

# The Scottish Historical Review

VOL. V., No. 18

JANUARY 1908

Allan Cameron's Narrative, February-April,  
1716

THE END OF THE '15

THE MS. of the following narrative is in the possession of Mrs. Cameron Lucy of Callart, and by her kind permission is printed for the first time. The manuscript was clearly intended as a report upon events in Scotland after the departure of James and Mar from Montrose on February 4, 1716. The writer speaks of Achnacarry as 'my brother's dwelling,' of young Balhaldie as 'my nephew,' and without question is Colonel Allan Cameron, the veteran Sir Ewen's third son. He had been closely concerned in the negotiations between Bolingbroke, Mar, and Ormonde in the spring and summer of 1715, and had accompanied James to Scotland in the following December. After his endeavour, told in the narrative, to organise continued resistance to the Government, he escaped to France in July, 1716. The present document was possibly among several, 'all in Cameron's own hand, and in a very indigested method, and not fit to be exposed to critics,' which were sent to Mar at his request in September, 1716.<sup>1</sup> It supplies a valuable note upon the last phase of the '15, and supplements the materials recently provided by the Windsor Stuart Papers bearing upon a chapter of the rising which has been obscure hitherto.

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<sup>1</sup> Calendar of the Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 437.

Allan Cameron's Narrative.<sup>1</sup>

The army being arriv'd the second day after we march'd from Montrose at Aberdeen<sup>2</sup> in very good order, Generall Gordon<sup>3</sup> call'd a meeting of the nobility, officers and most of the gentry to the Earle Marishals house,<sup>4</sup> where the Kings Letter and his majestys Commission to him as Commander in Chief were Publickly read.<sup>5</sup>

The Generall afterwards call'd the heads of Clans who were present by themselves and ask'd what they thought fitt to be done. They all agreed to march in a Body to Huntleys Lands and to take their measures ther how to proceed after Huntley and his frindes had been discoursed. At the same time on M<sup>r</sup> Farquarson, Brother to Inverey, who had been sent north with Letters to the Marquess Seaforth and to My Lord Glenaircha and frindes in Kathness, mett us ther with account that the marquess Seaforth hade all his men in readiness to march, and that frindes in Kathness both horse and foot were likewise so, and added that my Lord Huntleys frindes were all preparing themselves to march, whatever part Huntley himself would act; but when M<sup>r</sup> Farquarson was return'd with this answer frindes in the north could know nothing of the Kings going off from Montrose nor of our retreat to Aberdeen.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have reproduced the original spelling, but have supplied a modern punctuation.

<sup>2</sup> James and Mar sailed from Montrose for France on February 4, 1716, Ignorant of their flight the army marched the same night from Montrose and reached Aberdeen about noon on February 6 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 110).

<sup>3</sup> Lieut-General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul.

<sup>4</sup> 'The 6<sup>th</sup> ... at two o'clock a meeting of the noblemen, general officers, and chiefs of clans was appointed to be kept at Marshall's Hall, which was punctually observed' (Clanranald to Mar, 11/22, 1716, *Ibid.* p. 110).

<sup>5</sup> Both documents are dated February 4, 1716. The former, endorsed 'Letter of Adieu to the Scotch,' is printed in *Stuart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 505-7.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon produced to the meeting a letter from Huntly 'full of loyal protestations.' Farquharson, no doubt, was the bearer of it. Cf. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 149. Huntly supposed Gordon to be still at Perth (*Ibid.* p. 111).

That night great numbers of the gentlemen who serv'd in the horse dispersed, being extreamly discouraged: some went to seaport Towns to gett shiping, and others chuse rather to lurk in the Contry. All the Irish officers went to Peterhead in order to embark. My Lord Marishall, Marquess Tilliberdin, my Lord Lithgow, my Lord Southesk, my Lord Killisyth, Lord Edward Drumond, M<sup>r</sup> James Keith, M<sup>r</sup> Charles Flimin,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Forrester, and severall other Gentlemen went along with the army. The Irish officers with severall other Gentlemen being dissapointed at Peterhead went to Frasersburgh, where when they were ready to embark, having gote two ships ther for that purpose, an English man of war came up to the harbours mouth, which oblidg'd them to leav that place and to follow the army.<sup>2</sup>

It was determined at Keith, after General Gordon and my Lord Marishall return'd from Huntley, they having gone to Gordon Castle to know his last resolution,<sup>3</sup> that we should hold straight to Badonick through the Hills, which prov'd a very sever march, considering the great snow that lay on the mountains and the bad weather which came on.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as we arriv'd at Rivan Badonick<sup>5</sup> there was a Letter writ to Ardgyle to know what tearms could be hade, with an Intreaty to Ardgyle to interceed for them. Some would not signe it, but it was sign'd by the General, some of the nobility, and some of the Clans, and I doe not learn that there was any return made to it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fleming.

