prime  
 Minister of the Republic.

<sup>2</sup> He had been French plenipotentiary at the conference at Breda in  
 1746, and had become minister for Foreign Affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Then ambassador at the Hague.

<sup>4</sup> It appears from Mr. Pelham's letters, that he thought that more  
 might and ought to have been made of this overture than was

Puisieux in the conferences reckoned restoring Cape Breton a *sine quâ non*; and, on Lord Sandwich's saying, it was not quite so, but to be treated of, he answered, we might keep it, and they would keep Flanders.

The paper was, heads of a treaty founded on those proposed as the ultimatum of France by Marechal Saxe to Sir John Ligonier:—1. That France should for ever renounce the Pretender, and his posterity, and guarantee the Protestant succession. This is occasioned by Puisieux making this distinction between the Pretender and his posterity, and saying, if they did renounce his posterity, they must have something for it. 2. A mutual restitution of all conquests during the war. 3. France to fortify Dunkirk on the land side, putting [it] on the sea side in the state it ought to be by the treaties of Utrecht and 1717; or else to put it in this state in all respects, and to keep Furnes. 4. The dispute about the enclaves of Hainault to be referred to commissaries, and the King of England to use his good offices with both sides. 5. The duchies of Parma, Mirandola, and Guastalla to be erected into a kingdom for Don Philip; to return to the present possessors, in case Don Philip does succeed to Naples; or else, Parma and Placentia to be made into a kingdom for him on the same conditions. It is noted, that in the first case it would all come off the Empress, who has but a bad title to Mirandola, having bought it since the peace of Utrecht, and to Guastalla, the true heir being now alive. In the second, it would come partly off the King of Sardinia; and that Savoy, lying on this side of the Alps, would be most proper for Don Philip. 6. That the Duke of Modena shall be restored. 7. That the Genoese shall be restored to all except Final, to be left to the King of Sardinia. 8. No indemnification to be demanded for any thing done in the war. What relates to Spain was referred to the particular plan for that treaty.

Lord Chesterfield told me, there had been a private negotiation with Spain, by means of Mons. Maccanas<sup>1</sup>; that Spain was now become Spain; was willing to treat without France, being governed by the present Queen on Spanish principles; but insisted on a settlement, however small, for

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done. His account of what was passing on it in the Cabinet shews, how lamentably great was the want there of a first minister effective through talents, energy, and consideration.

<sup>1</sup> M. Maccanas was sent to Breda during the Conferences of 1746, as a private agent of the Spanish government. He had been sent by it to Cambray during the Congress there in 1725. He was a man of science, and was persecuted by the Inquisition in Alberoni's time, for having written a paper against the power of the Court of Rome.

Don Philip, to prevent his returning to nose the King and Queen, and head the French party, the Queen Dowager having no more influence; as also on an equitable treaty for the West Indies, whereby our ships should steer such a course as might prevent smuggling; and on the restitution of Gibraltar; and that Maccanas, for having postponed this article, was disavowed, and ordered to Huy, to wait the orders of his court; that the King of Sardinia might make a separate peace, having signed one with France in 1745, whereby they were to conquer with their joint forces part of the Milanese; but Spain broke it, insisting for better terms for Don Philip; that the King was either for war or peace, as his hopes or fears were raised; that the Duke was rather for peace, as he found himself constantly disappointed in his own numbers, and the French always complete; that no suspension of arms had been offered on either side, or would be accepted by France; and that the conferences would not open this month yet. I said, in this way, I much feared, we should not get a peace; that I should wish Don Philip rather had Sardinia and Corsica, than anything on the continent of Italy; and that what was proposed there for him might be divided between Sardinia, and Genoa, and Porto Longone, &c. given to Tuscany, to leave Spain no footing in the upper part of Italy; but that the stipulation for our trade in America should go hand in hand with this. Lord Chesterfield said, that was to be regulated by the treaty of 1670. I said, I feared, that would not be sufficient, nor answer the address of Parliament in 1739. He said, Cape Breton had now sunk in every one's opinion, and was thought useless, even to the French, for they now fished with us, there being more fish than we had hands to take; that the Duke of Bedford now wished it demolished; that Knowles<sup>1</sup> represented it as a place not tenable, as did Colonel Warburton; that the garrison of 3000 was melted down to 1600; that the Duke of Bedford governed the Admiralty absolutely, was very obstinate, and would not be spoke to; and that the ministers knew no more of what was doing there, than I now did. He said, he did not expect a peace, and thought us on the brink of ruin; that he thought in another campaign it might be best to have an army of 40,000 men on the Moselle with [a] great many irregulars to ravage Lorraine, and make a diversion there, and keep on the defensive in the Low Countries; that he reckoned, we might have next year of Dutch 50,000, though they reckoned double the number, and had now a footing of 90,000; of our own 45,000; and of Austrians 45,000; which made 140,000 men; and that, though he would not wish our safety to depend on it, we might perhaps have 30,000 Russians; that he was for a floating force of 5000 or 6000 men on the western coast of France, for it was inconceivable

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<sup>1</sup> The Admiral.

how much our silly attempt of last year<sup>1</sup> had alarmed 'em; the Chevalier de St. George<sup>2</sup>, taken by Anson, having told him, that as they imagined our force much greater than it was, had we threatened and hurried 'em at first without giving 'em time to learn our weakness from deserters, we had taken them with five millions of effects six ships, and all the stores of the East India Company, which must have been ruined. He said, the Empress undervalued Flanders, and said it brought her in nothing, but cost her much in garrisons.

At Lord Chesterfield's at dinner: Lord Gower told us, that  
 Sept. 17th. the spirit of disaffection was very great in the  
 Thursday. north-west counties; that they had frequent  
 meetings; that at Shrewsbury they called the  
 King an usurper, and in general were very bold and given to  
 mobbing. Lord Chesterfield told, that Cronstrom<sup>3</sup> was a  
 great lover of money and a *boutefeu*, but a great pen and ink  
 man, and always bustling; that when he was at the Hague,  
 Cronstrom and Ginckel<sup>4</sup> refused to serve under Prince  
 Waldeck<sup>5</sup>, and that he<sup>6</sup> had told Prince Waldeck to make no  
 steps towards them, as he would be better without 'em both,  
 Ginckel, Lord Chesterfield said, being bashful; but that  
 Cronstrom got in so well with Prince Waldeck, that he took  
 him, and soon in the campaign Prince Waldeck found him  
 out, and they quarrelled; and it was on the Prince of Orange  
 giving Cronstrom the command in the lines, to which Prince  
 Waldeck went with the last Dutch detachment, that this  
 Prince resigned his command; that it was owing to a pique  
 the Prince of Orange had at Prince Waldeck, who had taken  
 his commission from the republican party, who meant by it  
 to obstruct the Prince of Orange's advancing. He told us, that  
 General Keith<sup>7</sup> had been introduced by Mr. Tittley<sup>8</sup> in  
 Denmark, and had told the Queen<sup>9</sup>, that it was to shew he  
 meant to be seen by her as a faithful subject of her father's;  
 that Tittley wrote to him too that Keith said, he was of

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<sup>1</sup> The expedition under Admiral Lestock and General Sinclair, which in 1746 made a fruitless attempt on Port L'Orient, the naval arsenal of the French East India Company.

<sup>2</sup> Who commanded that part of the French squadron defeated and taken by Lord Anson in 1747, which was destined to India.

<sup>3</sup> Governor of Bergenopzoom, who lost that town.

<sup>4</sup> Both Generals in the Dutch army.

<sup>5</sup> Prince Waldeck commanded the Dutch at Fontenoy and until he retired from the army, during the siege of Bergenopzoom.

<sup>6</sup> When Ambassador there.

<sup>7</sup> Brother to the Earl Marshal. He served with distinction in Russia, and died a Field-Marshal in the Prussian army, fighting heroically at Hochkirch.

<sup>8</sup> British Minister at Copenhagen.

<sup>9</sup> The Queen of Denmark was the youngest daughter of George the Second.

opinion Bergenopzoom could not be taken, as it was not invested. He added, that Keith was come to Holland on his way over hither, but was gone out of curiosity to see the army, and said, he was coming over to spend his days in Scotland, his native country. I said, the King would save money by giving him a pension, or employing him here to keep him out of Scotland, where he had nothing to do, and no estate to live on, and must be surrounded with Jacobites, and might be a terrible centre of union for them. Lord Chesterfield said, he suspected this going to Scotland very much, but did not see how it could be helped. He told us, Cronstrom had lost every thing, and all his papers, though a friend to a gentleman, who wrote to him, had saved every thing from the same house, two hours before the alarm became general; and that Lowendahl (immediately made a Marechal) had since wrote to Cronstrom, that he had buried 1200<sup>1</sup>, and taken 1800 prisoners, among whom were 150 officers.

Sir Luke Schaub told me, the Prince would be in town on Sunday, and had wished much to have me employed abroad, at Vienna particularly, where we wanted a man of weight; that Robinson<sup>2</sup> *faisait le capable, et l'important*, but was incapable, and had his head as confused as his master Horace Walpole; that he was a *brouillon, et brouilloit les affaires*, and besides was a humourist; that at first he was more an Austrian than any of the ministry at Vienna, admired the Empress, and executed his orders *fort mollement*; but that, after many reprimands and orders, he now went even to invectives, insomuch, that he has seen in letters to Wassenaer<sup>3</sup> that the Empress came out from audiences given to him *se fondant en larmes*; that she was obliged to endure what he said; and that the next day he would be as soft again as ever, just as his head turned; that this was not the way at Vienna; *qu'il falloit être soutenu à Vienne*, but not shew any want of the necessary regards; that Villette<sup>4</sup> at Turin was a man of sense, but so much given to that court, and held so at Vienna, that nothing that came from him was believed there; and Robinson was held at Turin to be so much attached to Vienna, that nothing he wrote was believed there, so that the necessary correspondence between these two was useless. One Sturm, a Swiss from Berne, came in, and said, the Dutch had asked the 4000 men that canton was to furnish by treaty, and perhaps might ask the money Berne owed them by the same

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<sup>1</sup> The Scots Brigade in the Dutch service suffered here dreadfully.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Robinson, minister at Vienna, afterwards Secretary of State, and created Lord Grantham in 1761.

<sup>3</sup> M. de Wasner, see p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> A Swiss; afterwards minister in Switzerland

treaty. Sir Luke said, they had asked to raise a battalion in the canton of Schaffhausen, which had been granted to them, and perhaps more might be asked in concert with Burnaby<sup>1</sup>, to whom, Sturm said, orders of this kind were sent.

The Duke of Newcastle at Kensington took me up to the fire, and talked a great deal in generals about Scotland, and wanting my advice. I told him whenever he did, I would give it him frankly and honestly, but unasked would not meddle, as I knew it would be said to be done with some view against the Duke of Argyle, who would treat me, as I had been at the cabinet council about the regiments; and I should be just as ill supported. He said, he hoped to see me sometimes.

I went to Lord Chesterfield, and told him what had passed  
 Sept. 25th. with the Duke of Newcastle, and desired him  
 Friday. to assure Mr. Pelham, if I did not trouble him,  
 it was only for the reasons I had given to his  
 brother.

My brother told me, he had been with Mr. Pelham, to  
 Oct. 22d. desire to know, whether he would support his  
 Thursday. interest in the county, and had proposed Mr.  
 Pringle to succeed to Mr. Douglas of Cavers's  
 place; that Mr. Pelham had assured him, he would support  
 his interest; and, as to the other, he could not promise, till he  
 had had one conversation with the Duke of Argyle. My  
 brother and I went to the Duke of Newcastle, and dined with  
 Lord Chesterfield, who after dinner talked of Mr. Pitt as one  
 most extravagantly proud, and who meant to distinguish  
 himself as leader of the party of Grenvilles and Lyttelton. We  
 told him what had passed with Mr. Pelham; and he told us,  
 Mr. Pelham was in a very distressed state, being obliged to  
 defend measures he disapproved, and forced by his brother  
 to ask all disagreeable things of the King; for the Duke lived  
 by the smiles in the closet, and would ask nothing, that was  
 disliked there. He said, he did not know where the  
 government lived; that there was none; they met indeed, and  
 talked, and then said, 'Lord! it is 'late; when shall we meet to  
 talk over this again?' and that the King was quite insensible,  
 and would do nothing, saying it was their business,—it was  
 all one to him who was to succeed; perhaps one might be as  
 good as the other.

