

THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SIR JOHN GORDON, BART.
OF INVERGORDON,
ON OCCASION OF THE REBELLION,
AUTUMN, 1745;
CONTAINING SOME PARTICULARS OF
THOSE TIMES.

EDINBURGH:
MDCCCXXXV.

THIRTY COPIES PRINTED.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

As all documents or papers which may tend to elucidate the History of the Rebellion, 1745, are deeply interesting, it has been deemed advisable to print, for private circulation, a few copies of a series of letters which chiefly passed between Sir John Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. the Earl of Cromertie, his son Lord Macleod, and the Lord President Forbes, at the commencement of that disastrous event.

What may have become of the originals, has not yet been ascertained; but copies have been inserted in a MS. of two volumes, at present in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, bearing title, "Collections relative to the Affairs of Scotland: written by George Chalmers, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh." There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Correspondence, more especially as it forms part of a series of papers, principally relative to Sir John Gordon and his predecessors, which are very carefully transcribed, and appear to have been collected together, for the purpose of supporting his well-founded claims for preferment as a staunch adherent of the Hanoverian family. Nor was he unsuccessful, for he obtained an appointment as Secretary for the Principality of Scotland, with a salary of £400 per annum. A copy of the grant occurs in the MS.

Sir John was the grandson of Sir Adam Gordon of Dalpholly, which designation, however, was subsequently laid aside, and the title of Invergordon, derived from a small parcel of land in Cromarty, assumed in its stead. The Invergordon family was descended from the Gordons of Embo—a branch of the Gordons of Wardhouse—who again were descended from Adam, Dean of Caithness, third son of the first Earl of Huntly.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of this little tome is the letters which passed between the Earl of Cromertie and Sir John Gordon, as they shew that the result, which might be anticipated from his Lordship's accession to the Rebellion, was pointed out to him from the beginning—that every warning was given him—every exertion used to prevent him—but without effect.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR JOHN GORDON, BART.

I.—EXTRACTS OF LETTERS, WRITTEN (WITH EXCEPTION OF THE FIRST) FROM THE NORTH. SEPTEMBER, 1745.

No. 1.—I believe I told you in my last that Glengary was come up to our army, but that his son, and, as he says, the rogues and thieves of his clan, (which is the whole of it in general estimation,) had join'd the Pretender's, son.

I hear the numbers greatly magnified, but I own I believe nothing of it; and as the same people who were so zealous lately to ridicule all apprehensions are now the people who amplify most in order to encourage and discourage, and in this they act quite consistently.

An express from hence to Lochiel, desiring him to meet the Duke of Argyll at Inverary, to get his charter, (which, as he is now employed, he will not get,) has been this day examined before the magistrates upon oath, as he left the rebels' camp Sunday last: he swears he counted 32 large ships, which had landed a number of men in white fac'd with blue, (the French livery;) and yet 'tis not probable, because there are accounts of one of the war sloops having convey'd provisions to Fort William, which is further off.

They speak of thousands landed, (and this so idly, as if General Keith had brought over Swedes, and God knows what, to the tune of 8000,) but I am firmly persuaded they cannot exceed 2000 in number; and General Cope will be, I reckon, this night at Dalnacardich with near 2000 regular troops, besides what he may draw from Loudoun's new regiment. Some of these, indeed, have, as I am inform'd, deserted in numbers, but 'tis well to be free of spies; and if all I believe be true, those who recommended some of the officers will acquire no honour. They either must acknowledge they mistook their men, or that the interest of the persons recommended did not entitle them to the commands they got, in a regiment said to be intended to be given to the persons of most interest in the Highlands.

The manifesto publish'd is curious, because pitiful: 'twas sent last night to London, and there are no copies to be had of it, or I wou'd send you one. The proof of the intended invasion in the

174³₄, is contain'd in it. It begins with a manifesto of the Pretender in Dec. 1743: it gives a commission of regency to his eldest son, and then follows his manifesto as regent, dated in May last. The dissolution of the union, and repeal of the malt tax, are promised, as is a free Parliament, without influence on electors or elected: a boon is thrown out to the soldiers: all persons in employment are promised to be continued, provided they now join: and to such as are Protestants, their liberty and religion are promis'd; and, upon the whole, no more limited pardon or indemnity cou'd be couch'd in words apparently general and extensive.

'Tis said, but I do not believe it, that the commons will, upon this occasion, differ from their chiefs.

Various people are reported to have join'd, and, amongst others Broughton, Glenbucket, and Wardhouse; but I will not give you all the town clatters, or lies of the day, which are numerous enough.

The Provost examines, his lady speaks out Whiggism, and J. Gordon says that the Restoration happen'd when Archy's grandfather was Provost.

John Mackenzie was the length of Blair in his way north, and upon informations there from Glengary, whom he met, and others, he turn'd back and breakfasted with me yesterday, but says that in eight days he'll go north the low road, as he apprehends the other cannot be very safe.

These are part of the clatters, from which you may form your opinion; you have 'em as I have 'em, in gross: 'tis needless to tell what are, and are not believed.

There appears a good deal of anxiety: I'm of opinion a few days must bring a strong eclaircissement.

Scott behav'd well, and was shot under the arm, and fell before his men (who were surpris'd from a bush, and fir'd thrice) surrender'd. He is now at Lochiel, as is said.

2.—One letter from Inverness says, dated Tuesday last, H: I: "Our post is not yet come on, but we expect great news by him. It's commonly said, and I believe we may look on it for truth, that Prince Charles, his army, is now 8 thousand strong, and daily encreasing. If I can glean any other news, I'll bring 'em over with me to you on Saturday next."

Will. Baill writes me on Monday last:

"I have accounts yesterday, that the rebels had a camp at Blair, another at Perth, one at Crieff, and that there was a gathering in

Argyllshire; but I hope General Cope will disperse them all. It's reported Lord George Murray, and many more, have join'd them."

Fairbairn, who came home on Wednesday last, I think, reports, that he din'd with Lord Perth at Crieff, .who had one thousand men with him, and by 'whose pass he got safe' home the Highland road. That the Marquis of Tillibardin was getting two men out of every plough in Athole. That their army in Perth had been join'd by Lord Ogilvie, with 400 foot and 400 horse,—that it consisted of upwards of 5000 men, of whom 1000 was horse, such as they were,—and the last Inverness post, who met General Cope, reported he was to embark himself and troops at Aberdeen, for Leith.

