I AM now to call your attention to an action of the Scottish Government, which leaves a great stain on the memory of King William, although probably that Prince was not aware of the full extent of the baseness, treachery, and cruelty, for which his commission was made a cover.

I have formerly mentioned that some disputes arose concerning the distribution of a large sum of money, with which the Earl of Breadalbane was intrusted, to procure, or rather to purchase, a peace in the Highlands. Lord Breadalbane and those with whom he negotiated disagreed, and the English Government, becoming suspicious of the intentions of the Highland chiefs to play fast and loose on the occasion, sent forth a proclamation in the month of August, 1691, requiring all, and each of them, to submit to Government before the first day of January, 1692. After this period, it was announced in the same proclamation that those who had not submitted themselves, should be subjected to the extremities of fire and sword.

This proclamation was framed by the Privy Council, under the influence of Sir John Dalrymple (Master of Stair, as he was called), whom I have already mentioned as holding the place of Lord Advocate, and who had in 1690 been raised to be Secretary of State, in conjunction with Lord Melville. The Master of Stair was at this time an intimate friend of Breadalbane, and it seems that he shared with that nobleman the warm hope and expectation of carrying into execution a plan
of retaining a Highland army in the pay of
Government, and accomplishing a complete transference
of the allegiance of the chiefs to the person
of King William, from that of King James. This
could not have failed to be a most acceptable piece
of service, upon which, if it could be accomplished,
the Secretary might justly reckon as a title to his
master's further confidence and favour.

But when Breadalbane commenced his treaty,
he was mortified to find, that though the Highland
chiefs expressed no dislike to King William's
money, yet they retained their secret fidelity to
King James too strongly to make it safe to
assemble them in a military body, as had been
proposed. Many chiefs, especially those of the
MacDonalds, stood out also for terms, which the
Earl of Breadalbane and the Master of Stair
considered as extravagant; and the result of the
whole was, the breaking off the treaty, and the
publishing of the severe proclamation already
mentioned.

Breadalbane and Stair were greatly disappointed
and irritated against those chiefs and tribes, who,
being refractory on this occasion, had caused a
breach of their favourite scheme. Their thoughts
were now turned to revenge; and it appears from
Stair's correspondence, that he nourished and dwelt
upon the secret hope, that several of the most
stubborn chiefs would hold out beyond the term
appointed for submission, in which case it was
determined that the punishment inflicted should be
of the most severe and awful description. That all
(58-3) might be prepared for the meditated operations,
(58-3) a considerable body of troops were kept in readiness
(58-3) at Inverlochy, and elsewhere. These were
(58-3) destined to act against the refractory clans, and
(58-3) the campaign was to take place in the midst of
(58-3) winter, when it was supposed that the season and
(58-3) weather would prevent the Highlanders from
(58-3) expecting an attack.

(58-3) But the chiefs received information of these
(58-3) hostile intentions, and one by one submitted to
(58-3) Government within the appointed period, thus
(58-3) taking away all pretence of acting against them.
(58-3) It is said that they did so by secret orders from
(58-3) King James, who having penetrated the designs
(58-3) of Stair, directed the chiefs to comply with the

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(58-4) proclamation, rather than incur an attack which
(58-4) they had no means of resisting.

(58-4) The indemnity, which protected so many
(58-4) victims, and excluded both lawyers and soldiers from
(58-4) a profitable job, seems to have created great
(58-4) disturbance in the mind of the Secretary of State.
(58-4) As chief after chief took the oath of allegiance to
(58-4) King William, and by doing so put themselves
(58-4) one by one out of danger, the greater became the
(58-4) anxiety of the Master of Stair to find some legal
(58-4) Haw for excluding some of the Lochaber clans
(58-4) from the benefit of the indemnity. But no opportunity
(58-4) occurred for exercising these kind intentions,
(58-4) excepting in the memorable, but fortunately
(58-4) the solitary instance, of the clan of the MacDonalds
(58-4) of Glencoe.
This clan inhabited a valley formed by the river Coe, or Cona, which falls into Lochleven, not far from the head of Loch-Etive. It is distinguished, even in that wild country, by the sublimity of the mountains, rocks, and precipices, in which it lies buried. The minds of men are formed by their habitations. The MacDonals of the Glen were not very numerous, seldom mustering above two hundred armed men; but they were bold and daring to a proverb, confident in the strength of their country, and in the protection and support of their kindred tribes, the MacDonals of Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Ardnamurchan, and others of that powerful name. They also lay near the possessions of the Campbells, to whom, owing to the predatory habits to which they were especially addicted, they were very bad neighbours, so that blood had at different times been spilt between them.

