

A
L E T T E R

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE
E—l of T—q—r

*Nec nobis ignominiosum est pati quod passus est
Christus, nec vobis gloriosum est facere quod fecit
Judas.*

St. AMBROSE



L O N D O N ,
Printed for R. Freeman, *jun.* near St Paul's

ADVERTISEMENT

THE Reader is desired to observe, that the following Sheets were intended to have been publish'd many Months ago, but for particular Reasons was delayed by the Person to, whose Care the printing was committed.

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My L—d,

IT is now several Months since I esteemed it a Duty incumbent upon every Wellwisher to the present happy, Establishment, not only to thank your L—d—p for your Assiduity to preserve the Royal Family upon the Throne, but to congratulate You on your Zeal, being brought to light, in a Manner you as little expected, as desired. These, my L—d, are the hidden Ways of Providence, to prevent the Blushes of the Man of Merit, ever averse to publish his own Praise. Tho' this is a Task for which I am very unequal; yet as I should be extremely sorry, did the friends of the Government neglect to return you Thanks in the most publick Manner, my imagining this to be a proper Time, (lest the Hurry of Business in the Beginning of a Session should prevent an abler Pen,) I have presumed in Name of all the Loyalists in *E—g—d*, to declare the grateful Sense they have of your Services; and to rejoice with you upon your Triumphant Delivery, from the many unjust Aspersion's thrown out against you as a *Jacobite*. As the Conduct of so great a Man can, and sometimes only ought to be known but to a Few, and there either Men in Power or Men of Letters, it may be imagin'd, that some general Hints of the principal Facts, together with an open Declaration of the Person's Merit, would be deem'd sufficient; nevertheless, I hope the World will agree with me in Opinion, that such a Return wou'd be too much bounded in the present Case, and far short of the very singular, unprecedented Services you have render'd the Nation, as well as unjust to Posterity, whom we are bound to instruct by laying before their Eyes, Examples of great Men of all Denominations, but more especially of your L—d—p, who has lately shown yourself so consummate a Politician, as perhaps no Age hitherto has, or in Time coming produce.

For these and many other Reasons, the Publick would esteem me unexcusable if I did not endeavour to exhibit your

¹ [C. Stuart, reflecting upon his conduct during the rebellion of 1745]. Charles Stuart (5th earl of Traquair.)

L—d—p’s several Transactions (so far as is come to my Knowledge) in an Affair that has engrossed so much of the general Conversation, as having spared no Pains to inform myself, of what I judg’d necessary. Before I go any further, it may not here be amiss to observe, the Method I propose in the Detail of your intricate Proceedings, as the only Means, whereby, in my Opinion, it will be possible to make them understood. This my L--d is a Thing at present thought impossible; as they seem, from what is hitherto known, intirely inconsistent with the Rules commonly laid down, in regard to Party Principle, but by the following Method I don’t despair of convincing the World that their Doubts (for their Conjectures come pretty nigh the Truth) are owing not to any Inconsistency in your L—d--p’s Actions. I shall therefore begin by observing your Conduct from your Departure from *S—tl—d* the Winter preceeding the late Rebellion; Secondly, During the Time the Rebels continued in Arms, till your Commitment to the *T----r*: Thirdly, The Surprize your Confinement occasioned till your Examination at the *C-kp-t*² in the Month of ----; with the Conjectures made upon that Incident; and Fourthly, Will Attempt to show how fortunate a Choice your Country-Men made, when they pitch’d upon You, as Emissary to transact their Affairs with their Neighbours of *E—g—d*, who they weakly imagined to be of their own Way of thinking, From all which I make no Question, of representing your L—d—p in your proper Colours, and perpetuating your Memory to future Ages, with all the Lustre due to it.

If I remember well, it was in the Month of *January* 1744-5, that you left *S—tl—d*, as you then gave out, to marry a Lady of Fortune, and indeed your Conduct ever since plainly proves, that this was the great, if not the only View: The Address with which you imposed upon your deluded Country-Men being admirable. I think I hear you harrangue them with the greatest Air of Sincerity thus. “Gentlemen, The Honour you have now conferred upon me in sending me to *E--g--d* to transact your Affairs there, and these too of such unspeakable Consequence to your future Welfare, and upon which the Happiness or Ruin of your Families depends, is of so extraordinary a Natures that I am unable to make suitable acknowledgments for it; but I hope my Zeal for, and Attachment to the *glorious Cause* I have ever studied to promote, together with my unfeigned Regard for your well-being, which I prefer infinitely to my own private Interest and Happiness, will enable me to execute the great Trust you have reposed in me, with Fidelity and Success; and allow me, Gentlemen, to show you, how Providence seems to favour

² The *Cockpit* was in the palace at Whitehall and was used by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, for examinations.

