



Sir John Clerk, second baronet of Penicuik.

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light grey background. The signature reads "John Clerk" in a cursive script, followed by a decorative flourish.

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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

VOLUME XIII

CLERK OF PENICUIK'S MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF
SIR JOHN CLERK
OF PENICUIK, BARONET
BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER
EXTRACTED BY HIMSELF FROM
HIS OWN JOURNALS

1676-1755

Edited from the Manuscript in Penicuik House
with an Introduction and Notes, by

JOHN M. GRAY
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22, fourth line of notes, for vol. i. p. 1059-60 read vol. ii. pp. 1159-60
29, fourth line of Note ⁴, for Boudoin read Bowdoin
45, fourth last line, for who been bred read who had been bred
90, fourth last line, delete and
117, fifteenth line of Note ¹, for Stuckeley read Stukeley
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165, second line of Note ², for *Bibiotheca* read *Bibliotheca*
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173, Note ¹, for Charles Emmanuel II. read Charles Emmanuel I.
206, fifth line from top, for Queensferry read Queensberry

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript which, through the kind permission of Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, is now printed for the use of the members of the Scottish History Society, contains an Autobiography of his ancestor Sir John Clerk, second baronet of Penicuik, the great-grandson of William Drummond of Hawthornden, the poet. Sir John was one of the commissioners for the Union, and a Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and his account of his life, extending from 1676 to 1755, embraces a particularly significant portion of our national history. The manuscript contains not only a full record and a carefully weighed estimate of current political events, both at home and abroad, but also much curious information bearing on the material and social condition of Scotland during the period indicated, along with such an account of the Baron's own private tastes, pursuits, and employments, as presents us with a vivid and reliable picture of the daily life of a cultured Scottish gentleman of the first half of the eighteenth century.

The manuscript is contained in a stout quarto volume of 251 pages, in Clerk's own handwriting, preserved in the charter-room of Penicuik House; its battered vellum binding warped and time-stained, and its margins mouldering away with damp, which accounts for the defective condition of many of its writer's marginal notes. I have reprinted it as it stands, adding only some slight and necessary punctuation.

As the author states, the Autobiography is founded upon a journal which he 'was always in use to keep.' The most important portion of this 'journal' that is still accessible consists of two folio manuscript volumes, preserved at Penicuik House, embracing an account of his travels on the Continent from 1694 to 1699; and these have furnished some illustrative footnotes; while the 'Memoirs of a Goat Whey Campaign at Lauers in 1749,' a separate manuscript, printed as Additional Note S., affords further insight into the Baron's method of using his contemporary journal in the production of his more weighed and final 'Account of my Life.' It would have been interesting if the various other portions of his journal to which he refers had been preserved and accessible—such portions as the 'Particular Journal of a little Trip to England' in 1724, in company with Alexander Gordon, to view the Roman Wall, mentioned at folio 141; the 'Diary of all I saw or met with in England' in 1727, when he visited the chief virtuosos in London, and made an excursion to Stonehenge and Wilton, mentioned at folio 148; the 'Journal of what I saw' in a 'trip' to Houghton Hall, Norfolk, and to London in 1733, mentioned at folio 158; and the 'Particular Account' of his visit to the coal-pits at Whitehaven in 1739, referred to in folio 181. We have proof that some of these manuscripts were preserved at Penicuik long after the Baron's death, in an entry in a 'Scroll Inventory of the Contents of the Charter-room,' dated 29th March 1783, which includes the following entry, 'No. 24, Baron Clerk's Travels at home or in England, 1724 and 1733, 3 vols.:' but these have now disappeared; and, after a somewhat careful search among the very voluminous, unclassified contents of the charter-room, I have been obliged to abandon the hope of discovering them.

The manuscript now printed for the first time begins with a brief reference to the writer's ancestry: and he opens the account of his own life by recording that he was born on the 8th of February 1676; a statement, confirmed by the Baptism Register of the City of Edinburgh, which rectifies the initial error of all his biographers, who unanimously give the date as 1684. He received his earliest instruction in the parish school of Penicuik; and then studied in Glasgow University; passing in his eighteenth

year to Holland to study at Leyden, where he mainly devoted himself to law. Here he also, under Gronovius, laid the foundations of an extensive knowledge of Roman antiquities, the study of which formed a favourite pursuit during all his life; received instruction in drawing from William Mieris, attaining more than common proficiency; and became a skilful musician: so that, after added practice in Italy, he was able, on his return to Scotland, to affirm that he ‘understood pictures better than became his purse, and as to music I performed rather better than became a gentleman.’ It seems to have been chiefly his enthusiasm for music, combined with other similarities of taste, that attracted him to Boerhaave, of whom the manuscript contains some interesting particulars, and who was sufficiently a Scotsman in his likings to pronounce ‘oat-meal potage,’ when eaten with cream, a ‘*nutrimentum divinum*.’ The pair ‘lived like Brothers together, while I staid in Leyden,’ and they continued to be correspondents during the life of the great physician.

Though possessed of but a slender purse, the young Scottish student set his face steadfastly towards Italy, that holy land of pilgrimage for all interested in the things of art and culture. His journey was contrary to the wishes of his father, ‘but the vast desire I had to see a Country so famous for exploits about which all my time had been hitherto spent in reading the classicks, likeways a country so replenished with Antiquities of all kinds, and so much excelling all other countries in painting and musick, I say these things created such a vast desire in me to see it, that I am sure nothing in life had ever made me happy if I had denied my self this great pleasure and satisfaction.”

At Vienna he was introduced at court by Lord Lexington, and enjoyed the musical entertainments to which the Emperor Leopold i. was so ardently attached. At Rome, again, he moved in the best circles, studying law in a more or less formal way, under Monsignor Caprara, of the Rota, and Monsignor Chaprigni, and music under Pasquini and Corelli, who figure vividly in his pages. At Florence he received especial favours from the Grand Duke Cosmo III., by whom he was appointed a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. Paris pleased him little after Italy; and in the end of 1699 he returned to Scotland.

The two unpublished manuscript volumes of his *Travels* prove how wisely and diligently he had employed his time while abroad, and how close and thorough had been his study of the history, laws, and manners of the various countries in which he had resided.

In July 1700, he was admitted a member of the Scottish bar: and the efforts of his father to provide a fitting mate for him form a quaint episode in the Autobiography. It may be noticed that the ‘*Daughter of —*’ ‘*the P—t of the —n,*’ to whom he refers in terms the reverse of complimentary, was doubtless Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, of North Berwick, Baronet, President of the Court of Session at the time indicated. She was born in 1683, and was married to Sir John Shaw, of Greenock, Baronet, the contract being dated 1st March 1700. The bride finally chosen by Clerk was the Lady Margaret Stuart, eldest daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Galloway, whose bright handsome face, painted by William Aikman, the Baron’s cousin, in his youth, fronts us in our Illustration No. VI. Her death so soon afterwards, on the birth of her first son, forms a pathetic page in her husband’s Autobiography.

His marriage had introduced him to James, second Duke of Queensberry, his wife’s cousin, who proved a warm friend, and was the main cause of Clerk’s

advancement in life. Through the influence of his brother-in-law, James, fifth Earl of Galloway, he was elected member of Parliament for the burgh of Whithorn, which he represented in the Scottish Parliament from 1702 till the Union, and in the first parliament of Great Britain. His account of the state of the various political parties of the time, and the personal glimpses that he affords of prominent individuals, will be read with interest. The 'Union' Duke of Queensberry figures as 'a very friendly affable man;' the Marquis of Tweeddale is 'a very good man, but not perfectly qualified for court intrigues;' Fletcher of Saltoun is 'a little untoward in his temper and much inclined to eloquence, however a very honest man, and meant well in everything he said and did, except in cases where his humure, passions or prejudices were suffered to get the better of his reason;' John, Duke of Argyll, the young High Commissioner 'behaved himself in a manner far above what cou'd be expected from one of his years.'

About this time Clerk gave utterance to his own sentiments, and also served his political party, by the production of two pamphlets,—one 'against diminishing the antient prerogatives of the crown,' the other an 'Essay upon the intended Limitations' proposed by Fletcher, of which the object 'was to take the patronage of office out of the hands of the Crown and exercise it in the Estates by ballot;'¹ but all my efforts to identify these tracts, in the British Museum, the Advocates', Signet, and Edinburgh University Libraries, in the very extensive collection of contemporary pamphlets at Penicuik House, and in other likely places, have failed.

A commission to inquire into the public accounts and national debt having been appointed in 1703, Clerk, through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, was chosen a member. Here his thorough and painstaking way of work, of which we saw first indications in the elaborate foreign journals of the youth of twenty, came into play; and he was the member of commission who was intrusted with drawing up the report which was submitted to parliament in the following year. It is to be noticed that the George Drummond, 'then about 18 years of age,' who 'wrote a good hand,' and acted as Clerk's amanuensis in this work (see marginal note at page 54), was afterwards Provost of Edinburgh, and worthily celebrated as the founder of the Royal Infirmary, and the wise and helpful patron of the University. The commission was continued by the parliament in 1704, and a second report was submitted in 1705.

Clerk was next nominated, on the recommendation of the Duke of Argyll, a member of the council appointed in 1705 to inquire into the trade and commerce of the Scottish nation; and having again proved his ability and 'thorough acquaintance with all the Finances of Scotland, and the whole management of the Lords of the Treasury, and Exchequer of this Country, from the Revolution in 1688 down to the year 1706,' he was 'tho' at this time very young for so great a trust'—indeed, barely thirty—nominated a commissioner for the Union. He was greatly disinclined to accept the appointment; for, careful, keen-sighted politician though he was, he had come to the conclusion that public feeling in Scotland was too determinedly hostile to the Union, and 'doubted not but, after a great deal of expense in attending a treaty in England, I should be obliged to return with the uneasy reflection of having either done nothing, or nothing to the purpose, as had been the case of former commissioners appointed for this end.' But evidently his value as a public servant was fully appreciated by those in power; the strongest pressure was applied to force his consent; Queensberry threatened to withdraw his patronage and friendship if he persisted in declining the proffered honour: so having said, in all sincerity, his *nolo*

¹ Hill Burton's *History*, vol. viii. p. 92 (1873).

episcopari, Clerk at length accepted his nomination, and entered upon the weighty duties which it entailed. He was one of the four Scottish commissioners appointed to confer daily with a like number of the English commissioners; and he devoted himself especially to the financial aspects of the Treaty of Union, aspects which, as a glance at contemporary debates and the pamphlet literature on the subject amply proves, were felt by both nations to be of paramount importance. It was at this time that he published his two pamphlets—*A Letter to a Friend*, etc., and *An Essay upon the XV Article*, etc.

Of the negotiations for the Union, the Autobiography furnishes us with a full and well-considered account, which has the interest and the freshness of a record by one who was busily engaged in what he describes, and was thoroughly conversant with all its details; and in the touches, here and there, of more personal reference, we feel that it is an actor in this stirring scene of our national drama who is here taking us by the hand, and introducing us to his fellow-actors and their doings. The passages, in particular, which deal with his two interviews with Queen Anne, if they want the dignity of formal history, have intimate touches of homely and pathetic reality, that bring us close to the time and the scenes.

His opinions upon the Union, and his record of the negotiations that were preliminary to it, have already been incorporated in the pages of the historian; for several of his manuscripts dealing with the subject were placed at the disposal of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Somerville, author of *The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*, by the Baron's grandson, Sir John Clerk, the fifth baronet. In the preface to his *History*, Dr. Somerville refers to 'some excellent treatises' for explaining the scheme of the Union, and refuting the objections of its ignorant and factious opposers, written by Clerk, 'a member of the Scottish Parliament at the time of the Union' who 'devoted himself, with assiduous application, to the study of the momentous questions then in agitation,' and who 'to the accomplishments of a scholar and antiquary' added 'an accurate knowledge of the history and constitution of Scotland.' Doubtless these are the four published pamphlets referred to at folios 48 and 78 of the Autobiography. But the historian also expresses 'great obligations' for the use of 'valuable manuscripts.' 'Those which I inspected, as particularly suitable to my purpose, are [1] short journals of the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament while the Union was depending; [2] observations on [George] Lockhart's *Memoirs*; and [3] a testamentary memorial for the instruction of his own family, giving a concise and perspicuous account of the treaty; and, after the experience of more than thirty years, comparing its effects with the presages and expectations, both of its abettors and opposers, at the time of its formation. From these materials, fraught with private anecdotes, and marked descriptions of the conduct of parties, and the character and intrigues of their leaders, I am able to treat of Scottish affairs with greater precision and certainty than former historians, who, for want of better sources of information, have implicitly relied upon annals and memoirs, of which the authors are unknown.'

Again, at p. 286 of *My Own Life and Times*, Somerville mentions that he had access to the valuable manuscripts 'composed by' Baron Sir John Clerk, 'an influential member of the Scottish Parliament at the time of the Union, and much in the confidence of the Duke of Queensberry, his [her] Majesty's Commissioner.'

None of these manuscripts seem to be now at Penicuik House. Probably the items which I have numbered [1] and [3], are the 'Journal of the proceedings of the Scots and English Commissioners in the Treaty for an Union between the two Kingdoms of

Scotland and England, holden at the Cockpit in London, A^o 1706, holograph, 3 vols., and the 'Observations on the State of Scotland before the Union, and the advantages accruing to Scotland by the union of the two kingdoms, copied by his chaplain,' which figure as Nos. 26 and 69 in the Inventory of 1783, already referred to.

The second item, as we learn from a note at page 156 of Somerville's *History*, was 'a copy of Lockhart's *Memoirs*, with notes in Sir John's own hand, on the margin; upon the back of the title-page, the following words are written in the same hand:—"As these Memoirs are said to have been written by Mr. Lockhart in the heat of party rage, it is no extraordinary matter to find them erroneous in several particulars, which the following notes will demonstrate; yet many of the characters are just, in so far as the author was acquainted with the persons. These notes were revised by me in the year 1738, and again in 1747. I have carefully considered them, and do not only adhere to them, but positively assert, that every particular fact mentioned by me is exactly agreeable to truth; and to my knowledge, I have concealed nothing.—J. C." In a note on the margin of the second page of the preface, Sir John says: "These Memoirs were given out to be copied, and so came abroad; however, the persons abused took little notice of them, and the supposed author abjured them, on many occasions, so that I and others have liberty to animadvert on them, if we please." Thus qualified, the Memoirs become respectable documents of historical facts. By the perusal of this valuable Ms., I have not only been enabled to correct many errors and misrepresentations contained in the text of the Memoirs, but have also derived important information with respect to collateral events and transactions, which enter into the Scottish history at the period of this work.' It is much to be regretted that this interesting annotated copy of Lockhart cannot now be found.

The financial skill which he had already so frequently displayed pointed out Clerk as a fitting person to be concerned in the management of the Equivalent of £398,085, 10s. paid by England in consideration of the increased taxation of Scotland and to settle the affairs of the African or 'Darien' Company. He was one of the commissioners appointed to review the calculations for the Equivalent, made by Professor David Gregory of Oxford and the celebrated William Paterson; and he took an important part in the work of the committee, and personally conveyed the £100,000 of retired Bank of England bills to London.

In the negotiations for the Union and the arrangements which succeeded it, Clerk had faithfully served his country and his party, and established his character as a capable and painstaking public servant: and when the Scottish Court of Exchequer was founded, in conformity with the Nineteenth Article of the Treaty, he received his reward, by being appointed one of its five Barons. During the frequent absences of the Chief Baron he acted as president of the Court. The position was a dignified and remunerative one; and, as it necessitated attendance during only some three months of the year, it afforded ample leisure for the prosecution of the Baron's favourite studies. His appointment was followed by his marriage to Janet, third daughter of Sir James Inglis, first baronet of Cramond, a 'most religious, virtuous woman, and one who, in all respects, might suit my humure and circumstances to rub through the world in a sober and privat state of life.'

From this period the Baron ceases, for the most part, to be an actor in the political life of his time; but his Autobiography proves that he still watched contemporary history with a keenly observant eye, and was personally well acquainted with many of its most prominent figures both in England and Scotland. Lord Bolingbroke is 'a smart clever man, a good schollar, and a great Rake;' Harley is 'the late shuffling,

impudent Treasurer;’ Mar was ‘not only my acquaintance, but my very particular friend;’ Lord Lovat was ‘a man of a bold, nimbling kind of sense, very vain of his clan, the Frazers, and ready to sacrifice everything to their interest’—hardly the verdict pronounced on him by history, which, however, amply confirms the statement that he ‘was all his life a cunning, double man.’

Among the more interesting pages of the Autobiography are those which contain a detailed record of the Rebellion of 1715, and an estimate of the causes out of which it arose. Here the Baron was himself an actor, appearing in arms, along with the Duke of Argyll, before the citadel of Leith, when it was occupied by the Highlanders. He had intended to draw up a more elaborate account of the events of this period, for ‘Scraps of a history of the Rebellion 1715, which I intended to have written,’ is item No. 30 in the Inventory of 1783.