Mac Inn of Glencoe (this was the patronymic title of the chief of this clan) was a man of a stately and venerable person and aspect. He possessed both courage and sagacity, and was accustomed to be listened to by the neighbouring chieftains, and to take a lead in their deliberations. MacIlan had been deeply engaged both in the campaign of Killiecrankie, and in that which followed under General Buchan; and when the insurgent Highland chiefs held a meeting with the Earl of Breadalbane, at a place called Auchallader, in the month of July 1691, for the purpose of arranging an armistice, MacIlan was present with the rest, and, it is said, taxed Breadalbane with the design of retaining a
part of the money lodged in his hands for the pacification of the Highlands. The Earl retorted with vehemence, and charged MacIan with a theft of cattle, committed upon some of his lands by a party from Glencoe. Other causes of offence took place,

in which old feuds were called to recollection; and MacIan was repeatedly heard to say, he dreaded mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of Breadalbane. Yet this unhappy chief was rash enough to stand out to the last moment, and decline to take advantage of King William's indemnity, till the time appointed by the proclamation was wellnigh expired.

The displeasure of the Earl of Breadalbane seems speedily to have communicated itself to the Master of Stair, who, in his correspondence with Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, then commanding in the Highlands, expresses the greatest resentment against MacIan of Glencoe, for having, by his interference, marred the bargain between Breadalbane and the Highland chiefs. Accordingly, in a letter of 3d December, the Secretary intimated that Government was determined to destroy utterly some of the clans, in order to terrify the others, and he hoped that, by standing out and refusing to submit under the indemnity, the MacDonalds of Glencoe would fall into the net,--which meant that they would afford a pretext for their extirpation. This letter is dated a month before the time limited by the indemnity; so long did these bloody thoughts occupy the mind of this unprincipled statesman.

Ere the term of mercy expired, however,
MacIan's own apprehensions, or the advice of friends, dictated to him the necessity of submitting to the same conditions which others had embraced, and he went with his principal followers to take the oath of allegiance to King William. This was a very brief space before the 1st of January, when, by the terms of the proclamation, the opportunity of chiming the indemnity was to expire. MacIan was, therefore, much alarmed to find that Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort William, to whom he tendered his oath of allegiance, had no power to receive it, being a military, and not a civil officer. Colonel Hill, however, sympathized with the distress and even tears of the old chieftain, and gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlas, Sheriff of Argyleshire, requesting him to receive the "lost sheep," and administer the oath to him, that he might have the advantage of the indemnity, though so late in claiming it.

MacIan hastened from Fort William to Inverary, without even turning aside to his own house, though he passed within a mile of it. But the roads, always very bad, were now rendered almost impassable by a storm of snow; so that, with all the spend the unfortunate chieftain could exert, the fatal 1st of January was past before he reached Inverary.

The Sheriff, however, seeing that MacIan had complied with the spirit of the statute, in tendering his submission within the given period, under the sincere, though mistaken belief, that he was applying to the person ordered to receive it; and
considering also, that, but for the tempestuous weather, it would after all have been offered in presence of the proper law-officer, did not hesitate to administer the oath of allegiance, and sent off an express to the Privy Council containing an attestation of MacIan's having taken the oaths, and a full explanation of the circumstances which had delayed his doing so until the lapse of the appointed period. The Sheriff also wrote to Colonel Hill what he had done, and requested that he would take care that Glencoe should not be annoyed by any military parties until the pleasure of the Council should be known, which he could not doubt would be favourable. MacIan, therefore, returned to his own house, and resided there, as he supposed, in safety, under the protection of the Government to which he had sworn allegiance. That he might merit this protection, he convoked his clan, acquainted them with his submission, and commanded them to live peaceably, and give no cause of offence, under pain of his displeasure.