I went to Mr. Pelham, to prevent his having the trouble of  
 Oct. 22d. coming to me. I told him, I did so, as he had  
 Thursday. other things to do. He told me, he had wrote  
 strongly, but in a friendly way, to people in  
 Scotland. I told him, I rejoiced at it, and hoped they would go

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<sup>1</sup> British Minister to the Swiss cantons.

on. He said, they could do no more at this time. I told him, I should have troubled him before, but as I knew in what light I was seen here, as an enemy to the Duke of Argyle, I was determined to avoid meddling, and would continue so, unless I was asked, or in what concerned the county my brother serves for, and my own relations. He entered into a long discourse, of not breaking with the Duke of Argyle, of not offending, but carrying things by softness, and not by conquest. I approved of all he said, saying, none of the King's friends desired other than to receive a share of the King's favor, without asking the Duke of Argyle's permission; had, as to myself, far from wishing him to quarrel with the Duke, I wished the Duke's interest to be prevalent, wherever the Duke had an interest as a subject, but not where he could have none but as a tyrant; that I knew the foot he had been on in Sir Robert Walpole's time, and must foretell him, that he would never find the Duke cordial with them, if even a churchwarden was named in Scotland by any but himself; and if my brother's interest was not to be promoted without his consent, it would not be done; and as he and I had been the first to list with the present ministry, we should be disgraced as dupes; but the King's interest would suffer; that, as to the general, if they did not act right, I should lament it, but should do my part; for my only concern was in the county my brother represented. He said, he would talk thoroughly to the Duke; that I did not suppose, the Duke would tell him, my brother's interest must not be supported; for then he would say, I ought not to have been taken into the King's service, which the Duke had approved. I said, 'Yes;' but he had however wrote down the letter of refusal of letting me have the Register's place for the Marquis of Lothian, by the very messenger that brought the offer of it. At this he looked very much surprised, and went on: 'If the Duke approves of the principle, but tries to obstruct it in the execution, I must be a dupe; I don't mean as a reflection,' says he, 'but that I am on my guard;' that he would not prophesy, but this must reasonably be the way, and I must think so, were it my own case, and should think it hard, were I not spoke to, because it was said, Lord Marchmont is at bottom an aspiring young man, and very ambitious. Yes, says I, and has a nose upon his face, for that may be urged as an objection fully as much to the purpose. He went on, 'And wants to govern all, as his grandfather did.' 'My grandfather, Sir!' says I. 'Yes,' says he; 'was he not King William's minister?' 'No, Sir,' said I; 'he was his favourite and friend, and confident, but was too much obstructed ever to get the King's promise executed of paying the debts his forfeiture created. But, 'Sir,' says I, 'I agree, you should deal softly with the Duke.' He then mentioned his abilities, family, and long experience, which made him superior to every body. I said, to cut up all this by the roots, 'Sir, let the Duke be the King's

friend, rest within the bounds of a subject, and not oppose my brother, and he, Mr. Pelham, should not bid me shew any respect to the Duke of Argyle, that I would refuse;’ only if the Duke of Cumberland and Argyle should have any dispute, Mr. Pelham could not doubt which side I should take. I told [him] as to ambition, I gave him leave to call me a villain, whenever he found me asking Scots power, beyond what I had told him of my brother and relations; and that I should not meddle but when asked, and then should always not only tell him the truth, but the whole truth. I then asked, that Mr. Nimmo<sup>1</sup> might enjoy his whole salary, and told him who was quartered upon him, and how it was done. He told me, he knew nothing of it; that he had always condemned all these things; that he desired Mr. Nimmo might enjoy the whole; that, as to what engagements he was under to the person concerned, he knew best himself. [I said], that all I wanted was, that he might be safe from any act of power. He said, he certainly should as long as he was in; and desired, I would write him word, that he had granted it before he knew who was quartered on him. This was, no doubt, on account of Lord Tweeddale with the King. I thanked him, repeated what I had said about the ambition charged to me, and of my brother’s interest, which, he said, should be protected, for so long as Mr. Hume concurred with the King’s measures, his interest was the King’s interest.

Lord Chesterfield told me, there was as yet no speech; that  
 Oct. 27th. they had put it to the Chancellor, who had  
 Tuesday. desired to know, what he was to say; that he  
           saw he could not please them all three, the  
 Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham; and therefore desired hints, which as yet were not given him; that the Chancellor, though in opinion with Mr. Pelham and Lord Chesterfield, yet would not give up his power over the Duke of Newcastle for the remaining power; but, in order to govern the Duke in every thing else, he went along with him in the main point, whereby he likewise secured many preferments into his own family; that Mr. Pelham<sup>2</sup> and the Duke now conversed only through Mr. Stone, being apt to fall into a passion when they conversed together; that they would surely break, if Mr. Pelham did not think it would be the ruin of them both; that Mr. Pelham’s only concern was,

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<sup>1</sup> Receiver-General of the Excise in Scotland; brother-in-law to Lord Marchmont, having married his sister, Lady Jane Hume, in 1743.

<sup>2</sup> A difference between them broke out, and was appeased in the year following through the mediation of the Chancellor and Mr. Stone. But Mr. Pelham informed Lord Marchmont distinctly on the degree of habitual intercourse existing between him and the Duke of Newcastle.—See *Diary*, January 29th, 1748.

that he might not be personally attacked in the House of Commons; and that, provided he was not made the object there, he was easy. For this end, Pitt, and the Lytteltons and Grenvilles must have every thing they asked, and now held half the places in the King's gift; and then the old set, who hated these, came and asked, when there would be no more Lytteltons and Grenvilles to be pleased, that they might have room for something, which made him uneasy on the other hand; that as to Scotland, his view was to obtain of the Duke of Argyle by fair means, what Lord Marchmont, Lord Morton, and Lord Finlater wanted to have by offending the Duke. I said, for my part I should advise against offending the Duke, provided the same thing was done; but I saw, that Mr. Pelham durst not stir one step in Scots matters without the Duke, and would be imposed on by him. He said, he had the same opinion of the Duke that we had, and that the King had a most mortal hatred to him, worse than to any man in his dominions; and that I had affection for the Duke in comparison of the King. He said, Lord Granville had had no communication with the King, except in public at the levee, for this twelvemonth, and that his notions about foreign affairs were insinuated to the King by Ned Finch<sup>1</sup>, who, being of the King's play-parties, when the King was cut out talked with him in a corner of the room; that this he knew from Lady Yarmouth, with whose fidelity and frankness to him he was perfectly satisfied; that he had asked her, whether the King's saying to him, that he could do nothing, was only *par manière d'acquit*, or that the King really believed he had no power. She said, he really did believe it, since they all deserted him; and that he said, he saw there was a connexion that would govern him; that he said in answer, that quitting was not a thing to be tried every year, and that the King might safely put them to it, and was King, if he had a mind to be so; and she answered, that the King thought so too, but did not know what the occasions were on which they would not quit - that she had told him, the King bid her ask him, whether he would have quitted when they all did, as they said they had his demission in their pockets; that he said, he would answer differently from what others had done since, for that he would have quitted on a point of honor, since those, he had joined with, and his friends quitted; but when he had satisfied the point of honor, he would not have opposed the King's measures, but have supported them without taking money for it. He said, the King had acquired a good deal of dissimulation; that he smiled on the Duke of Newcastle sometimes to make him do things, and then laughed at him for the effects of those smiles; that, indeed, he hardly knew the gentleman again; that he was not

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<sup>1</sup> Brother to the Earl of Winchelsea. He had been minister at various courts; and in 1742 was made a Groom of the Bedchamber.

presumptuous, and therefore did not love to be reasoned with, lest he should be discovered, that he could not reason; and that for this reason, whenever one spoke to him, it was the first period that made all the impression, and he stuck there; that he would tell me an anecdote,—that as he wanted a Colonel's rank for George Stanhope<sup>1</sup>, he asked Lady Yarmouth, whether he or she should speak about it; that she said, she would, lest the King should refuse, and think himself bound down by a refusal to him, for the King had heard and remembered all George Stanhope had said about the campaign of Dettingen<sup>2</sup>; that some time after she told him, the thing was ripe for him to speak; that he did tell the King, he hoped he would give a young fellow a Colonel's rank, who had seen more business than many who had it, and was very good food for powder. The King looked into his book and said, there were many before him; to which he answered, that if it had been his due, he would not have asked it, knowing the King would do him justice. The King said, he must stop somewhere. He said, 'after George Stanhope, if he pleased,' and turned the conversation to prevent a refusal; that some time after he desired Fox, the Secretary at War, to ask the King, if he would not fill up his aide-de-camps, and to tell him, that he found nothing could be more agreeable to Lord Chesterfield than making George Stanhope one of 'em; that on Fox's doing so, the King refused it, and Fox told him, when he came out, that he fancied he had made him speak at a wrong time; that on telling this to Lady Yarmouth she was surprised, and said, he should write a letter to the Duke to recommend Stanhope; that he told her he would take no roundabout way, and desired her to tell the King so; that, since he had not interest enough to get it directly, he would never take any other method; that Lord Harrington had got the best regiment, the King had, for his son; and since he could not get one for an older officer, his relation, he knew what he had to do, but should never ask it in any other way; that on her telling the King so, the next time Fox went in, the King told him, there were four regiments vacant; Lord George Beauclerk must have one, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope another; and he must write to Napper, the Duke's officer, to inquire who were talked of as best for the other two; that some time after, when Fox went in, he shewed him the names of some Lieutenant-Colonels, saying, for the other two his Majesty had named them. The King said, he had never heard so much about any body as about Colonel Stanhope; that when he told this to Lady Yarmouth, she held up both her hands in

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<sup>1</sup> A cousin of Lord Chesterfield's; he was the next brother to the Earl Stanhope of that day.

<sup>2</sup> He was Lieutenant-Colonel of Duroure's regiment in that battle.

astonishment. Lord Gower came in to Lord Chesterfield, and I went away.

The Prince of Wales at his drawing-room asked me after my brother; said, he heard there was to be a petition against him; and that little else was to be done this year in the House of Commons; that he thought, they had better put a short question, to turn out the Prince of Wales's servants. I said, that would be a bold one. He said, that 'Sir Luke Schaub had said to somebody, who alleged France would not do something,' *Mais pourquoi pas? Ils ont déjà tant fait de mal!* but added, laughing, 'I don't apply it.' I said, I should be very sorry to see it applied to this parliament, who, I hoped, were so much attached to the Royal family as not to widen differences. He said, they were resolved to turn out Drax<sup>1</sup>, who had a very good cause, and mentioned some particulars of it. [He] then said, he had the greatest regard always for me, and had wished me in before, but in business; however, he was glad I was in. I thanked him, and said, I came in now out of deference to the opinion of others. He said, he had always wished it, and would always wish me and my brother well; that he knew his parts, and would have done anything by way of advancement, addition, or otherwise, to have made him belong to himself. But as he had attached himself to those, who were at variance with his friends, he [the Prince] was obliged to do what he had done; but he had delayed it for two years, till he could do so no longer. However, that he never had lost him quite out of sight, adding, every now and then, 'You understand me.' I thanked him for mentioning this matter to me, as it gave me an occasion I had much wanted, to assure his Royal Highness, that nothing had ever given me more pain than my brother's being removed from his service; and that, notwithstanding any indiscretion of my brother's might have given him offence, yet I could assure him with truth, that, whether in favour or out, he had not anywhere, nor had the King, any subjects or servants more ready to sacrifice everything in support of the interest of the Royal family, and the present establishment. That he knew enough of this country to know people were sincere in their own interest; that attachment to his family was my brothers and mine, for we had in the most violent opposition never looked anywhere else, as was very evident from my brother's proposing the making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's son; and that even in the opposition, had I seen then what I now saw, I would have spit my tongue out, before I would have voted against the army. He said, 'I am for economy.' I said, I thought our present establishment was not to be weighed in the scales with shillings and pence; and we saw the last

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<sup>1</sup> Member for Wareham.

rebellion had wasted many years' savings. He said, 'Are you for more than fourteen thousand in time of peace?' I said, for whatever was necessary to secure the establishment, which had too many enemies. He asked, 'Do you really think so?' I said, I did. He added, 'You have a motley administration in Scotland.' I said, I knew not how it was; but the King was ill served there. He said, 'He is so; but the Jacobites have had all the encouragement there, and the ministers there, these people, have never been my friends; you understand me.' I said<sup>1</sup>, that though the Jacobites were too numerous there, yet the King had great numbers of as zealous subjects as anywhere, especially in the South, as I knew from inquiries I had made, to see what effect our proposal would have had. He said, he had approved of that proposal. I said, we were very happy in that, for the King had approved it also. He said, 'Yes;' but many things were done against the King's opinion. I said, I was very sorry for it. He said, he did not meddle in what had passed before I went to Scotland; that he had seen too much of the inside, not to draw himself out of it immediately; that there was knavery on one side, and folly on the other. I said, that should not have been, where the master's honour was at stake. He said, the man, that was an able man, was not in the secret; and the other had been surprised by the things coming so soon upon him; and that, though there were many odd men in this country, a ministry was not to be found by calling out *Odd man*<sup>2</sup>!