<sup>2</sup> They rejoined at Rhynie on the 10<sup>th</sup>. Cf. *Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 112.

<sup>3</sup> The army marched from Aberdeen on Feb. 7 and arrived at Keith on the 9<sup>th</sup> (*Ibid.* p. 111).

<sup>4</sup> The march was resumed from Rhynie on Feb. 11 to Strathdon and thence to Strathspey and Badenoch (*Ibid.* p. 112).

<sup>5</sup> Part of the army reached Ruthven in Badenoch on February 12 (*Ibid.* p. 112).

<sup>6</sup> The meeting was convened on the 14<sup>th</sup>, at which it was agreed to approach Argyll (*Ibid.* p. 112). The letter, dated Feb. 15, is printed in *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 512. It was signed by General Gordon, Linlithgow, Southesk, Robertson of Struan, Clanranald, James Ogilvie of Boyne, T. and C.

After the Letter was writ and sign'd the Generall call'd all the heads of Clans who were ther by themselves,<sup>1</sup> and I hade likewise the Honor to be call'd, having the Command and charge of my Brothers<sup>2</sup> men on that march. He ask'd what they thought best to be done, and how and where these officers could live in safty, since the Clans were to seperat at that juncture and goe to their severall dwellings, ther not being money nor provision to subsist them so as to keep them in a Body together.<sup>3</sup> The nobility hade determined to goe to the Isles as the safest place for their retreat, so it was agreed that the officers should goe thither likewise, the Isles being at a greater distance from the enimie then the main Land, and that probably the first ships from France would come in ther.

Sir Donald, Clanronald, Apine, &c. were desyrouse to enter into a concert amongst themselves in case they should get to arms again,<sup>4</sup> or whatever might hapen, that they should keep a crosse correspondance. This I urg'd as much as I could, and therefore, seing my Brother was not present, it was agreed they should meet at his house and take their measures ther, where they arriv'd in two dayes. My Brother (who hade then begun his march with his men, he being ordered from Pearth to bring with all expedition his own recruits and those of the other Clans to the army, which would make in all about 14 or 1500 men, and afterwards hade a second order to march north towards Inverness and there to joine Seaforth and Huntly in order to reduce that place) was within twelve myles of us and only the night before hade account that the army was thus dispersed. So he came to us, but Glengary would not enter into any concert,

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Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and J. Dougal. According to Southesk (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 149), Ogilvie and Struan were 'the great promoters of it.'

<sup>1</sup> Presumably at Cluny Macpherson's house, which Gordon made his headquarters (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Lochiel.

<sup>3</sup> All the Athole and Breadalbine men having left us, some at Aberdeen, some at Inverury, the clans, who till now kept in a body together, from hence (Ruthven) went by different routes to their respective countries.'—Clanranald to Mar (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

<sup>4</sup> A loyal letter to James signed by Sir Donald Macdonald, Clanranald, and J. Macdougall, dated April 11, 1716, is in i. vol. ii. p. 114.

on the Contrary appear'd as if he designed to act a separate part from all the rest. I proposed that they should not leave Badonick the same day, and that they should divide so as the one half might go by Glengary and the other by my Brothers to facilitate their march. But Glengary would not countenance nor give them any manner of encouragement or assistance to hold his way: on the contrary Coll. Fitsymons, Capt. Colliar, Mr Strickland, and about twenty more of the Irish officers who attempted it were forc'd to return. This obliged the nobility and all the officers and other gentry, with such of the Clans as went to the Isles, to march all by my Brothers at the same time, which so crowded them by the badness of the weather and roads that their march prov'd very troublesome.<sup>1</sup>

The nobility, with the officers, Sir Donald, and Clanronald went all to the Isles together.<sup>2</sup> General Gordon and Brigadier Ogilvie stay'd in Badonick,<sup>3</sup> and Brigadier Campbell for some days, but afterwards Brigadier Campbell<sup>4</sup> went to Mull and from thence to Uist.