From the Rebellion we pass to the Mississippi Scheme, into which the writer enters very fully, with the freshness of a contemporary and personally interested authority. He was an ‘Adventurer for 200 lbs. stg. of the capital stock, and lost thereby about 400 lbs. stg. However, I reckoned it no small happiness to my Family that I got so well off, for some of my particular friends and Acquaintances in Scotland were quite ruined by it.’ He was ‘particularly acquainted with Mr. Law,” a man full of projects, and of a very fertile clear head.’ Next follow accounts of the attempted invasion from Dunkirk in 1744, and of the Continental wars in which Britain was concerned; and we reach the Rebellion of 1745, which occupies some twenty very readable pages. On the approach of the rebels to Edinburgh, the Baron, then an old man of nearly seventy, retired, with his wife and eldest daughter, to England; but his second son, George, served in the royal army, and James, his eldest son, fought bravely at Falkirk. He returned in time to attend the Prince of Hess, at Holyrood; but, in his absence, the Highlanders, ‘16 or 20 at a time,’ were quartered in Penicuik House, and he was mulcted of 6000 stones of hay and 76 boles of oats, to the value of about £200.

The public events with which the remaining pages of the Autobiography deal are chiefly those connected with the military operations on the Continent and in America.

But the record which the Baron gives of his own personal pursuits is not less interesting than his remarks upon contemporary national history. Apart from his duties in the Court of Exchequer, his life was very equally balanced between the things of active practical endeavour, and the placid contemplative pursuit of the study of literature, antiquities, and art. He was fond of a country life, and of the employments and relaxations proper to a landed proprietor; a keen sportsman, devoted to riding, fond of angling, never missing ‘the pouting’ in due season, and enjoying his game of curling in the winter—as is witnessed by his ‘stones,’ still preserved at Penicuik House. But he derived quite as keen enjoyment from the closest application to all the practical details of the management of his various estates, and was never weary of adding to their acres by purchase, and of improving them by planting and by the development of their minerals. During by far the greater part of his life he resided in the country, riding in, daily, the six or seven miles to Edinburgh, from Penicuik or Mavisbank, when the Court of Exchequer was in session. He was firmly convinced that the first duty of an owner of land is to reside on his estate and exercise the closest supervision over his property and his dependants; and in his ‘Scheme of Improvements’ referred to in Additional Note R., he is most emphatic in his advice that the owners of Penicuik should always reside there—‘We ought to be Strangers at Edinr. and Mavisbank and all other places. God

grant that it may be so.' In his earlier years the estate of Penicuik was little more than a bare upland waste—the mansion-house stands more than seven hundred feet above the sea-level; but in 1703, at his father's instigation, he commenced to form plantations; no year passed, during the rest of his life, without some progress being made, in this direction, there and on his other properties; and it is mainly to his labours that the present richly wooded and exquisitely varied appearance of the Penicuik estate is due. His minute and detailed accounts of planting, building, constructing ponds, sinking coal-mines, and other improvements will possess considerable interest for those readers who have studied the material progress and condition of our country. In his various expeditions in Scotland and England he travelled always with open and observant eyes; whether examining the coal-pits at Whitehaven, or drinking 'the Goat Whey' in the Highlands, he was continually noting the capabilities of the country and the social and industrial condition of its inhabitants; and the knowledge which he acquired in this way and in the personal management of his own property, must have rendered him a valued member of the Board of Manufactures, of which he was appointed a commissioner in 1727.

But Sir John Clerk was no mere country laird, wholly immersed in material things; his nature was far too wide, his mind far too cultured, for any danger of this; his 'spirit' in no wise 'lacked all life behind, all stray thoughts, fancies fugitive, all loves except what trade'—and merely practical things—'can give.' There was a wide margin in his life for the quite unremunerative, yet truly satisfying, things of culture, art, and scholarship.

We have seen that he studied drawing in Leyden; and the numerous sketches still preserved, out of a far greater number that he executed while abroad, prove that he used his pencil with a facility and an accuracy rather uncommon in an amateur at the period. The Autobiography contains no indication that he continued the practice of graphic art in later life; but a few sketches preserved among the Clerk papers such as the designs for fountains at Penicuik and Dumcrieff, indicate that the pursuit was never wholly abandoned. 'Music,' he tells us, 'had always great charms with me,' and he continued to be a performer upon the harpsichord till nearly the age of fifty, when his slightly weakened eyesight, necessitating the use of spectacles, warned him to desist. His pen was never idle, as is amply witnessed by the immense number of still existing unpublished manuscripts in his handwriting, and of transcripts by amanuenses, dealing with the great variety of social, political, philosophical, and antiquarian subjects, of which the most important is his Latin history of Britain, frequently referred to in the Autobiography. And these are but the surviving portions of a vast mass of manuscript productions which he destroyed during his lifetime.

Towards poetry, 'both in Latine and English,' he 'had a great inclination,' "but I curbed as much as I cou'd these salies of fancy, as what I thought inconsistent with the gravity of a judge, and a man of business.' That he restrained his impulses in this direction will hardly be regretted by any one who has perused his manuscript 'poem in Milton's way,' 'The Country Seat.' A somewhat higher level is reached in the lines 'Harmonious pipe, how I envye the bliss,' which he is said to have enclosed in a flute which he sent to Susanna, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy, of Culzean, afterwards third wife of Alexander, Earl of Eglintoune (see Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, vol. i. p. 653), and in the lines with which he continued the initial verse of the old song:—

'O merry may the maid be
That marries the miller,'

which will be found in Johnson's *Musical Museum*, vol. ii. p. 129. Among the pieces preserved in manuscript at Penicuik House are 'A Song on Friendship,' 'An Epick Madrigal on Squire Robert's Hunting Expedition, into the North of England, in July 1749,' and a political 'Ballad to the Tune of Faction no More;' and his muse did not disdain the humblest of subjects and occasions, for among the Baron's papers is a curious 'Prologue to Punch's Farce—For the Bairns at Pennycuik, 1731.'

But it was in the study of the classics that he found his constant and never-failing delight. At thirty-two he tells us that 'all my leisure houres were spent in books.' At thirty-eight we find him carefully reading over 'all the Roman Classicks,' and making 'very large excerpts, from them all, particularly from Livy and Salust, whom I was chiefly to imitat in my History of Great Britain in Latin.' At seventy-two he records that 'I may truly say that I was never so happy as when learning something out of a book;' he 'read the Greek and Roman Classicks with great diligence, and still discovered new beuties in them;' and we have a pleasing glimpse of the good old man, 'this day being the 19th day of jan., 1748,' 'reading over Horace *De Arte Poetica*, which I am persuaded I have read 50 times before.' The practical and masterful human sense of the great Latin authors was excellently congenial to the Baron's own temperament, and aided in knitting into double strength his stout Scottish nature. When, in 1730, he intrusts his sons Patrick and Henry to the Haddington schoolmaster, he has 'no particular thing to recommend save one, on which all parents ought to joyn with me, that is, that my boys be brought up in the old Greek and Roman way. . . . This sort of Education fitted all their youth to the management of their sacred and civil concerns.' As old age approaches, and he feels the first touches of its frailties, he cheers himself and takes courage as he quotes the '*Obsta*' of Seneca; and the wisdom of pagan philosophers mingles with the counsels of Christianity, as he braces himself to meet the last ills and trials of mortal life.

Sitting so reverently as he did at the feet of the ancients, so devoted a student of their written words, it was natural that he should prize and study such tangible and concrete relics of the past as have been preserved to us from classic times: and his archaeological tastes must have been greatly fostered by his residence as a youth in Italy, whose antiquities he describes at great length in his Ms. volumes of Travels, and by the instruction of men like Gronovius of Leyden, and Chaprigni of Rome. He was fortunate too, in the fact that both his Midlothian and his Dumfriesshire properties were situated in districts rich in camps and other memorials of the Roman occupation. His excavations at Cramond and various localities near Penicuik, as well as at Middlebie, resulted in the discovery of many interesting remains of antiquity, the majority of which are still in Penicuik House, while some, through the generosity of one of his successors, have gone to enrich the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. At folios 139-141 of the Autobiography will be found an account, only too brief, of his expedition in 1724, to the Roman Wall, in company with the celebrated Alexander Gordon, author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, of whom he was a most helpful and appreciative patron: and he corresponded upon antiquarian subjects with the Earl of Pembroke, Roger Gale, William Gilpin, Dr. Stukeley, and other leading English virtuosos of the time, through whose influence he was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and of the Royal Society. He was also a member of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding; and of the Peterborough Society, to which he made a communication on 1st July 1742, regarding 'the unseasonable colds of the late years,' which he conjectures 'to be owing to the great spots on the surface of the sun, many of which are much larger than the whole globe of our earth, which

must needs take off both from its light and heat.¹

His writings upon antiquities have still a value, though the wider and sounder knowledge on such subjects that is now possible, may lead us to question some of his conclusions, to feel that he is far from infallible in his judgments. Indeed, according to Lockhart,² the immortal episode of 'the Prætorium,' in *The Antiquary*, is little more than the simple record of an incident at Dumcrieff in which the Baron played an important part, as related to the novelist by John Clerk of Eldin, the son of Sir John, and father of Scott's close friend, William Clerk; and doubtless 'many traits' of the Baron were 'embroidered on the character of George Constable in the composition of Jonathan Oldbuck.' But, at least, the Baron was a sincere and reverent lover of antiquity, a true antiquary who did much to further the pursuit in our country; and those whose sympathies are rather with things Gothic than with things classic will be grateful to him as the preserver—one is glad to say, not the *restorer*—of Roslin Chapel.³

The most adequate idea of the widely varied interests that occupied the Baron may be gathered from his extensive correspondence with Gale—to which I have so frequently referred in footnotes—printed in Nichols' *Bibliotheca Topographica*, (*Reliquice Galeance*), No. n. Parts ii. and iii. Here we find him discoursing on antiquities of all kinds, on the flight of wild fowls, on comets and eclipses, on coal mines, on Scottish mosses and the 'subterranean Oakes' which they contain, on the Highlanders and their language. Interesting letters, dated 22nd June and 5th August 1743, record the destruction of 'Arthur's Oon,' 'demolished lately here by Sir Michael Bruce of Stonehouse, near Falkirk,' and recommend that 'the Antiquarian Society in London should order a fine print to be made of,' 'for thus a Goth's memory may be preserved as well as the figure of that ancient fabric.' 'We all curse him [Bruce] with bell, book, and candle; but there is no remedy except what we have from some accurate descriptions of it given by Dr. Stuckely and others.' How keen was the Baron's interest in the structure and grief for its demolition is evinced in a copy of an unpublished letter to Gordon, dated 12th April 1754, preserved among the Clerk papers, in which he avers, 'I wish I could have redeemed it at the expence of 1000 guineas.' A restoration of 'Arthur's Oon' was erected by Sir James, his son and successor, near Penicuik House.

So far as I have discovered, the above-mentioned correspondence with Gale comprises all the Baron's letters that have been published; with the exceptions of a letter to Maurice Johnston, dated 11th January 1741-2, containing 'observations on burning of the dead, the British language, obelisks, circular stones, etc.,' published in the *Bibliotheca Topographica*, No. II. Part ii. p. 71; of two long letters on 'the Sepulchres and Funeral Rites of the Ancients in Britain,' addressed to Gale—the first of which was read before the Society of Antiquaries—printed in the appendix to Gordon's *Itinerarium*; of a brief letter to Gale, dated 6th November 1731, on the effect of thunder on trees, and on the discovery of the horn of a deer in the heart of an oak, printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xli.; and of three short

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 139.

² Lockhart seems to have fallen into considerable confusion between the Baron, Sir John, and his son, John Clerk of Eldin.—See *Life of Scott*, pp. 41 and 332 (ed. of 1845), the latter indexed as 'Clerk, Sir John, Antiquarian, anecdote of,' but only Clerk of Eldin's name being mentioned in the text. See also Wilson's *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, vol. ii. chap. xviii., which contains an interesting sketch of the Baron in his aspects as an antiquarian.

³ See Additional Note O.

undated notes—published in the *New Scots Magazine*, November 1829—to James Anderson, editor of the *Diplomata Scotia*, etc., furnishing him with introductions to the Chief Baron and to Baron Scrope, and expressing the fear that he should be obliged to decline purchasing a collection of books. ‘I have a great family to provide for; and so I fancy I have the same reason to forbear setting up a great library that you have for disposing of one.’

The other printed writings of Baron Clerk are:—

Two pamphlets, published in 1703, and referred to at folio 48 of the Autobiography as ‘against diminishing the antient prerogatives of the Crown,’ and an ‘essay upon the intended Limitations.’ As already stated, I have been unable to discover these pamphlets, or to verify their titles.

A Letter to a Friend giving an Account of how the Treaty of Union has been received here, and wherein are contained some remarks upon what has been written by Mr. H. and Mr. R., Edinburgh, printed in the year Mdccvi, 4to, referred to at folio 78 of the Autobiography as a pamphlet, ‘under the Title of Some considerations on the Articles of the Union.’ It has been usually attributed, in error, to De Foe—see Additional Note G,—Pamphlets attributed to Sir John Clerk.

An Essay upon the xv Article of the Treaty of Union, wherein the Difficulties that arise upon the Equivalent are fully Cleared and Explained. Printed in the year succvi, 4to. See Autobiography, folio 78, and note ² there.

Historical View of the Forms and Powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, 4to. This was written by Clerk and Baron Scrope in 1726, but was not printed till 1820, when it was issued for private circulation by the Barons of Exchequer, under the editorship of Sir Henry Jardine, W.S., the King’s Remembrancer. This work is not referred to in the Autobiography.

Dissertatio de Styli Veterum et Diversis Chartarum Generibus, 4to, pamphlet. This, which contains an engraving of the writing implements of the ancients, bears no date, place of publication, or author’s name, but we learn from the *Bibliotheca Topographica*, No. n. Part iii. p. 298, that it was printed in 1731. An abridgment of it, in English, was read before the Royal Society by Roger Gale on 4th March of that year, and printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xxxvii. The whole work, in Latin, with the plate re-engraved, was included in the third volume of the Supplements to the *Thesauri* of Graevius and Gronovius, edited by Joannes Polenus, Venice, 1737 fol. This tract is not referred to in the Autobiography.

An Account of the Observations of the late Solar Eclipse made at Edinburgh, on Feb. 18th, 1736-7, by the Honorable Sir John Clerk, Bart., one of the Barons of his Majesty’s Exchequer there, and F.R.S., communicated by Roger Gale, Esq., F.S.A., and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 447, January to May 1738.

Dissertatio de Monumentis quibusdam Romanis in Boreali Magna Britannia? parte detectis anno Mdccxxi, Edinburgh 1750, 4to, with an engraved frontispiece. Written in 1743. See Autobiography, marginal and footnotes to folios 155-56, and folio 193. An account, in English, by the Baron, of the statue of Brigantia and two altars found at Middlebie, had been published by Gordon in the ‘Additions and Corrections’ to his *Itinerarium*, in 1732.

It is to be observed that the pamphlet *Money and Trade considered . . .* attributed to Clerk in the Catalogue of the Advocates’ Library, and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was written by John Law. See Additional Note G.

The Autobiography is continued till the end of 1754, the year preceding that of the Baron's death. In its later pages we see its writer suffering under the pressure of domestic calamities and of the increasing infirmities of old age; but striving, not without success, to bear all his ills with calmness, and to possess his soul in patience. In 1742 his son, Patrick, died at the siege of Carthage. His loss was deeply felt by his father, and it poignantly recalled the death of his eldest son—whom his half-brother especially resembled—which had been the great grief of the Baron in middle life, as the death of that son's mother, Lady Margaret, had been the chief sorrow of his earlier years. The loss of Patrick was followed by that of his twin-brother, Henry, who died in the East Indies, of a lingering disorder, in 1745. The old man himself was attacked by severe fits of sickness; 'they were, I thank God, but very short, but the pins of my Earthly Tabernacle were sadly loused and shattered with them. . . I did the best I cou'd to conceal these Infirmities from my friends, and especially from strangers, who, I saw, were gaping for my office to some of their Friends. I expect nothing but bad days and bad health, yet I must keep up my mind and do the best I can to appear content; but how can this be when I feel my body a kind of burden to me, and the pleasures I once had quite gone? . . . I strive to amuse myself in different ways, but the efforts I use—for instance, to go a-fishing or shooting—are in a manner useless, so that I am actually dropping into the grave; but happy I am in this, that I resign my life to God who gave it, and only wait patiently till my change come;' and he congratulates himself that he is not like some men of his age that he had known, who 'are angry at all the world.' In 1752 he tells us, 'I began to feel a great languor and a kind of *mtietas vitas*, so that I may say, as Caesar did, *emori nolle sed de vita nihil euro*;' but in 1753, at the age of seventy-eight, he records: 'I continue to have a great relish for books, tho'I seem to forget as fast as I read. Where then can I have my best refuge but in God himself, to whom I commit all my concerns?' Finally, the Autobiography closes with a curious dietetic note, which has in it a touch of the grotesque that sometimes obtrudes itself so unexpectedly, so incongruously, into the midst of the very gravest things of our poor human life.