In the mean time, the vindictive Secretary of State had procured orders from his Sovereign respecting the measures to be followed with such of the chiefs as should not have taken the oaths within the term prescribed. The first of these orders, dated 11th January, contained peremptory directions for military execution, by fire and sword, against all who should not have made their submission within the time appointed. It was, however, provided, in order to avoid driving them to
desperation, that there was still to remain a power of granting mercy to those clans who, even after the time was past, should still come in and submit themselves. Such were the terms of the first royal warrant, in which Glencoe was not expressly named.

It seems afterwards to have occurred to Stair, that Glencoe and his tribe would be sheltered under this mitigation of the intended severities, since he had already come in and tendered his allegiance, without waiting for the menace of military force. A second set of instructions were therefore made out on the 16th January. These held out the same indulgence to other clans who should submit themselves at the very last hour (a hypocritical pretext, for there existed none which stood in such a predicament), but they closed the gate of mercy against the devoted MacIan, who had already done all that was required of others. The words are remarkable: - "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves."

You will remark the hypocritical clemency and real cruelty of these instructions, which profess a readiness to extend mercy to those who needed it not (for all the other Highlanders had submitted within the limited time), and deny it to Glencoe, the only man who had not been able literally to comply with the proclamation, though in all fair construction, he had done what it required.
Under what pretence or colouring King William's authority was obtained for such cruel instructions, it would be in vain to enquire. The Sheriff of Argyle's letter had never been produced before the Council; and the certificate of MacIan's having taken the oath was blotted out, and, in the Scottish phrase, deleted from the books of the Privy Council. It seems probable therefore that the fact of that chief's submission was altogether concealed from the King, and that he was held out in the light of a desperate and incorrigible leader of banditti, who was the main obstacle to the peace of the Highlands; but if we admit that William acted under such misrepresentations, deep blame will still attach to him for rashly issuing orders of an import so dreadful. It is remarkable that these fatal instructions are both superscribed and subscribed by the King himself, whereas, in most state papers the Sovereign only superscribes, and they are countersigned by the Secretary of State, who is answerable for their tenor; a responsibility which Stair, on that occasion, was not probably ambitious of claiming.

The Secretary's letters to the military officers, directing the mode of executing the King's orders, betray the deep and savage interest which he took personally in their tenor, and his desire that the bloody measure should be as general as possible. He dwelt in these letters upon the proper time and season for cutting off the devoted tribe. "The winter," he said, "is the only season in which the Highlanders cannot elude us, or carry their wives, children, and cattle, to the mountains."
They cannot escape you; for what human constitution
can then endure to be long out of house?
This is the proper season to maul them, in the
long dark nights." He could not suppress his joy
that Glencoe had not come in within the term

[TG58-11]
prescribed; and expresses his hearty wishes that
others had followed the same course. He assured
the soldiers that their powers should be ample;
and he exacted from them proportional exertions.
He entreated that the thieving tribe of Glencoe
might be rooted out in earnest; and he was at
pains to explain a phrase which is in itself terribly
significant. He gave directions for securing every
pass by which the victims could escape, and warned
the soldiers that it were better to leave the thing
unattempted, than fail to do it to purpose. "To
plunder their lands, or drive off their cattle, would,"
say his letters, "be only to render them desperate;
they must be all slaughtered, and the manner
of execution must be sure, secret, and
effectual."