All this I had yesterday from Meddat, as being what .had been wrote to the Earl by Fairbairn.

I hear from others, that the Highlanders are very ill arm'd, many of them without arms at all, and that their cash is beginning to fail.

."Parson Gilchrist of Thurso, now at Dunrobin .for refuge, accuses several of the Caithness people of intentions to rise, and in Sutherland, they seem to wish this believed, that they may stay at home. They are making a great parade of mustering, &c. from .the *Catechizing Rolls*, and speaking of getting my Lord a regiment, to be still kept in pay in the form of a militia, with a power to him of nominating the officers. They say they must have arms, and ammunition, and pay, before they march; and I doubt they will make no fine figure when they do march, unless it be the Mackays, who, by-the-by, will not fight except upon a visible advantage, if they act as they did in the 1715.

Not a man of his clan will rise with Seafort for .the government, as they are said to have told him. Culcairn has depopulated Ferindonald, and carried off the men from Newmore and Culrain's estates, to make up his party that is marched with Cope, and who are all, you know, Lowland men, not what the President insists for, true Highland men, but it was by his advice that Culcairn has acted; however, he has not thought fit to raise any of his own Ferintosh men, where I dare say he cou'd. make a good company.

These informations I give you, as I have 'em, and what I do not take upon me to vouch for, except in a few particulars, that you can easily distinguish as my own, and therefore I do not desire to be given for an author, or mentioned at all in this matter, unless it be to one single person, upon whose word and honour I can depend, and whom I need not name to you, as you can be at no loss to guess him.

Culcairn wanted to raise the men on my estate, and to have the name of it, but Gorry wou'd not consent in my absence; and as I

found things when I came home, I did not see any room for ruining the tenants by carrying them off from their harvest, as both armies were gone from this part of the country, and it quite quiet. However, if there is occasion for it, I think I could provide 200 good men, notwithstanding they are not rank Highlanders, which our General's General, the Judge, requires in all men but Culcairn's. When this affair is over, he says he will give the King a remonstrance upon the new regiment and the Highlands, and he seems to be in quite a high way as of old at G[lasgow].

The Duke of Gordon's clan wou'd not rise with him for the government; and as he cou'd not bring a body together wou'd answer for the character and power of the family, I advised him to stay at home, being so much in this respect a clansman, as not to wish him to act, but in the sight and figure that a Duke of Gordon ought to appear in, when active.

Our Campbells and our Murrays, about whose great Highland power there is such a pother made at London, may, I think, be now silent for a while. Those who owe most to the government have done least, and the best way for the government to break clanship is to support individuals, and to make schisms in the clans. The purchase of the chieftains is now proven to be no purchase of the clan.

Not a man from the Duke of Athole,—not a man from Breadalbane; and his Grace of A---e's retreat, without raising his country, a stumbling-block to many, as Cope's conduct is a discouragement.

3.—Since I sent off my letter yesterday, I am informed from the Ferry, that several fine horses of Sir Robert Gordon's have crossed, going into Caithness for safety, and that he himself had taken a boat from his house over the Firth to Caithness, there having come down a party which carried off the horses and men from Fochabers, and were going down to Gordonstown. If this prove true, I reckon this will prove the quietest part of Scotland, till at last the Highlanders break and return home.

The search of Minister Maule's house, has, I find by yours, been made an idle noise about: I wrote you, I think, from Brechin, the fact which the advocate undervalued so much, that he wou'd not write upon it. The morning I left Edinburgh, I told him I thought he should let his friends know the truth of the case.

To a very strict punctilio of honour, is it owing that Lord Charles Gordon's company is not compleat; he wou'd follow no recruiting arts; he wou'd take none but what were in a manner volunteers, and quite willing to list; and even upon this footing, had the disturbances been ten days longer a breaking out, he wou'd

have been compleat, tho' his ensign, Navar, cannot raise him any men. The desertions in this regiment are prodigious, and a poor appearance did those of 'em I saw make; but they say the companies of Mackay, Macleod, and Forse, which are lately gone up, are good men, but all these are quite raw and undisciplin'd. Some of the officers are not what they ought to be; Glengary, at least, one may name; and the country says he got his commission that a certain peer might receive the pay, till he was paid of a debt due him.

I am sure none cou'd have authority for saying that the President thought the shire of Inverness too hot for him when your last was wrote, tho' the wishes, and I won't call 'em private wishes, of many, both in that shire and town, are notour enough; but, tho' we know these things ourselves, it is not for the interest of our country that the English shou'd, more than is necessary for the common good, as they are apt enough to conclude the country Jacobite.

I learnt more in the little time I was with the President, than I had done in weeks otherwise, and he is, I think, at as much pains to encourage the well-affected, as the others are to spread stories to discourage.

What letters or information of this kind I send, will, I hope, he destroy'd after reading.

I am told Davockmaluack's chief is not to be for him, but is to be govern'd by the opinion of a certain Duke upon the person who will be agreeable to the ministry, and, if so, the officer candidate will not, I believe, be the man. I shall make but one further observation upon the little assistance given the General, when at Inverness, by the country, viz. that it will furnish a strong argument for standing armies, as long as there is no certain regulated militia.

The two companies, taken by the Highlanders, were, 'tis true, raw men, but not without arms, for they fir'd several times, or more properly, threw away their powder and shot; for they neither killed nor wounded, as I am told, one man, which is very extraordinary.

If your Strand acquaintance is still incredulous as to the invasion intended two years ago, I can name him a person, in Aberdeenshire, who received a captain's commission then, and pay since that time.

The letter of the sergeant, who defended the barracks at Ruthven, was very good, and directed to the President, beginning, "Noble General,—They summoned me to surrender, but I told him I was too old a soldier to part with so strong a place without bloody

noses. They offer'd me honourable terms, of marching out bag and baggage, which I refused. They threaten'd to hang me and my party; I said I would take my chance. They set fire to the sally-port, which I extinguished; and, failing therein, went off, asking leave to bring their dead man, which I granted." The fellow kill'd was the most notorious rascal in all the Highlands. Others of 'em died afterwards of their wounds; and the sergeant lost only one man of his small command, occasioned, as he says, by his disobeying orders in looking over the wall. 'Twill be a pity if every one of the fellows are not rewarded by preferment or bounty.