No particulars of the Baron during the following year have been preserved, till we come to the final entry in the *Scots Magazine* for 1755: 'Oct' 4. At his seat of Pennycuik, Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. He had been Baron since the union in 1707. He is succeeded in estate, and the title of Baronet, by his eldest son, James.'

As will be obvious from even such a slight and imperfect sketch of its contents as I have been able to give above, the Autobiography contains much of value in connection with the history and condition of Scotland, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants during the first half of the eighteenth century. But the piece of antiquity which it presents most clearly to our view is the Baron himself; it is his picture that is painted in fullest details in the following pages. The Autobiography has all the merit and the interest of a frank and an intimate self-disclosure. It was intended to be read only by his family and a restricted circle of friends; but Sir George Clerk, in consideration of the historical value that increasing years have given to the manuscript, has yielded to the request that he should permit its publication for the use of the members of the Scottish History Society; a Society with whose aims—had he lived to see its establishment—the good antiquarian Baron would certainly have been in most substantial sympathy. It is to be borne in mind that the manuscript was written without the precision and care for style which would certainly have been bestowed had publication been intended; and I cannot doubt that those who peruse it will come—as I have done—to entertain very friendly and kindly

feelings for its writer, this stout old Scottish Baronet and Judge.

I have to express my thanks for much assistance received while editing the manuscript, especially from Mr. T. Graves Law and Mr. W. G. Scott-Moncrieff. The notes which these gentlemen have supplied are indicated by their initials. I am grateful to the Dowager Lady Clerk for kindly affording every facility for search among the Baron's unclassified manuscripts preserved at Penicuik House, and to Mr. Thomas Ross for executing a drawing of Mavisbank House specially for this volume. Among the other helpers to whom my thanks are due, for information and aid of various kinds, I may mention the Earl of Southesk, Mr. G. L. Ryder, C.B., the Rev. Dr. W. H. Goold, the Rev. Father Oswald Hunter Blair, Dr. Richard Garnett, Dr. Thomas Dickson, Dr. A. Rowand, Mr. A. Wedderburn Maxwell, Mr. J. T. Clark, Professor Patrick Geddes, Mr. Archibald Steuart, Mr. J. R. Menzies, Messrs. J. and F. Anderson, Messrs. Winchester and Ferguson, Mr. Victor A. Noel Paton, and Mr. C. Birnie.

J. M. G.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY,
7th November 1892.

...

This same year, but before I had the account of the Death of my son Patrick, my son James desired liberty to go to London to improve himself the best way he cou'd, but he staid not long there when he importuned me for liberty to go over and see the solemnities at Francfort, for choosing a new Emperor on the Death of Charles the 6th, who had succeeded his Father Leopold, and afterwards his Brother Joseph, in the Empire of Germany.¹

I consented, tho' very unwillingly, but I saw I cou'd *not* help it.

About the end of summer I received a letter from my son Hary at Jamaica, confirming his Brother's Death, and he sent me a journal left amongst his papers, containing an account of all that was done at the siege of Carthagen, 'till two days before he died.

I received afterwards from my son Henry, one of Peter's drawings of the Town and fortifications of Lyle² in Flanders, which is exceeding fine, with another copy by a different scale; these he did about a year before, when he studied Fortification in that city.

I had likeways sent me several other drawings by him, all which I keep in a long white-iron case in the Charter Room of Pennicuik.

During the remainder of this year I lived at Pennicuik and Edinburgh, as formerly.

1742. In January and February 1742 I lived much in the same way, and took many observations upon a comet which appeared first in the constellation of Lucida Lyras; from thence it took its course Westward within 5 degrees of the Pole Star, its Tail after its perihelion was in length about 10 degrees, and at last it vanished out of sight in the Month of March.³

¹ 'At the decease of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, his hereditary dominions devolved of right (by the Pragmatic Sanction) upon his only daughter and heiress the Archduchess Maria-Theresa, but were claimed by the husband of his niece (Maria-Amelia, daughter of Joseph i.), Charles [Albert], Elector of Bavaria, who was declared king of Bohemia in 1741, and crowned Emperor of Germany at Frankfort the following year, as Charles VII. This dispute disturbed the tranquillity of Europe, and occasioned a war in which all the great European powers were involved, and which did not terminate until three years after the death of Charles VII., when Maria-Theresa had her patrimonial dominions guaranteed to her by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.'—Haydn's *Book of Dignities*, p. 21 (edition of 1851).

² Lille. Captured by Louis xiv. from the Spaniards in 1667; surrendered in 1708 to the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and restored to France at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

³ 'P. S. Coll. of Edinburgh, March 9 (1742).—We got the first account of the comet that now appears from some carriers from the West Country. They saw it in the east on the 19th of February, in the morning. It has been observed at London since the 23d, and here since the 25th. Its course has been from South to North nearly, with a little inclination East—from the tail of Aquila through Lyra, Cygnus, and Draco to Cepheus. It moved at first between 5 and 6 degrees in a day; but moves now more slowly, describing between 2 and 3 degrees in a day only. The tail was 6 degrees long on the 23d, but last Thursday morning, after the moon was set, the tail appeared considerably longer. The comet was very near to e in Draco on Friday night, and to x m Cepheus last night. It appears under the pole in the evening, within 13 degrees of it, and will probably come within 7 degrees of the pole-star in some days.'—*Scots Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 94. Under dates 22d March 1741-2, and 8th April 1742, the Baron

The Cave of Hurley. This is on several accounts remarkable,

fol. 192 particularly that about the beginning of November the sun shines quite through it to the Haugh on the opposite side, about 20 minutes after 9 in the forenoon. The whole farm of Hurley paid me about 200 merks, so I thought it very easy to improve it by degrees.

I had given this Society several other papers before.

This year I made the antique Cave at Hurley where I had is on several made a large pond, and stocked it with Carp and Tench remarkable, brought from Corby Castle near Carlyle. I caused this pond to be inclosed,¹ and the little Hill in the middle got the name of Clermount. This is a Rural Scheme which, in my opinion, adds a good deal of Beauty to the Enclosures of Pennicuik house, as it resembles the Grotto of Pausilipo at November the Grotto of Pausilipo at Naples.²

About this time, likewise, I went on with the Enclosure of Hurley towards the moor, where to civilize the prospect I built two little Houses, and gave each a Garden, which was planted round with barren Trees and thorns.

In May this year I carried my Wife and two of my Daughters to Dalguse,³ to drink Goat whey, on the side of Tay, 4 miles above Dunkell, but here I left them, and returned to Edin. at the sitting down of the Court of Exchequer.

This summer I diverted my self by writing an Essay on the Antient Languages of Great Britain,⁴ and when finished, gave it to the Society for the improvement of learning and philosophy, of which I was a member.⁵

From the begining of the year 1743 I lived as formerly, sometimes in Town and sometimes in the Country.

In Aprile I attended the Duke of Queensberry's Affaires at Drumlanrig, and particularly I made a narrow scrutiny into the state of his Lead mines at Wanlockhead.

writes to Roger Gale regarding this comet:—' Its tail, even according to Sir Isaac Newton's notions, diffuses vapours through the planetary world, and consequently must affect mankind in some degree or other. I defy any historian to show us so many alterations as have been in the Affairs of Europe since its first coming into our latitude. I know not what diseases of the body it may bring along with it, but it is pretty odd that about two weeks ago all our forces fell ill of the cold in the space of 24 hours, both in Edenborough and in the country.' 'The path of it has been exactly observed by Mr. MacLaurin, our mathematician in Edenborough.'—Nichols' *Bibliotheca Topographica*, No. 11. part I., pp. 351 and 352.

¹ This cave and pond still exist on the Penicuik estate.

² The Grotto of Pausilippo, south-west of Naples, described by Seneca and Petronius, and in the Middle Ages believed to have been the work of Virgil, whose 'Tomb' is near.

³ Dalguise, in the parish of Little Dunkeld. For an interesting account of this expedition to the Highlands see the Baron's letter to Gale in Nichols' *Bibliotheca Topographica*, No. II. part 1., p. 357.

⁴ A MS. copy of this essay, signed 'J. C., 1742,' is preserved among the Clerk papers. It was published in Nichols' *Bib. Topog.*, No. II. part 1., pp. 362-84.

⁵ The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, the precursor of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In 1731 a Society had been started for collecting and publishing papers on medicine and surgery; and in 1739, its scope having extended, at the suggestion of Professor Colin Maclaurin, so as to embrace the subjects of philosophy and literature, it took the title of The Society for Improving Arts and Sciences, or The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Its President was James, fourteenth Earl of Morton, afterwards President of the Royal Society, London; its Vice-Presidents Baron Sir John Clerk, and Dr. John Clerk (see note¹, page 11), and its Secretaries Professor Maclaurin and Dr. Plummer. Its meetings having been interrupted, the Society was revived by its new Secretaries David Hume and Dr. Alexander Monro, and volumes of Transactions were published in 1754, 1756, and 1771. In 1782 Principal Robertson proposed a scheme for further extending the scope of the Society, so as to embrace every branch of science, erudition, and taste; and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, including all the members of the Philosophical Society, was formed, and incorporated by royal charter in 1783. See Tytler's *Memoirs of Lord Kames*, vol. i. p. 184 and note.

In May I carried my Wife and some of my Lasses to the Goat whey at Wooler Haughhead. We staid about 4 weeks; from thence I carried them to Morpeth, Newcastle, and Durham. In this last place, being the 29 of May, they heard the church Musick perform'd on the top of the steeple, this being a High Church form observed there for the celebration of the Birth and Restoration of King Charles the 2d, or as some of the clergy pretend, for the Restoration of Monarchy, which for some years before Oliver Cromwell and his party had ruined. | Some pretend to say that this solemn church Worship is in order to introduce another Restoration, but the truth is, I believe, it is a custom begun in 1660, which the High Church party is not willing to abolish, nor are the A Latine common people willing to want this accustomed diversion.

fol. 193

A Latine Treatise written by me on the statue of Brigantia and the Two other large stones with Incriptions at Penyuik, and which were found in Anandale on the side of the Antient Roman Camp at Midlebee. This I did chiefly that those valuable Monuments may be preserved.

This summer was spent as formerly, but I wrote a Latine dissertation on the Roman Monuments at Pennicuik House, which is likeways design'd as a present to the Society above named for the encouragement of Learning.¹

I cannot omit here to take notice of a considerable alteration in our Court of Exchequer, for towards the end of the year Mathew Lant, our Lord Chief Baron, died, and was succeeded in office by Councillor Idle.²

The late chief Baron was a poor, Harmless, timorous Man. I had done him considerable services by supplying his place in his absence at London for many years, and had great returns maybe of Civility from him and his friends.

I was spoken of to succeed him, but those who have friends in any great offices in England will always be preferred to any Scotsman.

About the end of the year 1743 and begining of the year 1744, we had again the great pleasure of seeing a new Comet³ as it moved with great swiftness in a parabolical curve inclined to our Earth. We saw it for many days. It began to be visible in the Constellation of Andromeda. In its motion towards the sun, its velocity was much accelerated, and it came to its perihelion about the 21 feb. 1744. Its Tail, as it approached the sun, was in appearance 25 degrees | in length which, considering its vast distance from us, being above 50 millions of miles, cou'd not be under many millions of miles in length. It made its perihelion, or circle about the sun, from within the orbite of Mercury, which is commonly reckoned to be about 30 millions of miles distant from the sun, its bulk or diameter was near to that of Venus.

After its perihelion on the said 21 of feb., I saw it no more, for by its swift, parabolical course, it took its way almost opposite to this part of the World, tho' it might have been seen by the Inhabitants of Hispaniola and Jamaica some few days after.

¹ See page 139, and note¹ there; and marginal note to folio 241.

² See note¹ to page 73; and note¹ to page 133.

³ 'College of Edinburgh, Jan. 9, 1744. A comet has appeared for some time near the head of Andromeda, equal to a star of the second magnitude. It was observed at London, Paris, and in several parts of Scotland on Friday, the 23d of last month; but was seen before that time in Switzerland. It moves slowly. About Dec 29th it changed its right ascension by its daily motion Westwards, two minutes of time daily, and its declination by moving Southwards about nine minutes of space.'—*Scots Magazine*, vol. v. p. 573.

The Comet.

fol. 194

If I had been in possession of the new invented [di?]urnal Telescope, I might have seen [the] Comet through the day, when the sun was shining.

That above the silver burn.

My son George and my chaplain, Mr. William Ainsley, and others were with me.

Invasion from Dunkirk, 1744.

This year, about the 19 or 20 of feb., I came out to Pennicuik and in a clear fine morning, half an houer befor the sun rose, I saw the beutifullest schene in the Heavens that perhaps, ever was seen by any body at one time, for by the assistence of a Reflecting Telescope I saw first the Comet through its Tail in the greatest glory it had ever appeared, being at that time within a day or two of its perihelion. Next I saw was shining¹ the planet of Venus in great beuty, and towards the west the planets of Saturn and Jupiter with their satellites; but what made the finest appearance of all, was the moon near her last quarter, just going down upon the Top of the black hill north west of Pennicuik House. Next the sun rose in great splendour, which yet for half an houer did not obscure the Comet, for both it and its Tail appeared very finely for that space. I tried at that time to have seen Mercury, which I cou'd not do, but by the Comet's distance from the Sun's body, I was sure that its perihelion wou'd be within the orbite of that planet.

All this I saw without either fogs or clouds interveening. | If comets presage great alterations and Trubles in states, this comet may be thought a foreruner, and tho' it be a little superstitious to think so, yet I am tempted to think that as the moon in some cases influences our bodies, I know not how far the vapours which arise from a Comet may not have some influence on Men's minds. It is certain that before great Calamities hapning to a nation, Comets have been seen, hovering in the Aire, and other odd phenomena. All Histories are full of such accounts, and Josephus takes notice of a very remarkable one befor the destruction of Jerusalem.

folio 195.

In february and March this year, 1744, we were alarmed with an Invasion from Dunkirk. A body of French was to be transported from thence, under the Command of the oldest son of the Pretender² and the Count de Sax,³ a natural son of the late Elector of Saxony.

The ground of this intended Invasion was, no doubt, the noise and clamour of a discontented party in England, which still went under the name of patriots. Things were therefor represented at the Courts of France and Rome much worse than they were, for it was not doubted there but that all Britain was ready for a Revolt in favours of the persone we called the Pretender, but nothing was farther from the minds of the people, as the | French afterwards found, for tho' they sent a large squadron of Men of War from Brest, to come upon the English coast from the Mouth of the Channel down to Portsmouth, in order to sound the inclinations of the people, yet

folio 196.

¹ Probably the Baron here refers to the improved telescopes which James Short, acting on the suggestions of Professor James Gregory, had constructed in the rooms in the University of Edinburgh, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Colin Maclaurin. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxiii. p. 137 (Ninth Edition).

² Prince Charles Edward reached Paris on the 20th January 1744, and sailed in the same ship with Marshal Saxe.

³ Maurice, Count of Saxony, Marshal Saxe, was born in 1696, a natural son of Frederick Augustus II. of Poland, by Aurora, Countess of Konigsmarke. He was a soldier from his earliest youth, and in the campaign of 1710 received the eulogies of the allied generals. After serving against the Swedes, 1711, and against the Turks, 1717, he, in 1733, entered the French service under the Duke of Berwick, and after the campaign of 1740 was appointed Marshal-General of the French armies. He commanded the army of Bavaria, and while defending Alsace he was summoned by Lous xv. to take part in the expedition against England; but his fleet was scattered by a tempest, and its remains blockaded by the English fleet. His defeat of the French and Hanoverians at Fontenoy, in 1745, was followed by the conquest of Belgium. After the capture of Laufeldt in 1747, Saxe retired into private life. He died in 1750.

they found them so much averse to this Roman-Catholick project, that they were glad to get back again to Brest, more especially when they found themselves ready to be attacked by the British Fleet far superior to theirs. One night's favourable Wind from the nor'east protected them, and gave them the advantage of sailing oh" in the night. Sir John Noris,¹ who commanded this great British Fleet, was much blamed for a little delay in sailing after them, but he was always a very unlucky Admiral, and on that account got the name of Jack foulweather, and S^r. John no-risque.

The French transports were in the mean time in the road of Dunkirk, and ready to sail, but a Tempest overtook them, so that, with the loss of some of their ships and some hundreds of Men, they were forced to lay aside their Expedition.

The French knew very well the strength of the British Fleet, the Affaires of and that they were in no condition to force a passage over to forced them to' England, but it seems they intended in the night time to have got over and tried their Fortune. I am of opinion that tho' fidelity in a sea they had landed they cou'd have done nothing, but must have Mediterranean been destroyed or taken prisoners, for 'tis certain that there was not one of a hundred in Britain who had the least inclinations to favour them.

All this time we had been only Auxiliaries to the Queen of Hungary,² in defence | of that ballance of Power which was necessary to be kept up between the two great Families of Bourbon and Austria, but now we became principals in a War with France, for the French, at the earnest desire of the Court of Spain, first declared war against us, so that we were next in honour obliged to declare war against them.

fol. 197.