My brother told me he had been at Mr. Pelham's on Friday night about the address; that the Board of Treasury, the Commons of the Admiralty, some of the Board of Trade, Horace Walpole, Dorrington, the Speaker<sup>3</sup>, and Mr. West<sup>4</sup>, had been there; that Mr. Pelham had been extremely civil to him, and after that, and not till then, most of the others had taken notice of him; that, on reading the motion, he had asked if the word *expectations* in it was not too strong relating to the negotiation for peace; that nobody finding another word, it had been proposed to leave out the whole sentence; but he objected to that, as nothing else was said of peace; and he thought peace too necessary for this nation. On this, it was agreed to stand as it did; that after the meeting broke up, Mr. Henry Fox told him he was of his

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<sup>1</sup> This Diary having made mention of proceedings against Mr. Stuart, late Provost of Edinburgh, charged with complicity with the rebels, it should be stated that in the preceding month he was acquitted by an unanimous verdict of a very respectable jury.

<sup>2</sup> An illustration drawn from the practice of hackney chairmen. If, when a chair was called, one of the partners was absent, the one present cried out, 'Odd man!' to procure the aid of some other chairman, who might have happened to be also without a partner.

<sup>3</sup> The Speaker was Arthur Onslow.

<sup>4</sup> Member for St. Albans.

opinion, that peace was necessary, and there was but one man against it; that he supposed one of the ministers spoke freely to him [my brother], and named Lord Chesterfield. My brother said, Lord Chesterfield did talk to him sometimes, and he believed was for peace. Mr. Fox said, all were, except the Duke of Newcastle, who had, on the Dutch answer, blustered, as if that had added both men and money into our scale; and that the Chancellor concurred with the Duke, in order to keep the government of him.

My brother told me, that Mr. Nugent, lately made  
 Nov. 19th Comptroller to the Prince, came and took a  
 Tuesday. place close by him in the House on Monday,  
 and told him, how much he wished him in the  
 Prince's service, and that the Prince wished it too, and had the greatest regard for him, with many other civilities; and then gave him a paper to peruse, which my brother shewed me. It was the beginning of a memorial for the Prince, importing, that the Prince had two great ends to obtain;—one, to have the influence due to his rank; the other, to have it in his power, when King, to choose such ministers as he chose to confide in. In order to both these he must begin by attaching to himself such men as had, and were thought to have honesty and abilities to carry on the business in Parliament, and in office; and that the merit, and not the number, of such was to be considered, for this would follow the first, as every one would follow another, as they saw those engaged in a probability of being able to carry on the ministry; that those attached to the Prince should already act as ministers, by carrying on the system which the Prince intended to follow when king, and therefore should not oppose; and that a settled opposition was become impracticable.

My brother told me, that Dr. Lee<sup>1</sup> had repeated all the same civilities to him afterwards, and had said, the Prince was sorry for what had passed; and after repeating this again, he added, this was all the Prince could do; and then asked my brother why he might not come into the Prince's service, and pressed it. But he said, it was now impossible, and that however he would exert as much zeal in every cause of the Royal family as if he had a thousand places.

Sir Luke Schaub told me, that he had had a conversation  
 Nov. 27th with M. Andrié from Prussia, after his being  
 Friday. recalled, but before he left this country,

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<sup>1</sup> A civil lawyer of reputation, a political and personal friend of the Prince of Wales, on whose death he was appointed Treasurer of the Princess's household. He was afterwards made Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Prerogative Court.

wherein he had persuaded him that it was the King of Prussia's interest to join the maritime powers, and stop the progress of France, for that, if the King of Prussia meant to substitute himself to the House of Austria in the scale of power against France, it was impracticable; and by throwing necessarily the House of Austria into the arms of France, must produce a Popish league against a Protestant league, wherein there would be found no equality; and if he meant only to secure to himself what he had acquired, this could be obtained only by joining those powers, whose interest it would be, as states as well as Protestants, to keep him powerful for their own aid and support; whereas, a contrary conduct would ensure their resentment and enmity: that Andrié promised, he would make use of this when at Berlin, and accordingly was doing so, and had succeeded so far, that the King of Prussia wanted a minister at his court from hence; that Michel, the secretary, a Swiss, charged here with the Prussian affairs, had shewed him letters from the King of Prussia, pressing that a minister should be sent, but *sans le compromettre*; that he had spoke to three ministers, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Chesterfield; and that this last had told him, that the King would not consent to send a minister to Prussia, though he had proposed it several times. He then described a minister capable of doing the business at Berlin; said, he would deserve statues to be erected in Holland and here; and added, that he had named me; but Lord Chesterfield had said, I would not. I told him my reasons against going, thanked him for his good opinion, and named Lord Sandwich, at which he tossed up his head, as thinking him not fit. I named Villiers, who, he said, would not do, or Mr. Trevor, whom he thought also unfit for the business; and concluded with shewing how easy it was to negociate with honest views and fair dealing.

I shewed Lord Chesterfield Mr. Carre's letter from  
 Nov. 29th Scotland, of the Jacobites being rampant, and  
 Sunday. despising the laws. He told me of the demand  
 of 580,000*l.* for jurisdictions<sup>1</sup>, and that he saw  
 it was to prevent the execution of the act; but that if, on the  
 contrary, anything hard was proposed as to Scotland, he  
 would vote for it. I said, that would be just doing what was  
 wanted to set all that country on the side of the Duke of  
 Argyle, who directed all the tools there. He said, he had seen  
 on Monday, that the Duke was to have an audience of the  
 King; that going in before him, he had told the King, his  
 Majesty had got a pretty bill from Scotland; that the King  
 had said, he had expected it; and he added, 'Sir, I foretold

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<sup>1</sup> For the Scots Heritable Jurisdictions. The exact demand was for 583,090*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* The Lords of Session declared 152,237*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* to be the sum which might be given.

you it would be so.' The King said, it was their business. Afterwards, the Duke of A. went in, and, he supposed, told a thousand lies. He said, Bland had sent notice of the demand, and said, the odd 80,000*l.* would do, and that the Duke of Argyle's jurisdictions being more valuable than all the rest, he thought nothing could be defalked<sup>1</sup> from his demand of 20,000*l.*<sup>2</sup> He said, orders went now to Bland to concert with the Justice Clerk, the consequence of which was very plain, Bland being a very weak man, and the Justice a cunning one; that one Captain James Sinclair, who had been taken wounded at Culloden, and sent abroad on his pretending to be a French officer, was now lately retaken in Scotland; and the Justice Clerk had wrote up to have him dismissed, calling him a very inoffensive man; and that Lord Finlater had sent up an account, that he had made a search in Cullen for rebels, but had found none, and had wrote to the Justice Clerk, that he did not wonder at this, since the very post before the search, the rebels received notice from Edinburgh that one was intended; that this had put the Justice into a passion, and he had wrote to his lordship, that the secret was kept at Edinburgh, and must have been discovered in his own country. I asked, if the Duke of Cumberland thought of Scotland, and whether I should desire an audience to beg his protection to the King's friends. He said, by all means I should; that his Royal Highness knew the facts, and thought as I did. I said, at this rate my brother would be obliged, when these matters came before the House of Commons, to lay open the miserable state of the King's friends in Scotland. He said, he ought to do it, and would find many there very willing to listen to him. He said, our foreign affairs were in as bad a way; that having no system of our own, we could not tell what to ask, or what to yield, not knowing the situation of the places, and were glad of any assistance; and he had just received the Prince of Orange's opinion upon the plan of peace; that I knew the Prince of Orange; that he had parts, but was in a kind of infatuation; that Bentinck<sup>3</sup> had parts too, but had no business in him; if things would not do, said, 'Then we can die,' and such Lacedemonian classic phrases, very pretty in Thucydides, but extravagant; that he had received (for he had no secret from me) an ostensible plan, and a secret one, to be the foundation of our negotiation, but both so very absurd, that he was only sorry to see 'em wrote on paper, and not on a wall, with charcoal, as the politicians

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<sup>1</sup> French.

<sup>2</sup> In the Kit it stands 25,000*l.*; in the reduced list it is 21,000*l.*

<sup>3</sup> Count Bentinck was deputed by the States General to present the Prince of Orange to the Council of State as Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the Union, on the partial revolution which took place in the months of April and May, 1747, in consequence of the French invading Dutch Flanders.

in Bedlam wrote theirs; that the ostensible one was so wild, that had we made three campaigns with as great success as we have received damage, we could not have offered it; and when he came to look on the secret plan, instead of diminishing our demands, it demanded cessions from France, places we had not been in possession of since the Treaty of Utrecht. I said, I supposed France would soon humble the Dutch. He said, he supposed they must be on their knees to France this winter; that Ligonier said, they might take Breda at any time, if the weather permitted, for they could assemble round it with the sound of a trumpet 50,000 men; and there were none near but Dutch national troops, and twelve of our battalions in it; and that the Austrians were in the Liegeois, Limburg, &c.; the Hessians and Hanoverians about the confines of Overysse; so as no relief could come in ten days to it. He said, he had spoke to the Duke about [the] next campaign, who said, he would rather be without the Dutch, who were '*[une] véritable canaille,*' and would not fight, but rather hurt him, by giving bad example, and running down troops behind 'em that would fight; that he did not reckon on the Dutch augmentation, which either would not be made, or would be useless, being of new-raised men; but he trusted to the Russians, who, the Prince of Orange told him at the Hague, might be in Flanders by the beginning of February; that he had told his Royal Highness this was impossible, for they would take near four months to march, having eleven hundred miles to march, supposing 'em too to halt only every fourth day, and march twelve miles a-day; and that the Treaty was not yet signed. We were now in December; a courier took twenty-eight days to go to Petersburgh, with a fair wind to Holland; and the troops would not stir, not only till the ratifications were exchanged, but till the first payment of the subsidy was made; and after that they might be stopped by the death of Bestucheff, that of the Empress, or if she changed her mind, to which she was as liable, as any Empress ever had been. He said to me, besides all this we have certain information, that the French have actually raised an addition of 50,000 men, drawn out of their militia; and new raised, so that they will still have their proportionate superiority. I said, I had had a long discourse with Sir Luke Schaub about Prussia; that I wished his intelligence might be true, and that I supposed he, Lord Chesterfield, might make some use of the Secretary of Prussia here. He said, he saw all those letters twice; first in a way of his own; and then by Michel himself; but Sir Luke magnified things, to make himself more important; that the King of Prussia thought France went too far towards destroying the Republic of Holland; that he looked on himself as concerned intimately in the preservation of it; and he believed, that the King of Prussia might be brought to get

us a good peace, or, if France refused, he would leave her interest; that our King would not send him a minister, calling him a 'Fripon,' and wished he was Cham of Tartary; that he, Lord Chesterfield, had told the King he wished so too; but as he was King of Prussia, the more he was a 'Fripon,' the more necessary it was to have a minister who was a spy at his court; that with all this he could not prevail; and the King of Prussia treated this as an intended neglect, though he excused it all he could; that he had told the King, that he knew two people fit to send thither, but he would not recommend any, knowing that whoever went must be a very unhappy man between the two courts; that some days ago the Duke of Newcastle had prevailed on the King to send a minister to Berlin, and bid me guess whom. I said, 'Villiers.' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Mr. Trevor.' He said, 'By no means;' that, when the Duke of Newcastle turned warrior, Trevor<sup>1</sup> had continued to act as before the pacific part, whereby he was become the King's aversion, and had made the Duke hate him so much as to intend to ruin him; that thereon he was recalled; and it was he himself, Lord Chesterfield, who had got him what he had, to keep him from starving; that Mr. Trevor was used to business, but had humours and fancies. I said then, his Grace may have named his *valet de chambre*, for I knew nobody fit to go. He said, he has recommended Sir Everard Fawkener; that his Grace had asked his opinion of him, saying he was a man of distinction, and not of too high a rank; that he had answered, he would recommend nobody; that Sir Everard had been a merchant, which would not procure him esteem in Germany; and that he was Queen-of-Hungary mad, so that if her health was drunk, he would repeat it in endless bumpers. I said, my view had been, that his Lordship might open a correspondence with Andrié. He said, he had been obliged to drop it, to prevent its breaking off disagreeably, from the King's aversion to Prussia.