These instructions, such as have been rarely
penned in a Christian country, were sent to Colonel
Hill, the Governor of Fort William, who,
greatly surprised and grieved at their tenor,
endeavoured for some time to evade the execution of
them. At length, obliged by his situation to render
obedience to the King's commands, he transmitted
the orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton,
directing him to take four hundred men of a Highland
regiment belonging to the Earl of Argyle, and
fulfil the royal mandate. Thus, to make what was
intended yet worse, if possible, than it was in its
whole tenor, the perpetration of this cruelty was committed to soldiers, who were not only the countrymen of the proscribed, but the near neighbours, and some of them the close connexions, of the [TG58-12]
MacDonalds of Glencoe. This is the more necessary to be remembered, because the massacre has unjustly been said to have been committed by English troops. The course of the bloody deed was as follows.

Before the end of January, a party of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, commanded by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, approached Glencoe. MacIan's sons went out to meet them with a body of men, to demand whether they came as friends or foes. The officer replied, that they came as friends, being sent to take up their quarters for a short time in Glencoe, in order to relieve the garrison of Fort William, which was crowded with soldiers. On this they were welcomed with all the hospitality which the chief and his followers had the means of extending to them, and they resided for fifteen days amongst the unsuspecting MacDonalds, in the exchange of every species of kindness and civility. That the laws of domestic affection might be violated at the same time with those of humanity and hospitality, you are to understand that Alaster MacDonald, one of the sons of MacIan, was married to a niece of Glenlyon, who commanded the party of soldiers. It appears also, that the intended cruelty was to be exercised upon defenceless men: for the Macdonalds, though afraid of no other ill-treatment from their military guests, had supposed it possible the soldiers might
have a commission to disarm them, and therefore
had sent their weapons to a distance, where they
might be out of reach of seizure.

[TG58-13]
Glenlyon's party had remained in Glencoe for
fourteen or fifteen days, when he received orders
from his commanding officer Major Duncanson,
expressed in a manner which shows him to have
been the worthy agent of the cruel Secretary.
They were sent in conformity with orders of the
same date, transmitted to Duncanson by Hamilton,
directing that all the MacDonalds, under seventy
years of age, were to be cut off, and that the
Government was not to be troubled with prisoners.
Duncanson's orders to Glenlyon were as follows:
"You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels,
and put all to the sword under seventy. You are
to have especial care that the old fox and his cubs
do on no account escape your hands; you are to
secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This
you are to put in execution at four in the morning
precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after,
I will strive to ho at you with a stronger party.
Hut if I do not come to you at four, you are not
to tarry for me, but fall on. This is by the King's
special command, for the good and safety of the
country, that these miscreants be cut off root and
branch. See that this be put into execution without
either fear or favour, else you may expect to
be treated as not true to the King or Government,
or a man fit to carry a commission in the King's
service. Expecting that you will not fail in the
fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe
these with my hand,
This order was dated 12th February, and addressed, "For their Majesties' service, to Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

This letter reached Glenlyon soon after it was written; and he lost no time in carrying the dreadful mandate into execution. In the interval, he did not abstain from any of those acts of familiarity which had lulled asleep the suspicions of his victims. He took his morning draught, as had been his practice every day since he came to the glen, at the house of Alaster Mac Donald, MacIan's second son, who was married to his (Glenlyon's) niece. He, and two of his officers named Lindsay, accepted an invitation to dinner from MacIan himself, for the following day, on which they had determined he should never see the sun rise. To complete the sum of treachery, Glenlyon played at cards, in his own quarters, with the sons of MacIan, John and Alaster, both of whom were also destined for slaughter.

About four o'clock, in the morning of 13th February, the scene of blood began. A party, commanded by one of the Lindsays, came to MacIan's house and knocked for admittance, which was at once given. Lindsay, one of the expected guests at the family meal of the day, commanded this party, who instantly shot MacIan dead by his own bed-side, as he was in the act of dressing himself, and giving orders for refreshments to be provided for his fatal visitors. His aged wife was stripped by the savage soldiery, who, at the same
time, drew off the gold rings from her fingers with their teeth. She died the next day. distracted with grief, and the brutal treatment she had received. Several domestics and clansmen were killed at the same place.