Tis very remarkable that during the whole Trubles in Germany and several Campaigns in the years 1742 and 1743 and even at the time of a famous engagement at Dettingen on the Rhyn in 1743 where our King was present and where his Arms were victorious against the French, yet neither we nor the French nor the Austrians had declared War against one another. We fought for the Queen of Hungary as head of the Austrian family, and much blood was shed in Germany and Bohemia, but still we kept up a kind of correspondence with the Court of France, and no hostilities were committed at sea. In the mean time the cunning trimming people of Holand lay by, and wou'd not engage as principals in any War, tho at the same time they sent 20,000 men to the field as Auxiliares to the Queen of Hungary, who was actually in War against both the French and the Emperor, but did not declare the War even in the

¹ Admiral Sir John Norris, descended from an Irish family, for his conduct in the action off Beachy Head in 1690, was appointed commander of the 'Pelican' fire-ship. He distinguished himself under Sir George Rooke, Captain James Killegrew, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Having been knighted, he, in 1707, was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1732 became Admiral of the White. The expedition against the French fleet mentioned above was his last naval service; and he died, at an advanced age, in 1749.

² Maria-Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., was born at Vienna in 1717, and in 1736 was married to Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, who in 1737 became Grand Duke of Tuscany. On her father's death, in 1740, she ascended the throne of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria; but Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria (see note¹, p. 163; and note³, p. 172) disputed her claim to the Austrian territories, and, simultaneously with Frederick the Great, invaded her states. She fled to Presburg, and, with her child in her arms, invoked the aid of the Hungarians. She obtained assistance from England and Holland, and her rights were confirmed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1784. She died in 1780.

The French declared War against us with great reluctance, but the Queen of Spain who managed the affairs of that Kingdom forced them to it after suspecting their fidelity in the Mediterranean between the English Fleet under Admiral Mathews, and the combined fleets of France and Spain who for two years [be]fore had been blockt up [in]the Harbour of Thoulon ...s year they ventured out, and were attacked by the British fleet, and in this engagement it was thought that the French did not support the Spanish fleet as they ought to have done, but

sailed to the ...y
of Alicant. We
[ha]d the same
complaint against
our Fleet, that ...
two divisions
under Ad^l.
Mathews and
Lestock [di]d not
their endeavours
[to] have de-
stroyed the united
fleets of France
and Spain. There
was, I think,
reasons on both
sides of the Ques-
tion, for I believe
our Ministry did
not care to de-
stroy the French,
and they did not
care to assist the
Spaniards to
destroy us. my
fears were but too
just.

campaign 1744, when her General, Charles of Lorraine,¹ past the Rhyn, and attacked the French Territories in Alsace.

To return now again to my own Family concerns. My son Henry had returned in safety from the West Indies, and from other cruises which he made as | first Liutenant of the Preston, commanded by the Earl of Noresk,² but in Aprile this year the sd Earl and 3 other Captains were ordered to fit out their ships for a long voyage. My son acquainted me of this by a letter but knew not to what place they were bound. At last they sailed, being in all 4 ships, one of 70, one of 60, one of 50, and one of 20 guns, under the command of one Commadore Barnet. I heard from my son when he sailed, but whether I am ever to see the poor Lad again, God only knows. I had a letter from him some weeks after from the coast of Africk, by a ship which met them there, but was inform'd that they knew not where they were bound for that their orders cou'd not yet be opened.

In may this year I carried my Wife and some of my Daughters to Bonhill,³ where my Daughter jean lived, and with her and her spouse, Mr. Smollet, we went for 3 weeks and drank the goat-whey at Luss. From thence I myself made a trip to Inveraray, and took occasion to visite Mr. Clerk of Braelaken, who was married to my Niece Sarah Little, the daughter of my Sister Sophia Clerk, who had been married to Mr Little of Liberton.⁴ There I staid with great pleasure for a day or two, and returned back to Luss. Lad, who went

On our return home we went and lived at Mavisbank in the months of june and july, and I attended the Exchequer as formerly.

During this summer the principal schem of publick Action was in Bohemia and Bavaria, for the Machivelian King of Prussia,⁵ contrary to his engagements with the magnanimous Queen of Hungary, invaded Bohemia with an Army of above 60000 men, 'tho | he had received from that Queen all the best parts of all the fine province of Silesia, in order to keep him quiet and preventing [*sic*] him from joining with the French. This was an unhappy stroke to the peace of Germany, and the ballance of power so much wisht and contended for, between the two Houses of Bourbon and Austria.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the great Duke of Tuscany, and commander in chief of the Queen of Hungary's Army, had then past the Rhyn, and was in a fair

¹ Charles of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's General, brother of the Duke of Tuscany; born 1712, son of Leopold, Duke of Lorraine; became Governor of the Low Countries; died in 1744.

² George Carnegie, attained the rank of a captain in the royal navy in 1741, and in the same year succeeded his brother as sixth Earl of Northesk. In January 1744 he sailed in the fleet, under Sir John Norris, to the East Indies, commanding the 'Preston,' a ship of fifty guns. On 25th January 1745 they captured, in the Straits of Banca, three very valuable French East Indiamen, bound from Canton to Europe. In 1755 he commanded the 'Oxford,' a ship of sixty-six guns; was promoted to a flag in 1756; rose, by seniority, to the rank of Admiral of the White; and died in 1792.

³ In Dumbartonshire.

⁴ Sophia, youngest daughter of Sir John Clerk, first baronet of Penicuik, by his first wife, Elizabeth Henderson, was born at Newbiging, 29th August 1683, and was married to Gabriel Ranken of Orcharhead, Stirlingshire. Their son Walter, succeeding as heir of entail to the estate of Little of Liberton, took the name of Little; and their daughter, Sarah, married Dougal Clerk of Braekethan [Braelaken], Argyllshire.—Douglas's *Baronage* and MS. *Family Register*.

⁵ Frederick II., the Great, born 1712; succeeded his father as King of Prussia 1741; died 1786.

1744
fol. 198.

N.B.—There is only one child of this marriage, John Clerk, a very pro[missing] Lad, who went this year, 1749, to Jam[aica].

fol. 199.

This Queen of Hungary was at this time only about 26 years

The Duke of Tuscany was formerly Duke of Lorraine.

way of recovering Alsace to the Empire of Germany, but on hearing of the progress which the king of Prussia had made in Bohemia, he was obliged to repass that River, and return to protect the Queen's subjects in that country.

In his way he was obliged to leave Garrisons in several Towns in Bavaria and the upper Palatinat, yet he was successful wherever he came, and the Prussians with vast losses were obliged to surrender Prague, which they had taken, and retire out of Bohemia without ever offering to stand the hazard of a Battle. They knew indeed that they were far from having any chance of succeeding in an attempt of that kind, for the king of Poland,¹ who was at the same time Elector of Saxony, sent 22000 men to the assistance of Prince Charles. After this the Prussians with their King at their head retired to Silesia where they took up their Winter Quarters.

1744. About this time War was proclaimed by the Queen of Hungary against France, and the French King² turning his head to military affaires regained all the south parts of Germany and restored the Emperor to his Capital of Munich, from whence he had been forced the year before by the victorious Arms of the Queen of Hungary, for by the bye I must notice that this Emperor the Duke of Bavaria³ had entered into a league with the Kings of France and Prussia for suppressing altogether the House of Austria.

fol. 200. This summer likeways the Ambition of the Queen of Spain,⁴ in order to procure | a kingdom in Italy to her second son Don Philip,⁵ had raised a terrible combustion there, her eldest son Don Carlos,⁶ king of the two Sicilies, used his outmost efforts for the same end, but as the king of Sardinia⁷ was united in interest with the House of Austria, there were no considerable advantages gained by the Armes of France and Spain, but on the contrary they were obliged to repass the Alps, and take up their Winter Quarters where they were the year before. In the mean time an Army of neapolitans and a handfull of Spaniards continued in Winter quarters on the confines of Bulognia and Tuscany.

In november this year the British parliament met, but the Ministry under the Lord Carteret found themselves so weak as to be able to do nothing, wherefor his Lorp. was obliged to resign contrary to the King's Inclinations, who was always steady in his favours to those who served him well as he thought this Lord had done.

1744.

¹ Frederick Augustus II. succeeded his father as King of Poland in 1734; died 1763.

² Louis XV.

³ Charles Albert, born 1697; succeeded his father as Elector of Bavaria, 1726; died 1745. See note ¹, p. 163; and note ², p. 169.

⁴ Elizabeth Farnese, born 1692, daughter of Odoardo, eldest son of Duke Ranuccio of Parma, and Dorothea Sophia, daughter of Philip William, Elector Palatine. She became second wife of Philip V. of Spain, in 1714; and died 1766.

⁵ Third (second surviving) son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, born 1720; became Duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1749; died 1765.

⁶ Eldest son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, born 1716; succeeded as Duke of Parma and Piacenza, 1731; conquered Naples and Sicily 1735, and in the same year became King of Spain, as Carlos III.; died 1788.

⁷ Charles Emmanuel II., succeeded his father in 1730, and died in 1773.

To him succeeded a Triumvirat who constituted jointly the prime ministry. The Duke of Newcastle,¹ the Lord Hardwick² who was Chancellor at the time, and Henry Pelham,³ brother to the Duke, made up this Triumvirat. The Lord Hardwick was a great Lawer and an eloquent man, but good judges thought that all the Three had not the Qualifications of the late Sir Robert Walpole, created afterwards Earl of Orfoord as before mentioned.

The King's affaires had then but an indifferent Aspect; however, a new methode was introduced into publick management as set not only things to rights but outdid all the measures of Government that had hitherto been tried since the accession of the family of Hannover to the Crown, but it had been tried in King William's time, and was like to have mared all his affaires: this was to incorporat the Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites in parliament into one Interest for preserving the liberties of Europe. | It seem'd to be a very arduous undertaking, and yet it succeeded so well that the Royal Favours being equally dispenced the grand movement of the whole sisthem of politicks was called the Broadbottom. fol. 201.

These men were not to hang together for any long time, yet they were so well pleased with the distribution of the Royal Favours that they stuck at no expence for supporting the War abroad, and the liberties of Germany against the encroaching power of France; for after all the necessary subsidies were given for the support of every branch of the War, at sea and land, they gave 500,000 lib. to the King more than was strictly necessary, at that time, so that about the begining of the year 1745 Great Britain furnished this year, partly for the War, partly for the subsistence of the Government, and partly to pay the interest of the publick Debts already contracted, at least 12 millions sterling, besides a debt of 50 millions which she lay under.

Our fleet at this time consisted of more than 220 Men of War.

Our seamen above 40,000, and our Land Troops at least as many.

This year 1745 began in my family with some slight feavers of cold and indispositions which went quickly over, 'tho my Daughter jean, married to Mr. Smollet as above, recovered weakly of a Feaver she had in the begining of December last. I my self and my Wife continued pretty well, but both of us found old age aproaching very fast upon us. I attended the Exchequer in january and february as usually, and return'd to Pennicuik with my Family about the 22 of March. | Upon the 26 of Aprile I went to Drumlanrig to attend the Duke of Queensberry's Affaires, from whom I never had the least Gratification, since friendship and the Remembrance of what I owed to 1745.
fol. 202.

¹ Thomas Pelham-Holles. Born 1693, succeeded as second Baron Pelham of Laughton in 1712; Secretary of State for the Southern Department 1724-26, and again 1746-54; First Lord of the Treasury 1754-56, when he was created Duke of Newcastle. Died 1768.

² Philip Yorke, born 1690; Solicitor-General 1720; Attorney-General 1724; Lord Chief-Justice of England 1733-7; created Baron Hardwicke of Hardwicke 1733; Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain 1737-56; created Earl of Hardwicke 1754; died 1764.

³ Born 1696. After serving in the army and fighting at Preston, he entered Parliament, and became Secretary of State for War in 1724. In conjunction with his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Opposition, he overthrew Walpole's administration, and in 1743 became First Lord of the Treasury, and, in the same year, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He resigned in 1744, but was recalled in a few days, and remained Prime Minister till his death in 1754.

his father were my only motives, remembering still *si ingratum dixeris omnia dixeris*.

By the way I called at Wanlockhead, where the Duke had his lead mines, and staid there all night. I gave my advices about some of the works, and in going to Drumlanrig next day I took a new way, which I had advised, between Wanlock-head and the River Nith, from whence by the right hand one turns to Sanchar,¹ and by the left to Drumlanrig. This way lay down Minick Water, and was very crabed and steep, yet it being a much better pass into Nithsdale than by Entriken² Brae, I thought it might prove a benefite to the Lead trade in general if it cou'd be carried on as well at Dumfrise as at Leith; besides, I saw many other advantages by it which a little time wou'd certainly discover.

I employed about a week on the Dukes affaires at Drumlanrig, then went to make a visite to the Earl of Galloway,³ his Father, my Brother in Law, and a most oblidging friend, being dead.

The way was monstrously bad for 30 miles. I went by New Galloway and Muni-gaff,⁴ and found the Earl at Pouton,⁵ a new House which he was just finishing. I visited my Brother in Law Brigadier General Stuart at Sorbie, staid with the Earl only two nights and a day, then returned back to Drumlanrig. I spent a day or two afterwards in revising some of the Duke's affaires, then returned home to Pennicuik house.

Here I staid for the remainder of the month of May, and in June I lived with my family as formerly at Mavisbank.

From this place I attended the Court of Exchequer dayly as often as it sat, on the 22 of june, during the vacation of the Court, I returned to Pennicuik, and in company of some of my friends took the diversion of the pouting till the 7 of july, when the Court sat again. | I continued as formerly at Mavisbank, but attended the court dayly till it rose.

Nothing remarkable hapned to me during the two months I spent at Mavisbank, all was peace and quietness, but in the month of Agust began such a scene of troubles over all Britain as shook the very foundation of its constitution, for about the end of July and begining of Agust the Highland Rebellion broke out, of which I shall here insert a short History.

This Rebellion took its rise chiefly in Rome, for some of the Highland chiefs and others, as they traveled into Italy, never failed of visiting the pretender's family, and chiefly made their court to the two young princes, Charles and Henry, the sons of the s^d pretender and the princess Sobieski, both in appearance handsome, sprightly young men.

N.B.—The carts now employed in the carriage of Lead from Wanlockhead to Leith, chief belong to the shire of Lothian and T ... prove a real loss to the Tenants, for they neglect fa[rm]ing of their ground in summer, which wou'd be of greater advantage to them.

fol. 203.

The Rebellion ... afterwards ... took its rise ... England, but some of the Tories ...d at that time ... some services to English ministry, they were desirous to turn the odium of the Rebellion on Scotland.

¹ Sanquhar.

² Enterkin.

³ According to Douglas, James, fifth Earl of Galloway, died 16th February 1746, when his son Alexander succeeded as sixth earl. He married Anne, second daughter of William, ninth Earl Marischal, and died at Aix in Provence, 1773, in his seventy-ninth year.

⁴ Minigaff, a hamlet and parish in Kirkcudbrightshire, the former three-quarters of a mile north of Newton-Stewart.

⁵ Powton.

It is probable that promises were not wanting on both sides, and I doubt not but several of the Highland chiefs, and even many in England, were very forward to engage themselves and their friends so long as things seemed to be at some distance; however, the eldest of the two princes, whom I shall call the young chevalier, was impatient in his present situation at his Father's Court in Rome, and therefor wanted to try what his friends in Britain wou'd do for him. For this end he came into France in the begining of this year 1745 and offered himself to the Court of France as a proper instrument either to creat to the King of that country a new Aley in the persone of his Father, the Pretender, as King of Great Britain in case his schemes should succeed, or otherways to foment such a disturbance in Britain by an Invasion as might facilitate the French conquests in Flanders.

This proposal took with that Court, wherefor preparations of some men, money, and arms were made in order to second the intentions of the young Chevalier. | He embarked on the 14 of july from port Lasare¹ [*sic*] in Brittany, on board a frigate of 18 guns, and was afterwards joined by a Man of War of 66 guns. They soon fell in with some English ships, one of which, called the Lyon, a ship of about 60 guns, engaged the French Man of War for 9 heures, and disabled her, so that she was forced to return back to the coast of France. During this engagement the Frigate in which the young Chevalier was, got away, and after some days landed near the Isle of Sky, and the Chevalier was for some days entertained at the House of one Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart.² He had brought with him a few Officers, mostly Irish, and about 100 men. The money and arms intended for this Expedition were left in the Man of War, which had returned to France.

fol. 204.

While the Chevalier tarried at Kinloch Moidart, several Highland chiefs came to him, particularly Locheal, the chief of the Camrons,³ Glengarry,⁴ and the Captain of

¹ At seven of the evening of the 22d June (3d July N.s.) the Prince embarked at St. Nazaire, in the mouth of the Loire, in the 'Dontelle,' a brig of 18 guns, attended by seven friends. Proceeding to Belleisle, he was joined by the 'Elizabeth,' a ship of 68 guns, with 700 men aboard; and thence the expedition sailed on 2d July (o.s.). For an account of the action with the 'Lion,' a ship of 58 guns, commanded by Captain Brett, see Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 21 (latest, undated, edition).