All continued pretty quiet until towards the later end of March that we had account of Cadogan making preparation to march with any [sic] army into the Highlands.<sup>5</sup> But having no account what measures my Lord Seaforth was to take after Huntley had surrendered and given himself up prisoner and ordered his men to give up their arms,<sup>6</sup> which was the first example of that kind, I went to Kintail to wait on my Lord Seaforth and to know his resolution. This happen'd a little after Capt. Tulloch came to

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<sup>1</sup> The march appears to have begun on Feb. 16, and to have been delayed by bad weather (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> They arrived at Ormaclett on March 25 'after incredible fatigues' (*Ibid.* p. 149).

<sup>3</sup> With Cluny Macpherson.

<sup>4</sup> Colin Campbell of Ormidale. He was afterwards captured.

<sup>5</sup> General William Cadogan, whom Lovat was supplying with information, was at Blair Atholl. He proposed to march towards Badenoch on April 1, and to reach Ruthven on April 4. Major-General Wightman, the victor at Glenshiel in 1719, was at Inverness (*Ibid.* p. 75).

<sup>6</sup> On February 18 (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 516).

my Lord Seaforths Contry with a shipe wherin there was some officers and a litle money.<sup>1</sup> His Lop. gave me a deal of satisfaction and say'd he was willing to goe into any measures with the rest of the Clans for his majestys service.

How soon I return'd I sent express to Generall Gordon to Badonick to aquent him of my Lord Seaforths ansuer, and went myself to Glengary after I hade given my Brother likewise account of what my Lord Seaforth hade determined. Glengary apear'd then very hearty and seem'd to make preparation in order to defend his house. My Brother was oblidg'd to be every night on his guard for fear of being surprys'd by the garison at InverLochy, which is within eight or nine myles of his house, it being no wayes strong.

General Gordon having account that Cadogan was come with his army, which then consisted of about 3500 foot and Dragoons, the length of Blair in Athole,<sup>2</sup> being the nixt Contry to Badonick, he came straight to Glengarys house, where I mett him. That night we hade account that one Coll. Qeyton<sup>3</sup> hade entered Apines Lands with 500 foot, and that Apines men hade begun to take protections and to deliver some arms,<sup>4</sup> and that the said Qeyton was on his march to InverLochy on the one hand, whyle Cadogan was marching towards that Contry by Badonich on the other, this was the more surprysing because Apine hade sent us no account of this party nor march. The Generall on this advertisement sent straight to my Brother and to Kepock desyring them to meet him nixt day, they being the nearest to him of the Clans, half way betwixt my Brothers house and Glengarys, where accordingly the Generall, Glengary, my Brother, Brigadier Ogilvie, Kepock and I met. This was Fry day 30<sup>th</sup> March. It was agreed that my Brother, Glengary and Kepock should Rendevouz each of them at their own houses what men they

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Tulloch in the *Robert* or *Speedwell*, who had sailed from Havre on Jan. 17 (new style), returned from the Lewis on March 3, having left Seaforth 400 lbs. of powder and some money, which he gave up 'half force and half good will.' The officers Tulloch had with him (except two) returned to France, finding the rising at an end (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 40).

<sup>2</sup> Cadogan reached Blair Atholl about March 30 (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Jasper Clayton.

<sup>4</sup> Appin arrived in Paris on October 1, 1716 (*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 15).

could get together thursday or fryday nixt thereafter,<sup>1</sup> and in the mean tyme the General should goe to meet my Lord Seaforth so as to know what number of men he could expect from his Lop. and to get what Capt. Tulloch left in his hands of the Kings money. It was also concerted that the General should return so as to be at Glengarys or my Brothers against the day apointed for the Rendevouze, and at the same tyme the General wrote to those in the Isles and to the rest of the Clans that they might march their men with all expedition to Lochaber in order to opose the enimie who were near that Contry on their march, and to bring with them what provision they could, the Contry being very skairse at that juncture, and it not being possible to provyde themselves from any part which the enimie possess'd untill there was once a Body form'd.

Nixt day after the General came to Glengarys house,<sup>2</sup> one of my Brothers frindes, who serv'd as Capt. in his Regiment, interiented a Lieutenant going from Cadogan to the Governor of InverLochy with Letters, who was then at Blair in Athole, who told us there was a gentleman on the road from the Duke to Glengary, who accordingly came that very night with some message from Athole to Glengary. This gave us some ground of jealousy, but Glengary having then asur'd the Generall that he would stand it out to the last extreimity remov'd the Generalls fears.