The two sons of the aged chieftain had not been altogether so confident as their father respecting the peaceful and friendly purpose of their guests. They observed, on the evening preceding the massacre, that the sentinels were doubled, and the mainguard strengthened. John, the elder brother, had even overheard the soldiers muttering amongst themselves, that they cared not about fighting the men of the glen fairly, but did not like the nature of the service they were engaged in; while others consoled themselves with the military logic, that their officers must be answerable for the orders given, they having no choice save to obey them. Alarmed with what had been thus observed and heard, the young men hastened to Glenlyon's quarters, where they found that officer and his men preparing their arms. On questioning him about these suspicious appearances, Glenlyon accounted for them by a story, that he was bound on an expedition against some of Glengarry's men; and alluding to the circumstance of their alliance, which made his own cruelty more detestable, he added, "If anything evil had been intended, would I not have told Alaster and my niece?"

Reassured by this communication, the young men retired to rest, but were speedily awakened by an old domestic, who called on the two brothers...
to rise and fly for their lives. " Is it time for you,"

TG

he said, " to be sleeping, when your father is murdered on his own hearth?" Thus roused, they hurried out in great terror, and heard throughout the glen, wherever there was a place of human habitation, the shouts of the murderers, the report of the muskets, the screams of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. By their perfect knowledge of the scarce accessible cliffs amongst which they dwelt, they were enabled to escape observation, and fled to the southern access of the glen.

Mean time, the work of death proceeded with as little remorse as Stair himself could have desired. Even the slight mitigation of their orders respecting those above seventy years, was disregarded by the soldiery in their indiscriminate thirst for blood, and several very aged and bedridden persons were slain amongst others. At the hamlet where Glenlyon had his own quarters, nine men, including his landlord, were bound and shot like felons; and one of them, MacDonald of Auchintriaten, had General Hill's passport in his pocket at the time. A fine lad of twenty had, by some glimpse of compassion on the part of the soldiers, been spared, when one Captain Drummond came up, and demanding why the orders were transgressed in that particular, caused him instantly to be put to death. A boy, of five or six years old, clung to Glenlyon's knees, entreating for mercy, and offering to become his servant for life, if he would spare him. Glenlyon was moved; but the same Drummond stabbed the child with his dirk, while he was in this agony of supplication.
At a place called Auchnaion, one Barber, a
sergeant, with a party of soldiers, fired on a group of
nine MacDonalps, as they were assembled round
their morning fire, and killed four of them. The
owner of the house, a brother of the slain
Auchintriaten, escaped unhurt, and expressed a wish to
be put to death rather in the open air than within
the house. " For your bread which I have eaten,"
answered Barber, " I will grant the request."
MacDonald was dragged to the door accordingly; but
he was an active man, and when the soldiers were
presenting their firelocks to shoot him, he cast his
plaid over their faces, and taking advantage of
the confusion, broke from them, and escaped up the
glen.

The alarm being now general, many other persons,
male and female, attempted their escape in
the same manner as the two sons of MacIan and
the person last mentioned. Flying from their
burning huts, and from their murderous visitors,
the half-naked fugitives committed themselves to
a winter morning of darkness, snow, and storm,
amidst a wilderness the most savage in the West
Highlands, having a bloody death behind them,
and before them tempest, famine, and desolation.
Bewildered in the snow-wreaths, several sunk to
rise no more. But the severities of the storm were
tender mercies compared to the cruelty of their
persecutors. The great fall of snow, which proved
fatal to several of the fugitives, was the means
of saving the remnant that escaped. Major
Duncanson, agreeably to the plan expressed in his orders to Glenlyon, had not failed to put himself in motion, with four hundred men, on the evening preceding the slaughter; and had he reached the eastern passes out of Glencoe by four in the morning, as he calculated, he must have intercepted and destroyed all those who took that only way of escape from Glenlyon and his followers. But as this reinforcement arrived so late as eleven in the forenoon, they found no MacDonald alive in Glencoe, save an old man of eighty, whom they slew; and after burning such houses as were yet un consumed, they collected the property of the tribe, consisting of twelve hundred head of cattle and horses, besides goats and sheep, and drove them off to the garrison of Fort William.