² The Macdonalds of Kinlochmoidart were cadets of the Clanranald family, being descended from John, fourth son of Allan Macdonald, eighth of Clanranald. Donald, fourth in descent from the above Allan, married Isabel, daughter of Robert Stewart of Appin. With a hundred of his followers he accompanied the Prince through the whole campaign. His estates were confiscated, his house burned to the ground, and he was executed on the Gallows Hill, Carlisle, 18th October 1746. It was he who commanded the party of Highlanders who arrived at Rose Castle just after the birth of Rose Mary Dacre, afterwards wife of Sir John Clerk, fifth baronet of Penicuik, and who pinned his white cockade on the infant's breast in token of protection. See Note to Scott's *Monastery*; also Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, p. 463.

³ Donald Cameron of Lochiel succeeded to the estate and style of 'Captain of the Clan Cameron' on the death of his grandfather Sir Ewen, his own father being attainted for his share in the Rebellion of 1715. He was active in preliminary negotiations for the Rebellion of 1745; and though, on the arrival of the Prince in Scotland, he anticipated the failure of the rising, yet the personal influence of the young Chevalier induced him to join his standard with 1400 of his clan. He behaved with great heroism, and was severely wounded at Culloden. After many adventures he escaped to France, where he commanded 'the Regiment of Albany,' composed of his exiled countrymen. He died in 1748.

⁴ John Macdonell, twelfth of Glengarry, son of the celebrated Alastair Dubh Macdonell, was then chief. He did not take part in the Rebellion of 1745; but his son and successor Alastair carried an address from the Highland chiefs, signed with their blood, to the Prince in France, and on his return was captured and imprisoned in the Tower. His second son, Æneas, a colonel in the Prince's army, was slain at the battle of Falkirk. The Macdonalds of Glengarry greatly distinguished themselves by their bravery during the Rebellion. See Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, pp. 349, 354-5.

Clan Ranold.¹ Some likeways waited on him from the South Country, as Mr. Murry of Broughton² whom he made his Secretary. They endeavoured by letters and messages to get several others to joyn them, particularly the Ld Fortrose³ and Sir Alex. Macdonald,⁴ but cou'd not prevail on them.

These meetings, they knew, would give some disturbance to the Government, wherefor their friends gave out every where that the Chevalier had not landed in these bounds, but that some Highland Gentlemen intended only to take the diversion of hunting. By this means, for 2 or 3 weeks, there were few or no preparations made at Edin., till at last it came to be knoun that the Clans, to the number of 1500, had taken Arms, and that the Chevalier had set up his Standard not far from Fort William,⁵

N.B.—L^d
Fortrose son of
the late Earl of
Seaforth and
chief of the
Mackenzies.

¹ Ranald Macdonald, fifteenth of Clanranald, was then chief. He had an interview with Prince Charles on his first arrival in the Long Island, and refused to take part in the Rebellion; but his son Ranald, afterwards his successor, was one of the first, along with his relative Kinlochmoidart, to join the Prince, with 500 men. He was wounded at Culloden, and with difficulty effected his escape to France, where he eventually became aide-de-camp to Marshal Saxe. His name being erroneously given as *Donald* in the act of attainder, his friends at length succeeded in recovering his estates; and he returned and lived quietly for the rest of his days on his property, a loyal subject to the king. See Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, pp. 428-35.

² John Murray of Broughton, in Peeblesshire, second son of Sir David Murray, second Baronet of Stanhope, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Scott of Ancrum, Baronet, was sent to the Jacobites in Scotland, to prepare them for the coming of the Prince, whom he joined on his arrival in Scotland, acting as his secretary during the Rebellion. At the proclamation of James VIII. at the cross of Edinburgh, his first wife, a lady of great beauty, appeared on horseback decorated with white ribbons, and with a drawn sword in her hand. After Culloden he escaped to Peeblesshire, and took refuge in the House of his brother-in-law, Hunter of Polmood, where he was captured. To save his life he basely turned King's evidence, and aided in the condemnation of his former associates. The abhorrence with which he was regarded even by his political enemies is well illustrated by the anecdote in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, of how he had visited on business the novelist's father, a Hanoverian and Kirk elder, who, on his leaving, threw out of the window a cup from which he had drunk tea at Mrs. Scott's invitation, remarking—'I may admit into my house, on a piece of business, persons wholly unworthy to be treated as guests by my wife. Neither lip of me nor of mine comes after Mr. Murray of Broughton.' He sank into poverty, and sold his estate of Broughton in 1764. On the death of his half-brother, Charles, he became head of the family, and after the general Act of Reversal, assumed the title of Sir John Murray, Baronet, of Stanhope; and he died in 1777.

³ Kenneth Mackenzie, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Seafield, who had been attainted for his share in the Rebellion of 1715. He was Member of Parliament for the burghs of Inverness, etc., in 1741, and for the county of Ross in 1747 and 1754; and displayed great zeal in support of the Government during the Rebellion of 1745. He married Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of Alexander, sixth Earl of Galloway, and died in London in 1761.

⁴ Fourteenth baron and seventh baronet of Sleat. He held aloof of the Rebellion of 1745, and aided the Government, though he had undertaken to join the Prince if he came to Scotland at the head of a French army. He and his second wife, Lady Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglintoun, and a celebrated beauty, were distinguished for their hospitality, and were immensely popular in the Isles. Flora Macdonald resided in their house during the three years, from about 1739, that she spent in Edinburgh; and during her escape with the Prince, she visited Lady Margaret at her house of Monkstadt, her disguised companion taking shelter in the cave at Kilbride. He died 23d November 1746, and his funeral was attended by many thousands of the islanders, the procession, in which six men walked abreast, extending to a distance of two miles. Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, pp. 231-39; and see also Macgregor's *Life of Flora Macdonald*.

⁵ In Glenfinnan, 'a narrow vale surrounded on both sides by lofty and craggy mountains, about twenty miles north from Fort William, and as far east from Borodale, forming, in fact, the outlet from Moidart into Lochaber.' The standard was unfurled by the Marquis of Tullibardine on the 19th of August. See Home's *Rebellion*, pp. 49 and 50.

formerly called Innerlochy.¹ This was done about the middle of August, and immediately the clans went upon action.

Their first enterprise was the intercepting of about 100 soldiers belonging to the Regiment of Royal Scots, who were marching from Fort Augustus, at the head of Lochness, to Fort William. Some | of these soldiers were killed at a pass, and some taken prisoners.² Their commanding officer was set at liberty on his parole of Honour, and upon his coming to Edin., and afterwards to London, all Britain was alarmed. *fol. 205.*

The king lost no time to provide against the impending storm, for he immediately sent for 5000 Dutch troops, who landed in the north of England about the end of August, and some of them upon the first notice sent them. His Majesty was about this time in Hannover, but he quickly returned to England about the beginning of September.

There were at that time in Scotland 2 Regiments of Irish dragoons and about 2500 regular Troops. One Sir John Cope,³ a little, dressy, finical man, had the command of them. He had already devoured the Rebels in his imagination, wherefor he wrote to Court for liberty to march immediately into the Highlands to attack them. Orders were accordingly given to him by the Ministry, but he had scarcely entered the Highlands when he found that he was mistaken in his schemes, for that his little Army of foot was not sufficient to attack the Rebels amongst the mountains, wherefor, to procure more assistance, he marched directly to Inverness, where Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden had got together some hundreds of men for the service of the Government. As this Gentleman, Mr. Forbes, was Lord President of the Session, Sir John Cope trusted to his power and authority, and never doubted but he should find in the Country about Inverness a sufficient number of men to his purpose, especially when a Regiment was to be levied there for Flanders.

While Sir John Cope was marching to Inverness, the Rebels took a Resolution of coming by the way of Blair in Athole directly to Edin. They were but half armed, being about 4000 in number, and by Letters from their Friends in Edin. they were assured | that the Town would be surrendered to them, notwithstanding 5 or 600 *fol. 206.*

¹ The old Inverlochy, formerly the seat of the Earls of Huntly, is two miles north-east of Fort-William; and the modern Inverlochy Castle, a seat of Baron Abinger, enlarged from a shooting-box in 1861, is three and a quarter miles north-east of Fort William. The town of Fort William was previously called Gordonsburgh, from its being built on the property of the Gordons.

² This occurred on the 16th of August, at the east end of Loch Lochy, three days previous to the raising of the Pretender's standard; the Government soldiers being two companies under the command of Captain (afterwards General) John Scott, who was wounded in the skirmish. They were overpowered by the Macdonalds; and Lochiel, who arrived at the conclusion of the skirmish, conveyed the prisoners to his house at Auchnacarie. See Home's *Rebellion*, pp. 46-48.

³ Sir John Cope, K.B., was promoted in the army through the influence of Lord Strafford. In 1742 he was appointed one of the generals of the troops despatched to aid Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, and he was commander-in-chief in Scotland in 1745. A council of officers was appointed to inquire into his conduct during the Rebellion, but he was acquitted of all blame. In 1751 he was placed on the Staff in Ireland, and he died in 1760.

volunteers who pretended to defend it. One provost Stuart,¹ a secret jacobite, was at the head of the Magistracy, but most of the Trades were more open and declared friends to the new intended Revolution. It is difficult to account for this change of temper, since most of them were presbyterians and Whigs in principles, but it seems a love to novelties, joined with a certain infatuation in their councils, was what most prevailed amongst them.

I believe this same spirit prevailed amongst many of our great folks in this Country, for there was little or no care taken to provide against the impending storm, no Lords Liutenants were appointed as in 1715, for by the contentions of two factions in Scotland, and even amongst the Ministry in England, it cou'd not be agreed who should be intrusted with Lieutenances, and therefor no body was named. The heads of the two factions were the Duke of Argyle and the Marquise of Twedale.

Under these disputes the Duke went to London, and with him the Duke of Athole² and several other persons of note and distinction, so that the country was entirely left to it self, for no doubt some of the ministry wanted that we in Scotland should worry one another, for their vanity and self-conceit was so great that they never thought that the Rebels dared to venture into the populous Country of England, where they had so few Friends and so many Ennemies. Thus the country people in the Southern and Western Shires of Scotland, many of whom wou'd have chosen to have died in defence of the Religion and Laws of their Country, were left to themselves, without Arms and without Leaders.

About the Time that the young Pretender was marching towards Edin. the Military state of the Country was this. Sir John Cope had with him about 2500 men, there were in the Castle of Stirling about 100 men, and in its nighbourhood 2 Regiments of Dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's. The Castle of Edin. had a Garrisone of about 200 men. In the Town of Edin. were about 100 men or under belonging to the Guard, and between 4 or 500 volunteers, all Gentlemen or Burgers. These last had begun to put themselves in Regular companies and to lairn their military Exercises. The Town Walls were good for nothing, but | were mounted with a few cannon, and some barricads were made at the several ports, but all these preparations were a little too slow, for the young Pretender with his Highlanders, consisting chiefly of the clans in Lochaber, moved on and passed the Forth at the foord of the Freuis,³ a little above Stirling. fol. 207.

As they advanced, the two Regiments of Dragoons were ordered to retire towards Edin., which they did and encamped near the Town, but so as to be frequently moved off for greater security to themselves, and by these means chiefly were intimidated

¹ Archibald Stuart, merchant, represented the city of Edinburgh in Parliament from 1741 to 1747. He was tried in 1727 for 'neglect of duty, misbehaviour in public office, and violation of the trust and duty of office' while Lord Provost of Edinburgh during the Rebellion, and 'after the longest trial recorded in the books of justiciary' (Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 222), was unanimously found not guilty. See an interesting volume of printed and MS. matter relating to the trial in the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

² On the approach of the rebels 'the Duke of Athole fled from his castle at Blair, and it was immediatly occupied by Tullibardine [his elder brother, disinherited, by Act of Parliament, for his share in the Rebellion of 1715], who assumed the title of the head of the house,' and 'issued his commands to the feudatories and tenantry of the estates to rally round his banner.'—Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 442.

³ The Ford of Frew, a shallow part of the river formed by the efflux of the Boquhan Water, about eight miles above Stirling.

and taught, as I think, to be notorious Cowards, for as the Highlanders were naturally affraid of Horse, they were sufficient to have put them all to the flight if they had kept their ground, but all our Military Councils were at that time infatuated. We were to be chastised for some time coming. About the time the Rebels had taken possession of Lithgow, these two Regiments, with the Town Guards of Edin., were ordered to advance to the Colt-bridge, about a mile west of the Town. I went and saw them there, the Dragoons placed on each side of the road. I was delighted to see their order, and never doubted but they wou'd prove sufficient to defend the Town. I spoke to severals of them, and found them, as I thought, very much resolved to stand their ground, but the Rebels no sooner came in sight than their officers commanded them off towards Musselburgh, where they went in pretty great hurry and confusion.¹

At that time we had a very worthy man at the Head of our Military Affaires, one General Guest,² who in his time had been an Active, diligent Souldier, but being a Man of above 86 years of age he cou'd scarcely stir out of his room. In the Castle we had another brave man of the same age, one General Preston,³ so that the few Troops we had at Edin. were in a manner without heads or officers. The rebels were represented to be resolute and numerous, so that the Dragoons and other Troops we had were obliged to shift for themselves, there was nothing to trust to in Edin. but the Castle, and that furnished no other defence for the Town than to oblige the Rebels to march towards Bred's | craigs⁴ to be without reach of the cannon. There they incamped for a night, being then the 16 of September.

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From their Camp, they sent a messenger to the Provost and Town Council of Edin. to surrender next morning, which, after some disputes, with no great tenaciousness, they agreed to, without any Terms at all. No promises or conditions were made in behalf of the Volunteers or Town Guard, so that every man did as he had a mind. The volunteers carried their arms to the Castle, whence they had got them, immediatly after they knew that the Town was to be given up, but the Town's Arms were, by connivance of the Lord Provost and Magistrats, to be left for the use of the Rebels.⁵

¹ This retreat was afterwards styled *The Canter of Coltbrigg*.

² Joshua Guest, born in 1660 in Yorkshire, commanded the party of dragoons who routed the fugitives at Perth, 21st January 1716. He was a commissioner to inquire into the Glasgow riots in 1725, and in 1745 he was sent from London to replace Preston as deputy-governor of Edinburgh Castle. According to Chambers, he proposed after the defeat of Prestonpans to surrender the castle, a proposal successfully opposed by Preston, who remained as a volunteer, and who, now in his eighty-seventh year, was wheeled round the guards every two hours during the hottest part of the blockade. According to other accounts, Guest refused a bribe of £200,000 to surrender the fortress, which 'he closed a service of sixty years by faithfully defending.' After the suppression of the Rebellion he returned to London in a horse-litter, and he died there 1747.

³ Lieutenant-General George Preston, second son of Sir George Preston, first baronet of Valleyfield. He was a captain in the service of the States-General in 1688, and attended the Prince of Orange to England in that year. He served in all the wars of King William and Queen Anne, and was wounded at Ramillies. From 1706 to 1720 he was colonel of the Cameronian regiment; in 1715 he was sent from London as deputy-governor of the Castle of Edinburgh; and he was commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland for several years after. He died 7th July 1748, in his eighty-ninth year.

⁴ The Braid Hills.

⁵ In reply to a deputation from the city the Prince had replied:—'. . . His Royal Highness supposes that, since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. . . .' 'And much about the same time two of the officers of the voluntiers came to the council-chamber and insisted that the scheme of defending the town should be resumed. . . . To this the Lord Provost made several objec-

Next morning by 45 a great body of the Highlanders entered the Nether Bow port and took possession of the Town Guard house, without opposition, and without offering any injury to those they found in the streets. As to the young Pretender, he and the bulk of his Savage Army marched about from Bred's craigs to the east side of Dudeston and the King's park, and took possession of the Abey of Holyrood house.

I and my family were at that time at Mavisbank, and my Wife being uneasy that I should continue in the neighbourhood of Edin., we, in company of my eldest daughter, left the house in the night time, lodged in a privat house within half a mile of my own house all night, and next day came in a coach to the Minister's¹ House of Mackerstone, near Kelso, for it hapned that both the Master and Mistress of the House

Thus my Wife and I in our old Age came to be in exile, which was often a melancholly reflexion to us both; however, this had hapned we lived in hopes for some days that should soon return home, especially after we heard that Sir John Cope and the Troops under his command were come by sea from Aberdeen, and were landed at Dunbar. But these hopes soon vanished, for upon his approach to Preston pans, which was the third day after he landed, the Rebels being now well armed had the confidence to meet and fight him. The issue was that he | was shamefully beaten by the cowardice of the two Regiments of Dragons above mentioned, who run away without attempting any thing. About 800 [of] the King's Troops were cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The Dragons went off pretty entire, and never stoped till night that they got to the English borders, for one of them came that night to Cannall, where my Wife and I chanced to be, and the other to Coldstream, so that they made a march

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That same day the Pretender was proclaimed at the Cross of Edin. By Heralds and pursuivants in their formalities, which they had seised, and likeways on that day Sir John Cope with the Troops he had carried to Inverness, landed at Dunbar. If this had hapned 3 days sooner, the Town cou'd not have been taken by a handfull of Highlanders, who were not acquainted with the methods of taking towns, and even if the Town's people had been well inclin'd to preserve it, they might have disappointed the Rebels.

tions; but, at last, in appearance, yielded to the motion for defending the town, provided Gen. Guest would agree to let them have arms from the castle. This the General, when applied to, cheerfully promised; and at the same time proposed that the city arms should be put into the hands of the well-affected. A wise proposal! for it had been a foolish measure from the beginning to call out and arm the trained bands, many of whom were well known to be professed Jacobites, and therefore very improper persons to be trusted with the defence of the city against the pretender. When Gen. Guest's answer was reported to the council, the person who brought it was told, That as the person who had been sent to bring back the deputies had not come up with them, the Provost and Council, as they had entered upon a treaty, had come to a resolution not to defend the town.'—*The History of the Rise, Progress, and Extinction of the Rebellion*, second edition (London: R. Thomson, etc.), pp. 27-29. At the trial of Lord Provost Archibald Stuart, one of the charges was that, 'In the same evening of the sixteenth of September, One thousand seven hundred and forty-five, it was proposed and urged in Council, where the said Archibald Stuart was present, and presided, That the whole City Arms, being in Number about Twelve hundred Firelocks and Bayonets, should be lodged and secured within the Castle of Edinburgh, in order to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Rebels; but he, the said Archibald Stuart, refused or declined to give any order for their Purpose, neither in Fact were the City-arms so lodged and secured, but were seized by the Rebels upon their entring the City the Day following, who came to Edinburgh so imperfectly armed, that the Supply of Arms which they thus received appears to have been one principal Cause of the Disaster that befel our Forces near Prestonpans, on the twenty-first Day of the same month of September, One thousand seven hundred and forty-five.'—*Criminal Letters: His Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's Interest against Archibald Stuart, late Provost of the City of Edinburgh*, p. 9.