'Tis now again said, that Cluny Macpherson was taken by a number that wou'd not have been able to have carried off a cow from him, tho' they took himself.

My Whiggish principles you well know; but I have met with so much of the contrary since I left Edinburgh, that I am quite upon the pinnacle of Whiggism, in many places, from mere contradiction to madness and folly.

The undirected letter, under this cover, you will easily guess, is for my L[ord] M[ilton], and it will possibly procure for you the honour of a visit soon.

Sir Alexander, of Coull, receiv'd a letter from the young Pretender, inviting him to his standard.

4.—*Copy of some Letters of the 22d and 23d September, 1745, about the Progress of the Highlanders.*

Copy Letter my Cousen to his Father from Cromarty, 23d September.

The enclosed is a copy of a letter Gilbert Barclay got by express from Findhorn. It fills some people here with great joy, others with astonishment. I hope there is a possibility of its being false, tho' I fear the truth of it, as it's confirm'd by one Mackay, a drover, who left Edinburgh last week, and says, the Highlanders were in possession of the town when he came away. This man was spoke to by a townsman here, who saw him this forenoon at this side Invergordon Ferry. You might send to James M'Gulloch's, to know if Mackay spoke of it there. Please send S. J. G. a reading of the enclosed. I'll be with you, God Willing, to-morrow after breakfast.—I am, &c.

Copy of the Letter enclos'd, which was from a Merchant at Findhorn, to his Correspondent in Cromertie, and is dated 22d September, 1745.

Sir,—I was sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing you when here last night. I had an express from Edinburgh, of 17th current, advising that the Highlanders had, the day before, taken the city without so much as one shot fir'd on either side. The city guard deliver'd their arms into the castle, and the militia theirs to the Highlanders, being about 1600 stand. The whole surrender'd by order (the express says) of the Provost, who desir'd the castle to surrender, which they refus'd. They have about 1500 men in the parliament house, and 16 fine cannon, &c. that was brought out of the castle, for the defence of the town. They proclaim'd their King. The Prince arriv'd at Holyroodhouse 17th, with about 300 horse,—Perth on his right, and Elcho on his left. Sir John Cope was arriv'd at Dunbar, and join'd by some troops of dragoons. Lord Mark Ker arriv'd this day se'en night, but whether he got into the castle, of which he is governor, I cannot tell. The Commissioners of the Customs, I suppose, will not act. This is from good authority. I sent the original, last night, to Lord President, on receipt, and acquainted several gentlemen also of the same.—I am, &c.

JOHN TRIGG.

5.—Enclosed, you'll receive a copy of my letter to the President, on Saturday last, with his return. My own notions of the fact are, that he has been desir'd to give in a list of the persons he should think, from his knowledge of the country, proper to be employ'd; but no certainty that his list will be gone into.

We are told, that the General has recommended Culcairn, and those whom Culcairn made officers over his party, to have three out of the six companies that are to be first rais'd, but that the P[residen]t thinks that too much, but that Culcairn (who sold out two years ago as unfitt service) should have one, with the nomination of his officers; and, if he does, one may say he's lucky. 'Twas easy to foresee something of this kind was in view, from the encouragement given to some to rise, and discouragement to others, which made 'em single; and the friends of the Grants say that their offer was refused, because they did not come up to Inverness, which they could not do, without exposing their country, while the enemy was about it. These things I do not vouch, but 'tis what I have heard strongly averr'd.

We here are now assur'd, that Cluny M'Pherson has thrown up his commission, and is levying men for the other side from among his father-in-law's people, whose conduct continues very dark; and the communings between him and the P[residen]t continue as

frequent, sometimes twice a-day, but by the same channel of deputation.

A man, who came from Edinburgh, Tuesday last, crossed this Ferry yesterday, and tells strange things, which he avers with great confidence. He is one of the Sutherland drovers.

He declares, he saw the entry and proclamation of the Highlanders at the Cross of Edinburgh; that they were six thousand strong, and well arm'd, most of which encamp'd on the Links of Leith; that they proposed advancing into England forthwith; that they had been join'd by a large body, since they cross'd the Forth, under the late Marquis of Tullibardine; that Glenbucket was at Perth, with above one thousand; that they had parties, of each 200 men, at Dundee and Montrose; that Stonywood, with numbers from Aberdeenshire, were gone to join them after proclaiming the Pretender in Aberdeen; and he names several persons, whom I do not chuse to name without better authority. He accounts oddly for the method by which they got entrance into Edinburgh; and he avers he saw every thing he reports. He adds, that Gardiner's dragoons and the King's troops retreated before them; and that expresses had been dispatcht to the General to land at Dunbar.

To me all this appears incredible, or our former intelligence has been extreamly deficient and deceitful; however, this much is certain, all industry and pains is us'd, by a number of emissaries, to instill a pauick into the nation; and, to this end, great handle is made of the G[enera]l's conduct and grand tour, which, they say, has flung a panick likewise into the troops; but which I cannot believe.

It were indeed to be wish'd, that they had not proceeded so far as they certainly have, without, at least, some bloody noses; for my part, I am filled with astonishment at it. One wou'd think there was some infatuation, or perhaps worse.

Now is seen the consequences of the march to Inverness, and the leaving of the country open to the south: The fatality of the orders, or of the construction of the orders, turns out what all bystanders foresaw and dreaded at the first; and, if these reports hold true, I wish this country may preserve its quiet, for there is no arms or powers, so far as it is known, to raise the well-affected; and there are numbers, who are not so, that will be abundantly well-dispos'd, if they imagine things going well for their party; and to help to keep people of this sort quiet, the truth of facts, publish'd by authority, would be very proper.

The Munros are all come home safe, and their arms deposited in Foulis, being 230 stand. We are assur'd here, that the General disarm'd the people in Aberdeen of the arms they had brought

'emselves, least they should fall into the enemy's hands, and tempt them to go to Aberdeen, which has not, I'm told, pleas'd the people there. Mr Maule's town is as unlucky as his house.