Thus ended this horrible deed of massacre. The number of persons murdered was thirty-eight; those who escaped might amount to a hundred and fifty males, who, with the women and children of the tribe, had to fly more than twelve miles through rocks and wildernesses, ere they could reach any place of safety or shelter.

This detestable butchery excited general horror and disgust, not only throughout Scotland, but in foreign countries, and did King William, whose orders, signed and superscribed by himself, were the warrant of the action, incredible evil both in popularity and character.

Stair, however, seemed undaunted, and had the infamy to write to Colonel Hill, while public
indignation was at the highest, that all that could be said of the matter was, that the execution was not so complete as it might have been. There was, besides, a pamphlet published in his defence, offering a bungled vindication of his conduct; which, indeed, amounts only to this, that a man of the Master of Stair's high place and eminent accomplishments, who had performed such great services to the public, of which a laboured account was given; one also, who, it is particularly insisted upon, performed the duty of family worship regularly in his household, ought not to be over-severely questioned for the death of a few Highland Papists, whose morals were no better than those of English highwaymen.

No public notice was taken of this abominable deed until 1695, three years after it had been committed, when, late and reluctantly, a Royal Commission, loudly demanded by the Scottish nation, was granted, to enquire into the particulars of the transaction, and to report the issue of their investigations to Parliament.

The members of the Commission, though selected as favourable to King William, proved of a different opinion from the apologist of the Secretary of State, and reported, that the letters and instructions of Stair to Colonel Hill and others, were the sole cause of the murder. They slurred over the King's share of the guilt by reporting, that the Secretary's instructions went beyond the warrant which William had signed and superscribed. The royal mandate, they stated, only
ordered the tribe of Glencoe to be subjected to military execution, in case there could be any mode found of separating them from the other Highlanders.

Having thus found a screen, though a very flimsy one, for William's share in the transaction, the report of the Commission let the whole weight of the charge fall on Secretary the Master of Stair, whose letters, they state, intimated no mode of separating the Glencoe men from the rest, as directed by the warrant; but, on the contrary, did, under a pretext of public duty, appoint them, without enquiry or distinction, to be cut off and rooted out in earnest and to purpose, and that "suddenly, secretly, and quietly." They reported, that these instructions of Stair had been the warrant for the slaughter; that it was unauthorized by his Majesty's orders, and, in fact, deserved no name save that of a most barbarous murder. Finally, the report named the Master of Stair as the deviser, and the various military officers employed as the perpetrators, of the same, and suggested, with great moderation, that Parliament should address his Majesty to send home Glenlyon and the other murderers to be tried, or should do otherwise as his Majesty pleased.

The Secretary, being by this unintelligible mode of reasoning thus exposed to the whole severity of the storm, and overwhelmed at the same time by the King's displeasure, on account of the Darien affair (to be presently mentioned), was deprived of his office, and obliged to retire from public affairs. General indignation banished him so entirely from public life, that, having about this period
succeeded to his father's title of Viscount Stair, he dared not take his seat in Parliament as such, on account of the threat of the Lord Justice-Clerk, that if he did so, he would move that the address and report upon the Glencoe Massacre should be produced and enquired into. It was the year 1700 before the Earl of Stair found the affair so much forgotten, that he ventured to assume the place in Parliament to which his rank entitled him; and he died in 1707, on the very day when the treaty of Union was signed, not without suspicion of suicide.

Of the direct agents in the massacre, Hamilton absconded, and afterwards joined King William's army in Flanders, where Glenlyon, and the officers and soldiers connected with the murder, were then serving. The King, availing himself of the option left to him in the address of the Scottish Parliament, did not order them home for trial; nor does it appear that any of them were dismissed the service, or punished for their crime, otherwise than by the general hatred of the age in which they lived, and the universal execration of posterity.