this Undertaking, by affording me the most plausible Pretext to be seemingly busy, which all who know me are satisfied I am extremely fond of. The Report of my intended Marriage falls out most Opportunely, and I shall not fail to improve it? For let what will happen, the *M—st--y* can have no Suspicion of me; It is true I am a *P---st* but why may I not pass for one whose Principles are as selfish as those in *E—g—d*? 'Tis well known that they prefer personal Security, with the undisturb'd Exercise of their Religion, which they now enjoy almost as fully as any of the Dissenters, to all other Considerations. They are so far from having any Inclination to molest the present Government, that they would rather use Means to support it, than run the smallest Risk of having their Privileges abridged: Which would infallibly be the Case, should the Attempt prove fruitless. I have known many of them alledge that it was much more consistent with the Interest of their Holy Religion, to have the present Family upon the Throne, than the House of *Stewart*; for say they, did the latter get into Possession either by Force, or upon Conditions, Things must go badly for us; if by Force, the People will never sit quiet, till they have the strongest Securities granted to the Established Church, and probably as the most: effectual Means, have the Penal Laws put in Execution against *Catholicks*; if in the other Way, it is obvious that the Limitations will, be of such a Nature, as must prove very prejudicial to us. This, Gentlemen, is the Manner in which those amongst them of a distinguished Rank argue; and I am sorry to have too good Reason to believe, that these are their real Sentiments; but let it be so, tho' I may not be able to persuade them into a contrary Opinion, yet I won't fail to make it serve my Turn, for by conversing with them, I may in all Probability pass in the Eyes of the *M—st--y* for one of that Kidney, to you alone my Reasons and Intentions are known: But let whatever Jealousies arise, I am still in Possession of my Principal Excuse, *Matrimony*; and thereby shall be able to repel all Suspicions that may occur. Now, Gentlemen, at the same Time that I am endeavouring to persuade you of my undisguised Zeal for your Interests, and the Prospect I have from the above Reasons, of being able to serve you to Purpose, allow me to conjure you, to go on in your laudable Scheme with Courage and Vigour, don't be in the least dispirited with the seeming Difficulties that occur, for without Danger no great Action can be accomplished, and how vast the Pleasure when these Dangers are over. I hope it will be needless for me to say much to persuade you to so noble an Enterprize; you are satisfied with the Justice of your Cause, of the Honour that must redound to you from the Undertaking, and I know your Breasts burn with the same generous Fire, that has so often incited your Ancestors to far more hazardous Deeds: For my own Part, I am determind,

that no Dangers, no Hardships whatever, shall tempt me to deviate from the Principles and Actions of my Forefathers; and am happy above all Things in this to flatter myself, that you don't harbour the least Doubt of my performing my solemn Engagements."

It is not difficult to form a Judgment of the Effect that such a Declaration would have upon the Minds of Men drench'd in the fond Thoughts of setting their beloved Master upon the T----. The solemn Gravity with which your L—d—p would deliver it, the imposing Air of Sincerity, of which you are very much Master, when with People prejudiced in your Favour; your seeming Keeness to have them forward their darling Scheme, your solemn Engagements to act an open and bold Part, together with their delusive and ill-grounded Hopes, that you as sincerely intended, as you appeared by your Professions resolved, to propagate the Interest of the Party, filled them with the most pleasing Thoughts of Success, and drew a Veil over all the Difficulties that had, and still did present themselves.

This, my L—d, allow me to say, was a Master-Piece of Policy, for by this same Marriage you soothed your fond Friends, gaining their intire Confidence and Dependence; by this you blinded all, save a few, to whom you had a Mind to communicate your real Intentions, and above all, by the same Scheme, you wisely judged, that you should have it in your Power to save your own little *Valuable Person*, with seeming Credit to yourself, and thereby render your Services the more meritorious in the Eyes of the Government. This, my L—d, to me appears evident, and don't let me offend your Modesty, by forcing the Merit of it upon you; for I defy the most prejudiced and partial Person alive to interpret it in any other Shape, when they maturely consider your Procedure, after parting with your imaginary Friends: Imaginary I must call them, for sure you was so to them. Had you really been the turbulent *Jacobite*, your Countrymen imagin'd, you had certainly made all Haste possible to confer with such who could have been of Service here, being fully acquainted with the *Chevalier's* Intentions to invade these Dominions the Summer following: But to the contrary you most generously spent fifteen Days on the Journey up, on Pretence of paying your Devoirs to the Lady you intended the Honour of your Bed. This you thought would pass well enough with your Constituents, trusting to their Credulity, and having told them that you was to regulate all your Motions, as proceeding from your intended Marriage; and their intire Confidence in your sincere Inclinations to serve them, would not allow them to form the least Doubt of your Conduct, but passively acquiesce in your superior Judgment. As I am a Lover of Oddities both of Men and Things, I could not

forbear enquiring how these Constituents of yours relished this extraordinary Piece of Procedure, and if they did not take Umbrage at it, or seem'd suspicious and uneasy? They are People naturally warm, and if once fix'd upon a Thing, jealous of the least Delay; neither are they generally esteemed Fools, tho' the World don't look upon them as Oracles. Did not they seem surprised? Were they not anxious to hear the Success of this Journey? Were they not vexed to be so long at an Uncertainty? Did they not (for sure they had Reason) begin to suspect that his L--d--p was fooling them? In short I could find that they had been very much at a Loss, what Notion to form of your Behaviour, but from the mighty Promises made, and their own open Dealing, they did not imagine the least foul Play. From these and such like ill-founded Maxims the deluded *S--ts*, not only kept up their Spirits, but forwarded the Interests of him they afterwards own'd for their Master, with unwearied Zeal, tho' without ever receiving the least satisfactory Piece of Intelligence from your L--d--p. No, my L--d, you was too wise to commit any Thing to Paper, but what might have been read by every Clerk in the Post-Office; and you knew the Value of Money too well to put yourself to the Charge of a special Messenger; tho' I believe I may safely venture to say, that there were People concerned, who, tho' not so able to afford it, would Willingly have reimburs'd you. But the main Difficulty did not lie here, you was honestly resolved to do nothing towards advancing what you called, and they vainly imagined, to be their Interest; you therefore judged right to say nothing, as the only Means whereby to make them put the most favourable Constructions upon your Conduct; and indeed, so far as I have been able to learn, it had the desired Effect with most of them. Some few, it is true, more quick-sighted than their Fellows, began to hint that there might be more than Circumspections in your Manner of Proceeding; yet even they were, ever charitable enough to conclude, by saying that tho' L--d *T--q--r* might be a little remiss in corresponding, he surely intended well, and was doing the utmost in his little Power. This they were partly persuaded of, from the Accounts given them by some who had the Fortune of seeing you here in Town, and who assured them that L--d *T--q--r* was very busy, seemed much taken up, and always in a Hurry; but lucky it was they little reflected, that that seeming Business sprung from nothing but a natural Inclination to run about without the least Intention to promote their Interest. Your L--d--p knew better, and spent your Time more to your own Honour and Advantage, and the Welfare of your Country; a Rout, a Drum-major, a Drum, a Priè, were the utmost of your Wishes, where the old-fashioned Politess you brought forty Years ago from the College at *Paris* made you condescend to risk a few of your darling Half-crowns *Whist*. Thus, my L--d, I have you solacing yourself at a Tea-