As I was closing my packet, I had two letters sent me to read, copies of which I send you; and I'm just now told, that the news has affected the parliament in a melancholy way; but I hope 'tis not true.

No person of either authority or power in this country at this juncture, is an unlucky circumstance, as is also the Want of arms.

II.—LETTER GEORGE MUNRO, OF CULCAIRN, TO MR GORRY, AND HIS ANSWER THERETO, 31ST AUGUST, 1746.

Newtown, 31st August, 1745.

Sir,—My nephew, Captain Harry Munro, younger of Foulis, came here this forenoon, at Sir John Cope's earnest desire, to raise as many as he can of his name and friends in this country, to join his Majesty's forces at Inverness; and as he and I send interim letters to all our friends in the parishes of Killtearn, Allness, and Rosskeen, so I would not omitt you among them, but intreat that you'll please advertise all Sir John's tenants and people in Invergordon, Rosskeen, and thereabouts, to come early Monday's morning next, at daylight, to the Bridge of Culcairn, in their best cloaths, and with their best arms, that we may appoint such of them, with the other people in these three parishes, as can be best spared for a week or two from hence, to go with my nephew, me, and other gentlemen, to Inverness.—And I am, &c.

John Gorry's Answer to the above.

Honoured Sir,—I have yours of this date, calling for the men of this Barony; a thing in itself most necessary, that every country should, as much as they are possibly able, defend themselves. I shall acquaint all the people once this night of your directions; how far they'll comply, as their master, Sir John Gordon, is not at home, I cannot tell, but he is daily expected. It is a busy time of the year with them, as to their harvest; neither have they arms or money, so that they will certainly expect both of these necessaries from those who lead them out.—Being, &c.

To Captain George Munro, of Culcairn.

III.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON TO THE LORD
PRESIDENT, SEPTEMBER 21, 1745.

My Lord,—In obedience to your Lordship's commands, I was at Tarbat house on Wednesday morning, and missing of Lord Cromerty, who was gone up the country for some days, I acquainted my sister and Lord M'Leod, with what you was pleas'd to give me in commission, Monday last, to say to the Earl; and which his son inform'd him of, by letter, last night. Lord M'Leod is very sensible of his obligation to your Lordship for your favourable intentions towards him. The accounts brought us by last post, of the intention to raise forthwith, ten independent companies, has produc'd an application to me from my uncle Arddoch and his son, which leads me to suggest him to your Lordship as one whom, I flatter myself, you would not think improper to be employ'd in this new corps, provided the persons who are to receive commissions in it are not already determin'd upon. Your Lordship knows the steady attachment to this government of those he is come of, on both sides; he himself is a brisk young fellow, and, I'm confident, quite zealous for the cause of liberty, and would, in a very little time, raise, I believe, the best part of a company from among the Highlanders, upon their own in Sutherland, and of whose deserting him, I should [think] there would be little apprehension. For these reasons, as much as on account of my relation to him, have I ventur'd to mention this matter of my cousin's to your Lordship, which I hope you'll pardon, and impute, as you may, the variety of trouble given you this season, to your Lordship's known zeal for the publick service, and acknowledg'd judgement in discerning how it's best to be promoted. We continue here to be pester'd with a number of lies, dispersed in order to keep up the spirits of the party; and with the view to ballance the good news last post brought us, we are, I conclude, now told that there is a large landing in the mouth of Clyde, and that the express, which brought the news thereof to Inverness on Tuesday, likewise brought intelligence of there being to be a rising of severals of consequence in the shire of Dumbarton, Argyll, and Clydesdale, in favour of the Highlanders, whenever they had cross'd the Forth; none of all which can I believe, or think possible to be true, but look upon in the same light as the stories of Glenbucket's great success, which it is needless to trouble your Lordship with. In this country, no symptoms of the contagion have yet broke out; I flatter myself none will, but that the whole body must be by this time dispersing.

In Sutherland I hear, the Caithness post says, there are parties in the hills of thieves, and a guard every night at Dunrobin, but no enemy had appear'd that I can learn. Next week I propose being in that country; and if there, or any where else, I can obey any commands of your Lordship, I shall be fond of every opportunity

of approving myself your Lordship's most obedient humble servant. Newhall, 21st September, 1745.

IV.—LETTER LORD PRESIDENT, FROM CULLODEN, OF 21ST, RECEIVED BY SIR JOHN, AT NEWHALL, 23D SEPTEMBER, 1745.

Sir,—I have just received your letter of this day's date, and am obliged to you for communicating to the Earl of Cromerty what I mention'd to you. He shall soon hear from me. This morning I saw your cousin, young Ardoch, who to me appears to be a promising young man. I told him, what is true, that the plan, so far as I can go at present, is full; that it's possible I may be directed from above to do some more; and that, when such shall be the case, he shall be in my thoughts, if, consistent with the rules that may be prescrib'd to me, I can do him service. The news you have heard are every tittle false; there has been no invasion, nor can there be for some time, as indeed the government, tho' they are taking proper precautions to quiet the minds of the people, have no apprehensions of any. The Highlanders pass'd the Forth last Friday was 7 night, six miles above Stirling; but I have heard nothing certain of them since. Their numbers are variously spoken of; their abettors making them amount to many thousands; but a gentleman who din'd with me to-day, who left Edinburgh last Saturday, and his own house, in the confines of Perthshire, last Tuesday, assures me, that at the Bridge of Down, the morning before they passed the Fourth, they did not exceed 3000; that scarcity of money, and consequently desertion, prevail'd, and that it was believed their numbers would quickly abate, as no man who can loose a fortune, except Gask, had then join'd them. Sir John Cope, with the troops, was turning up the Firth Tuesday morning. Advise is arrived, of the actual election of the King of the Romans, the 2d instant, old stile, at Frankfort, which, published in the Gazette, mends the stocks. I hope our unhappy confusion will soon end.—I am, sir, &c.

V.—LETTER LORD M'LEOD, FROM NEW TARBET, TO NEWHALL, SEPTEMBER 23, 1745.