¹ The Rev. William Walker, M.A., son of the minister of Kirkurd, was laureate by the University of Edinburgh in 1713, licensed 1720, and presented to the living of Makerston by John, Duke of Roxburgh, 1726. He was suspended by the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, *sine die*, 5th November 1741; and on 5th November 1744 they empowered the Presbytery of Peebles to take off the sentence if they saw cause. He died 1759, aged sixty-six; and his widow, Christian Fiddes, died in 1773.—Scott's *Fasti*.

that day of above 35 miles. Sir John Cope, Lord Hume,¹ and some of their officers were with them, and next day they all retired to Berwick, as the only place in which they cou'd find safety for some time.

This memorable route of the King's Troops was on the morning of the 21 of Sept. by day light. The Troops lay on their Arms all night, and the Rebels lurked about the dyks and ditches of Preston pans as if they had been to steal a drove of Cattle. Thus far I do believe that they had their Eyes mainly to the plunder they expected, for Sir John Cope and his Troops carried a vast deal of Baggage with them, being secure on their part of the victory. Few of our people behaved well in this Battle, except, perhaps, Colonel Gardiner,² who, endeavouring to stop his Regiment of Dragons, fell a sacrifice to the fury of the Rebels. His own house hapned to be within a quarter of a mile from the field of Battle, which the Rebels affected to call Gladesmoor,³ to make it quadrat with a foolish old prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer,

Battle of
Preston, 1745.

'In Gladesmoor shall the Battle be;'

but Gladesmoor happens to be at least two miles from the field of Battle, which being just at the back of the Town of Preston cou'd in no time or age have been different from what it is at present, being one of the best fields in East Lothian for all kinds of Grain.

¹ William, eighth Earl of Home, succeeded his father in 1720. After having served on the Continent, he joined Cope's army at Dunbar in Sept. 1745; and at the battle of Prestonpanns endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to rally the dragoons. He commanded the Glasgow regiment which joined the royal forces at Stirling in December; in 1750 was appointed colonel of the 48th foot; and in 1752 of the 25th foot. In 1757 he became Governor of Gibraltar, where he died in 1761.

² Colonel James Gardiner, born 1688, served in a Scots regiment in Holland; and, entering the English army, was wounded at Ramillies. He greatly distinguished himself at the taking of Preston, 1715; and accompanied Lord Stair as aide-de-camp during his embassy in Paris. In 1743 he became colonel of a dragoon regiment; and he was slain at the battle of Prestonpanns, fought beside his own house of Bankton, in 1745.

The Colonel (Gardiner) was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic, and though their colonel and some other gallant officers did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took to precipitate flight. And just as Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance . . . he saw a party of the foot who were bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, "Those brave fellows would be cut to pieces for want of a commander," or words to that effect: which while he was speaking he rode up to them and cried aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander, who, if the king's evidence at Carlisle may be credited, as I know not why they should not, though the unhappy creature died denying it, was one MacNought, who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broadsword or Lochaber axe, my informant could not exactly distinguish, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. . . .'—See Doddridge's *Life of Gardiner*, where the account of the Colonel's death was carefully compiled from the narration of John Foster, his servant, confirmed by a corporal in Colonel Lascelles's regiment, who was also an eye-witness.

³ The village of Gladsmuir is about four miles south-east of Prestonpanns.

After I heard the melancholly news of the loss of the Battle I with my Wife and two of my Daughters went into England and lay by accident at Cannall,¹ when one of the Regiments of Dragoons | came there as above.

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As many of their officers came to lodge under us in the same house, we thought Hell had broken louse, for I never heard such oaths and imprecations branding one another with Cowardice and neglect of duty. Here we left them next morning and proceeded directly to Morpeth, but night coming on within 2 miles of this place, we had a bad overturn in the coach, and my Wife was very ill bruised. Next morning, in the best way we cou'd, we crauled to the coach and got safely to Durham at night, by the way of Newcastle, which, on the news of the defeat of Sir John Cope, was in such a terrible consternation, that if the Rebels had followed their Blow I believe this important city had surrendered to them. Here at Durham, for the sake of good company, I took up my place of Exile, and continued there for above 6 weeks, only for diversion we made a Trip to Studley park in Yorkshire, near Rippon, and from thence to York. In this city we remained only a day and two nights, for we found the Roads were to be crowded with Troops under Marishal Wade,² designed to make head against the Rebels, and these Troops were already as far advanced as Ferry bridge and Wetherby. Lest therefor the crouded Roads should be quite spoiled, we made haste to get back to Durham, and staid there till the Highlanders were come south the length of Carlyle.

I must here observe in general that where I staid and traveled in England a most terrible pannick had possessed all the people to that degree that many rich people about Newcastle, Durham, and York, had sent off a great deal of their Effects to Holand and Hamburgh, and all their silver plate, jewels, money, and such like domestick necessaries were hid under ground, so that I had left England and returned to Scotland before these things appeared again. We did the same in Scotland, and I am affraied that many of us lost in that manner what will never be supplied.

While I staid at Durham I was daily acquainted with the Transactions at Edin. The Highlanders were with difficulty kept in order, and in the Country many Robries were committed. They imposed contributions on the Town of Edin. to the extent of about 6000 lib. ster., and uplifted the Cess wherever any was due. On privat Gentlemen they imposed contributions of Hay | and Corns to a considerable valou. My impositions were 6000 stone of Hay and 76 bolls of oats, under pains of military Execution, which was understood to be the quartering of some Savage Highlanders upon us. As this denunciation frightened all our servants and Tenants, the contributions were readily paid, and the valou of my share in all amounted to about 200 lib. ster. But besides these impositions they quartered themselves frequently upon us and our Tenants, so that the Family I left at Pennicuik was obliged to entertain some of their Chiefs three several times, and frequently 16 or 20 at a time.

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¹ Channelkirk in Berwickshire.

² Field-Marshal George Wade, born 1673, entered the army and became major-general in 1709. While commander-in-chief in Scotland, after the Rebellion of 1715, he constructed roads through the Highlands and a bridge over the Tay. He became field-marshal in 1743, and from 1745 to 1747 was commander-in-chief of the British army. He represented Hindon and after wards Bath in Parliament. Died 1748, and was buried in Westminster.

The Family I had then at Pennicuik consisted of my Daughter Babe,¹ and two young Ladies, Mrs. Holborn and Miss Brown, a grandson, a chaplain, Gentlewoman Stuart, and cook, with several servants. All my horses of any valou were carried off to England.

When the Highland parties came they were civilly used, and so committed no disorders about the House except that they eated and drank all they cou'd find, and called for everything as they thought fit, for they lookt on them selves to be the Masters of all the Country.

They continued for 3 weeks in and about Edin., and were so foolish as to think they cou'd take the Castle, 'tho they saw that besides the provisions laid up in it for a siege of 3 or 4 Months, they had every day fresh provisions brought to them. To prevent this, they made a sort of Blocade by puting Garrisons in some little houses between the West port and West Kirk, but this produced a threatning letter from the Governours of the Castle to the Inhabitants of the Town that if they did not procure the favour from the young Pretender to get the Blocade removed, these Governours wou'd order Bombs and hot bullets to be fired upon the Town. A limited day was given to this military Execution, and in the mean time the Magistrates sent a petition to the King to beg that the Governours of the Castle might be discharged to fire on the Town. | To this there was an Answere sent that these Governours must do their best to preserve the Castle whatever the consequence was. On hearing of this message the young Pretender, to shew his regard and compassion to the good Town, ordered the Blocade to be laid aside, and gave liberty to the importation of provisions as formerly,² yet this was not done so fully as was wanted, for still Highland guards, and particularly one at Livingston's³ yards on the south side of the Castle was [*sic*] kept for some days by one Taylor,⁴ a Shoemaker, who did a world of mischief till he was beaten and taken by a small party from the Castle. The Governour of the Castle of Edin. was at that time one Lord Mark Ker, unckle to the Marquise of Lothian,⁵ but as he was absent in England the command fell on the Daputy-Governour, Brigadier General Preston, who was assisted by General Guest, both above mentioned.

fol. 212.

At last the Rebels having recruited their Army with supplies from the North and provided for themselves a sufficient number of Arms, particularly new Targets, and

¹ Barbara, the baron's sixth daughter. See page 120.

² The Prince did not issue this proclamation till after the cannonade from the Castle had begun on the afternoon of the 4th of October, and the garrison, after dark, had made a sally, setting fire to houses near the Castle, and constructing a trench between the fortress and the upper end of the Castle Hill, whence they fired down the street, killing and wounding some of the rebels and inhabitants.—Home's *Rebellion*, p. 126 (1802). Compare Chambers's *Rebellion*, pp. 158-60 (last, undated, edition).

³ Livingston Yards lay to the west of the West Port of Edinburgh.

⁴ This little incident of Taylor, the shoemaker, seems to have escaped the notice of Chambers, Home, Arnott, and other historians of the Rebellion. A 'James Taylor, Shoemaker,' from Newmills of Boyn is included, as having 'carried Arms as a private man,' and as being at the time in hiding, in the List of Rebels furnished by the Supervision of Excise at Banff. See *Lists of Persons concerned in the Rebellion*. (Scot. Hist. Society. 1890.)

⁵ Fourth son of Robert, fourth Earl of Lothian, born 1676. Entering the army, he was wounded at Almanza, 1707; acted as brigadier-general at the capture of Vigo; commanded the 29th regiment of foot, 1712; the 13th foot, 1725; and the 11th dragoons, 1732-52. He was appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle, 30th July 1745, and died 1752. Of a punctilious disposition, he was noted for his success as a duellist.

having got together a great many Horses for their Cavalry and baggage, marched from Edin. on the — of —¹ into England by the way of Carlyle. Their Army was divided in 3 bodies, one marched by the way of Kelso, one by Peebles, and one by Moffat. But at first no body knew whether they were to attack the Army under Marishal Wade, then lying in the moor of Newcastle, or to march directly to Carlyle. This last route was what they chiefly intended, and at last, after some consultations, they took possession of Carlyle, with as little difficulty as they had taken possession of Edinburgh. But without insisting on the particulars that hapned at Carlyle, I shall only observe that it was very lucky for Scotland that the Rebels marched into England and found so little opposition there, for if this had not hapned, all Scotsmen wou'd have been reproached either with Cowardice or disaffection to the Government, for before the Highlanders entered England there was nothing heard in that country but the mighty things their very Militia wou'd do against the Rebels, 'tho by the bye it appeared very evident to me that 100 Highlanders wou'd have routed 1000 of their Militia. | My only hopes, next to the assistance of almighty God, depended entirely on the Troops which his Majesty had sent for from Flanders, together with about 4 or 5000 Dutch and Swiss who landed near Newcastle. These in all might amount to above 30,000 men, and every day made new additions to their numbers, for the Dukes of Kingstone,² Bedford,³ and others had raised no less than 13 Regiments of Horse and foot.

fol. 213.

I observed while I staid in England a very great and unexpected alacrity amongst all degrees of people for defending our happy constitution, and 'tho but lately great pains were used to reproach the Hannoverians and render them despicable in the eyes of the people of England, yet now things took another turn, especially since the last year's Battle at Fontenoy, for at that time the Hannoverians behaved so well that many of the English souldiers protested to me that they were willing to divide a Loaf with them. Thus matters stood at the begining of the Rebellion; however, the King thought fit rather to ask assistance from the Dutch than bring over any of his Hannoverians.

I noticed before that Marishal Wade with a great body of Troops was come the length of York and Wetherby. These consisted of about 10,000 Horse and foot. The Horse being 3 Regiments were quartered at Durham, and as their officers were mostly very brave deserving Men, I was constantly with them, till they were called off to attend Marishal Wade on his camp on the moor of Newcastle. It was then very bad weather, being in the month of November, and many of the souldiers indured great hardships by cold and fatigue; however, as the Rebels were then laying their schemes for taking Carlyle there was a necessity for the Marishal to march to Hexam in his way to engage them, but bad weather and bad ways prevented his endeavours, for the Rebels marched south towards London, and the Marishal with his fatigued Troops was obliged to return to Newcastle.

¹ There are blanks here in the Ms. The Highlanders left Edinburgh on the 1st and the 3d of October. See Chambers's *Rebellion*.

² Evelyn Pierrepont, born 1711; succeeded his grandfather as second Duke of Kingston 1726; invested a K.G., 1741; in 1745 raised 'Kingston's' regiment of light horse, of which he was colonel; died 1773. Walpole styles him 'a very weak man, of the greatest beauty and finest person in England.'

³ John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, was born in 1710, and succeeded to the title in 1732. He became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1744; raised for the royal service a regiment of foot, of which he was appointed colonel in 1745; was Secretary of State for the Southern Department 1748-51; in 1762 was Plenipotentiary to France; and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1756-61. He died in 1771.

Then it was that I and my Family left Durham to return to Edin. We got to Newcastle before the souldiers under the Marishall returned, and next day in frost and snow through monstrous bad ways we set northwards, and by slow journies got to Berwick | and from thence back to Edin. where we found things much in the same condition we left them, only that our friends were much divided in their principles, as to their Loyalty to King George and Jacobitism. I perceived plainly that all the poor shortsighted wrong-headed folks were jacobites, for they made no question but the Highlanders wou'd be able to beat the Troops in England, and had nothing to do but to take possession of London with all the ease imaginable. However, in a little time they found themselves vastly disappointed when they heard that after the Rebels had got the length of Derby they were so frightened for the Duke of Cumberland, his majesty's second son, and the troops under his command, that they marched back to Scotland in a very great hurry, and got to Drumfrise where they halted for a day. The Duke had with him about 10,000 men in all, Horse and foot, which was indeed a force which the Rebels cou'd never pretend to resist, but after they began their retreat into Scotland the Duke made no difficulty to pursue them with about 4 or 500 Horse.¹ fol. 214.

I may here notice with regard to my privat family that the eldest son James on hearing that the Rebellion was begun left Holand and came to London. There he got recommendatory Letters to some of the officers of the Army, and marched to joyn the King's Troops as a Volunteer. I commended his zeal, but since he had not been bred in a military way I dissuaded him from the service, but rather to go home to Scotland and do what service he cou'd amongst the country people. He took my advice and left me at Durham. In the mean time, George, my second son, joined himself to a body of Yorkshire Gentlemen who went under the name of the Royal Hunters. These came to General Wade at Newcastle, and by his orders were sent on several exploits to recognoitre the Rebels. When the Marishal marched south to joine the Duke of Cumberland they went with him, and when the Highlanders were on their retreat to Scotland they left the Marishal and joined the Duke in his pursuit of the Rebels to Carlyle, and in taking that place.

No sooner we heard at Edin. that the Rebels were returning than we gave up the Town for lost and | many of us were preparing to fly into England, for we never doubted but the Rebels wou'd return directly and take possession of their former quarters. We continued for some time in suspence, and at last heard that they had returned by Dumfrise and Drumlanrick to Glasgow, where they continued for some weeks² raising contributions and greatly oppressing the people. fol. 215.

About this time our fears at Edin. came to wear off by degrees, for about 13 Regiments of foot came to Edin., being part of the army which had been under the com

¹ The Duke left London on the 24th of November, and superseded Sir John Ligonier in the command of the army of 10,000 men, chiefly veteran and experienced, that had been mustered in Staffordshire. He pursued the retreating Highlanders from Preston with a force of 3000 or 4000 horse. Having captured Carlisle he returned to London, to be ready to repel an expected invasion from France. See Chambers's *Rebellion*.