Table, or disputing about a thirteenth Card, and regaling yourself with the malicious Ideas of the fruitless Expectations of your deceived Countrymen. There is one Particular which merits special Notice, nor can it be doubted, as it comes from the other Side of the Water, where People speak plain, being under no Restraint; and, falling naturally under this Period, will shew your L—d—p’s Attachment to the Interest of the present happy Establishment in the strongest Light. It is there not only said, but positively averred for a Truth, that, upon your coming to Town, you was charged with a Packet to the young *Chevalier*, containing the Sentiments of his Friends in *S—tl--d* upon his intended Expedition, with ample Persuasives against it, as the only proper Means whereby to prevent his coming, without a sufficient Force, and particular Instructions to your L—d--p how to forward it. How happy it was that this Packet was not sent, must be obvious to the meanest Capacity, and no Doubt you knew too well the Advantages that, had it been forwarded, must thereby have accru’d to the Party. Your L—d--p no doubt wisely reasoned thus. “How happy is it that these poor credulous People have acquainted me with the Contents, they all declare against his coming without a considerable Force; if this goes, he will certainly lay aside the Thoughts of it, and delay his Expedition to a more favourable Occasion; which will entirely overthrow my Scheme of totally ruining the Party; for if he comes, I know their Constitutions, they will be ashamed not to join him, in which Case they must infallibly be undone: Whereas on the contrary, the Receipt of it, will undoubtedly give the Party Time to strengthen themselves at home, and should he be able through this Delay to procure Assistance from abroad, God only knows what maybe the Event: Above all, should this Descent happen whilst I am in the Country, it will be a difficult Matter for me to evade joining him after such repeated Engagements, which may hazard both Life and Fortune; and should I refuse it, it would be an open Declaration either of Treachery or Cowardice, if not of both; in short, the safest Way is the best, and most effectual to gain my Ends: Go it shall not, and then in all Events I am secure. The Justness of your Reasoning Nobody can dispute, upon the Footing you put it, and why you did not comply with their Request requires no Explanation; but, as ill-natur’d People will ever be finding Fault, there are Numbers of *Jacobites* who cannot be satisfied with your having neglected to forward the Packet, when of such unspeakable Consequence to them, as effectually to have prevented the Ruin you wisely foresaw must ensue; but let me tell these Gentlemen, that Losers always complaine And their own Misfortunes induces them to find Fault with every Thing that does not succeed to their Wish: For my own Part, I am quite well satisfied, that you have unanswerable Reasons for your

Excuse, as you are, no doubt, desirous to have them believe that you acted the fair Part, and still continue to be as much their Friend as ever. Was it an easy Matter, say you, to convey a Packet of Letters from so populous a Place as *London*, where all Mens Eyes are open, and every one prying into the Actions of his Neighbour. No, nothing could be more Difficult or Dangerous.— Was it to be supposed that I could find a Person in Town *Jacobite* enough, with whom to trust it? No, nor can you ever, Gentlemen, justly quarrel with me for that, the Behaviour of the Inhabitants, when you was in all your Glory, notwithstanding their vain Boastings upon other Occasions, vindicates me in that Particular. Would you have had me intrust it to the undoubted Fidelity of a Domestick by the Way of *Holland*? No, sure you never can have any such Idea, reflect upon the Difficulties, and then answer me, might not this same Servant of mine have broke his Neck on his Way to *Harwich*? Might he nor have been drowned in going aboard the *Packet-Boat*, or lost in his Passage? You would not have had me to risk him on board a crazy Merchant-Man to *Rotterdam*, where had he even got safe a Shore, he might have died of an *apoplexy* before he reached the Post-House, or to whatever other Place order'd: How then could I have answer'd for the Loss of the Letters? But Gentlemen, allow me to say this is not all, there was then no Pasports necessary, every one had free Access to and from *Holland*, where then could have been the Merit on my Part? To find Difficulties when they stare us in the Face is in every Man's Power, but to find and plainly prove them (as I hope I have now done) where they are neither visible, nor do in Fact exist, is the Province of Men of Parts, and those conversant in the polite Study of Trifling. I dare say none of you will be so bold, as to allow yourselves to think, that it was consistent with the Dignity of my Character to carry them myself; the Risk my Servant would have run, you are already aware of, which none of you could be so hard-hearted as to have wished me to have encounter'd with: Your Regard for me was too great, and besides, I had no Pretext to marry a *Dutch* Woman, no such Thing ever having been so much as hinted at. These Gentlemen, are such powerful Reasons, as I am sure no Man in, his Right Wits can gainsay, and you must be conscious to yourselves, that I abundantly proved my Care and Caution, by the Step I took in returning the Treasure to you, after having had it in my Custody for some Months, by the La—d of *M'—l—d* known to be a Person of the greatest Merit in private Life, and one who exerted himself at the Hazard of his Life, in Conformity to the most solemn Oaths, with that Honour and Probity he was ever fam'd for, and which has since, in a very remarkable Manner, most deservedly gained him the Regard and Esteem of all honest Men. These Arguments,, my L--d, are to me undeniable, so nervous, consistent and clear, that it is Matter of Wonder