Dear Sir,—According to your desire, I have returned the President's letter, by the bearer of yours, and shall take care to send the transactions before Wednesday. I will be glad how soon my Lord hears from the President, as we will then know upon what footing the independent companies are to be disposed off.—I am, dear sir, &c.

VI.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO THE LORD
PRESIDENT, DATED SEPTEMBER 24, 1745.

My Lord,—Since I had the honour of your Lordship of the 21st, we have all in this neighbourhood been fill'd with astonishment at the account given of the progress of the Highlanders in the south, by a Sutherland drover, who left Edinburgh on the 17th, and cross'd Invergordon Ferry yesterday. He declared he saw all that pass'd in Edinburgh on the 16th and 17th, and that he came north with Stonywood, who, with a party of 50 men, proclaim'd the Pretender in Aberdeen, after which he was join'd by numbers, with whom he marched southward. I could give no credit to his strong averments, because I never imagin'd that the militia of Edinburgh would have been rais'd and arm'd, and cannon brought out of the castle, for the defence of the town, and yet meanly surrender'd without the least attempt of defence, unless treason prevail'd with its governors, who made a shew of preparing for defence, because they wanted the arms to supply the Highlanders withal; and I was the more confirmed in my disbelief, because I thought it impossible that the gentleman who din'd with your Lordship on Saturday, and left Edinburgh on Saturday the 14th, could be ignorant where the Highlanders then were, if they enter'd the town, as the drover said, on the 16th. But this morning has stagger'd me a good deal, having had the copy of a letter from Trigg, of Findhorn, sent me, wherein the above reports are confirm'd by an express come from Edinburgh on the 17th to him, and he mentions the having sent your Lordship, on Saturday night, the original letter as it came to him, from good authority. A just anxiety in the friends of the government to know the truth of matters as far as is known in this country, has made me give your Lordship this trouble, which I beg pardon for. If our present reports hold true, I am very apprehensive we shall in a very few days see numbers up in arms, that have hitherto kept quiet, waiting for some favourable juncture, such as success in the south, or landings. There are three clans in your Lordship's neighbourhood, and mine, who have not conceal'd their inclinations, I speak of the bulk of them, however the preservation of their fortunes may have influenced their actions hitherto. I wish now they may not think the ball is at their foot, and that they would not risk much, though they follow'd their inclinations, and if they shou'd, 'tis extreamly unlucky that the friends of the government have neither arms nor powder. If your Lordship thinks matters are in a situation that requires or calls for their meeting together, I shall be most ready to contribute all the little assistance in my power, and as I am steady in my principles, I am one of those who would exert myself where in my power, fully more where things lookt cloudy than where 'twas otherwise, as I do not want to give appearances only, to claim merit from actions that principle and inclination prompt me to; neither could my little mite entitle to much. I beg pardon for troubling your Lordship so much.—And am, my Lord, &c.

VII.--LETTER LORD PRESIDENT, FROM CULLODEN, TO
NEWHALL, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1745.

Sir,—In answer to yours of this day's date, all I know is, that the Highlanders got into Edinburgh last Tuesday morning; that the night before, the arms deliver'd to the militia were deliver'd back to the castle; that the Highlanders got only such arms as were in the town's magazine; that the gentlemen volunteers retir'd, to the number of 300, alongst with the 2d regiment of dragoons, and joined Sir John Cope, who on the same Tuesday landed at Dunbar; that the Highlanders left Edinburgh, Friday morning, and marched eastward, as they said, to meet Sir John Cope, who was advancing towards them; and that their numbers, of any sort, that could be called Highlanders, did not amount to 4000. Whether they really intend to meet Sir John, or whether they mean to file off to the right, and try to regain the marches to England, which, by their trip to Edinburgh, they have lost, is uncertain; only, if what we hear from Aberdeen is true, that, by their transports return'd from Dunbar, they learn, that last Thursday the transports, with the Dutch troops, were off the coast of Dunbar, the latter conjecture is the more probable. I doubt not you will hear strange rumours of iusurrections that are, or are soon to be, in this neighbourhood; of these I know nothing, and hope that no such thing will happen. When we have got the expected arms, and where there shall be occasion, those who are willing to support the government shall be acquainted.—I am, in haste, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

VIII.-LETTER. MR. JOHN GORRY, FROM BELL-BLAIR, OF
THE 27TH, RECEIVED BY SIR JOHN, AT ARDMORE, THE
28TH SEPTEMBER, 1745.

Honourable Sir,—John Clark came here this forenoon, and deliver'd me the inclosed papers. He went to Kinghorn, he says, but wou'd not venture further; he came from thence last Monday. He gives no distinct account of any thing at all. I bid him go forward to you, but he told me he was not able. . He was search'd often by the way, and had it not been that he got Cluny's pass, he could not go through at all. Sandy Holm is not yet return'd from Inverness.—I am, Honourable Sir, &c. &c.

1.—*Letter from Sir John to Mr John Blair, Writer in Edinburgh.*

Sir,—In case the bearer has not got the papers that went from me by the post of the 29th August from Edinburgh, I beg I may receive by him a new extract of the act and commission for leading the proof under the submission between my brother Charles and me, and, alongst with it, directions how I am to act in case Charles does not come north, or whether any proof I might lead in his absence wou'd be considered as an *ex-parte* proof; but if he has got the papers, which he'll tell you, then I'll want no new extract, but

only instructions as to my behaviour, in the event of Charles' absence. I shall wait with impatience for the return of the bearer, John Clark, because I will be ready for going to proof before he can return; and as I am uncertain whether my agent is in town or not, I give you this trouble, which I hope you'll excuse from, Sir, your very humble servant, &c.

2.—*Memorandum by Sir John, to John Clark.*

By the post that went from Inverness, of the 31st August, there went a draught of Mr Macleod, of Cadbolls, in favour of my factor, John Gorry, upon Mr David Forbes in Edinburgh, for £150 sterling, payable in three days after sight, and endors'd by Gorry to Mr Leonard Urquhart, to whom he wrote under cover to Mr Walter Foggo.

And a letter to Lady Gordon under my frank, from Mrs Beton, about meer domestick affairs.

There went also, three hornings, at the instance of the said John Gorry, against Lucy Gray, John Aird, and Murdoch M'Lay.