² The rebels entered Glasgow on the 25th and 26th December, and left on the 3d of January.—See Chambers's *Rebellion*, pp. 209 and 212.

mand of Marishal Wade, and the Generals Haley¹ and Husk² were sent to command them. The Duke of Cumberland, after the recovery of Carlyle from the Rebels, had returned back to London. About this time another affliction hapned in my family, for my Wife, my son John,³ and daughter Joanna⁴ fell ill of a feaver. They were long ill, and had several relapses, but it pleased God to recover them.

I my self was likeways seised with a cholera morbus flux and January 1746. vomiting. I fainted, and was very ill for two days, but I got the better of my distemper by nature and the advice of my cousin, Doctor Clerk,⁵ who had been likeways very assisting to the rest of the Invalides of my Family.

I was very sensible that I had brought my distemper upon me by a large quantity of Green Kail which I chanced to eat at Dinner, nor is this the first time that I have felt the bad effects of Green Kail, for in cold, rainy Winters they are always unwholesome, and at this very time they brought an Epidemical flux upon many of the country people. From thence we may be instructed that there are few deseases that affect us but what enter our bodies by the mouth. Still some piece of Intemperance or other affects us especially at such times as this was, when our minds were filled with fears and Anxieties, as I believe every body's was during the time of the Rebellion, those of the Rebel party, in case they and their friends did not succeed in their Enterprise, and the Friends of They brought, the Government least the Rebels should succeed, for inevitable ruine hung over the one party or the other.

fol. 216. But to return to the military operations in Scotland, as soon never intend to as our Generals had the Troops in any tollerable condition | they marched to attaque the Rebels between Stirling and complain of, Falkirk. All men's Expectations were intent upon the Event, and the Generals were so secure of the victory that when they came in sight of the Highland Army, they contemned them so much that with all the calmness in the world they went to dinner, and at last suffered themselves to be attacked, whereas they ought to have marched forward to meet the Rebels.

¹ Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley, said to have been born about 1679, a grandson of the first Lord Hawley. He commanded the left wing of the royal army at Sheriffmuir, and was second in command of the horse at Dettingen and at Fontenoy. He was appointed to the command of the army, in the absence of the Duke of Cumberland. On the morning of the battle of Falkirk he breakfasted with the Jacobite Countess of Kilmarnock at Callander House; and first his negligence, and then his precipitate orders, contributed materially towards the disgraceful issue of the day. After the battle of Culloden he was most remorseless in his severities against the rebels. He afterwards accompanied the Duke to Flanders, in command of the cavalry, and in 1752 became Governor of Portsmouth. He died in 1759.

² General John Huske was born about 1692, and in 1708 was appointed ensign in Caulfield's regiment. He was present as a brigadier at Dettingen, where he 'behaved gloriously,' and was severely wounded. He commanded the five regiments and the dragoons and militia who, on the 13th of January 1746, left Edinburgh for Linlithgow; and, with Brigadier Cholmondeley, he commanded the right of the royal army at the battle of Falkirk, whose force checked the pursuing Highlanders and saved the English army from destruction. At Culloden he commanded Fleming's regiment, the 35th, and greatly distinguished himself. After serving in Flanders and Minorca, he became full general in 1756. He was appointed governor of Sheerness in 1745, and of Jersey in 1760, and died in 1761.

³ See note ², page 115, and note ³, page 135.

⁴ The Baron's fifth daughter. See page 116.

⁵ Dr. John Clerk, 'the most celebrated physician that has appeared in Scotland since Dr. Pitcairn, whom he is said to have resembled in sagacity and intuition.' Eldest son of Dr. Robert Clerk. See note ¹, page 11; also Ramsay of Ochertyre's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, vol. i. pp. 234-235.

N.B.—besides fears and Anxieties of my Wife and me were greatly sunk and over-whelmed by daily reflexions we had on the loss of our son Hary, and which brought us at the same time in remembrance of our son Patrick. In these two lads few family losses were equal with ours. Lord sustain us. They brought, particularly on me, a swimming and pain in my head, which I never intend to complain of, nor no ailment, if but tolerable.

The neglect of this motion brought the Battle on much later in the afternoon than it ought to have been, and the consequence of this was fatal to our Troops, for there hapned such a storm, or rather, hurrycane of Wind and rain, that their Firearms were rendered useless, whereas the Highlanders relied most on their swords. But what was worst of all, a pannick got so much possession of the Souldiers, that some of them ran off without firing one shot at them, and left their officers exposed to the fury of the Rebels. Sir Robert Monro¹ and some other brave men fell a sacrifice here, but more to the cowardice of our own Troops than the bravery of the Rebels, for it is certain that the generality of them had no mind to fight at all. This appeared by what hapned to the right wing of our Army, for it was never attacked; on the contrary, the Rebels marched to attack the left of our Army, and very little wou'd have put them in confusion. We had two or three Regiments of Dragoons, not indeed compleat, on our left, and those, to regain their honour which they had lost at the Battle of Preston, attacked the right of the Rebel Army with great bravery. Many of them were killed and put to the flight, which, when the Infantry on that side of our Army observed, they took to their heels, and whole Regiments ran off without firing or receiving a fire from the Ennemy. Thus our brave Army of Regular Troops which amounted to about 8000 men, and who had behaved well in Flanders, fled before an Army of no greater force than their own, to the shame and disgrace of all military discipline. Our Generals perceived this with great grief of heart, as may be supposed, and finding it impossible to rally their men, they took the Resolution to march that night back to Lithgou, which they did in good order, but left their Tents and most of their baggage, with 8 pieces of Cannon in the hands of the Rebels. | In the mean-time, it was very remarkable that tho the Rebels had gained at the Battle they did not perceive it at first, for their loss was very oddly so small that they took it for some strategem of war that our Troops were retired. They were, as they thought, to be drawn into an Ambuscade, wherefor it was more than an houer before they wou'd venture to return to the field of Battle, but at last, understanding by their spies that our Army was retiring to Lithgou, they took Courage, and took possession of all the Tents and Baggage, and lay in and about Falkirk that night this unhappy Action hapned on.

Sir R. Monro
of Foules.

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N.B.—There thousands of onlookers who did great harm, for as they came not there to fight, they ran off amongst the first, and came directly to Edin. However, my son James, who was there, continued till our Army retired.

This action at Falkirk was very oddly managed on both sides, for the half of the Highland Army had fled away at the same time that ours had left the field of Battle.

In the mean time, by a singular Fortune, this unhappy Event turned out much to our advantage and the ruine of the Rebel Army, for it dreu down his Highness the Duke of Cumberland into Scotland, who absolutely restored the courage of our souldiery. He came to Edin. On —² of Novr., and after puting things in some order, which he did with that dispatch as to be finished in a day, he marched to Lithgou, and next morning to Falkirk to attack the Rebels. They were confounded at the news of the Duke's arrival in Edin., but to that degree when they heard that he was come to Lithgou, that early next morning they resolved to abandon all their conquests in the south and retire northwards, where they expected to be joined by some French Troops and by a body of about 3000 men which Ld. Louis Gordon,³ Brother

1745.

¹ Sir Robert Munro, sixth baronet of Foulis, rendered important service to the government in 1715, in delaying the rising of the clans Mackenzie and Macdonald till Argyll had collected a sufficient force to oppose them. In 1740 he became lieutenant-colonel of the Highland regiment commanded by the Earl of Crawford, which distinguished itself in Germany and Flanders; and he was slain by the Highlanders at the battle of Falkirk 1745.

² There is a blank here in the MS. The Duke arrived in Edinburgh early in the morning of the 30th of January 1746.—Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 247.

³ Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, was a lieutenant in the navy; but in the rebellion of 1745 he raised a regiment of two battalions for the Pretender, and defeated the

to the Duke of Gordon, had got together, for the service of the young pretender. In a word, they passed the Forth above Stirling, and in 3 bodies marched northward, one by the Blair of Athole, one by Dunkel and Brichen, and one by Perth and Dundee.

After the Battle of Falkirk the Castle of Stirling was closely besieged by the Rebels, supported by some French, who, with a few battering pieces, landed at Montrose. The Rebels and their Friends in Edin. placed great hopes on the success of this enterprise, for as all things were easy in their Imaginations, they never doubted but that Castle wou'd fall into their hands in a feu days, after their | Trenches were opened, but they found themselves vastly disappointed, for the Governour of the Castle, General Blakeney,¹ and his Garisone, made so good a defence that the Cannon of the besiegers were dismounted, and most of the French Engineers destroyed before the Duke of Cumberland came the length of Falkirk.

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The Highlanders in their retreat did one very brutal action, for they blew up their powder Magazine in the Kirk of St. Ninians near Stirling, and with it designed to have destroyed many innocent people. Some perished, but most part of those near the Kirk escaped.²

The Duke was received in Stirling with great joy, and next day the Dutchess of Perth³ and some Ladies taken in that neighbourhood were sent prisoners to the Castle of Edin. This action was esteemed a little uncourtly for a young man like the Duke of Cumberland, but there was a necessity for this piece of severity, that women might understand that they might be punished for Treasone as well as others.

After this the Duke followed his blow and marched all his troops to Perth, which the Rebels abandon'd.

In this Town the Duke thought fit to refresh his Army, and in the meantime took care to provide them with money, Forrage, and all kinds of provisions in great plenty.

At this instant of time the prince of Hess,⁴ Son in Law to our King, landed at Lieth, and with him 4800 foot and about 80 Hussars. We did not at that time want them,

royalists, under the Laird of Macleod, near Inverurie, 23d December. After Culloden he escaped abroad; was attainted; and died, unmarried, at Montreuil, in 1754.

¹ General William Blakeney, born 1672. Though he distinguished himself in Marlborough's campaigns, he was not promoted colonel till 1737. In 1745 he defended Stirling Castle, as mentioned above, and defeated the Highlanders by a sudden attack; and in 1756, at the age of eighty-four, he signalised himself by his gallant defence of Minorca. He died in 1761, and was buried in Westminster.

² 'In the hurry of the occasion, the powder belonging to the army, amounting to fifty barrels, was blown up in the church of St. Ninian's, killing ten country-people and also some of the Highlanders, besides endangering the person of the Prince and some other persons of note who were passing through the village at the time. It is not certain whether an order had been given to destroy this powder; but certainly its explosion at that particular moment must have been accidental, when the preceding circumstances are considered. . . . The Whig party papers represented the St. Ninian's accident in a light unfavourable to the Prince, alleging that he had ordered the explosion for the purpose of destroying the church and killing unoffending villagers. So ridiculous a charge is not worthy of notice.'—Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 254.

³ Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of George, first Duke of Gordon, and widow of James, second (titular) Duke of Perth. She was committed prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, 11th February 1746; liberated on bail, 17th November following; and died at Stobhall in 1773.

⁴ Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. He married the Princess Mary, fourth daughter of George II., in 1740.

since the Duke had put the Rebels to flight, but as they were already on British pay it was thought proper to employ them in Scotland and spend their pay where they had it. The prince of Hess was received at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse with all the marks of respect and esteem that were in our power. All those who had been in the Magistracy of Edin., all the Ministers in the Presbiterie of Edin., all the heads of Colleges, and all Gentlemen of any fashion or account in the shire, waited on him. I was introduced to kiss his hands by the Earl of Crauford,¹ who had attended him over, and I was with his highness several times after this. I found him to be a Comely young Man of about 25 years of Age, of a middle stature, and of great benevolence and humanity. He behaved exceedingly well towards everybody, and went to our Musick meetings and balls wherever he chanced to be invited. | He had not been at the Abbey above two days, when the Duke of Cumberland, his brother in Law, waited on him from Perth, and staid with him for a day and two nights. I suppose they concerted together their operations, and the result was that the Hessians were quartered in Edin., Leith, Mussleburgh, and Dalkieth, where they continued for several weeks, and behaved always well in their Quarters. They seemed all to be pickt Men, for I never saw a body of handsomer Men in my Life, most of them, if not all, were at least 5 feet 8 inches high, and very many above 6 feet, and of a very cleanly make.²

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After the Duke of Cumberland had refreshed the Army and prepared all kinds of provisions necessary, he marched from Perth to Aberdeen, which the Rebels abandoned on his approach.

His highness continued in that place for several weeks as in a Winter quarter, but about the 1 of Aprile³ he began his march to Inverness, where the Rebels kept their head quarters.

While the Rebels continued at Inverness they took Fort Augustus, formerly called Killichimy,⁴ at the head of Lochness, and they laid siege to Fort William by the help of their French cannon, mortars, cohorns, and Engeneers. They never doubted of success, but the Garisone made such a resistance that in the end the Rebels were obliged to abandon their enterprise. With the same bad success they laid siege to the Castle of Blair, which they battered for some days, but the Garrison there, calling two Regiments of Hessians to their assistance, who, with the prince of Hess, had lately come to Perth, they no sooner appeared than the party who besieged that place under L^d. George Murry⁵ retired towards Rivan in Badenoch.¹

¹ John, eighteenth Earl of Crawford, succeeded his father in 1713. After the battle of Fontenoy he accompanied the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel from Antwerp, and took part in the operations against the rebels. Died 1749.

² These troops seem to have made an especially good impression on the Scots generally. See note in Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 259.

³ 'The Duke of Cumberland remained from 25th of February till the 8th of April in Aberdeen.'—Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 275.

⁴ The Rev. Father Hunter Blair, of St. Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus, informs me that Kilquhunan or Kilichuiman, 'the burial ground of the Cummins,' is the name still in use for Fort Augustus by the native Gaelic-speaking population of the district. The name 'Kilchuinan' appears in the original drawings made by Pont in his survey of Scotland, about 1608, and in the map of Inverness-shire, in Blaeu's *Atlas*, published at Amsterdam in 1662, for which these drawings were used.

⁵ Lord George Murray, fifth son of John, first Duke of Atholl, was wounded in the battle of Glenshiel in 1719, and, after making his escape, entered the Sardinian service. Receiving a pardon, he returned to Britain; but, engaging in the Rebellion of 1745, he acted as lieutenant-general of the rebel force. After

The Rebels in appearance had some better success at Dingwall, for a party under the Earl of Cromarty² passed the Murry frith in the night time, and obliged the Earl of Loudon,³ Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Precedent of Session, with about 1500 men under his command, to disband and retire to their several habitations from whence they had come. Those of Sutherland and Strathneven retired towards Caithness, and the Earl of Loudon and the Precedent with Sir Alex^{dr} Macdonald and Lord Fortrose or Seaforth, as he was sometimes called, retired to the Island of Sky.

But this good success did not long attend the Rebels, for the L^d Cromarty and his son⁴ were shamefully beaten and taken prisoners by the sons of Lord Rae,⁵ who a little before had taken a sloop from France with about 12,000 lib. ster. in it. This sloop belonged at first to his majesty King George, and was called the Hasard sloop. She was taken by the Rebels in the River of Montrose, and was afterwards called the Prince Charles. She had been a voyage into France with some messages from the Rebels, and, as I mentioned before, was returned with money at the time she was forced on shore by a ship of our Fleet. The loss of this little ship of war entirely disconcerted the measures of the Rebels, for having no money they were obliged to stand the chance of a Battle with the Duke of Cumberland on the moor of Colloden, where they were severely chastised, 'tho they were in numbers superior to the Duke. The Battle was fought on the 10 of Aprile,⁶ after his Highness had marched that morning from Nairn, at the distance of about 10 miles. They lost in the Battle and in the pursuit between 3000 and 4000 men,⁷ with all their Cannon and Bagage.

Culloden he escaped to France, and then to Rome, where he was well received by the Prince. He died at Medemblik in Holland, in 1760. His son became third Duke of Atholl in 1764.

¹ 'Ruthven Barracks crowned a conical mound, the site of a castle of the Comyns, Lords of Badenoch, 1½ miles S. by E. of the village (Kingussie), on the opposite side of the Spey.'—*Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, Article 'Kingussie.'

² George, third Earl of Cromarty, succeeded his father in 1731. Engaging in the Rebellion of 1745, he raised about 400 of his clan, and was present at the battle of Falkirk. On 15th April 1746, along with his son Lord Macleod, he was surprised and captured at Dunrobin by a party of the Duke of Sutherland's militia, and sent to London. He was condemned to death, but was pardoned in 1749, and died 1766.

³ James, fourth Earl of Loudon, born 1705, succeeded his father in 1731. In the Rebellion of 1745 he raised a regiment of Highlanders, of which he was appointed colonel, and exerted himself greatly in the royal interest. In 1756 he was constituted general and commander-in-chief in America; but he was recalled by Pitt. He was second in command of the British troops sent to Portugal in 1762; and colonel of the 3rd regiment of foot-guards from 1770 till his death in 1782.

⁴ John, Lord Macleod, son of George, third Earl of Cromarty, born 1727, was in 1748 pardoned for his share in the Rebellion. He entered the service of the King of Sweden, by whom he was created Count of Cromarty. Returning to Britain in 1777, he raised two Highland battalions, and became colonel of the 71st regiment; and, after a distinguished career, he died in 1781.

⁵ Donald Mackay succeeded his father in 1748, as fourth Lord Reay, and died in 1761. His half-brother, the Hon. Colonel Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, died in 1770.

⁶ The battle was fought on the 16th of April.