how any one can remain dissatisfied; but such is the Fate of all sublunary Things, that they are often, if not always, judged of by Prejudice and Passion: And alas! Could I but express how much I regret it, these very People are deaf to all your L—d—p can say upon that Head, which is undoubtedly one of the greatest Misfortunes that could have befallen our Country. What a Happiness would it have been to these Nations, that a Person of such exquisite Accomplishments should still have continued at the Head of the dying Remains of the Jacobite Party, is a Thing too plain to admit of a Doubt. Your L—d—p, I hope, nevertheless won't be overmuch cast down, Time is a violent Destroyer, and I won't allow myself to despair of seeing you again one Day, the sole Director and Confounder, of all their Plots, if they should ever so able to form any in Time coming.

I shall now leave it to the World to judge of the Address with which your L—d—p acted, till you had returned the Packet you was charged with, which you took Care to keep so long as to prevent its being sent in Time by any other Conveyance; not forgetting that from this Date, you was too wife ever to let them have any of your News, in which you acted up to the Character you have justly gained from all *Men* of Understanding, and hugg'd yourself in the Expectation of an Infinity of Confusion, without being obliged to bear a Part.

I shall now beg Leave to take a short View of your Conduct, from the Time that the young Chevalier landed in *S—tl—d*, till your Confinement in the T—r, and don't doubt of showing that you still acted upon the same honest and laudable Plan. So soon as the Accounts came to Town, your L—d—p, no doubt, considered what might be the most prudent Step for you to take, and proved as fortunate in that Determination, as in any other. You at first pretended not to believe it, said the Thing was so ridiculous in itself, that it did not deserve the least Credit; that tho' you knew the *Jacobites* to be a Parcel of rash, weak, inconsiderate People, it was nevertheless Folly to suppose that they were so entirely void of common Sense, as to attempt an Enterprise wherein there was not the smallest Probability or Shew of Success. Unhappy People! Little did they imagine that the very Man they had employed in their Service, should by his daily, nay, hourly Discourse, take the most effectual Method to discourage those who were inclined to assist them. When the Affair became unquestionable, you then judged it necessary to laugh a *gorge deployer*, with a good God, is it possible? Well, I have known many of them, and they very shallow ones, but I could never have allowed myself to think that such a Frenzy would, have seiz'd them. What can they propose to themselves? Do they vainly dream that the very

Name of their Prince will strike a Terror, and damp the Spirits of a whole Nation? Or are they weak enough to depend upon *French* Succours? If they do, which is the most probable Reason for their being so allert, I am sure they will be heartily disappointed; the *French* know their Interest too well ever to set one of that Family upon the Throne of *G—t B--n*. True it is, they may assist them a little, and thereby make a Diversion in their own Favours, but never will render them the Service they hope for. This was your Conversation to the Publick, to yourself you talk'd in a more feeling Stile: They were generous enough to rely upon what you engag'd to do for them here in *En—g—d*, you determined to deceive them, what inward Joy, what innate Satisfaction did you find in being snug and safe? They expected, that in Consequence of repeated Engagements, you would have join'd them; they were enterprizing themselves, and therefore did not apprehend any Difficulty in the Journey, which you knew full better than they, but beg'd Leave to lay hold on any Pretext however frivolous. It would not have been so easy for you, in that Case, to have persuaded the Government of the Part you had acted, and how much you had confounded and neglected their Affairs; which might have cost you your Head, had you escaped a random Shot in the Field, but to you a Certainty seemed best, and how happy to sleep in a soft Bed with a whole Skin. You had still another Reason, and that an unanswerable one, nothing would have been more ridiculous in you, than publickly to show your own Want of Courage, you knew it was suspected by many, but the Blame would have been yours alone, had you put yourself in the Way of declaring it to the World. Your Determinations were certainly extremely just in every Particular; for, as by your Proceedings, it was plain that you intended nothing less than the Ruin of the Party, it would have been inconsistent in you not to have made it your Business to vilify them, and lessen the World's Opinion of their Understanding and Abilities, as much as in you lay; and in this, to do you Justice, you performed your Part in all Companies, and to such a Degree, that few so much as suspected that the *E—l* of *T—q—r* had ever been in the least concern'd, nor indeed could not well be imagined, that any Man who had been at all employed, much less a Person deeply defied, would have been running about to all publick Diversions, passing the Time in low insignificant Chit Chat, and sneering Reflections, upon a Sett of Men, to whom he had bound himself by all the sacred Ties of Honour, Oaths, and Imprecations; While these very Men, in Compliance with these Ties, were undergoing all the Hardships of a rigorous Season, and other Dangers of the Field. Whilst the Chevalier was on his March into *E—g—d*, which fill'd every body with Conjectures of what might be his View, and by whom he could here expect to be join'd. An old Friend and I, amongst other Things were endeavouring to