By the post that came from Edinburgh, on 29th August, there was a £50 bill coming to me, from Messrs Tho. and Ad. Fairholme; but I do not know on whom 'twas to be drawn at Inverness.

My agent, Mr Lawrence Craigie, was to send me, by the same post, a memorial, with queries and answers, upon my private business, from my Lord Advocate, and Mr Ferguson of Pitfour.

And likewise an act and commission for leading a proof in the north, under a submission depending between my brother Charles and me, and which proof was to be reported by the 1st of October.

There probably wou'd be, by the same post, several other letters for me, on my private business, and one from my wife from London, of date 24th of August.

N.B.—All these which are known, and possibly other papers, which I have not yet heard of, would be in the Invergordon bags.

Invergordon, 16th Sept. 1745.

3.—JOHN CLARK,—The above is an account of some papers belonging to me, that went by the posts from and to Inverness, of the 29th and 31st August, who were stopt, as I am inform'd, at Blair, and their bags taken from 'em.

These papers related to my private business alone, and what, therefore, I flatter myself, will be still forwarded to me, however

gentlemen may differ in their way of thinking; and with regard to any, either fond or other nonsense, that might be perhaps wrote by a wife who likes and is lik'd by her husband, no gentleman sure, or man of gallantry, will make any use of it, but what every one wou'd, in his own case, approve of.

I, for these reasons, make no doubt but that the above-mention'd papers will be restor'd me, if not destroy'd or forwarded before now; and I flatter myself, you will be allowed to go on to Edinburgh, and to return safely to me with the papers or instructions I want from thence on my private business, which was what brought me north just now, as is well known.

I daresay, Mr Murray, brother to my late good friend Sir Alexander Murray, and my namesake Glenhuckitt, will be assistant to you in enabling you either to bring back my papers, or to give me certain information what is become of them; and possibly there may be several gentlemen who are known to the part my father acted, after the 1715, and may therefore think the forwarding of his private papers and letters a favour due (however he differs in sentiments from 'em) to his son,

JOHN GORDON.

4.—*Pass by Evan M'Pherson, Younger of Cluny, to John Clark.*

The bearer having nothing concerning the publick about him, or any thing at all of moment, as has been found on tryall, except an open letter and a memorandum relating to a gentleman's private business, pray permitt him to pass to Edinburgh or Glasgow without molestation, he always behaving as becometh. Given under my hand at Milehouse, the 18th of Sept. 1745 years.

E. M'PHERSON.

IX.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO LORD PRESIDENT,
DATED OCTOBER 4, 1745.

My Lord,—We here are so much in the dark about the truth of matters, that I will not give you the trouble of reading any of the reports industriously spread up and down this country, because you are certainly well apprized of all of 'em that have any foundation. But my chief inducement of troubling your Lordship at present, is to beg to know whether you expect any sloop of war to be in this country soon, as I thought you seem'd to think there would, when I last had the honour of waiting on you, and whether, if such sloop comes, I might depend upon her carrying some few things south for me, since I doubt no merchant-ships will offer in haste.

I propose being, on Monday's night at furthest, in Inverness, upon my journey to London, and if your Lordship shall have any commands for me before I leave the country, I shall be glad to receive 'em, as I shall any you may think proper to give me when I

begin my journey. I wait upon your Lordship for that purpose at Culloden. By some of the English newspapers, we are told the parliament is to meet to do business on the 17th. I hardly think I can be in London by that time, but hope to be there very soon thereafter, if the Highlanders do not stop me in Edinburgh, or upon my road to it.—I am, with much respect, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

X.—LETTER LORD PRESIDENT, FROM CULLODEN TO
NEWHALL, OCTOBER 4, 1745.

Sir,—I have yours of this day's date. The sloop that I expected is not yet come, neither can I certainly say when it will, as the interruption of all correspondence leaves me in doubt, whether such letters as I have wrote for three or four weeks past have found their way. I still, however, look for one; and if the things you propose to transmitt are not bulky, I doubt not she will carry them; but you will have one thing in your eye, that until the Highlanders leave Edinburgh, and its neighbourhood, that sloop cannot touch at Leith.

The parliament is certainly to meet for dispatch of business, the 17th, but how you can with safety get at it, I cannot pretend to say, having some doubt whether the gentlemen now in possession of the Passes will suffer a member of parliament to go about his business, as they would any other gentleman. A skipper from Newcastle, who left it last Sunday, and arrived, Tuesday, at Aberdeen, relates, that the common newspaper there bears the landing of the 10 British battallions, as well as of the Dutch; that the marines were landed from all the ships of war on the coast; that a considerable body of troops was actually marching northwards; that 1600 Dutch were landed at Berwick; and that in virtue of a peace, actually concluded, the King of Prussia is to furnish the maritime powers 70,000 men: the truth of this last article I wou'd not swear to, tho', considering the genius of that Prince, it is not impossible.—I am, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

XI.—LETTER LORD MACLEOD, FROM TARBAT HOUSE,
OF THE 7TH, RECEIVED BY SIR. JOHN, AT INVERNESS,
THE 8TH OCTOBER, 1745.

Dear Sir,—As I talked to you yesterday of speaking to the President, about my accepting of his commission on the terms offer'd, I write this to desire that you wou'd not mention any thing about it to him, for several very weighty reasons, which I will soon let you know; and also to beg that you would not speak to Lord Arniston of what I mention'd to you until you hear' further from me. All here join with me in compliments to Lady Gordon and

you, and in wishing you a good and safe journey to London.—I ever am, &c.

XII.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO THE LORD
PRESIDENT, OCTOBER 11, 1745.

My Lord,—Least the dispatches you might receive by Lord Lowdoun should require any early returns, I give your Lordship this trouble, to know whether you have any other packets or commands for me to carry, besides those I received last Tuesday, because I fancy I may be among the first sure hands that can be had from this country to London, as Captain Lloyd sails tomorrow, as he tells me, and has promis'd to land me upon English ground, out of all hazard of being stopt, which has turn'd out very lucky for me; for before I returned from waiting on your Lordships, some people had intimidated the Dutchman, by telling him that he would forfeit his ship and cargo, notwithstanding of his pass, if any French ships met him and found British passengers on board.