⁷ 'The number of Highlanders slain upon the field of Culloden was never well ascertained, but it could not be much less than a thousand.'—Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 310. 'The newspapers and magazines published at that time make the number amount to 2000 or 3000. Other accounts make the number to be less than 1000.'—Home's *Rebellion*, p. 238. 'Charles's army before Falkirk was at least 9000, and at Culloden perhaps not less than 8000. In that curious little book, *The Letters of a Volunteer with Cumberland's Army*, the author, on hearsay evidence, estimates the Jacobite loss at Culloden at 2000 killed, besides 222 French and 326 prisoners. . . . Lord President Forbes says they were supposed to have 8000 men at Culloden, "of whom one-half are probably destroyed or in custody." The Duke of Argyll, in an article published in 1883, alludes to a manuscript in the British Museum which states that the greatest number of men in arms against the Government did not exceed 11,000. This points to

a higher estimate than any that I had seen.'—The Earl of Rosebery's Preface to *A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion* (Scottish History Society, 1890).

Battle of
Culloden.

They were very regularly drawn up, and were in number between eight and nine thousand, including about 500 French or Irish whom the King of France had at different times sent from Ostend and Dunkirk to their assistance.¹ The Duke's loss did not exceed 250 killed and wounded.² The right of the first line of the Rebels behaved well, for they broke in upon Barrels Regiment,³ and had cut it in pieces if it had not been supported by a Regiment which belonged to our second line, and was immediately behind them.⁴ However, they behaved, | in general, very ill, for the whole left wing of their first line, and all their second line, and their Corps de reserve with which was the young pretender, ran away without firing a shot. The whole action did not last for above 36 minutes, and the Rebels never attempted to rally again, but fled every way, and the far greatest number of their Army were taken prisoners, so that in a week or two after, all the prisons in Scotland were crowded with them. The young pretender, Lord Elcho,⁵ Lord George Murray, L^d John Drummond,⁶ and Lord Louis Gordon, Mr. Murray, the pretender's secretary, and many others retired to the Hills, in hopes of finding a vessel in the West coasts⁷ that might transport them to France. But the Marquise of Tullibarden,⁸ the Earl of Cromarty and his son, the Earl of Kilmarnock, with several Knights and Gentlemen of the Rebel Army, were taken prisoners. The Duke marched that night into Inverness, and a few days afterwards the Earl of Loudon and the L^d Precedent returned from the Isle of Sky to his Highness.

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N.B.— Some of them [went] off in a ship [to] Berghen in Norway, but were there taken [by] order of the King of Denmark.

¹ Chambers estimates the rebel forces as about 5000 men (p. 285); see also note in Home's *Rebellion*, p. 228.

² 'A list of the killed and wounded (on the royal side), published by authority, makes the number amount to 310, officers included. Four officers were killed, fourteen were wounded.—Home's *Rebellion*, p. 237.

³ Barrel or Burrel's grenadiers, now the 4th. It was in this regiment that Lord Robert Ker, second son of the Marquis of Lothian, and the most distinguished royalist who fell at Culloden, was a captain.

⁴ See Home's *Rebellion*, pp. 232-33.

⁵ David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss. He was born in 1721; engaging in the Rebellion of 1745, he was colonel of the first troop of the Pretender's life-guards; after Culloden he escaped to France, and was attainted. His next brother, Francis, succeeded as fifth Earl, on his death at Paris in 1787.

⁶ John, second son of James, Lord Drummond, second (titular) Duke of Perth, was educated at Douay, and entered the service of the King of France, raising the regiment of Royal Scots, with whom, and other troops, he landed at Montrose, under the style of 'commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland,' and joined the Pretender on his return from England. After Culloden he escaped to France, and served with distinction, under Marshal Saxe, in Flanders, dying at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.

⁷ 'A party, in which were included Lord Ogilvie, Mr. Hunter of Burnside, Mr. Fletcher of Benshie, David Graham of Duntroon, and David Fotheringham, who had been governor of Dundee for Prince Charles, got on board a vessel riding off the Lights of Tay, and reached Norway in safety. The British Government had enjoined all friendly Powers to aid in apprehending the unfortunate adherents of the Prince. The King of Denmark had consequently ordered all vessels landing in his ports to be examined, and all persons not possessing passports to be apprehended. These gentlemen were accordingly seized and put into prison in the castle of Bergen, but were soon after allowed to make their escape to France. It may be added that Mr. Hunter was one of the five exiles whom Smollett describes in such touching terms in his novel of *Peregrine Pickle* as living at Boulogne, and going every day to the seaside in order to indulge their longing eyes with a prospect of the white cliffs of Albion, which they must never approach.'—Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 323.

⁸ William, Marquis of Tullibardine, second son of John, first Duke of Atholl, was one of the first who joined the Earl of Mar and proclaimed the Pretender in 1715. He returned to Scotland in 1719, and fought at the battle of Glenshiel. In 1745 he accompanied Prince Charles to Scotland, and unfurled his standard at Glenfinnan. After Culloden, he surrendered himself, and died in the Tower of London in 1746.

The success of this Battle gave universal joy, especially to the friends of the Government, but there were even Jacobites who were at least content at what had happened, for peace and quietness began now to break in, whereas Anxiety and distress of various kinds had possessed the breasts of most people ever since the Rebellion broke out. All Trade and business in this Country were quite at a stand; for my part, 'tho I never lost hopes of seing a speedy end put to our trubles, and possessed as much tranquillity of mind as I cou'd wish for, yet because I neither eated nor slept so much as before the Rebellion broke out, I found my flesh sensibly decay, and I know not but there might be the same proportionable decay in the spirits, being now 70 years of Age on the 8 of feb. last. |

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Thus our publick affaires stood on the 22 of May 1746, and my privat affaires as above, being now at Pennycuik house with my Eldest son to put such papers and other things in order which the Rebellion had throwen into the greatest confusion, for most of my Effects were either hiden under ground or put in such secret places as gave me considerable thought and truble to set right again. But I go back to the time I left my Exile in England in novemb' last.

On my return to Edin., my Wife and I were certainly informed of our great loss by the death of our son Henry, who was the Twin Brother of my son Patrick, who died two years before at Carthagen.¹ I had got some accounts of this great family disaster while I staid at Durham, but never firmly believed it, nor communicated it to my wife till we were got back to Edin. Thus afflictions on afflictions were heaped on us, but we were oblidged to submit to the providence of God, more especially when both of us reflected that by means of our approaching old Age we should soon be in these circumstances when no sorrou or Griefs cou'd attaque us.

Our deseased son was about the Age of 27 when he died in the East Indies of a lingering distemper; he had been bred to the sea since his Age of 14, and at the time of his death was first Liutenant to the Earl of Noresk, who commanded a Man of War of 50 Guns sent to the Indies with other 3 ships of War under the command of Commadore Barnet.² They had just before taken 3 French East India ships, and my son's share of the Capture was intrusted to the s^d Earl of Noresk.

The Earl was a mighty honest friendly man. He did all he cou'd to recover these effects for the use of my son John and daughter Betty, to whom they were left.

The loss my family sustained by the death of this Lad cannot be remembered by me without tears, for he was one of that diligence and capacity, and that skill in navigation and the mathematical sciences, as wou'd have rendered him a blessing to his Relations.

¹ See page 162.

² Commodore Curtis Barnett, the son of a lieutenant who was lost in the 'Stirling Castle' in 1703, was in 1726 a lieutenant in Sir Charles Wager's flagship, the 'Torbay.' In 1730 he commanded the 'Spence' sloop on the coast of Ireland; and in 1731 the 'Bideford' frigate. In 1744 he sailed in the 'Deptford' for Porto Praya, where he captured a Spanish privateer; and cruised with the 'Preston' in the Straits of Banca, where, 26th January 1745, they captured three large French East Indiamen from China, which they sold to the Governor of Batavia for £92,000. After cruising in the Bay of Bengal, he died at Fort St. David's, 2d May 1746.

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From that time I found a sensible decay | in my strength, for the loss of my two Lads came constantly in my mind night and day, 'tho I did all I cou'd to summon up my resolutions and behave with tollerable decency, few afflictions in Life but what were upon me at this time.

This boy is a fine schollar, and of great application to learning and business of all kinds.

In Aprile and May 1746 my son Mathew fell ill of a Feaver at Dalkieth, and was many weeks before he recovered, and about the same time my Grandson John,¹ my son George's son, at Pennycuik, was ill of the measles. Some of his children at Drumfrise were inoculated of the small-pox, and one of them, William,² died of them. Inoculations of this kind were common in that place, and not one of a hundered died. Some complained of this practise, but I know not why it may not be as lawful and expedient to prevent a desease as to endeavour to cure one. God in his providence has ordained the particular means to be used in sickness as well as in health, and whatever our Deaths be as to their kind God has ordained them. However, I wou'd never advise to inoculat for the small-pox any but strong and seemingly healthy children; weak ones may probably die.

N.B.—The French Ships brought in a supply of 3500 pistols, but it will remain a question what became of it all

Now to return to the Rebellion, 2 Men of War or privateers of force from France landed some money and arms on the Western Highland coast, about the Isle of Mull.³ This encouraged some of the Macdonalds and Camrons to draw together again, as some said, to the number of 2, 3, or 4000. On this news the Duke of Cumberland marched from Inverness with 12 Batalions towards Fort Augustus and Fort William on friday the 23 May 1746, and no body doubted of his success, 'tho the wild Clans behoved to labour for their French pay for some days, but these must be few and evil in all humane probability. However, as small helps are trusted to by those who are in perril of drowning, the jacobites at Edin., and particularly the Ladies of that sort, gave themselves great Aires as if very important things were to happen, for by the Bye, those declared Ennemies to their Country plagued themselves vastly in the hopes that the French and Spaniards wou'd land and set all to rights again. | They either do not consider or do not care the consequences which would be the landing of Hannoverian, Danish, and Saxon Troops to the assistence of our King and the Whig party in Great Britain, when as a necessary consequence all this country should be rendered a desolation and field of Blood, for it is never to be thought that King George will suffer himself and his Family to be deprived of the Crown of Great Britain so long as he has powerful dominions abroad and faithful Allies who will support him, but what can we say of Men who are blind to reasone, except *quos Jupiter vult perdere eos dermntat*.

N.B.—French promises and Highland Armies are never to be depended upon, as may be known from several Instances within the apace the space of 102 years past; for instance, as to Highlanders, in the days of Montrose, under K. Charles the first 'tho they fought many battles for him, yet they deserted him at lasr before the Battle of Philophaugh, where he was ruined. A 2d Instance in the Highlanders, is when they dreu together in defence of K. Charles the 2d, but left him on the borders, and suffered him to be beat by

In the months of june and july I attended the Court of theborders, and Exchequer, and my Family for these 2 months lived at Mavisbank.

Prisoners were daily taken, for the unhappy Rebels knew not well where to retire or hide themselves, a strange reverse of their Fortune, and such as they wou'd never believe, for I must notice here that amongst them and their Friends the thought to

¹ Afterwards fifth Baronet. He married Mary Dacre of Kirklington, Cumberland, and died without issue in 1798, when he was succeeded by his nephew, the Right Hon. Sir George Clerk, Lord of the Admiralty 1819-30, Master of the Mint and Vice-President of the Board of Trade 1845-46.

² The fourth son of George, afterwards fourth Baronet.

³ Six casks of French gold, valued at £35,000, were landed in Burradale. Murray of Broughton's charge and discharge for this amount and other sums, amounting in all to £37,775, are printed in Chambers's *Rebellion*, pp. 514-525; see also pp. 324-326.

Cromwell at Worcester. A 3d Instance is when the year 1685 proved fatal to the Earl of Argyle, who thought to have supported his Rebellion by 3 or 4000 of them but they deserted him, on which the Earl was taken prisoner, and suffered death. A 4th Instance was at the Revolution by King William. They fought the Battle of Killecranky, and did no more service to King James the 7th. A 5th Instance was in 1715 when the half of them ran away at the Battle of Sheriffmoor, and never appeared after. A 6th instance was in 17[19] when at Glenshiels they deserted their Spanish auxiliaries, and never appeared after. A 7th Instance [was] at the Battle of [Culloden] last Aprile, 1746, [when they] left of the first [line], all their second, line and corps de reserve, deserted their friends.

As to the failure of French promises they are innumerable within these 100 years past, which is known to all the princes and states in Europe to that degree that no body c[ares] to trust them.

have success of their enterprise was considered as certain and infallible. For my part, my thoughts were quite the reverse, and I cou'd have hazarded any thing against the success of it.

Amongst other prisoners, John Murry of Brughton, the was taken Pretender's secretary, was one. He was taken at his Sister's House in Twedale, about 5 miles from his own, but some with great probability thought that he intended to be taken, and volution by for that end had apprised an officer of Dragons at Brughton of his design. He was carried first to the Castle of Edin., and afterwards to London, where at last he obtained his pardon upon some discoveries he had made, and particularly for his promise to become an Evidence on the Trial of Lord Lovit, who had likewise been taken and carried to London, as shall be half of them ran more particularly noticed hereafter.

Our affaires in Flanders went on this summer in a very bad way. The Emperor, as usual, neglected to send the quota of Troops stipulated to the Allies, so that the best we cou'd do was to be on the defensive.

In ASust and Part of Septem^r I and some of my family paid a visite to my sone George and his wife at Drumcrief. I *foi*. a2S. nad Deen a' I Drumlanrig to wait on the D. of Queensferry, after. A 7^{*h} and from thence, after 3 days stay, I came to Drumcrief by aMteBatUeof Duresdeer, and by the moors, and the head of Evan Water, [Cuiioden] last taking the diversion of shooting by the way. I continued [when they] left there not above 8 days, for my Wife had been left at Pennicuik.

The rest of the vacation was spent at Pennicuik and Mavisbank as usually.

In Nov^r we came to Edin., and I attended the Court of Exchequer.

That which in forreign affaires took up the attention of all Europe was the siege of Genua¹ by the Emperor's and King of Sardinia's² Troops. This siege was in appearance as foolishly and Rogueishly manadged as it was entered upon, for it was evident that neither the Troops of the Emperor nor the K. of Sardinia, nor the ships of Britain, did what they might have done, otherways without loss of men the Genuese might have been oblidgeed to surrender. Provisions were allowed to pass to them without great opposition, so that they had all the opportunities they cou'd wish to defend themselves, and keep up a great Army from entering into the Kingdom of France. This, it seems, either the King of Sardinia had not a mind to do, nor were the Emperor's Generals fond to do anything that might too quickly put an end to the War. War is a Souldier's Harvest.

This year, 1747, began with preparations on all sides for the next summer's campaign. Money was not wanted on reasonable funds to be granted in Parliament. That which gave us most truble in Scotland was the Window Tax. To alleviate this, many

1747.

¹ Genoa had capitulated to the Marquis of Botta, who entered it in the name of the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa on the 5th September 1746: but an insurrection arose, and he was driven from the city and territory with a loss of 8000 men. The city was next invested by the Austrians and Sardinians, who retired on the approach of the French and Spanish army under Marshal Belleisle.

² King Charles Emmanuel I., in whose favour his father King Victor-Amadeus abdicated in 1730. He was born in 1701, and died in 1773.

methods were taken, which disfigured many of the Houses through all Britain, such as the building up of Windows, etc. However, the Government was willing to acquiesce in all that was done by the Commissioners of Supply and justices of the peace, but all this Lenity did not signify much in this part of Britain, for, if I am not much mistaken, there is little or none of it paid to this day, being the 17 of January 1748.

On the return of the Spring the Armies on both sides | took the fields, but little was done till the Battle which ensued at Val ten miles from Maastricht. The Duke of Cumberland commanded, and that part of the Army under him, which consisted of the British and Hannoverian Troops, behaved very well, but neither the Imperialists nor the Dutch did anything to purpose. This Battle was fought on — of —¹, and on the defeat of our Army by Marshall Sax, the French General, it returned under the Cannon of Maastricht. The French had their chief views fixed on this City, which is one of the principal Garisone Towns belonging to the Dutch. The consequence was that the Army of the Allies came to be very safely posted, but the French, partly to pursue their victory at Val, and partly to humble the Dutch and force them into a reproachful and dangerous neutrality, laid siege to Berghen op Zoom. Another German General, Count Leuendale,² or rather a Dane by birth, commanded the siege. *fol. 226.*

One Cromstrom,³ an experienced Dutch General, commanded in the Town, and most people considered that the siege was impracticable. Count Leuendal, it seems, had a different notion of the success of his Enterprise, since he had not only men and cannon at his command, but a sufficiency of money to bribe the whole Garisone. In short, it was taken at last, no body knows well how, but most men ascribe the misfortune to supine negligence and to the indolence and inactivity of old Cromstrom, for he was in bed when the Town was taken, and very narrowly escaped. The allies lost a multitude of Men there, but the loss of so famous a barrier as this Town was, proved a mortal wound to the Allies and a vast encouragement to the French to attempt any thing under such experienced and fortunate Generals as Marshal Sax and Count Leuendal were.

¹ There are blanks here in the MS. The battle was fought on the 2d of July 1747, at the village of Val or Laufeldt, near Maastricht, which was four times taken and retaken.

² Count Lowendal.

³ Baron Cronstrom.