At our return to Glengarys house from the meeting with my Brother and Kepoch, Glengary entreated of the Generall to set this Lieutenant of Cadogans at Liberty and to let him goe on to InverLochy. Brigadier Ogilvie and I was not for it, but the General, tho with some reluctancy, condescended, being in Glengarys house at the tyme.

When this Lieutenant Hardy (so they call him) and the other gentlemen went away, Glengary walk'd out with them and was very seriouse and sent his footman with the Lieutenant to InverLochy, who conducted the sd. officer near the bounds of Badonich in his way to Cadogan, otherwayes the Contry would have seiz'd him over again, but seing Glengarys footman with him they did not think it needfull.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. April 5 or 6.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. March 31.

Nixt morning, being munday the 2d. of Apryle, the Generall made ready to goe to Kintail to meet my Lord Seaforth, and desyred I would goe along with him, by reasone that I hade been a litle tyme before with his Lop. when he gave such good encouragement.

As we were ready to goe off there came an expresse from my Brother to the General shawing that he hade gote certent account that Coll. Cleyton was to march from the Garisone of InverLochy nixt day, being Twesday,<sup>1</sup> with 8 or 900<sup>2</sup> men to my Brothers house in order to attack him. He likewise sent a Letter which a frinde from InverLochy wrote to advertise him, that upon the representation made by the officer who was prisoner at Invergary, Cleyton hade deter-min'd to march to my Brothers house, which he could doe in three or four hours tyme the Generall did read this Letter. The Letter likewise mentiond that it was believ'd for certent at InverLochy that Glengary hade setled affaires with Atholl and Cadogan, so as they were sure he would not draw a sword against them. This we were all loath to believe.

My Brother wrote to Glengary likewise that he was very well informed that he was to be attackt nixt day by a strong party from InverLochy, that he hade not tyme to get a sufficient number on such short advertisment to opose them, therefore hop'd he would come with what he could get together of his men to his assistance, seing he (Glengary) nor his Contry was not in any danger nor to be troubled untill they did his business first, my Brother and his Contry being betwixt Glengary and the Garison.

Upon this account I entreated of the Generall to allow me to goe back to my Brother that I might be assisting in rying his men and to witness whatever might follow. But Glengary press'd the Generalls going off to my Lord Seaforth and that I should by all means goe along, to that degree that the Generall would have me either goe or otherwayes that I might own I wrong'd the Kings service. I thought myself oblidge'd to obey, so could not help it. When I press'd very earnestly to return, Glengary sayd, you need not be so uneasy, for you will return tyme enough to get your share;

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<sup>1</sup> April 3.

<sup>2</sup> The number is elsewhere given as 600 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 133).

for, sayd he, we will not medle without we have a good advantage, and perhaps they will not fall in blood for some dayes. At the same tyme he told us that he was to order his men to bring each of them three dayes provision on that account: besydes, said he, I can hardly think the party will come out so soon as your Brother is told.

This being on munday the 2d of Apryle, the Generall, Brigadier Ogilvie and I persued our journey to Kintail. But nixt day the Party under Qeyton actualy march'd, as my Brother was informed, straight to his dwelling house: but those of his men who live on the road betwixt the Garisone and his house took up all that fornoon to put their Catle out of the Partys way, and those who were fardest off in Morvine and Swinart<sup>1</sup> hade only tyme to be with him against fryday,<sup>2</sup> which was the day apointed for the Rendevouze, so that very few join'd him untill it was night.

Glengary came to my Brother only about half an hour before the party apear'd, with a hundred men or therabouts. Its true betwixt what they both hade they were not in a condition that day to attack the Party, they not having the fourth part of their number. Some of my Brothers and of Glengarys men offer'd to fyre at them at a pass, but Glengary would not allow it; for, say'd he, we will but lose our men to no purpose. My Brother did not press it either, seing there was so few of his men ther that night, but say'd to Glengary, that he hop'd he would keep his men together nixt day, since he, my Brother, doubted not but he would have a suffitient number of his men together then, which with Glengarys men might very well attack the party. They parted so that night, and nixt day, when those of my Brothers men came to him who were nearest and who were puting their Catle out of the way, he sent to Glengary to aquent him therof and withal that he expected to have his men together, but gote no return.

This was on Wednesday, and on thursday<sup>3</sup> night my nephew young Balhaldy<sup>1</sup> came express from my Brothers

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<sup>1</sup> Sunart.