I was very glad to hear of the supply of cash brought down by Lord Lowdoun, and I find Captain Lloyd very anxious to be away, because of some money he has to land at Berwick.

Barnisdale, I hear, has been rendevouzing in Assint, and, I am greatly afraid, some people will very speedily play the fool, in spite of all I have laboured to the contrary.—I am, with much respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

XIII.—LETTER THE LORD PRESIDENT, FROM CULLODEN,
OF THE 11TH, RECEIVED BY SIR JOHN, AT CROMARTY,
THE 12TH OCTOBER, 1745.

Sir,—I have yours of this date, and am glad you have found a more convenient conveyance than you had projected. As I have already disposed of my dispatches, I have nothing to trouble you with, farther than wishing you a safe voyage and good journey. I am heartily concerned for the indiscretion you seem to have in your eye. Pray, is it not possible for you to prevent it, by shewing what is very visible, that death and destruction must attend it? The event will grieve me very much. I would not detain your servant further than to say, that I am your most obedient, .&c.

XIV.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO MR JOHN GORRY,
DATED 11TH OCTOBER, 1745.

Mr Gorry,—As, in these times of confusion, it is very uncertain how far the government may not still require the assistance of their friends in the north, beyond what has yet been done; and as, if they should, I would be among the first and most cheerful to throw in

my mite, were I in the country, I beg my absence may make no difference as to the part proper for my friends to act, should any thing be required for the service of his Majesty and his government, which is in effect making an appearance for the support of our religion and liberties, and therefore I make no doubt, but that in the event of its being desired of you by those employ'd for the government, you will exert yourself all in your power, and tell every person, who has either a friendship for me, or dependence of any kind upon me, that they cannot possibly ever have a stronger opportunity of obliging me, than by being early and zealous in the appearance on the side of our present happy establishment. 'Tis strongly all our duties; and, in times like this, it becomes all who can and dare be steady to their religion and King, to shew the resolution of men, and to avow their loyalty and principles, by preferring all personal risks to wooden shoes.

It is not desired that every man who is well-affected should list himself a soldier, or bind himself to that occupation for any length of time. I hope there will be no occasion for raising the country; and I am sure, if there is, it will be for as short a time as possible. But, in that event, I shall always acknowledge the friendship of those who do stand by me; and if there should be any whose concurrence I am entitled to expect, and do not get, whether I am myself in the country or not, I shall ever thereafter renounce any regard or friendship for them. My uncle Ardock, and his son, will be assistant to you; and, I daresay, you'll find that I have many friends in Sutherland, besides what I should expect from Mr William Mackay, the tenant in Uppat.

In Easteraird, I daresay, you'll find Mr David Ross, of Bindall, very assistant; and I make no doubt but that Mr Alexander Mackenzie, at Wilkhaven, will be among the foremost to shew me the friendship I expect from those any ways concern'd about me, when what I reckon the cause of my country, requires any appearance and concurrence of the loyal and well-affected, in order to the protection of all that we ought to hold dear, and to the endeavouring to prevent the further spreading of the contagion that has poisoned so many people already, and which, I pray God, may be soon dispelled, so as we may see that peace and liberty (which we have all enjoy'd under the present Royal Family, and has been wantonly broke of late by some turbulent spirits) restored, with the effusion of as little blood as possible, and with as little loss to Scotland, or to Scotch people, as can be, &c.

XV.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO LORD CROMERTIE,
DATED 12TH OCTOBER, 1745, TOUCHING HIS CONDUCT
DURING THE PRESENT TROUBLES.

My Lord,—The reports that I had heard current thro' the country gave a good deal of concern, tho' I wou'd not suffer

myself to give the least .credit to [them], from the reflecting upon the various conversations that we had together since I came last to the country; but, from what past the other night, I had the mortification to observe, that there was by far too much foundation for the stories that were going, and I am heartily concern'd for the indiscretion that I apprehend, because I have a regard for your Lordship, for your son, and for the well-being and standing of your family, all which I should be extream sorry to see put upon a throw of the dice, which is the most that can be said on the side of the Highlanders, and therefore what alone I mention; for, according to my own sentiments, and to what appears to me very visible, when I view things impartially, I see nothing, barring of miracles, but ruin, destruction, and death attending the indiscretion I have in my eye; though I have upon every occasion spoke out this my sense of things, yet as, by your being asleep when I left Tarbat-house on Thursday, I was disabled from having that cool conversation which I determin'd to attempt, I cannot be easy without taking this only method now remaining to me, before I leave the country, of entreating, for your own sake, for the sake of your children, and for the sake of your family, that you'll still reflect coolly on what you seem to intend doing, and infinitely better stop short, than go forward and drown. There is still time, I hope, for it; and it wou'd, I'm persuaded, prevent much. of that mischief which I dread, shou'd opinion or diffidence, because of what may have passed, or any other motive, be prevalent enough to determine a contrary course, and one that will not be by the world imputed to internal conviction, but to personal disgusts, which will be proven by the event,.(shou'd the measures be taken, which, I hope in God, you will not,) resented not upon your enemies, but upon yourself and family, to the satisfaction of those in the country who wish it ill. I have not, my Lord, nor can I have, any personal view in what I am saying, beyond what concerns the good and standing of your family, which, it will be allowed, I wish, and wou'd endeavour to promote where in my power; and as this is the case, the part of true friendship is, upon at least every important and decisive occasion, to speak honestly and plainly one's sentiments, which is the reason why I do it, in proof and testimony of my friendship, and why, I am persuaded, you will not take this honest, friendly freedom amiss, whether your sentiments should coincide with me or not. If they shou'd, I hope the worst consequences can yet be prevented; but if they shou'd not, and you are determined on the deepest play, all I can say is, I have discharged the duty incumbent upon a friend, or upon a relation, and shall be at the heart griev'd for an event that I visibly see is big with ruinous inevitable consequences to persons, and to a family whom it wou'd be my wish and pleasure to see flourishing. The concurrence in this country that the friends of the Highlanders buoy themselves and others up with, will be proven soon (I mean whenever a rising is attempted) very deficient, and I have some tolerable good foundation for what I say, and from former conducts. Even from the present conduct,

little dependence shou'd I chuse to give to some of our neighbours, however vigorous their resolutions and promises or concerts may be. Some such, we know, have been broke upon former occasions, and the persons still the same. As to Barclay's news, Robert Gordon, who was present the whole time with Lord Lowdown, assures me every tittle of it is false; and I cou'd name almost every other report, spread to draw people in, as being equally groundless, but I will not detain your Lordship longer. To-morrow morning, if the weather permitts, I sail aboard of the man-of-war, and nothing will be more agreeable to me, than to learn that your Lordship chuses the part I wou'd wish you, for no reason more than because I am to you and your family, my Lord, a very affectionate, and humble servant, &c.