recollect what *S-ts* People were then in Town, who might be employed as his Emissaries. I ignorant of your L-d-p's many Virtues, readily answered, why, there is the E-l of *T-q-r*, a C-th-ck L-d, he is probably a tampering, I am surprized he is not secured: No, no, says my old Friend, you quite mistake your Man, there is never a one in the three K-gd-ms, who ridicules his Countrymen more than he. I at first could not agree with him, as I knew the *S-ts* to be generally very national, and tho' almost all of them that I had Occasion to converse with, declared their Dislike to the Rebellion, yet, nevertheless they could not suffer any Reflections against the Particulars concerned, which made me believe it might be owing to his innate good Temper, void of Suspicion, and loath to imagine that any besides those really in Arms, wished so much Hurt to their Country. This still induced me to urge that my Conjecture might not be without Foundation. No, said he, allow me to assure you of the contrary, I have had the Honour to be frequently in Company with that N-ble L-d, and ever heard him ridicule the Undertaking with all the Warmth imaginable; nay, he seemed to take the utmost Pains to render some of their principal Men despicable in the Eyes of those who I knew to be disaffected; and described them after this Manner. For Example, a good natur'd Man, but led away by every one who had a little more to say than himself. A second, had seemingly personal Courage, but no Brains. A third, so full of himself, that nothing would please him, if not done according to his Advice. A fourth, wise and dictatorial, but at Bottom a very Fool; and so mentioned several, which tho' it convinced me that there was no Reason to suspect him, yet I had Occasion some Nights ago to be thoroughly satisfied of his Sincerity. While in Company with some Ladies, in comes his L-d-p in a mighty Hurry, and trembling of Cold, runs up to the Fire, rubbing his Hands, and with a prodigious Sneer, I think, says he, I see the poor Duke of *Perth*, and his Prince a wrestling through the Snow, all wrapped up in Furr. Poor Devil, continues he, he is a weak puny Creature, this will certainly be the Death of him; then laughs again, turns himself to the Fire, rubs his Hands, with a Gad I think it is better being here, pray Ladies what think you? I own I was quite pleased to hear him, but at the same Time could observe, it was not the same with every one in Company; amongst others, a young Lady replies with a good deal of Fire, Yes my L-d, I allow it is very severe Weather, but can see no Reason for sneering at the Persons you now mention.—The P-ce, by all we can learn, is very capable of enduring cold without the Help of Furr, and the Duke of *Perth*, tho' not robust, ought not to be laugh'd at for acting up to the Principles he always professed; did every one my L-d act as fair and as honourable a Part, there would be more Company in the *North*. Pray Madam, replies he, don't

be offended, I hope you are too wise to be a *Jacobite*, but let me tell you, they have got so much Cold to struggle with, that they won't get into the warm Quarters they aim at—Then looked at me and laugh'd heartily.

At the same Time the good old Man was imitating your L—d—p's pretty tittering Laugh, a Gentleman quite a Stranger to me, but who had got Business with my Friend come in. Hey day says he, how comes all this Mirth, the World in general seem to wear heavy Countenances, and you full of Laughter, sure you are not unconcerned at our impending Danger: Then turning to me he says, Sir, you'll, excuse my abrupt Manner of coming into your Company, but I could not help being astonished to hear my old Friend so merry at such a Juncture, for I know Nobody loves their Country better—Come old Gentleman, do for once tell me the Cause of your Mirth? Are the Rebels sent back to their Hills, or what is the Matter? Why faith, answers the old Man, you have not quite guess'd it, but sure enough the Rebellion was the Subject of our Laughter. Strange indeed says t'other, the Rebellion a Joke, I would to God I could say so, but I wish it may not prove otherwise, there has already been a good deal of Blood shed, and I am afraid there must be more before an End is put to it: These People seem to carry every thing before them, and I fear they have got too many Well-wishers amongst us. Why says the old Man, to satisfy you, that it was not the Rebellion in particular that I was diverting myself with, I shall explain to you the Matter, by telling you what past, and so continued to repeat his Story, whilst the other, I could observe, smiled, but with an Air of Scorn and Disdain, and so soon as my old Friend had made an End, he answer'd, I have heard your Story with Patience, tho' it is nothing new to me, having frequently had Occasion to be Witness to that Creature's dirty Way of talking, When I heard him use the Words Creature, and Dirty, good God thought I, where will this end, here is surely the most inconsistent Fellow I ever met with in all my Life, he seems anxious, and frightned to a Degree, about the Consequences of the Rebellion, and yet speaks with so much Contempt of a Person who favours his Party. Why Sir, me thinks said I, you have not that Regard for the L—d we were talking of, that your Attachment to the Government naturally claims from you. No Sir, says he, I never can regard a Man who acts a double Part; I have known the Person (now the Subject of our Conversation) for some Time past, and often heard him talk, in a very opposite Stile, from what he does at present; nay, formerly when Danger was at a Distance, the Jacobite seemed so much imprinted in him, that if a Word was dropped tending to lessen the Party, he would lose his Temper; and ever since the Rebellion broke out, he has made it his Business to run about laughing, sneering, and ridiculing not only the Party in

general, but even traducing the Characters of the chief People concerned; what Idea can any honest Man have of one who acts a Part so contrary to his former Professions (Principles I can allow him none) the lowest possible to be sure, nor can I conceive that it proceeds from any Thing but the most abject Pusillanimity, and a Meanness of Spirit unbecoming human Nature. He may possibly imagine by his proceeding, to hood-wink the *M—st—y* and make them believe him a harmless, quiet, well disposed Person, and so let who will suffer, he is safe; but what is worse, I am very ill informed, if he is not as deeply engaged as any of those who are now actually in Arms, which, if true, spites me to such a Degree, that I shall not be sorry to see him fall the first Sacrifice.

I hope you do me the Justice to believe, that Nobody is more firmly attach'd to the present ROYAL FAMILY, than I, nor is there any one more anxious to see a happy Period put to our Troubles: But I must nevertheless from my Soul abhor a double Dealer.