<sup>2</sup> April 6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 April 5.

frindes who live in Morvine and Swinart signifying that they were on their march and would be with him tomorrow, being Fryday, as he apointed. Upon which my Brother went early in the morning to Glengarys and at the same tyme he thought to finde the Generall and others ther, as had been concerted. But finding none but Glengary and his own frindes he stay'd that night, both to wait the Generalls coming and know Glengarys last resolution. Wherefore he told Glengary that his men were come against the day of the Rendevouze, so that iff he would joine his men with them they were in a condition to beat Clayton. My Brother added that the Enimies being at his house signified nothing, for that none suffer'd by that but himself, and that otherwayes it was an advantage, they having no way to retreat, for that they were encamp'd and lay in their Tents, as not thinking his house any defence at all for them, and that only the officers lay in it.

Glengary ansuer'd in plain tearms, that he hade determined to deliver his house and himself up to Cadogan, that nixt night he expected a party to take posession of the house, and that in a day therafter he would goe to Cadogan and afterwards to Athole,<sup>2</sup> and added that his advyce to my Brother was to doe the same.<sup>3</sup>

This ansuer of Glengarys suprys'd my Brother extreamly, who told Glengary that in the first place he would not take his advyce, and secondly that he ought to have told his designe sooner to the Generall and to him and his other neighbours, and that there was People in the Goverment who made offer of doing all the good offices in their Power to him when the army dispersed, to whom he returned ansuer that

<sup>1</sup> William Macgregor (or Drummond) of Balhaldie. His mother was a daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. He played a leading part in the intrigues which brought Prince Charles from Italy to France in 1744.

<sup>2</sup> Glengarry was at Perth on April 21, after visiting the Duke at Blair (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 133).

<sup>3</sup> Glengarry's motives were variously interpreted. Whatever they may have been he did not lose James's favour. His name appears in November, 1716, in a list of chiefs deserving distinction, and on December 9, 1716, a warrant was issued for a patent creating him 'a lord and peer of Parliament of Scotland, by the title of Lord McDonald' (*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 303, 572).

he designed to doe nothing but in concert with other worthy Persones who were equally engag'd in the same cause.

When my Brother was informed at first that the party was to come out in order to attack him, he wrote to Kepoch likewise desyring his assistance, who sent him a Letter in return a day after the party came the length of my Brothers dwelling.<sup>1</sup>

My Brother finding that Glengary hade left him thus and hade given up his house to be garison'd by the enimie, and considering that that house lyes in the passe betwixt Inverness and my Brothers, that a Party of nine hundred men lay now at his house, which is half way betwixt Glengary and Inver-Lochy, that the Garisone of InverLochy is in the center of his estate and frindes, and no account from the Isles nor of any maner of succour, concluded that it was to no purpose for him to act alone, that it would end in the intyre destruction of his men and Contry and not in the least advance the Kings service, Therefore he ordered part of his men to disperse and take protections as others hade done to save their goods and familys in hopes they might as yet have an oportunity to serve their King and Contry. Never were men more uneasy then they were upon their being oblidg'd to return without having done something against the Enimie.

The Generall could know nothing of these particulars, my Brother not thinking it needfull to write to him till the day of the Rendevouze, against which tyme he expected himself back as was concerted, and likewise untill he knew Glengarys last resolution. However, as soon as we arriv'd at Kintail, the Marquess of Seaforth told the General that there was some money left in his hands when Captain Tulloch came to his Contry, but that it was not possible for him to get at it then, the enimie being in possession of the place where it was conceal'd, and at the same tyme say'd he would order his men to be in a readiness to march how soon others would draw to a head.

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<sup>1</sup> Writing to Mar on April 11, 1716, Clanranald remarks: 'Keppoch is suspected to follow Huntly's measures, whose vassal he is' (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 113). Keppoch, in fact, escaped to France with Allan Cameron (*Ibid.* p. 322).

Nixt morning there came a Letter from Glengary to the Generall, which he wrote Wednesday morning,<sup>1</sup> showing that no body would joine. This Letter, which my Brother knew not of, made no mention of Glengarys being ready to deliver himself and his house in the enimies hands. At the same tyme my Lord Seaforth hade account that there was a ship arriv'd from France in the Isle of Sky with necessares for the Highlanders, and others say'd it was come to cary away the nobility and officers who were then in Wist,<sup>2</sup> upon which the Generall and Brigadier Ogilbie resolv'd to stay with my Lord Seaforth untill he hade certent account what ship this was and her Cargo, and that in the mean tyme I should return straight to Glengary and my Brother with account of this, and to encourage them the best I could, which accordingly I did.