Although it is here a little misplaced, I cannot refrain from telling you an anecdote connected with the preceding events, which befell so late as the year 1745-6, during the romantic attempt of Charles Edward, grandson of James II., to regain the throne of his fathers. He marched through the Lowlands, at the head of an army consisting of the Highland clans, and obtained for a time considerable
advantages. Amongst other Highlanders, the
descendant of the murdered MacIan of Glencoe
Joined his standard with a hundred and fifty men.
The route of the Highland army brought them near
to a beautiful seat built by the Earl of Stair, so
often mentioned in the preceding narrative, and
the principal mansion of his family. An alarm
arose in the councils of Prince Charles, lest the
MacDonalds of Glencoe should seize this opportunity
of marking their recollection of the injustice

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done to their ancestors, by burning or plundering
the house of the descendant of their persecutor ;
and, as such an act of violence might have done
the Prince great prejudice in the eyes of the people.
of the Lowlands, it was agreed that a guard should
be posted to protect the house of Lord Stair.

MacDonald of Glencoe heard the resolution, and
deemed his honour and that of his clan concerned.
He demanded an audience of Charles Edward, and
admitting the propriety of placing a guard on a
house so obnoxious to the feelings of the Highland
army, and to those of his own clan in particular,
demanded, as a matter of right rather than favour,
that the protecting guard should be supplied by
the MacDonalds of Glencoe. If this request were
not granted, he announced his purpose to return
home with his people, and prosecute the enterprise
no further. " The MacDonalds of Glencoe," he
said, " would be dishonoured by remaining in a
service where others than their own men were
employed to restrain them, under whatsoever
circumstances of provocation, within the line of their
military duty." The royal Adventurer granted
the request of the high-spirited chieftain, and the 
MacDonalds of Glencoe guarded from the slightest 
injury the house of the cruel and crafty statesman 
who had devised and directed the massacre of their 
ancestors. Considering how natural the thirst of 
vengeance becomes to men in a primitive state of 
society, and how closely it was interwoven with 
the character of the Scottish Highlander, Glencoe's

conduct on this occasion is a noble instance of a 
high and heroic preference of duty to the 
gratification of revenge.

We must now turn from this terrible story to 
one, which, though it does not seize on the 
imagination with the same force in the narrative, yet 
embraces a far wider and more extensive field of 
death and disaster.

HUMAN character, whether national or Individual, 
presents often to our calm consideration the strangest 
inconsistencies; but there are few more striking 
than that which the Scots exhibit in their private 
conduct, contrasted with their views when united 
together for any general or national purpose. In 
his own personal affairs the Scotsman is remarked 
as cautious, frugal, and prudent, in an extreme 
degree, not generally aiming at enjoyment or relaxation 
till he has realized the means of indulgence, 
and studiously avoiding those temptations of pleasure, 
to which men of other countries most readily 
give way. But when a number of the natives of 
Scotland associate for any speculative project, it 
would seem that their natural caution becomes
 thawed and dissolved by the union of their joint
hopes, and that their imaginations are liable in a
peculiar degree to be heated and influenced by any
splendid prospect held out to them. They appear,
in particular, to lose the power of calculating and
adapting their means to the end which they desire
to accomplish, and are readily induced to aim at

[TG59-27]
objects magnificent in themselves, but which they
have not, unhappily, the wealth or strength necessary
to attain. Thus the Scots are often found to
attempt splendid designs, which, shipwrecked for
want of the necessary expenditure, give foreigners
occasion to smile at the great error and equally
great misfortune of the nation.-I mean their pride
and their poverty. There is no greater instance of
this tendency to daring speculation, which rests at
the bottom of the coldness and caution of the Scottish
character, than the disastrous history of the
Darien colony.

Paterson, a man of comprehensive views and
great sagacity, was the parent and inventor of this
memorable scheme. In youth he had been an
adventurer in the West Indies, and it was said a
bucanier, that is, one of a species of adventurers
nearly allied to pirates, who, consisting of different
nations, and divided into various bands, made war
on the Spanish commerce and settlements in the
South Seas, and among the West Indian islands.
In this roving course of life, Paterson had made
himself intimately acquainted with the geography
of South America, the produce of the country, the
nature of its commerce, and the manner in which
the Spaniards governed that extensive region.
On his return to Europe, however, the schemes which he had formed respecting the New World were laid aside for another project, fraught with the most mighty and important consequences. This was the plan of that great national establishment the Bank of England, of which he had the honour to suggest the first idea. For a time he was admitted a director of that institution; but it befell Paterson as often happens to the first projectors of great schemes. Other persons, possessed of wealth and influence, interposed, and, taking advantage of the ideas of the obscure and unprotected stranger, made them their own by alterations or improvements more or less trivial, and finally elbowed the inventor out of all concern in the institution, the foundation of which he had laid.