XVI.—LETTER MR. JOHN GORRY, FROM INVERGORDON, OF THE 12TH, RECEIVED BY SIR JOHN AT CROMARTY, THE 13TH OCTOBER, 1745.

Honourable Sir,—The bearer tells me that he delivered your letter, this evening, to the Countess of C[romartie], but before he went there, the Earl, Glasstulich, and some servants, had gone from the house, but nobody could tell the bearer where, only they crost the water behind T[arb]at house, as if they were going to Tain or Scotsburns. Lord Macleod went up the country this forenoon, but it was the evening before the Earl went away. The Countess sent Fraser after the Earl, with the letter, late at night, after she read it.

J. M'Bean is just now come from thence, and he says that the gardener, Hall, and other servants, were carrying some arms, pistols, &c. out of the house, wrapt up in blankets, but what they meant he could not tell, only he heard a whisper amongst the servants, as if they were afraid that some party were to search the house for arms, &c.

The bearer deliver'd the ham to the servant at young Ardoch's. I hope he'll not forget to carry it on board. Wishing you heartily a safe and speedy voyage, and all happiness, I am, Honourable Sir, your most obedient servant, &c.

XVII LETTER LORD CROMERTIE, FROM SCOTSBURNS, OF 13TH, RECEIVED ON BOARD THE GLASGOW, IN CROMARTY ROAD, ON THE 14TH OCTOBER, 1745.

Sir,—Whatever reports may have been spread of me, or made current by those that wish me no good, or if I have write any nonsense, or unguarded expressions, when I meant no harm, I hope these things will not be laid hold of to hurt me; because I can appeal to you, who has frequently heard my sentiments of these matters; and I do assure you, that nothing will make me do a

foolish or indiscreet thing, if I am not drove in self-defence so to do, or such measures taken against me, as will leave me no room to expect or look for any thing, but in one way. The most effectual way to fix me, would be an immediate restitution of any such letters as may have come to certain persons' hands. In all events, you may be assur'd, I am, and ever will be, with the strictest friendship, yours.

XVIII.—LETTER SIR JOHN GORDON, TO LORD PRESIDENT, AT CULLODEN, FROM LONDON, DATED 8TH JANUARY, 1746.

My Lord,—By my missing the opportunity of the first ship that sailed from hence after my arrival here, I had it not in my power to acquaint your Lordship, with any certainty of my letters reaching you, of my having punctually deliver'd the commissions you honour'd me with, and of my having left directions with Mr Gorry, agreeable to what I told your Lordship I would. The having missed the former ship from hence, renders it unnecessary to say a good deal that might not have been at that time improper; and really the present situation of matters is such, as makes people begin to turn their thoughts towards what may be fitting to be done, when this curst rebellion is totally crusht, in order to the security of the country, in time coming, from these excursions of Highlanders. Your Lordship's other letters will inform you of there being, by this time, a good body of veteran national troops in Scotland, and of the reasons we have here to think that the rebels are rather thinking how to disperse and provide for their safety, than to settle crowns. I own I still have my fears, least our part of the country should be attacked by them in their retreat. Pray God, they may prove vain, and that your force may be sufficient to oppose them, if they should attempt it. The late affair in Aberdeenshire, of which we have not as yet any certain particulars, and the retreat of the Grants, furnishes matter of conversation here. It is a particular pleasure to me, that my cousin Ardoch has behaved so much like a man, and is not hurt. I make no doubt but 'twill procure him the promotion he has earn'd.

It is not yet finally, I believe, determin'd, whether the Duke goes to Scotland or not, because my master has renew'd an application, which he has several times made, of being allow'd to put himself at the head of the army.

He has regretted sincerely the distrest situation of Scotland, and felt for the sufferers, and urg'd all in his power the quickening the march of the army that was to protect and deliver the country, and this I had from himself.

Saturday last, the Marquis of Tweeddale resign'd the seals, which was absolutely his own act and deed, but it has not been declared whether he was to have a successor or not. I believe not.

We are to meet to go upon business next week, and several removes are spoke of, which are not, I think, improbable. The objects now are, the ending the rebellion as soon as possible, by not starving the war in Scotland for want of either men or money, and on this account, as well as others, I wish some of the Royal Family there; and with regard to foreign affairs, I am told, upon the best authority, that the war is to be carried on in Flanders, where there will be a large army next spring; and I believe part of our contingent will be made up by 16,000 Hanoverians. But all this your Lordship will probably have from better hands, neither did I intend, when I sat down to write, to have said so much about it. What I had chiefly in view being, to mention to your Lordship some points, on which it is possible we may have some parliamentary questions, and which I would be glad to know what our sentiments are, in case your Lordship's leisure allows, and you are so good as to give me them. The points are, what measures are proper to be taken towards securing the peace, and preventions of future risings in the Highlands, by the bridling of the lawless crew—what regulations ought to be made in relation to the militia in Scotland, so as to render the rising of them easier and more practicable than it at present is—and some alterations in the treason laws, with regard to the form of trial in Scotland, are spoke of as necessary. These things I thought it would not be disagreeable to your Lordship to be informed of; and as in other matters, so particularly in these, I know none who can judge more solidly than your Lordship, whose opinion wou'd no doubt have due weight, and which, if I was favour'd with it, I would mention to the persons in power, whenever these matters should be in agitation, as I am persuaded, sooner or later they will.—I always am, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

My wife offers your Lordship her compliments. She says she gave you the trouble of a solicitation in October last, about which she also wrote to Hugh Inglis, to put you in mind of it, as I was leaving the country.

FINIS.