I should be extremely sorry to hear of Numbers joining the Rebels, for many Reasons, tho' I hope it would in the End prove of no worse Consequence, than that of puzzling us a little to distinguish whom of the Multitude were the properest Objects of Mercy, yet I cannot help having the vilest Notion of those who ever profess'd themselves Jacobites, and now don't appear like Men; especially when the Person they call their Prince, has thrown himself naked into their Arms: A good Man ought, and indeed must be of one Side or t'other, and, when Occasion offers, will bravely declare himself in Defiance of Danger; now is the Time for such who are unhappy enough to be really Jacobites to shew themselves, and however he may be who does not act the fair Part, must appear to all Men of Honour in the worst Light.

The Danger of their Unanimity is no Bugbear to me, thank God, we have a wise Prince, and a well affected Army, able at last to crush their Mob, but let none of them pretend to plead their Titles and Fortune, or even the Rashness of the Undertaking. Every Man's Life is equally dear to him, and his All, was it but a Shilling, is still his all; as to the Improbability of the Success, it never can serve for an Excuse, they must either allow that they are Jacobites or not, if they are, their Principles, together with their Prince's Call, renders their Appearance an indispensable Duty. Allow me, Gentlemen, to tell you, that I have a better Opinion of those at the Helm, than *to* imagine they can have any Regard for one who acts so double a Part. That little L—d, has, I dare say, been longer, and better known to Me, than either of you; and now not only his best Friends are quite ashamed of him,

but I am one of many who heartily despise and contemn him, for the low, mean-spirited, dirty Part he is playing, and believe me was there Ten thousand such as he to join the Chevalier To-morrow, I should have no more Dread of his Success than I have at present. The old Gentleman here interrupted him, by saying that he could not entirely agree with him in his Sentiments, for tho' it was true he had not known you long, yet what you said seemed to flow so much from the Heart, that he could not allow himself to doubt of your Sincerity; that you was tolerably polite, and tho' he owned you seldom spoke a Sentence to an End, yet you was sometimes intelligible. To this he replied, that what he had urged was true, but nevertheless it did not in any Degree invalidate what he alledged; and was going on with many more Reflections, when I prevented, him, by saying, that I had given great Attention to what he had been pleased to say, and hoped he would not be offended with me if I thought he reason'd more like a Jacobite than a Whig.

That granting what he had said to be true, as to your L—d—p's having alter'd your Way of speaking; yet how did he know, but that your former seeming Zeal for that Party, might have proceeded from Policy as much as he would now make the World believe your present Assiduity to render them despicable did. To this he said that he was not at all angry with me for alledging that he reason'd like a Jacobite, as he presum'd I did it in Jest, but insisted that he reasoned as every honest Man ought to do, and thought he had said no more of your L—d—p than he should himself deserve; Did he not appear in Defence of the Governments was there no Army paid for its Protection? And that he had the most shocking Idea of the Procedure of several upon this Occasion, whose Way of Thinking he was no Stranger to.

As to your antient Behaviour having proceeded from Policy, as much as the present, he would not take upon himself positively to deny, yet would not admit of that as an Excuse, but wildly term'd it a Piece of premeditated Roguery, and rail'd in a violent Manner against Hypocrisy, saying, that did I insist upon that Excuse for your Conduct, which, tho' bad, was the only one that could be urged, I must, with the same Breath, pronounce you both Coward and Traitor? In short, my L—d, I found him to be one of these wrong-headed Fellows, called Men of Honour, who I well knew it was impossible to bring to Reason, and so took my Leave, determin'd to suspend my Judgment till I had informed myself more fully. Some Days after, having accidentally met with my old Friend, I enquired how long he had stay'd, and what pass'd, he told me he had sit the Evening, and that the Gentleman. I left with him continued the same Subject, when from the most convincing Proofs, which he did, not care to

adduce before me, being a Stranger, he had converted him to his own Way of Thinking, and that so thoroughly, that he was determin'd ever after to avoid you as the meanest of all Triflers. He said, he had nevertheless for his own Satisfaction made a strict Scrutiny into your Life and Conversation, which he found intirely corresponded with what had been told him; then turning very Warm, Why, says he, he is quite a low-lif'd Fellow, seldom in good Company, and could you have believed it, I am undoubtedly informed, that he spends the most of his Time with three little Trafficking P—s, *H—n*, *G—n* and *L—h*, one of them a known S—y to the G—t, and with them drinks just as much Rum Punch as he can carry home without a Chair; fie upon him, I am determin'd to shun him on all Occasions, he is really a Scandal to his Country, and the P—r—ge.

These Facts, together with many others of the same Nature, so positively asserted, and needless to mention here, as they would swell this Letter to a much larger Size than the Object deserves, had no farther Effect upon me, than to incline me to make an Enquiry into your Manner of Life, when nothing more trifling came in the Way; and, to do you justice, I never fail'd to find you treading in the same laudable Steps, till your Retreat into the Country: Where, far from commiserating the Misfortunes of the Poor unhappy People you had so effectually dragged on to Ruin, you amused yourself there at the Expense of the harmless Partridge, and happy in the solid Conversation of your female Friends, from an Excess of Modesty rejoiced to think, that the heroick Scene you had gone through, would never be brought to Light, nor did you so much as give one Shilling to the Support of the needy Prisoners, knowing that the smallest Shew of Assistance from you, would not be of a Piece with the rest of your Conduct. I shall now beg Leave to observe the Surprize with which everybody was struck, upon your being confin'd, for sure never was any one so justly universal. The *Jacobites* could not be persuaded, that it was for any Services you had rendered them, being conscious to themselves of your utter Neglect of their Interest; those amongst them, who were left ignorant how Affairs had been conducted, being judg'd incapable of forwarding the Service, cried out, That no Doubt you must have been concern'd in the underhand Part of the Scheme, but not thought of Signification enough to appear in Publick, and now discovered by Chance, Blunder, or Revenge. The Friends of the Government, on the other Hand, well acquainted with your Behaviour, whilst the Rebellion, subsisted, marvell'd to think, that a Person, who had all along seem'd their Friend, should of a sudden be turn'd so much their Enemy, as to merit Confinement. But, not to be over tedious, the Conjectures were innumerable, and all seem'd to agree in