I gave the Duke of Newcastle the recommendation of Mr. Dec. 1st. Walter Pringle for Sheriff of Tiviotdale, and Tuesday. pressed it. He said, he would put him into the list; and he should be subject to the same examination as the rest; and bid me come back on Thursday. Having asked an audience of his Royal Highness the Duke, I told him, I came to desire his attention to the King's friends in Scotland; and that I hoped, he would excuse me, since it was absolutely necessary, for that I saw with sorrow that, whether from old habits, or some other cause, the ministers could not shake off an influence, that had no regard to the King's interest in Scotland, and that this interest was

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Trevor quitted the Hague on Lord Harrington's resignation in 1746, on a suggestion from Mr. Pelham.

betrayed there. I then read to him part of Mr. Carre's letter about practitioners not taking the oaths. He asked, if any judge could not insist on it, and ask the question of any of them? I told him, no doubt they ought to look to it. He said, he was sure orders would go down next post. I said, he might judge of what would be done by the ministers having received no notice of the inexecution of the act; that I had foretold what would happen; but the ministers thought all the King's friends spoke only from enmity to the Duke of Argyle; that I would speak plainly to his Royal Highness; that all asked in Scotland of any man to be preferred, was, whether he would devote himself to the Duke [of Argyle; and, whether he were the King's friend or foe, if he would go to hell for the Duke of Argyle, he was sure of preferment; that all this summer the King's service had been betrayed; and all those, who had joined the English ministry in the Jurisdiction Act, had been opposed by what was called the court interest in Scotland; and unless his Royal Highness threw his weight into the scale, it was like to continue so. He said, he would do all that lay in his power, and was convinced it was necessary to be attentive to that country. I said, it was more so now than ever, because as there were new sheriffs to be named, I knew that every Jacobite, that could form a pretension, was encouraged to make application; and that besides the President was given over<sup>1</sup>; and that if one not known to be zealous for the government was placed there, they had as good order all Scotland to put white cockades in their hats; that for my part I never would do so, and therefore wished, if they gave up that country, they would make some English Jacobite to exchange estates with me. He said, he thought the sheriffs might be of great use to spread a spirit of loyalty to the government; and he believed they would be named with that view, and that the President would be chosen with it also; and then asked me how the south stood affected: that he believed, the farmers were all well affected, but the lower gentry, who practised the law, and were bred at Edinburgh, were not so, for he looked on Edinburgh as the nursery of Jacobitism, as the profession of the law extended much farther in Scotland than anywhere else. I said, the King's friends were very sorry his Royal Highness had not spent more time in the southern parts than he had done; that it was very true, the farmers or tenants were universally well affected, as indeed they were everywhere where the Presbyterian ministers had any influence; and that as to the lower gentry, there were many Jacobites, for his Royal Highness must have observed, that

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<sup>1</sup> He died on the 10th of this month, and on his death was deservedly characterised by the Dean and Faculty of Advocates as 'that great and good man and eminent judge, Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden.'

there was not such a thing as a convert from Jacobitism in Scotland; but that many were debauched into appearances of Jacobitism, by their desire to get some advantage from those who recommended to every thing in Scotland, and who were constantly insisting on the distinction between the Scots ministers, and the English, and setting one people against the other, the consequence whereof his Royal Highness would easily see: and that the President, who was no Jacobite, gave too much ground for this by his toasts of Sir William Wallace, &c. He said, the President was no Jacobite, but was a Highlander, and carried that to very dangerous lengths, and that he had told him so; that he saw no use of making any distinctions; that there ought to be no such thing as English and Scots, but they should be made more and more, and treated as if they were one kingdom; that the Duke of Argyle was a great man, and one of the most considerable in Scotland; but if he went wrong, there was no reason why the King should follow it. I told him, that since I had the honour to have received a mark of the King's favor, I had told the ministers, that if the Duke of Argyle would be satisfied with the rank of a subject, and act for the King's interest, no man in Scotland would bow lower to him than I would do; but as things were conducted, the King's friends were under very great difficulties, particularly my brother, who could not, if these matters came to be considered in Parliament, either admit, that the whole country was Jacobite, or, that the King's friends there did not inform his ministers of what conduct was held there; and, since they were informed of it, to ascribe their acquiescence in it to disregard of the King's interest would be too heavy a charge; and to ascribe it to inability would be paying them a small compliment; to prevent this, I had taken the liberty to beg his Royal Highness would throw his weight into the scale, without which I was afraid there would be nothing done; that I hoped, he would forgive me for so doing. He thanked me, and said, he should be very glad of my acquaintance.

Sir Charles Gilmour<sup>1</sup> came here, and told me, he had had a  
 Tuesday letter from Lord Arniston, telling him of the  
 evening. President's being given over, and intimating,  
 that he should think it such an affront, if any  
 other were made President; that Sir Charles imagined, Lord  
 Arniston might resign, and bidding him advise with his  
 friends here, amongst whom he named me, whether he  
 should not write a letter to some of them, setting forth his  
 pretensions. Sir Charles added, that both Lord T. and E. were  
 very dangerous men. I told him, I thought so, as things  
 stood, but that I had not delayed till now doing my part to

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<sup>1</sup> A Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, member for Edinburghshire.

serve Lord Arniston, however, I was afraid, to very little purpose; that, in my opinion, Lord Arniston should write himself to the Chancellor, for any other person might rather injure him than serve him; and that I found the Duke of Argyle laid his whole weight on opposing him, and had gone farther than I could have expected.

I was not let in at Mr. Pelham's. I went to Lord  
 Dec. 2nd. Chesterfield, and told him of my audience  
 Wednesday. with the Duke<sup>1</sup>. He said, he had seen the  
 Duke afterwards, and having painted to him  
 the miserable prospects abroad, and how little was to be  
 expected in the way of forces, and therefore how necessary it  
 was to set about procuring a reasonable peace, the Duke  
 appeared convinced of what he said, and told him, it affected  
 him not only as one of the subjects, but as one who was at  
 the head of what he saw would be an ineffectual army; but  
 that this was not the worst; that the state of Scotland was  
 very bad; that he believed the King's ministers there did not  
 serve him well; and that there we had triumphant  
 Jacobitism. Lord Chesterfield said, that he supposed, this  
 arose from what I had told him; that he answered, that he  
 was convinced it was so, and had foretold it; and that it  
 would continue so till the King had resolved to be King of  
 Scotland, which was what the Duke of Argyle insisted upon  
 being; and that in order to get it he made use of the  
 assistance of the Jacobites. He then told me, that on the  
 Duke of Newcastle telling the King of the President's illness,  
 the King said, he would be a loss, for on the whole he was a  
 good man, though he had errors; and that, if he died, he  
 supposed Areskine must be the man. To which the Duke of  
 Newcastle said, 'To be sure; there was no other.' I said, I was  
 heartily sorry to hear it; that it was a mortal blow to the  
 King's interest, for Areskine had been a notorious Jacobite,  
 and there we knew of no conversions; that Arniston would  
 probably quit the bench, and then all the property in  
 Scotland would be at the mercy of the Duke of Argyle; that I  
 could bear misfortunes as well as another, if they befel the  
 country; but my brother's situation gave me much pain, if the  
 state of Scotland came to be considered in parliament. He  
 said, nobody could expect my brother should break from his  
 friends in his own country; I then told him of Dr. Lee and  
 Mr. Nugent having spoke to my brother of coming into the  
 Prince's service, and my fear of its being misrepresented to  
 the King by the low German people about the Prince. He  
 said, he would mention it to the King, if I liked. I said, I  
 should be very much obliged to him. He told me, Colonel  
 Stanhope was made aide-de-camp to the King; that within  
 these three or four days he did not expect even that; and he

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<sup>1</sup> Of Cumberland.

believed, he was the first Secretary of State that could not get an old Lieutenant-Colonel, though before it was his rank, into a regiment, and that he was not sure his protection had not hurt him.

I went to the Duke of Newcastle's, and told him, I was  
 Dec. 3rd. afraid of being officious, but thought it my  
 Thursday. duty to inform him of what I thought might  
 affect the King's interest in Scotland. He said,  
 he should be glad of receiving any lights from me. I told him,  
 I was personally concerned no farther than the county of  
 Berwick; that there I must beg the ministry would protect  
 and encourage my brother's interest, which was the King's,  
 and the Whig interest. He said, that was already done. I said,  
 quite the reverse; there was not one who had supported him,  
 had any thing, and all that had, had opposed him. Why, says  
 he, the Duke of Argyle says, 'Mr. Campbell, that my brother'  
 (meaning Mr. Pelham) 'chose.' I said, it was directly  
 contrary, not one, who had any thing from the court, having  
 voted for my brother, but against him; that this was one of  
 his Grace's tricks, who could never forgive my brother and  
 me all the ill offices he had done us; and that I must  
 therefore the more insist, that in what concerned that  
 county, and the gentlemen of it, he would protect my  
 brother's interest, and not give credit to the Duke of Argyle.  
 He asked, what could now be done. I said, there was the  
 affair of the sheriffs. He said, the Duke of Argyle says., Lord  
 Marchmont will recommend one Hume, who was a very  
 good man, to whom he had no objection. I fell a laughing,  
 and said, his Grace was mistaken; I knew who he meant; he  
 was a friend of mine; but I would never recommend any that  
 I was not convinced was a zealous friend to the King,  
 especially on such an occasion, and because I was convinced  
 it was absolutely necessary to establish that principle in  
 Scotland. He asked, who I would recommend. I said one  
 whom I knew to be a friend to the government, Mr. Carre,  
 unless I could get something better for him; and then I  
 would name another firm friend to the King. He said, his  
 name should be set down in the list, subject to the same  
 examination as the rest. I said, if they took the Duke of  
 Argyle's word preferably, I knew no friend of mine would  
 have a share, and many a Jacobite would be named. He said,  
 they would not trust entirely to him. I said, too much of that  
 was done already, and so they were flattered here, and  
 cheated in Scotland; but that there would be too many  
 vacancies there soon. He said, 'Let me speak to you of  
 something of more importance.' I, asked leave to interrupt  
 him, and said, I was coming to matters of more importance,  
 which I begged leave to explain to him. I then went through  
 the opposition given in Scotland to all who had supported  
 the King's measures in Parliament, and asked, what privilege

the Duke of Argyle and his people had to oppose such men, more than those who had formerly been turned out for so doing. Secondly, the Duke of Argyle's sending down a letter to Lord Lothian, to bid him refuse to exchange his office, by the very same messenger who carried the offer of the Register's place to me. This surprised him; he bid me tell his brother this. I said, I had done so. He said, this was a very strong fact. I said, it was one; but there were some of more consequence to the King's interest, such as,—Thirdly, the Lords of Sessions ordering people to set values on their claims, merely to raise a clamour, and to obstruct the act. He said, the Duke of Argyle blamed the Session for so doing. I said, this was a most gross trick, for every one knew they were quite subservient to him. He said, Lord Dalkeith said to him, that they had set a great value on his jurisdiction, and one yet higher on his father's; and that both his father and he thought they would be better without them, and that they rather cost them money. I said, it was all contrived to obstruct the act, and raise discontents in the country. Fourthly, that the act of Parliament requiring all practitioners of the law to take the oaths was not executed. I then read him that part of Mr. Carre's letter; and when I came to the distinction of Scots and English ministers, I told him, I had mentioned this before to his Grace, and, were it the last word I had to speak, I would say, that upon the crushing of this doctrine depended the safety of the King's crown in Scotland; that I did not desire him to adopt my opinions of men, but to judge by facts, and see whether these arose by our faults, who complained, or by theirs, who betrayed and cheated, them. As to the part relating to the King's speech, he said, the Duke of Argyle spoke with high approbation of that part of it relating to Scotland; and yet, says I, he complains everywhere he has no power, as I may do; I have not 40,000*l.* a year, to which I am as well entitled, as he is to any power beyond that of a subject; and he says, he has a good scheme for civilising Scotland, but that it won't be accepted; so that, I suppose, he and his tools in the House of Commons will play their parts on the Jurisdiction Act over again. I then said, this conjuncture was the more critical from the President's illness, and perhaps death. 'Ay,' says he; 'who do you think the most proper man?' I said, perhaps he might think I spoke from pique; but I assured him, that, had I the honour to be his son, I could not speak otherwise than I did and should. And first, the man the most unfit, was T. 'Do you think so?' says he. I said, 'I'll tell your Grace, why I do so; he was a known Jacobite in 1715; and I have no faith in Scots Jacobites' conversions;' and next, he was a very dangerous man; and they might as well take the crown of Scotland off the King's head, and put it on the Duke of Argyle's, whose subject I would never be, though as much his humble servant as any one, if he would be the King's friendly subject. I said,