The Generall wrote a Letter, which he gave me open, adress'd for Glengary and my Brother, aquenting them of the arrivall of this ship and of my Lord Seaforths ansuer, and that how soon he understood what the said ship carried he would let them know.<sup>3</sup> He ordered me to send the Letter to

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<sup>1</sup> April 4.

<sup>2</sup> On April 5 Captain Owen O'Sheridan arrived at South Uist on board the *Marie Therese* from Morlaix. He sailed again on April 18 and reached Roscoff in Brittany on May 10 (new style), having on board the Earl Marischal, Southesk, Tullibardine, Linlithgow, Kilsyth, Lord Edward Drummond, Lord George Murray, and other Jacobite refugees, besides the Irish officers (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 109, 142, 148).

<sup>3</sup> The following extracts from letters of Clanranald and Southesk to Mar vividly represent the relations between those who escaped to France, and Gordon who held himself still bound to act militantly in James's behalf. Clanranald writes to Mar: 'M<sup>r</sup> Sheridan arrived here [Uist] upon Thursday the [5th] instant, and after delivering me your Grace's letter to General Gordon, and another for myself ... the nobility and gentry that were here at the time seeming to have an inclination to know what might be in them that concerned the King's service, I thought that things of that kind was not to be kept a secret from them who had already suffered so much for it. Therefore I thought fit to communicate to those of the first rank what my letter imported, and though I would not take upon me to break open General Gordon's letter, there was amongst them who did, and accordingly it was broke up and the contents read in presence only of a few of the nobility and myself. The contents agreeing in the main with what your Grace had suggested in mine, and M<sup>r</sup>. Sheridan's instructions from your Grace being of a piece with both as to what concerned the ship and cargo, I proposed to conform myself in all things to your Grace's commands, which was to secure the ship and cargo, and without delay to

the one and to goe myself to the other, wherfore I sent the Letter to my Brother and went on straight to Glengary. Mean tyme I sent one before me who could march very hard the nearest way over the hills with the contents of the Letter in write, who delivered it some hours before I arriv'd. My Brother had been with Glengary that night at his own house, as I have already mentioned with Glengarys ansuer to him, yet Glengary told him nothing of the Letter he received from me, and before I came to Glengary nixt morning my Brother was gone back.

I must own that tho I was doubtfull all along that Glengary was acting under hand with Athole, of which I told the General!, yet I was mightily surpris'd to finde him just ready to goe off for Inverness to Cadogan, and his house Immediatly to be delivered up to be garison'd by the enimie. I found Gordon of Glenbucket with him. It would be too tedious to insert hear all that pass'd betwixt Glengary and me. I imediatly went to my Brother, who had only return'd from Glengary a litle before I arriv'd. He told me all that pass'd betwixt him and Glengary, upon which he had ordered his men of Swinart and Morvine to disperse, they being in Ardgyleshyre and consequently their familys would be ruin'd in their absence, since ther was none then on their march and in arms but themselves.

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forward General Gordon's letter to himself. This was first agreed to by the most part that were present, but it was afterwards thought dangerous to lose much time here ... [and] though I objected that it appeared plainly from what your Grace had writ in your letters that a return from General [Gordon] would be absolutely necessary before the ship should depart, I added besides, it was but just that the clans, who were the only body of men now in the nation that made any appearance for the King ... might be allowed some reasonable time,, that they might lay the state of their condition before his Majesty. Notwith-stand of this objection, it was resolved next morning to call a council of the lords and general officers, to vote which was most for the King's service, the ship to wait, or to be immediatly unloaded and dispatched. All the votes excepting a few was for the latter' (*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 109). Southesk says that he was against that course. He adds that between April 13-18 'there came an express from General Gordon ordering the ship, I must say in a very uncivil manner, to stay till his further orders ... for in sending that order he never so much as writ to one of us, and at the same time he writ for volunteers to come up, as my Lord Marischal says, and join him, for that the Highlanders would still stand to the last man and never deliver up their arms' (*Ibid.* p. 149).