this, that, had you not acted the fair Part, but studied to screen yourself, at the Expence of others, you deserved the worst Treatment; adding that was it really so, which they shrewdly suspected, the most equitable, most honourable, the justest and most generous Thing the K—g could do, was to order you, and old L—t (who it was well known had ever and anon acted the Traitor to both Sides) to T—rh—ll Hand in Hand, and dismiss the rest to reap the Benefit of their Folly. Your L—d—p may easily be persuaded, that their various Reasonings afforded me a large Field for Amusement, for from all that I had learn'd of your Proceedings, I could safely conclude, that you had been pursuing the very Game I conjectur'd to my old Friend the Winter before; and could, without any Difficulty, allow myself to form two very plausible Reasons for your being taken into Custody; either that it proceeded from some Blunder in your Political Management, or that, as it was found necessary, to bring the Affair to Light, you was locked up in the T—r, to save your Credit with the other Party;—but the World was not long at a Loss to know the Cause, for so soon as you were carried a second Time to the C—kp—t, and and there examined, it became universally known, that you had been deeply engaged, and that the Ruin of the *Jacobite* Party was chiefly owing to your superior Address and good Management, conjunctly with some other of their pretended Friends; and tho' the M—y were seemingly determined to punish you, yet they were too sensible of the manly Part you had acted, to mean you any real Harm. This together with the heroick Tears you are said to have shed, attracted their utmost Compassion, and great Pity would it have been, had they not proved sensible, how much you merited at their Hands, for having so effectually contributed to the sudden Destruction of their Enemies.

I shall now, in as few Words as possible, endeavour to show how lucky it was that your Countrymen made Choice of a Person so proper, in every Shape, for thwarting and disappointing their Measures. The formidable Figure the Rebels made, notwithstanding all the Difficulties they labour'd under, is obvious to every Body, and demonstrates what they might have done, had their Affairs been managed as much for their Interest, as they in vain expected, from your L—d—p. The Assistance, they rely'd upon, from their imaginary Friends in E—g—d, was no doubt considerable, in Proportion to their adventerous March so far into the Country; but how shocking a Disappointment must they have met with, when in Lieu of the E—l of T—q—r, &c. at the Head of a numerous Body of brave Fellows, they were join'd by a Handful only, and those neither Men of Interest nor Estates. Had they employ'd a Person less skill'd, in the admirable Art of fiddle faddle, one cannot say how far their

reputed Friends here, might have been persuaded, to have done something more than drinking of Healths, and writing Ballads, which has been hitherto their *ne plus ultra*; but your L—d—p's being thoroughly Master of that exquisite Science, from which nothing substantial ever flow'd, effectually blasted all their Hopes.

Upon the Whole, that I may have the Pleasure to clear your L—d—p, of the many hard Names given you by your old Friends the *Jacobites*, such as, Coward, Traitor, base and mean-spirited Trifler, &c. having a very singular Regard for the Preservation of your Character, and the Honour of your Family; I shall with all the Brevity the Subject will allow of, make it my Business to prove, that you have demean'd yourself entirely consistent with the Custom of your Predecessors, as you had plainly and positively promised, upon your leaving *S—tl—d*; and if they were afterwards disappointed, it was owing to their own Want of Judgment, not to any thing inconsistent with what all Men of Sense, would have expected from you; The Annals of the *S—ts* History are full of the worldly Wisdom of your great Grandfather, who tho' Treasurer, a Post of the highest Trust in the Power of his Master to bestow, and which naturally called for the greatest Fidelity and Attachment to his Interest, yet he being possess'd of an Abundance of that Political Genius, which your L—d—p has lately display'd so much to your Honour, wisely ruined his Master's Affairs, by encouraging the younger Bishops, to insist upon introducing the Service Book, contrary to the Inclinations of the Majority of the People, and a numerous Nobility, at the same Time pretending to be in the Interest of the elder, and more considerate Part of the Clergy, who declared against any Innovations, as the most probable Means to prevent Trouble in the Country, the Minds of the People being then a good deal sour'd by Faction. He by Means of working with both Hands, got himself named to go to Court, there to represent the State of Affairs to his Majesty, where, in Place of laying open the Difficulties that attended the Design, he, contrary to his Promise, confidently engaged, upon his Life and Honour, to introduce the new Form of Worship, tho' conscious to himself of the many bad Consequences that must follow. Not long after this, when a Proclamation was issued by the King, requiring and commanding the Mutineers (who deceitfully term'd themselves Supplicants) to retire from the City of *Edinburgh*, where they were caballing together, and sowing the Seeds, or I ought rather to say, raising the Flames of the most atrocious, truly unnatural, unjust and fatal Rebellion, (both during its Existence and in its Consequences) that ever yet happened in these Kingdoms, he was so far from enforcing the Order, which probably would have prevented the Misery and Destruction that ensued, that he effectually

procur'd their Stay, by assuring the Heads of the Party, that they might assure the Publick, they should not be molested, knowing that the scurrilous Libels and Admonitions, they traiterously penned within Doors, and dispersed abroad by their inferior Agents, would have much the same Effect with their open and uncontrouled Railings.