besides that, Lord Arniston would probably quit the bench; and I did not see how they could supply his place. He asked about him. I said, he was very well; was the ablest man, one whom the whole kingdom pointed out for it; and, as he had a great property, might quit on what would be thought an affront to him; and if he got it, as he was the most zealous friend to the King on the bench, so, I would be answerable, he would belong to the ministers. He said, this was strange, for one of my country, not of the Duke of Argyle's people, had told him, sitting where I was two days ago, that Areskine would be the most unexceptionable of the Duke of Argyle's people to the opposite party. I said, if it was Lord Morton, he had not talked so to me. He said, 'No;' and said, it was Andrew Mitchell. I said, Mr. Mitchell might mean what he pleased by parties; I considered them not; my doctrine was to encourage the friends to the King, and to the English ministers, and I did not think Areskine one. He said, they did not think so of him here; and he would tell me, that the King, speaking of the President's death, had named Areskine; but that he himself had recommended nobody, he did assure me. He said, 'Who would be the best man of the Argyle faction?' for Arniston, I knew, had been always opposite to the Duke of Argyle, and added, what I thought of Grant. I imagined, he meant Lord Elchies; so I said, I knew nothing of him but the name of Grant, and did not much trust the Whiggism of any man north of Tay; but I would not say any man was Jacobite, if I had not particular grounds for it. I think on recollection, he meant the Advocate. He then said, who were the two I had said, that were not on the bench. I said, I meant only one off the bench, and that was Mr. Craigie. But that as in this case Lord Arniston would probably quit, I did not see how they could supply his place; and that this would be the most fatal blow to the King's interest in Scotland; that perhaps Mr. M. would be made a Judge, or a Baron of Exchequer; that I should like the last better, as it was a sinecure. He said, he had never heard of him for either. I said, his Grace then surely would. He said, Lord P. was a good man. I said, he was personally so, I believed, but his family and interest were Jacobite; and John M. was now chosen by that interest. He asked, who were proper. I said, there were not many that [I could recommend] either for a Baron's, or a Judge's place; I should name one, a man of sense and law, and a real Whig, Mr. Carre; but that I supposed a Baron's place would be easier got. He then got up, saying he was sorry for what I told him. I desired his Grace would not tell anybody what I had told him, but make his own use of it. I dined with Lord Chesterfield, and told him what had passed at the Duke of Newcastle's. He said, Areskine would be the man for all that, and said, the Duke meant the Advocate by Grant. He then asked after one Provost Coutts. I told him, he was a very clever fellow, and was nephew to Provost Stuart. He said, he

might then see a prison too, for he had just met with him, having crossed upon him in a foreign correspondence. He mentioned being summoned to a meeting of the ministers this evening, and retired with Lord Gower, and on his return, said to him, he could not tell how to remove difficulties, which he could and would have prevented. He said, he heard Lord Charles Hay and George Stanhope were to be the King's aides-de-camp; but that might not be so for all that. In the evening Lady Chesterfield said, that perhaps George Stanhope's being disappointed might be owing to the King's hatred to his father, but that it might also be an artifice of Lord Granville's to disoblige Lord Chesterfield, and force him to resign. I said, I did not suspect that. 'Why,' says she, 'do you think the Pelhams could support themselves, if Lord Chesterfield left them?' I said, 'perhaps not;' but I did not see that Lord Granville would like to offend Lord Chesterfield, though by Mr. Villiers affecting to exaggerate to me the surprise one ought to have of this event, probably he might wish Lord Chesterfield should take it highly ill.

I waited on Mr. Pelham, who made me excuses for not seeing; me when I called. I told him I wanted to see him before I saw the Duke of Newcastle, and also to give the names of two of my brother's friends for sheriffs. He said, the Duke of Newcastle was the proper person to give 'em to; that there was a list to be made, whereof the ministry would choose; and that this particularly belonged to the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor, his department being the revenue. I said, the Duke of Newcastle had asked me, when I named these gentlemen to him, whether my brother had given their names to Mr. Pelham; and I had said, he would do so; that I had desired my brother to do so; but I imagined my brother thought I had a better interest than he had with him. He said, he had not seen my brother, but that he was to be with him in the evening. I said, the Duke of Newcastle had occasioned my mentioning a thing that concerned me more, and surprised me, as it was a notorious falsehood, and told to make my brother and me appear liars to him, and I thought the Duke of Argyle above such an artifice. It was his Grace affecting to assert, that Mr. Pelham had chosen my brother; that to convince him how that matter was done, I would take care he should have the list for Præses, whereby he would see, that all that voted with us were our old friends, except one, whom he had no influence upon, and one, whose name I now gave him, who was engaged on a promise made by virtue of his letter to my brother to be taken care of; that he had been in the excise, but could not go back while Thomas Cochran was a commissioner. He said, he had no reason to be satisfied with him. I said, I would tell him what had prevailed; that it was £500, and that every man who had

anything from the court, had been against us; and one Douglass stood on the list at the Excise-office, now to be advanced for voting against my brother. He said, he could not know that by inspiration. I said, he must have some one there of confidence. He named George D----. I said, I could not tell why he did not serve him truly; but that I told him this only to fix the lie where it truly belonged. He said, he knew nothing of it; that the Duke of Argyle had never named my name, excepting when the Duke of Newcastle had told, that he had heard, every one, who voted for the Jurisdiction Bill, was opposed in Scotland, which, he imagined, I had said. I said, I had. He then said, I meant my brother. He asked, if Mr. S---- had. I told him any man in Scotland, except perhaps Mr. S----, would burst out a-laughing in his face, if he doubted it; and that he might ask Lord Leven who lived in the country. He asked, if Sir L---- G---- had. I said, 'Sir, when I said this, I did not say it, as having meddled even in the northern elections, for I avoided meddling in any but my brother's, my family being then at the head of the Whig interest, so I cannot enter into particulars; but that I heard this from various people of credit in the generality of such elections, and I know, it was the general cry used by the creatures of the Justice Clerk, and those who belonged to the Duke of Argyle in Scotland.' He said, the Duke of Argyle complained, that he was run down by *they say*, and that he desired to know who, and what particulars. I said, the Duke then proposed a bargain very advantageous to himself; that to prove any thing upon him, everybody knew, from his character of cunning, was impossible; especially, since every man they trusted in Scotland belonged to him, and would do what he bid them, though he did not appear in it; and that at last, when we came to speak here, his Grace knew he would be believed, when we were not; he would set things in any light he pleased, when we were not present; and the ministers here were not able to do it, because they were ignorant of Scotland, as it did not deserve their attention. He said, he thought it deserved it very much. I said, yet they were ignorant of it, and talked of parties there, which I knew not; for instance, where was this squadron? who were the heads of it? He said, he knew no heads of it; but the tails of it made a great bustle, and were very violent. I said, 'Sir, the violence, you complain of, is occasioned by the insolence wherewith they are used; you have no notion of the insolent treatment the Duke of Argyle's people give those who dare to be the King's friends.' I then read him a paragraph out of Mr. Carre's letter; and he said, the Duke of Argyle would subscribe to every part of it, except that about the Scots minister; and he asked me, if I would not do as he did, if I found myself suspected in every thing I proposed. I said, I should be very sorry to conduct myself so as to give just grounds of suspicion; but if I had, I assured him, I would

withdraw, notwithstanding that great object of Scots power, of which I was said to be ambitious, stood before me; that I did not envy it to his Grace; that I knew he thought I was piqued at the Duke; that I would not say, I loved a man who had always injured me, and whom I knew to be of so rancorous a disposition, as never to forgive any injury he had done; but all I desired was, that they would not make him my King. He said, I saw the Duke of Argyle's situation with the ministers. I said, as the King loved truth, nobody was surprised that he hated him. He said, he did not know if he did; but it was not long since he loved him; and he knew not what such alterations might be founded on; that the ministers did not receive what the Duke proposed, as if they trusted him; and it was plain he did not govern; that he owned he was himself the only friend the Duke had in the ministry; and that he saw the mania the ministry, with whom he concurred in opinion more than with those who were nearest to him, and with whom his connexion was most sincere, every day knocking at the Duke's head; that things could not continue in this state of speaking differently, and wrangling every hour; that they must come to a resolution; if the Duke of Argyle was to be depressed, and others only employed, to be sure, it was ridiculous to let him enjoy what he now had; or, if they were to avail themselves of the Duke's credit and abilities, and without acting offensively, let in others, it must be put on a practicable footing; and that this last was his opinion, which he would not say would be followed. I said, I was afraid he would find the Duke would think himself *depressed*, if they let in others; and, as to offending him, I appealed to himself, whether I had ever asked any thing to offend him, further than that my brother's friends and mine might have the protection of the ministry, and their share in Scotland; that I knew very well the Duke would be offended, if this was done; and if they meant that, they, might as well give him the crown of Scotland; that for my own part I saw the necessity of supporting the King's interest there so strong, that I assured him, I would not only do my utmost to support the Duke of Argyle acting for that purpose, but that, if he could forget the injuries he had done me, I would sincerely join hands with him, and let' all bygones be bygones; that this necessity was so strong, that I would join the devil to maintain the King's interest there; for if it was not better encouraged, I did assure him, they would have another rebellion about their ears there, before they were aware of it. He said, 'the Duke of Argyle says the very same thing, and agrees with the letter you read about taking the Highlanders from their hills.' I said, I must now desire of him, as I know I was thought to be piqued at the Duke of Argyle, to ask the minister (with whom, he said, he was sincerely connected, to whom I ought on every account of private friendship, as well as public connexion, to open my

heart), to ask him, whether I had ever held another language to him, than what I now did, and that my particular concern went no further than having my friends in the county of Berwick provided for. After many civilities we parted; and he repeated, that he had not seen my brother, but hoped to set things to rights in the evening.

After dinner Lord Chesterfield took me into his library, Thursday. and told me, he wanted to tell me what Duke Dec. 24th. of Argyle had said to him. I told him, what Mr. Pelham had said to me particularly about himself, and that my brother had told me, he had said the same thing to him. He seemed surprised at it; and then said, the Duke of Argyle had the other day stopped him, as he was coming out of the closet; and said, 'one can get a word of you, and expect to be heard. There is a friend of yours, who imagines that I am his mortal enemy, and with whom I desire to have things set to rights. You understand forms; and I must ask your direction. I came last to this town, or else I should have called on Lord Marchmont before this time;' that he answered, Lord Marchmont was not a man of form, and, he was sure, would stand on no such trifles; that it was very true, Lord Marchmont considered the Duke of Argyle as his enemy, and who had acted as such in every instance. He said, he had never done anything, but in the county of Berwick, where I (Lord Marchmont) had too much sense not to allow it was a fair war, and that Lord ---- was his relation and his friend, to serve whom he was obliged to do his utmost; that he had never opposed me in anything else, for sure, I did not imagine he had hindered my being one of the sixteen; that it was evident he had not had the nomination of 'em; that he would not have named that bankrupt Lord ----, nor that fool Lord ----; that indeed in the situation he and I were in, he would not propose me for one; but if I were proposed, he would not oppose it, because he thought me very fit to be in on account of my abilities and zeal for the government. Lord Chesterfield replied, that he believed the county of Berwick was the tenderest point both to my brother and to me; to which the Duke said, that we could not imagine, as Lord was a dependent of his, that there would be any difficulty in making that point quite easy to our satisfaction. Lord Chesterfield said to me, that lie did not expect from the Duke's character, that there could be a cordial friendship between us, or that I could place my trust in him; but he wished, there might be such a civil intercourse established, that I might be sure of coming in one of the sixteen on the first vacancy. I thanked my Lord for his kindness, and told him, I could not trust the Duke of Argyle without divesting myself of my understanding; but that on any natural occasion I should not fail to wait of his Grace; that I would tell him frankly, why I must wait for such a