How soon I gave my Brother account that ther was such a ship arriv'd and that it was the reasone which detain'd the Generall from coming straight back, he ordered his men not to take protections for some dayes, for at that tyme there was only a few of those who were most expos'd to the Garison of InverLochie who hade given in any arms and hade gote protections. My Brother wrote that minute to the Generall, which I sent off by express to Kintail, and wrote myself at the same tyme to know what he would have done.

I having account that my Brothers men of Swinart and Morvine were within twelve myles of me after they hade gote orders to goe home, I went with all expedition after them in hopes to be with them before they dispersed, with a resolution iff I gote them together to attack Qeyton with them and with what other men would joine me.

When I came to the head of Locheill, where they hade been waiting my Brothers orders, I found the most of them were dispersed according to the message my Brother had sent them on his return from Glengary, but I overtook severall of the Gentlemen who commanded them and some of the comon men. The Gentlemen asur'd me iff I thought fitt they would convine a good party in a few dayes in order to attack Qeyton or any other party of the enimie I pleas'd. Upon which I sent another express to Generall Gordon to Kintail to aquent him of all this, and that iff he gave me orders with any encouragement, that I was getting so many of my Brothers men and some of the Moidart men who hade promis'd to joine me in a meeting I hade with them some dayes before, and likewise part of Apines men and of Glengarys men, tho he hade surrendred himself, together, as I would undertake to attack Qeytons party or some other party of the enimie and doubted not of success.

After I sent off this express I kept the most of the gentlemen with me, and dispers'd the comon men into different places near me for want of provision to keep y<sup>m</sup> together, so as they might be ready on some hours advertisement. In the mean tyme Cadogan having gote possession of Glengarys house, by which the passe betwixt Inverness and InverLochy was open'd to him, especialy since Qeyton lay at Achnacary with his party betwixt Glengary and InverLochy about half way, he was therby encouraged to alter his march, and in place of going from Badonich by the

braes of Lochaber towards InverLochy with his army, he countermanded the Troops who lay at Inverness, whome he hade formerly ordered to joine him in Badonich, and marched straight to Inverness with his army, and came up to the Castle of Invergary himself with a Convoy of a few horse, and as hard as he could ryde came under night to Achnacary, my Brothers dwelling, where Qeyton lay, but gave out the night before that he was to return to Inverness. Nixt morning he sett off early for InverLochy, which is not above an hour and halfs ryding, the road being good.

I being at some myles distance had only account nixt morning that he had pass'd, but I resolved without waiting any orders from the Generall to attack him as he returned, for which I prepared myself and gote a suffitient number of prittie young fellowse together under night without making much noise, with whom I march'd that night over hills, which I was oblidg'd to doe for fear Cleyton should get notice, having march'd near the place where he was encamp'd, so as to be ready to attack Cadogan at a pass about half way betwixt InverLochy and Invergary. I hade the missfortune to miss him very nairrowly. Never any man rode with greater expedition then he did, and so gote by the passe before I came up. Iff I had effectuated this designe, whatever might have been the event, it would have confounded their measures a litle, he having all the orders concerning Scots affaires in his breast at that juncture.

After this I waited Impatiently sometyme for the Generalls return. The first account I hade was from a Gentleman who came from Kintail, that the Generall was gone for Wist in order to embarck for France in Shirradines<sup>1</sup> ship, which suprys'd me mightily, not having receav'd any word from him directly or indirectly. But I had this account, however, from such good hands that I must believe it. Upon this I went straight after him, Leaving all those gentlemen and sojers in suspence untill I would aquent them from the Isles with what they were to doe. As I was on my way to the Isle of Sky I mett on of the expresses whom I sent to the Generall, who told me

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon, in fact, did not embark in O'Sheridan's ship. See the following note.

that the Generall was certontly gone, but that he could not learn any word he left for me at Kintail.<sup>1</sup>

C. SANFORD TERRY.

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<sup>1</sup> Here abruptly ends Allan Cameron's MS. He himself, Gordon, Seaforth, Lochiel, the stalwarts, were convinced by now that to continue the insurrection was futile in face of Cadogan's activity and the defection of the other leaders. On April 7 (new style) Captain Tulloch again sailed from Havre, in the Vendome. The vessel was captured off the Long Isle, but Tulloch seized a barque, and with Seaforth, Gordon, Ogilvie of Boyne, Lochiel, Keppoch, Campbell of Glenderule, and Allan Cameron himself, arrived at Roscoff at the end of July, 1716 (Stuart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 74, 203, 218, 322).