At no great Distance of Time, we find him more openly machinating the Overthrow of the Established Church, but with so much Art, as to prevail a second Time to be sent to Court, where, from the Credit he had unhappily acquired, he was enabled to ripen his dev'lish Purpose, to the Ruin of his King and Country. He had no sooner returned, than he demonstrated his Fidelity to his reforming Friends, by informing them of the Instructions he had received, which he not only delayed putting in Execution as ordered, but enabled them to draw up a Protest against the Proclamation he was charged with; and after a private Conference with the Lords *Home* and *Lindsay*, two of the leading Men amongst the Covenanters, he went to *Stirling*, (giving them Time to get there before him to prepare the Mob) where the Day following, upon the King's Proclamation being read, they took their poisonous Protest according to Agreement. As if these underhand Dealings had not been sufficient, we find him soon after wilfully neglecting to provide the Castle of *Edinburgh*, then destitute both of Men and Stores, whereby it fell a Prey to the Rebels, and like a Coward and a Traitor delivering up his own Garrison at *Dalkeith*, then full of Stores, which had been sent from *E—gl—d* on Purpose to furnish the several Forts in *S—t—d*.

A very worthy, pious, and unquestionable Author, treating of these unhappy Times, says; Notwithstanding that *Sir John Hay* Clerk-register, with President *Spotiswood*, and many others of the first Rank, accused him to the King as a Traitor, yet his Majesty's unexemplary Humanity and Good-nature, would not allow him to have him try'd; to the unexpressible Grief of all who were Loyal, and to the Encouragement of Rogues and Traitors. .But as I don't intend to write this—famous Man's History, shall only observe one other Particular. With the same Hypocrisy, which had served him to effect his former pernicious Schemes, he adventur'd to that ever memorable Patriot the Marquis of *Montrose*, a little before the fatal Battle of *Philiphaugh*, where he made all the Professions imaginable, of Loyalty and Attachment to the King's Interest, promising the most distinct and punctual Intelligence, of General *Lesly's* Motions, and as a Pledge of his Sincerity, sent his Own SON L—d *L—t—n* to join him, whose Principles he, had taken singular Care of, *Montrose* being in that unhappy Situation, which sometimes leads Men to trust, and believe in such as his L—d—p, but never allows

of their disgusting any one, gave too much Ear to his Promises, and unwarily depended upon the Intelligence he had so earnestly offered. His Lordship had no sooner gained *Montrose's* Confidence, than he sent to acquaint *Leslie* of his Numbers and Situation; who immediately changed his Rout from the North, where he then was directing his March, and fell upon the Marquis, weak and unguarded, trusting to his back Friend, the late Treasurer, who the Night before, sent Orders to his Son, to withdraw with his Troop, which he perform'd with so much Courage and Conduct, as neither to acquaint his General with his Retreat, nor even to be missed, till the Beginning of the Action.

Upon the whole of your renowned great Grand-father's policy, tho' it not only conduced to the Ruin of the best of Kings, but unexpectedly brought on his own, he was nevertheless happy to think, that he had so meritoriously assisted his covenanted Friends. Great Pity it was that a Nobleman of so much Disinteredness, should have been deserted by the World, and his own Son, to such a Degree, as to be left to die in the Fields, for Want of the common Necessaries of Life; in the Heart of his own Estate, and under the Eyes of his own Tenants: But they, a Pareel of unthinking Creatures, alledged he had been a violent Oppressor, as if that was a Reason for them, quietly to see him the reap the Fruits of his Treachery. Hard Fate! when his Services to his Master's Enemies claimed for him a Reward of a more *exalted* Nature.

His Son was too good a Man, not to act up to the Principles he had been carefully taught, and played the double Part with Address sufficient to save himself. By starving his Father, as a pretended Punishment for betraying the King, he gained, if not the Favour, at least a Kind of Indulgence from the Loyalists, without thereby hurting himself in the Eyes of the Republicans, who, in Consideration of his Father's Services, could not, with any tolerable Grace distress him; by which Means he warily avoided running any Risks with either Side.

Your L—d—p's worthy Father would have been as famous as any of his Predecessors, had not his superior Dulness rendered him less bustling; yet so far as it came in his Way, I he did not fail to follow their Example. He had the Honour to be sprung from the House of *Stewart*, and like most of those in the same Situation, made it his Study to thwart every Thing tending to their Interest, in Return for the many Obligations he owed them, Honours, Estate, and even Being. It was lucky that Fortune was so generous as only once to put it in his Power, for then he did not swerve from the Family Rules, and that so lately as not to be out of your own

Memory. The E—l of *T—q—r*'s appearing in Conjunction with his nearest Relations, and such as he had lived with in the strictest Intimacy, and Profession of Attachment to the *Chevalier's* Interest, was no more doubted of by the *Jacobites*, in the Year 1715, than that of your L—d—p's in the Year 1745; but when Things came to the Push, he not only disappointed them himself, but gave Orders to several not to move, who whilst he found it convenient to wear the Mask, he had taken the outmost Pains to persuade to take Arms, directing them to purchase Horses and all other Necessaries, with Promises of Money to defray their Expences. I now, my Lord, appeal to your own Breast, if I have not in some small Degree done you the Justice you deserve, tho' perhaps some may think, and you well know, that a great Deal more might have been laid to paint your Merit in its full Bloom, but I am satisfied there are Outlines enough to convince Mankind of your Honour and Integrity.

Let the *Jacobites*, rail against you never so bitterly, you knew they are an unquiet restless Set of People, hard to be pleafed, but let them blame themselves, not you, for the Confidence and Trust they foolishly reposed in you.

And allow me as a Friend to advise you (tho' I am apt to believe it is almost needless) to rest easy and happy to think you have got your Head upon your Shoulders, and that you have not only a Chance, to be able some one Day or other to play the same Game, but that you, at present, enjoy in an extraordinary Degree, the Esteem of all Men of strict Honour and Courage, as a lsingular Example of both.

F I N I S.