natural occasion, as would tell easily without seeming to conceal a mystery. It was, lest his Grace should represent it so in my own country, as if I had listed entirely under his banner, which would alienate all our friends from us; whereas at present all the King's real friends there looked on my brother and me as the principal people of our country, to whom they could resort. He approved of this, and repeated what was his view. He said, they had had a meeting about the Presidentship of the Session, in which Mr. Pelham was for ----, as the Duke of Argyle's man, which he owned, saying the Duke had assisted them, and was to be preferred to the squadron, who were linked to Lord Granville, Sir John Gordon, and the Prince. But he added, he thought Arniston and his son were to be gained if possible, and therefore he would propose giving Grant, now advocate, the gown, and making young Dundas advocate. The Duke of Newcastle mentioned ---- and Arniston, but seemed to incline to Lord Elchies, saying, he thought they should name one, who would make it apparent, that the English ministry had named him. Lord Chesterfield said, this was to shew it was his own doing, and neither [the] Duke of Argyle's nor my recommendation; that the Chancellor asked his opinion, and he had said, that he remembered the Court of Session so infamous, that if the legislature did not suppress it, the indignation of heaven ought to have fallen upon it; that, to avoid the like, therefore, he thought the best qualified for a judge, and the honestest man should be named, without regard to Whig or Tory; this the Chancellor highly approved of, seeing where it pointed; that he, Lord Chesterfield, added, that he knew none of the persons mentioned, but had heard from the Duke of Queensberry, that ---- was not an honest man in private life. Mr. Pelham said, that was because he had converted his Grace's interest to the service of the ministry; and Lord Chesterfield said, that might be an obligation to the ministry; but that if he had very great obligations to the Duke of Queensberry, and acted then against him, it was still a crime in private life. Then the Chancellor weighed what had been said in his Chancery scales of equity, and seemed to be of opinion, they should name Arniston. But nothing was decided in this meeting. He told me, Mr. Maul was to be Baron of the Exchequer, and that this was readily come into, as a *douceur* to the Duke of Argyle, who, Mr. Pelham said, was against his being one of the Lords of Session. He said, he would now tell me farther, but not to ask my advice, for his resolution was already taken. I said, I did not like the preamble. He said, he was resolved to resign his office. I said, I was extremely concerned to hear it, for our situation must then be hopeless, nor did I see where we had any resource. He said, what became of the other ministers was none of his business; but he could stay no longer in with reputation; that when he came in first, he had told 'em, they should make one

last effort, add two millions to their annual expence, make their army superior in the field, and by one successful campaign put themselves in a state of having a reasonable peace, before another campaign, which, it was too plain, could not be expected to be to our advantage; that Mr. Pelham [said], it was impossible to raise more money than was already proposed; and that the King was made to imagine, Lord Chesterfield, being for peace, tried by increasing of the expence to make war impracticable; that he might indeed have had as much credit in the closet, as any one can have, if he had inclined to do some things, which nobody should ever know, and which he would not do; that since the affair of the resignations the King hated all his ministers (indeed loved nobody); but that the Duke of Newcastle, having cried like a child when he resigned, was the easiest to him of them all; that his Grace was so jealous of the favour of the closet, that he could not endure any one should have credit there; and therefore if he, Lord Chesterfield, wanted to have anything, it was sure to be opposed in every way possible; that he was not inclined to take Colonel Stanhope's affair in a high way; but he saw it was done to shew that he had no credit, and to tell everybody not to apply to him, if they wanted anything; that in his situation, what must the world think, but that he continued in for the sake of £5000 a-year; that besides he was every day setting his hand to what he disapproved, carrying on measures he condemned, and acting as the Duke of Newcastle's *commis*, whilst his Grace played the part of sole minister, and was safe; Lord Chesterfield's hand was to every paper for carrying on a ruinous and mad war, which must end in a bad peace; and when that came, then he should bear the blame of it, as having always been for a peace; that the nearer it came to this last period, the more difficult was his situation, and the farther he was involved; and that then he could not part with the ministers in good humour, which now he was resolved to do; that he would tell 'em, that his health would not permit him to go through the fatigues of an office, wherein he could do no service beyond another; that he would tell the King the same thing, and that he had not that degree of credit with him, wherewith alone he could serve him with satisfaction; and that he found his advice to have no weight in the conduct of his affairs, which he thought in a very desperate state; but that he did not intend to oppose, or enter into any cabals; that he would continue to support his government and measures without any employment; and, he thought, he could then do it with more effect. I asked, if he had told any of the ministers. He said, 'No;' the Duke of Newcastle had no reason to expect it; and he had not yet told Mr. Pelham; but that he must have perceived it, from his having avoided to meddle, and affecting indifference in their meetings; that he had told

Lady Yarmouth of it, who owned she expected it, and could not advise him to continue in, but expressed her sorrow for it; that Lord Sandwich<sup>1</sup> was intended to succeed him, to act as *commis* to the Duke of Newcastle. I said, I was sorry things were in this state; but though he had not asked my advice, I could not have given him other than what he had taken, things being in this condition. He said, he would go to Bath directly for a month, and, to shew he did not quarrel with the court, would leave his proxy to Lord Gower; and if any body came to him to meddle in politics, he would tell 'em, he was entirely employed to take care of his health,

and to finish his new house. He told me, that Sir Everard Fawkener, who was named to go to Berlin, had come to him, and said, he could not go, unless he had the Plenipotentiary added to the Envoy, his circumstances not allowing him; that he answered, that, as he had neither named him, nor thought of him, he had nothing to do with it, and, therefore, Sir Everard must go to the Duke of Newcastle. He desired me not to mention what he had told me, as it was yet a secret to everybody. I promised him, nobody should hear it from me.

I met the Duke of Argyle at a bookseller's shop, who, after  
 1747-8 many compliments about my brother, for  
 January 26th. whom he at first took me<sup>2</sup>, walked to the  
 Tuesday. farther end of the room, and asked me, if I  
 had not been told here, that he had kept me  
 out of the sixteen. I said, that I had made no inquiries about  
 it; but it was natural to imagine so, since my brother and I  
 were known to lie under the misfortune of his  
 disapprobation. He said, he really had not; that on the  
 contrary, he should have been for it, because his view had  
 always been to have the country represented by the Peers in  
 the best manner possible; and for that reason he had not  
 disapproved of Lord Tweeddale's being chosen, when he was  
 asked, whether he should not disapprove of it, since Lord  
 Tweeddale was out of the King's service. I said, all I had said  
 about the Peerage was to complain, I had not a list sent me,  
 when I was taken into the King's service, and to tell, that I  
 had resolved to vote for all, who wrote letters to me, till I  
 observed they were all of a particular complexion. He said, to  
 be sure it was ridiculous to take me into the King's service,

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<sup>1</sup> This confirms a statement in a letter of Mr. Fox, in Coxe's Pelham Memoirs, that the Duke of Newcastle meant Lord Sandwich to have been successor to Lord Chesterfield. His Grace seems to have out-manoeuvred himself by placing the office within the Duke of Bedford's reach, calculating that he would insist on Lord Sandwich having it, so as to make this arrangement an act of the Duke of Bedford, who however accepted the offer for himself.

<sup>2</sup> On account of the extraordinary likeness of the twin-brothers.

and leave me out of Parliament; and it should not have been so, had the resolution been taken sooner, nor should my brother [have] been opposed. I said, my brother and I were both very sorry to find his Grace against us, because we were both friends to his Grace's family, as much as any men in Scotland, and had a great respect for his own abilities; that I in particular reflected with great pleasure on the honor his brother<sup>1</sup> had done me, in being very particularly connected with me; and that my family for their own interest were obliged to be zealous friends to the King's family. He said, both our families were forfeited families, and in the same situation; that we had no doubt been reckoned political enemies; but that was at an end. I said, his Grace's abilities were so well known, that no man could be thought to have sense, (as I imagined my brother and I were supposed to have) who would desire to be reckoned his Grace's enemy; that we had always considered it as our greatest misfortune to be esteemed so by any; for it was not the turn of our family, which had, along with his Grace's, ventured their lives in the same cause; but that other people did all they could to make people think so; and that now my Lord ----, who, every body knew, was entirely (and wisely so) under his Grace's direction, had raised an opposition to my brother on the idle imagination of my death. 'What!' says he, 'have they killed you, too?' I said, 'Yes; or the King is to die, whose life, no doubt is, like ours, in the hand of God; or else my brother is to get a place.' He said, he knew nothing of it, but had been told, that Lord ---- had said within these three or four days, that, to be sure, if my brother got a place, he must be chosen again without opposition. I said, what was done was absolutely foolish; but it might be intended to engage votes in the county; and his Grace knew, when country gentlemen were engaged, it might be a plausible argument, that they could not break their words; but that, I hoped, my family could not but be better entitled to his Grace's protection than Mr. ----. He said, there could be no doubt of it. He said, he had formerly told the ministers, that he would make the matter easy with Lord ----, who had no family. He was by himself, his brother being a parson; and that, if they would push him forward, and give him a regiment, he would be mediator in this matter; and, as to what I had mentioned, there should be no more of it. I thanked his Grace, and said, that to avoid being represented as fond of complaining, especially where his Grace was concerned, since every one knew Lord ---- could not pretend to any weight but under him, I had sent to Scotland for authentic accounts of Lord ----'s conduct, before I would complain to the ministers; that my family consisted only of my brother and

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<sup>1</sup> See a letter from John Duke of Argyle, to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, vol.ii. p.221.

me. He said, he heard I was in a way to have children. I said, even then it might not be. He asked, where it went next. I said, to women, since Sir Gustavus Hume's son's death; and that Lord ----'s would go to B----. He said, he would take care there should be no more in what I had mentioned, but bid me go to work my own way, and say nothing of what had passed between us, because they would say, we had been caballing together against them, and that there should be no difficulty in my being in Parliament; that he had refused being a minister, when it was offered him some years ago, and would not be so now on any account. I said, it could not be, that he suspected himself deficient in abilities for it. He said, when he got to his gimcracks in mathematics, he was the happiest man in the world, and bid me believe every thing he said was spoke plainly, as he meant; and so he left me, as I thanked him.

I went to the Duke of Newcastle, to recommend Mr. James  
 Jan. 28th. Pringle to succeed Mr. Douglas of Cavers, my  
 Thursday. brother having done the same to Mr. Pelham  
 long ago. His Grace told me, Mr. Pelham had not mentioned it to him, but had spoke of Sir Charles Gilmour's son, and that the Duke of Argyle had asked it for the Justice Clerk, to whom they had given the signet, with a view that, after what he was to pay out of it, 500*l.* a-year might remain clear to him; that he said, this first year he had only got 300*l.* clear, and therefore desired to have this place to make it up, and hereafter he should account for the overplus. I said, this was accumulating every thing; and I believed the Justice Clerk knew well enough how to make up an account; that my brother and I could, I saw, get nothing for our friends, though we had joined the English ministry cordially, and had only been ill used for it, since, in order to bully them into giving Lord ---- a regiment, my brother was now opposed on the expectation of his getting a place. At this the Duke expressed his surprise, and said, nothing was settled yet, even in the great affair of the President, and asked, if my brother or I had not brought a compliment from Mr. Dundass to him. I said, we both had, and that on hearing they proposed making him advocate. I had wrote, to tell him to be practicable. He said, that was now over; that it had been a thought of his, which his brother relished; but other expedients were now trying. He told me, he understood me to mean Lord ---- in a former conversation, when I imagined he thought I meant the Advocate by Grant. He said, that what I proposed about the arms of mine, sent to Berwick during the rebellion, must be laid before the Board of Ordnance. I desired in general, that our friends might have their share in Scotland; and said, that as to the President's place, that ought to be given according to the general maxim, which, I must say, was necessary to be kept to in Scotland,

and that was, to prefer the man who was most surely the King's friend. He said, that was true; but private connections would interfere too much.

I went to Mr. Pelham to solicit for Mr. Pringle, and told  
 Jan. 29th. him in general what his brother had said. He  
 Friday. said, if he did not intend to do what the Duke  
 of Argyle asked, he would not have told me of  
 his asking it. I said, he might use more art, but it came to the  
 same thing. He said, it was not art, but it was of no use. I  
 said, at this rate they might give the Justice Clerk every  
 thing, and bid him pay us all pensions. He said, that this was  
 a place for life. I said, it was so, and therefore we wanted it  
 for our friend; that my brother had named him to him for it  
 some months ago. He said, he did not remember that, my  
 brother having only spoke to him in general. I said, he was  
 certainly mistaken. He said, Sir Charles Gilmour had asked it  
 for his son, and said much in his favor, to which I agreed,  
 and said, that at this rate my brother and I should get  
 nothing for our friends, though we had joined them very  
 sincerely. He said, that was not sure, for nothing was fixed. I  
 said, that however every thing was promised, except it was  
 the sheriffship, and that given [against] my brother's  
 recommendation would be such a blow to the King's interest  
 in the county, and such a box o'the ear to my brother, that I  
 did assure him he would not take it; that I saw no good to  
 them using us ill, and exposing us in our own country; but  
 there was a certain point, beyond which we had too much  
 spirit to bear it. He said, my brother knew he valued him  
 more than all the rest. I said, my brother told me, that he,  
 Mr. Pelham, always used the most polite expressions to him;  
 and that was one reason why it vexed him to solicit him,  
 because he saw that he did nothing; so that all we got was  
 bad consequences of his civility, since we supposed these  
 must have been the grounds for Lord ---- going down to raise  
 an opposition to him, in case he got a place. He said, 'No;'  
 but it was evident Mr. Hume could not continue as he was;  
 and that the Duke of Argyle had said, there should be no  
 more of that. I said, Yes; if they would give Lord ---- a  
 regiment. At this he blushed. I said, it was what I had good  
 authority for; and, if he would keep my secret, it was from  
 the Duke of Argyle. So I told him in general of my meeting  
 his Grace. He said, that view was vain, for they did not  
 meddle in the army; the King and Duke ordering that  
 themselves. I then mentioned ---- whom, he said, he would  
 do for next Sunday. He said, the proper way about my arms  
 was, for his brother to order the Board of Ordnance to pay  
 me, and take them. He said, on my desiring him to tell this to  
 the Duke of Newcastle, that his brother and he seldom met;  
 but he would tell it to Mr. Stone. I left him the memorial. I  
 gave the Duke of Newcastle the memorial about my arms at

court; and he said, he would put it in a proper method. He told me he had done so.

Lord Chesterfield told me, he was to resign the seals to-  
 Feb. 5th.      morrow, having told the Duke of it, who had  
 Friday.      tried to persuade him *to keep*; but he said, it was  
                   impossible; that he had mentioned Colonel  
 Stanhope's affair to him, which was not done, after he, the  
 Duke, had shewed him his name wrote in his paper for  
 aide-de-camp by the King's order. The Duke said, that was an  
 unhappy affair. I said, I was sorry he was to resign, for I had  
 hoped there was some expedient on the carpet to prevent it,  
 though I was shocked to see him appear at court without the  
 weight he ought to have; that I heard Mr. Murray and Mr.  
 Fox were named for succeeding him, and that Mr. Pitt had  
 had a long conversation with Mr. Pelham in private. He said,  
 it would not be a commoner who would succeed him, and  
 Pitt's conversation had been upon another subject.

Having missed Lord Chesterfield on Monday, I went this  
 Feb. 10th.     morning; he was alone, and looked pleased;  
 Wednesday.    said, he was going to Bath on Sunday, for he  
                   found his stomach wanted it, and to get out of  
 the talk which his resignation occasioned. I said, everybody  
 was sorry for it; and the ministers seemed embarrassed. He  
 said, the Duke of Newcastle was distressed by it. I said, he  
 looked so. He said, he had heard disagreeable things in the  
 closet upon it. He said, he had parted with the King in the  
 best manner possible; that he had told him, that his health  
 required that he should retire to recover it; that he assured  
 him, he did not retire to opposition, from business to  
 business, but to retirement; that there he should not oppose  
 his measures, nor meddle farther than to support them,  
 when he had occasion. The King said, he was sorry he had  
 taken this resolution, for that he had served him with  
 fidelity, exactness, and ability; and desired to know, whether  
 anything in his behaviour to him had displeased him. He  
 answered, that had his Majesty not mentioned this to him, he  
 should, before he left the closet, have assured him, that there  
 was nothing in his *personal* behaviour to him, but what was  
 to his satisfaction; and that the King seemed to understand  
 him. I asked, if the King was dull enough to take the reason  
 of his health for the real one. He said, he had before told  
 Lady Yarmouth to tell the King, that he would mention no  
 other to him; that she had told him yesterday, that the King  
 had spoke of him in the handsomest manner, and even with  
 regret; that in the chapel on Sunday the King had told the  
 Duke of Grafton of his resigning, and said, he had not done it  
 as others had done, which had been taken up, so that he was  
 asked, whether in the closet he had not *laid former resigners*  
*on*; he answered, he had not; that the Chancellor came to

him on Sunday, having sent word so on Saturday morning, and when he came in, said, he came too late for what he meant, but gave him reasons against resigning. He told him, that having told Mr. Pelham on Wednesday, that he would resign on Saturday, without enjoining him secrecy, he did not think it necessary to inform the rest; that his lordship knew, that in public measures no regard was had to him, even when he was backed by his lordship and the rest of the cabinet; that therefore he withdrew from that obloquy and indignation, which would very soon fall upon the administration indiscriminately, from the calamities which must follow the measures now pursued; that two months would begin these calamities, and no discrimination would be made of the ministers; and that in other matters, as a minister, he had no weight or influence. He told me, the Chancellor answered him with great compliments; but he would not tell me the particulars; and I suppose from his manner, more than compliments had passed. He said, he told the Chancellor, his behaviour in the House should be as it had been; if the affair of war and peace came to be considered there, he should speak against the war, as he had always done; and if peace was made, he should approve of it, and blame only its having been so long delayed, and those who had delayed it. I told him, Madame Steinberg had talked to me against the Duke of Newcastle, so I supposed the Germans Were not his friends. He said, they were not, but that, to gain favor, the Duke of Newcastle had given himself up to prosecute the King's favorite scheme, the war; that he had told the King, that by doing so he ruined himself; his head was at stake; but he would sacrifice all to carry on his project; that the King hated him, and laughed at him behind his back; but this was such a favorite scheme, from the narrowness of the King's views, his hopes of acquiring something in Germany by conquest, which Lord Granville had set before him, to gain him, and the real benefit to Hanover of 800,000*l.* a-year for his troops, that even Lady Yarmouth could not be heard upon it; that she kept all the credit she had with him; and he would hear her, when she talked of not pushing his son too far, but shewing him some indulgence, only answering, that she was always speaking for that puppy; but when she even mentioned the danger the electorate was in from the continuance of the war, he fell into a passion, and would not hear any more. He said, that Lady Yarmouth having repeated with some vivacity to a foreign minister what she had said to Lord Chesterfield, that she was sorry he went out, but could not say it surprised her, or that she disapproved of it, this was put into an intercepted letter, which the King read<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> It is said in the Memoirs of the last ten years of the reign of

Mr. Grevenkop telling me, the Duke of Bedford had got  
 Feb. 14th. the seals of secretary<sup>1</sup>, I went to congratulate  
 Sunday. Lord Gower upon it. He told me, that I would  
 naturally imagine he knew something of it on  
 Friday, when he saw me; but he assured me, he did not: that  
 he had indeed perceived the Duke of Bedford hesitating a  
 day or two before, although he had at first peremptorily  
 refused it, and that on Thursday night, his sister, Lady Essex,  
 had teased him so to accept of it, that she had almost drove  
 him out of Lady Cadogan's; that Lady Essex was so eager  
 about it from her zeal for the present ministry, which, she

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George the Second by the Earl of Orford, that the apology for his  
 resignation, which Lord Chesterfield published, was very well  
 written, and was supposed to have been drawn up by Lord  
 Marchmont under his direction. It is added, that 'from that time  
 he lived at White's gaming and pronouncing witticisms amongst  
 the boys of quality.' As a journey from St. James's Street to  
 Chesterfield House at that day was somewhat hazardous at late  
 hours, to insure his safe return with his spoils his footmen carried  
 blunderbusses instead of canes. Respecting his resignation Lord  
 Orford says, 'The Seals were given to Lord Chesterfield; but he  
 [being] like his predecessors excluded from all trust, the moment  
 he had a right to be trusted, soon resigned them.' The Duke of  
 Newcastle appears to have driven him out; and his attempt to  
 obtain an influence through Lady Yarmouth seems to have been a  
 main cause of his Grace's jealousy of him.

The King disliked Lord Chesterfield as a preacher of peace; and  
 the Duke was so compromised in his master's foreign politics, that  
 there arose hence in his mind a new cause of enmity to him. His  
 counsels were overruled, the favors he solicited were refused, and  
 his department was offensively encroached upon by the Duke, his  
 colleague. Whilst this passed, he was daily loading himself with  
 the responsibility of disastrous measures, of which he wholly  
 disapproved; and the head of the administration vouchsafed to  
 him a benevolent sympathy, but without an effort to support him.  
 His retaining office therefore had become impossible. But his  
 lordship is not quite ingenuous in one part of this account of the  
 matter. He tells Lord Marchmont, that the Duke was so jealous of  
 the favors of the closet, that he could not endure, that any one  
 should have credit there; and that therefore if he (Lord  
 Chesterfield) wanted to have anything, it was sure to be opposed  
 in every way possible; that he was acting as the Duke of  
 Newcastle's *commis*; and it could not be, that, such as he was, he  
 should be ignorant what arts they were that prevailed against his,  
 nor was the struggle so much in the dark, that he should be unable  
 to distinguish what hand it was that lamed him. But he would have  
 his friend believe, that his Grace was distressed at his resignation,  
 and had heard disagreeable things in the closet upon it; that the  
 King had spoken of him in the handsomest manner, and even with  
 regret.

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Bedford was married to a daughter of Lord Gower.

thought, could only be supported by the Duke of Bedford's being secretary, for there were so many competitors in the House of Commons to any other man, that they must have fallen into confusion; that on Friday after the King's levee, when the Duke of Newcastle came in, he took the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Gower into a corner, to show them some papers; and when he had done, the Duke of Bedford desired to speak to the Duke of Newcastle in the other room; that they staid some time there; and when Sir John Ligonier came out of the King's closet, the Duke of Newcastle went in, where, after he had staid about a quarter of an hour, he put out his head and called, 'Duke of Bedford, come in that on this he (Lord Gower) jogged the Duke of Devonshire, who said, 'I believe, I have the same thought you have;' and soon after, on the King going to the drawing-room, the Duke of Newcastle declared, that the Duke of Bedford was his brother secretary; that on this, having seen Mr. Pelham that morning without saying anything, he imagined Mr. Pelham might think he concealed what he might be supposed naturally to know, from the relation in which he had the honor to stand to the Duke of Bedford; and therefore he desired one to tell Mr. Pelham, that he was an absolute stranger to it, till he saw what he told me; that the Duke of Bedford told him, he had taken the seals hand over head, and almost repented of it already, for that he knew nothing of the business, and had just learned, that Mr. Chetwynd, the first clerk, had resigned; and he had but one resource, which was, that Lord Gower might prevail with him, as a Staffordshire man, to continue in; that he had accordingly got Mr. Chetwynd to remain in six weeks, till the Duke could find another; that yesterday the Duke seemed pleased with his new office, and said, he found it would be of less business than the admiralty, the provinces being changed; that he, Lord Gower, had said, he wished that had been done before, and his friend Chesterfield, he believed, would be secretary still. He said, the division of the provinces was not exactly made yet; that the Duke of Bedford said, he hoped the Duke of Newcastle and he would agree, for he should not encroach upon him, and he hoped the Duke of Newcastle would not upon him. I asked, whether the Duke of Bedford was for continuing the view of the ministry as to Scotland,—that the same ministers should be so for the whole island, or was for erecting a sole minister there. If the first, I should continue to give what lights came to my hands; if not, I should acquiesce. He asked, what was the Duke of Newcastle's view. I said, the first was his; but that Mr. Pelham was the devoted friend to the Duke of Argyle. He said, this explained something to him. I said, T had no objection to the Duke of Argyle, but that he would have everything, or be dissatisfied. He said, that was very true. I said, it was worse; that his friends were not all heartily such to the present establishment, and that to encourage friends

to the King's family ought to be the constant principle in that country. Somebody came in; so I said I would go to the Duke of Bedford's. He said, he supposed I would not touch the subject now to him. I said, 'No;' but I would talk it over again with his Lordship. He said, he believed it had better be first broke to the Duke by him.

I gave the Duke of Newcastle a memorial of the  
March 2nd. informations I had received relating to  
Wednesday. sheriffs in Scotland. He told me, Lord  
Dalkeith, whom he could depend on, had  
named Pringle, Lord Haining's son, for Selkirkshire. I said,  
his Lordship did not know him, for he was not a firm Whig.  
He said Lord ---- had recommended one H. for the county of  
Berwick. I said, I hoped my brother's recommendation  
would take place. I gave him a short state of the interest in  
the county, and asked, if we had done anything to deserve  
that our interest, which was the Whig one, should be  
discouraged. He expressed great satisfaction at our behavior,  
and bid me speak to his brother. I told him, I had; and that I  
was sorry to trouble him. He bid me tell my brother to do it. I  
recapitulated what had passed since Mr. Pelham's first  
treating with my brother, and said, they must lay their hands  
to their hearts, and choose what interest they would support,  
for I had no concern personally beyond the county in  
Scotland. He showed me a letter from Lord Arniston to  
himself, and said, nothing was done about it yet. I said, they  
could not get an abler man, nor one more firmly attached to  
the King's interest.



## SUPPLEMENT.

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### *[An Account of the Battle of Falkirk.]*

Madam<sup>1</sup>,

Having engaged to send you some particulars of the late battle at Falkirk, I have made it my business over again this day to inquire about them; and in order to understand them, I must take notice of the situation of the two armies, and of the nature of the ground betwixt them.

On Friday last the King's army was encamped on the north side of Falkirk upon the crofts, and the rebels at the Torwood<sup>2</sup>, which is about three or four miles north of his Majesty's camp. The standards of the rebels were displayed upon an eminence near the Torwood, and were kept so all day. The ground betwixt the two camps, on the west side at least, is hilly. The rebels in the morning began their march, and made a compass like a semicircle, going west, and then coming south and east to our camp. In that circuit they had occasion to pass through a plain near Dunnipace, which is dry, and which, I hear, would [have] been a fine place for our army to have attacked them in. As the motion of a great body of the rebels could not be a secret at broad daylight, so they beat to arms about eleven in the forenoon, and the men formed in the line of battle; but it pleased the General to order them all to their tents again, but the men [were] ordered also to carry their arms with them to their tents, instead of placing them at the Bell. No doubt the General had intelligence, which made him do this; however, thus they continued, till the rebels were beginning to form on the top of the hill on the west of our camp. They say the General was at dinner, when they were in a haste ordered to arms, which was about three o'clock, or before it. He ordered all the dragoons to march up the hill, and endeavor to gain the

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<sup>1</sup> The two following accounts of the battle of Falkirk are in manuscript amongst the Marchmont Papers. The first of them was probably addressed to one of the sisters of the last Earl, who was then at her brother's seat at Bedbraes in Berwickshire; but it is without address or signature. They are perhaps as little discordant as different representations of the same action usually are. The second is the more circumstantial and intelligible narrative of the events of this unfortunate scene of disgrace, one abounding in errors, and indiscipline on the side of the King's army, which must strike forcibly the eyes of even those who are strangers to the science of war.

<sup>2</sup> The Scots army occupied this post in July 1651; it is so strong, that Cromwell did not choose to attack it.

eminence, which the rebels seemed to be designed to take; and there, as the adjutant (Mr. Ker) to Ligonier's dragoons told me, they strove with the rebels, who should have the wind of other, for by this time there was a furious wind and rain, which had begun half an hour before, but not so violent as now. Ligonier<sup>1</sup> sent back the adjutant to see if the foot were come up; but he came back and told, there was none near them. After that some little time he despatched him to get orders from the generals, whether to attack or not; but he returned with this answer, that he could see none of them, for they were with the foot, who, though advancing up the hill as fast as they could, yet had not been able at that time to get up to the dragoons on the top of it. Upon this Ligonier and his Lieutenant-Colonel, Whitney, made the attack on the Highlanders, by going on at a hard trot, and received the fire of the first line of the rebels, and then pierced through that first line, and advanced to their second, which gave them such a fire as brought down many of them, upon which they retired; but some say, upon the fire of the first line they retired; and which is true I cannot tell. The one I had from the adjutant, who was in the action the other I had from a gentleman, who said, he was at a little distance west of both lines, that is, at the end of them. Upon their retiring (and some of them with great precipitation), they came in among the foot, and trod down some of them, and spread a fear among them. The foot were marching up the hill and the regiments on our left, that is, behind the dragoons, were Wolfe's, Sir Robert Munro's, and the Glasgow militia, some of which were broke by these dragoons, and the Highlanders who followed them. One of Wolfe's men told me, they were greatly discouraged by their pieces not firing, occasioned by the rain. But not only did these regiments fly, but the others next them,—yea, all of them, except Barrell's, and the regiment of foot (late Ligonier's), and the old Buffs, who were originally placed as a *corps de reserve*, and so remained behind Barrell's the whole time. I have not precisely the order of the regiments in the line of battle; but this I know, as they were formed in a great hurry, and the disposition altered with the motion of the rebels, Ligonier's foot had the right of all, as the dragoons were on the left of all, that is, they were before Wolfe's and Munro's, who were on the left of all the foot. The ---- ----- were on the left of Ligonier's foot, and behaved so scandalously, that they fled before the enemy came near them; and as they were just in the front line

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<sup>1</sup> Edward, brother to Sir John Ligonier. He was so enfeebled by illness that he could scarcely sit his horse, but would not be dissuaded from leading his regiment into action. He died at Edinburgh on the day following. His regiment was that which had lost its distinguished leader, Colonel Gardiner, and was routed at Preston Pans.

before Barrell's, they were coming back on Barrell's, who threatened to fire on them, and made the ---- ---- open, and pass by them, and then Barrell's came up in their place. Only Ramsay, the Lieutenant-Colonel of ---- ---- joined Barrell's, and fought with them. The rebels, after beating our left wing, did not pursue it, but turned along the side of the hill to attack our right; and there Barrell's and Ligonier's foot received them so warmly, and fired by ranks, the rear and centre ranks, the first rank still keeping<sup>1</sup> up their fire, that they made the whole Highlanders fly up the hill, by which time it was dark. The first rank of Barrell's never fired their pieces, the Highlanders not having come near, but being beat off by the fire of the other ranks. The ---- ---- behaviour of the I had from several; and that of Barrell's I had from their major, who seems to be a judicious, understanding, modest, brave soldier. General Huske and Brigadier Cholmondeley were the general officers, who commanded these brave regiments, who stood, and, we may say, saved the whole army. Some part of Price's regiment, and some of Battereau's joined these three regiments, and some officers and private men out of the regiments which fled. As for the General, we hear nothing of him from the time that he ordered the dragoons to take possession of the hill, and ordered the foot to march up the hill after them, till he is at Falkirk with the Earls of ---- and ----, when Huske and the right are fighting and beating the Highlanders. As Huske, so Cholmondeley behaved—bravely, though his regiment ran away like the rest. Had the Duke of Cumberland been here, I believe, the regiments had behaved in another manner; and if he comes not, we despair of seeing other behavior, or better conduct. It is reckoned a dreadful blunder, the not having the men under arms, or the line of battle formed, till the enemy had possessed themselves of the best ground, and then ordering all the foot to march up to that ground, by which all the officers were out of breath before the battle began; whereas, had they either marched sooner to attack them on that plain near Dunnipace, which they passed, or had they remained still on the plain in their camp, they were safe, and probably had been victorious. Their camp had a marshy ground before it, and on the west of it; and the town of Falkirk on the south, behind; and a deep hollow way on the east of it. The account of the camp, and the situation of the ground I have from the gentleman, who is proprietor of it. I hear General Hawley is so fretted, and out of humor, that he cannot be spoke to. Our train of artillery was drawn into such marshy ground, that it stuck there, and never fired one gun; and is all lost but three pieces. The captain of it, one Cunningham, carried off the guard from it, and ran away. He was to be tried at a court-

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<sup>1</sup> It is evident by what follows, that the writer, when saying 'keeping up their fire,' means 'reserving their fire.'

martial for his life, but endeavoured to put an end to it by bleeding his arm; however he is not yet dead.

There are strange blunders, or strange villainy here. We are all groaning for the Duke's coming here, without which we despair of things going right, let them send what men they please.

I forgot to mention, that the regiments, which stood, marched back to the camp, and staid there an hour and a half; but it was not thought proper to remain there, lest they should [have] been attacked, in the night-time by the Highlanders, especially when all their pieces were wet with the rain.

Sir Robert Munro, and his brother, the doctor, are both killed; as also Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, and several captains, but not many private men. This is the substance of what I have been able to pick up; what, I understand, the E. of ---- even owns to be an inglorious battle.

I am, with great respect and esteem,  
Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient humble servant.

Edr. Jan. 24th, 174<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>.

N. B. I hear from one of the old Buffs, that the dragoons, after retiring from their attack on the left, drew up in their rear; and after they were gathered into a body, advanced up the hill again beyond the foot. We reckon our papers blame them unjustly, and that the account in them was given them by some, who want to excuse the horrid cowardice, or something worse, of the foot, or their sad behavior, which [arose] perhaps from part of both.

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*[Another Account of the Battle of Falkirk.]*

ON Thursday the 16th January, 1746, General Hawley, with ten pieces of cannon, from six to one pounders, joined the King's army encamped to the west of the town of Falkirk. On Friday the 17th, early the rebels' army was perceived, and their colours plainly observed in the Torwood, about three miles distance west of Hawley's camp. They made a feint of marching by the north side of the Torwood to attack the King's army, which was then (about eleven o'clock) drawn up in battle order ready to receive them; but the General,

finding that the rebels did not advance, and that their colours still remained unmoved in the Torwood, and perceiving, as he thought, their main body still there, he, about one o'clock, allowed the troops to dine in their camp.

The General having some time after got intelligence, that the rebels had under cover of the rising ground stole to the southward, and were making directly by Dunnipace to the top of the hill above the camp, and not then above a mile and a half's distance from it, he immediately ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march from the left as quickly as possible to take possession of the top of the hill; and in the mean time commanded the army to be formed a little to the south of the village of Falkirk, and ordered the cannon up the hill after the dragoons.

The young Pretender, perceiving the dragoons' intention, detached betwixt 1500 and 2000 of the clans to prevent their taking possession of the ground, and to form the right of his first line, which they very quickly did, the main body of the rebel army being still at least one mile and a half behind.

It being now after three o'clock, and Hawley not having got his cannon placed, or the army fully formed, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons, who had thus advanced from the left, to attack the detachment of the rebels, and keep them in play, until he got all in order, which the dragoons very briskly did; but having received a smart fire from the detachment of the rebels, who then broke in upon them sword-in-hand, and the dragoons not being supported were repulsed, and fled back upon the left wing of the troops, and put them in some disorder, which being observed by Lord George Murray, and Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, who commanded the said detachment of the rebels, they very judiciously improved the advantage, came boldly down the hill with this small detachment, gave the left of the King's army a very smart fire in the front and flank, threw by their guns, drew their broad swords, and broke and routed them sword-in-hand, whereupon the front line of the army, and all the rear line also, except Barrell's regiment, fled directly; and the fellows, that were driving the horses with the cannon cut the traces, dropped the cannon, and ran quite away with the horses, by which means all the cannon were lost, except three of the smallest, which happened to be behind the rear line not come up.

Barrell's regiment in the right of the line, and the Old Buffs, and Ligonier's in the *corps de reserve*, having never been attacked, and continuing on their ground, were by General Huske formed into a line, and remained in that posture for a considerable time, until those of the rebels, who

were pursuing the left wing, were returning up the hill to their main body, which had not yet reached the field of battle; and then those three regiments fired by platoons upon such small parties of the rebels as were returning from the left; at last a body of about 400 of the rebels thus returning wheeled about, and advanced towards those three regiments, who received them with constant platoons. This body of the rebels having no guns to return the fire, they having thrown them away at the beginning of the pursuit of the left wing, were obliged to retire up the hill to the main body, from which there were immediately 800 detached to support them; the three regiments perceiving this retired directly to their camp, and soon after to Falkirk, and from thence followed the remainder of the army that night to Linlithgow, leaving the field of battle, seven of their cannon, their whole ammunition, their dead, wounded, camp, and tents, with such of their baggage, as was in the field of battle, to the rebels.

General Hawley returned next day to Edinburgh with the army, where they still remain. The rebels continued the night of the battle in General Hawley's camp, and in the town of Falkirk; a great number came the next day to Linlithgow. They are now returned to the siege of Stirling, which, it is said, they are carrying on very briskly without any disturbance.

General Hawley's army consisted of twelve regiments of foot, three regiments of dragoons, 1200 Campbells, 1000 other volunteers,—in all about 9000; whereof, said to be killed 500; wounded and prisoners, 800.

No account of the number of the rebel army. There was not above 2000 of them engaged; and their main body came never fully in view. It is said, they have 63 killed, and about 40 wounded. Major Mac Donald, brother to Keppoch, having pursued the retreat too far, is the only prisoner.

It is said, there are betwixt 30 and 40 of the King's officers killed, and in that number Sir Robert Munro, Colonel ----; Biggers, Powell, and Whitney, Lieutenant-Colonels; 14 Captains; and a great number of Lieutenants, Ensigns, and other officers.

One captain and two subalterns of the rebels killed; Lord John Drummond slightly wounded in the arm pursuing the chase; Lochiel slightly wounded in the heel.

The army was drawn out in two lines, and a *corps de reserve*. In the first line four battalions, viz., the Royal Scots<sup>1</sup>, Pultney's, Cholmondeley's, and Wolfe's, in the second line five battalions, viz., Barrell's, Munro's, Fleming's, Price's, Blakeney's, and the Glasgow Volunteers, in the left of all: in the *corps de reserve*, Buffs, Battereau's, Ligonier's, and the Argyleshire Volunteers; on the left three regiments of dragoons, viz., Cobham's, Gardner's, and Hamilton's, with the cannon.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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London: WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford-street.

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<sup>1</sup> All the twelve battalions of the line, thus defeated at Falkirk on the 17th January 1746, were comprised in the army victorious at Culloden on the 16th April following, and with three battalions more formed the whole of the regular infantry in the field that day.