Thus expelled from the Bank of England, Paterson turned his thoughts to the plan of settling a colony in America, and in a part of that country so favoured in point of situation, that it seemed to him formed to be the site of the most nourishing commercial capital in the universe.

The two great continents of North and South America are joined together by an isthmus, or narrow tract of land, called Darien. This neck of land is not above a day's journey in breadth, and

as it is washed by the Atlantic ocean on the eastern side, and the Great Pacific ocean on the west, the isthmus seemed designed by nature as a common centre for the commerce of the world. Paterson
ascertained, or at least alleged that he had ascertained, that the isthmus had never been the property of Spain, but was still possessed by the original natives, a tribe of fierce and warlike Indians, who made war on the Spaniards. According to the law of nations, therefore, any state had a right of forming a settlement in Darien, providing the consent of the Indians was first obtained; nor could their doing so be justly made subject of challenge even by Spain, so extravagantly jealous of all interference with her South American provinces. This plan of a settlement, with so many advantages to recommend it, was proposed by Paterson to the merchants of Hamburgh, to the Dutch, and even to the Elector of Brandenburgh; but it was coldly received by all these states.

The scheme was at length offered to the merchants of London, the only traders probably in the world who, their great wealth being seconded by the protection of the British navy, had the means of realizing the splendid visions of Paterson. But when the projector was in London, endeavouring to solicit attention to his plan, he became intimate with the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun. This gentleman, one of the most accomplished men, and best patriots, whom Scotland has produced in any age, had, nevertheless, some notions of her interests which were more fanciful than real, and, in his anxiety to render his country service, did not sufficiently consider the adequacy of the means by which her welfare was to be obtained. He was dazzled by the vision of opulence and grandeur which Paterson unfolded, and thought of nothing less than
securing, for the benefit of Scotland alone, a scheme which promised to the state which should adopt it, the keys, as it were, of the New World. The projector was easily persuaded to give his own country the benefit of his scheme of colonization, and went to Scotland along with Fletcher. Here the plan found general acceptation, and particularly with the Scottish administration, who were greatly embarrassed at the time by the warm prosecution of the affair of Glencoe, and who easily persuaded King William that some freedom and facilities of trade granted to the Scots, would divert the public attention from the investigation of a matter, not very creditable to his Majesty's reputation any more than to their own. Stair, in particular, a party deeply interested, gave the Darien scheme the full support of his eloquence and interest, in the hope to regain a part of his lost popularity.

The Scottish ministers obtained permission, accordingly, to grant such privileges of trade to their country as might not be prejudicial to that of England. In June 1695, these influential persons obtained a statute from Parliament, and afterwards a charter from the crown, for creating a corporate body, or stock company, by name of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, with power to plant colonies and build forts in places not possessed by other European nations, the consent always of the inhabitants of the places where they settled being obtained.

The hopes entertained of the profits to arise from this speculation were in the last degree sanguine;
not even the Solemn League and Covenant was signed with more eager enthusiasm. Almost every one who had, or could command, any sum of ready money embarked it in the Indian and African Company; many subscribed their all; maidens threw in their portions, and widows whatever sums they could raise upon their dower, to be repaid an hundredfold by the golden shower which was to descend upon the subscribers. Some sold estates to vest the money in the Company's funds, and so eager was the spirit of speculation, that, when eight hundred thousand pounds formed the whole circulating capital of Scotland, half of that sum was vested in the Darien stock.

That every thing might be ready for their extensive operations, the Darien Company proceeded to build a large tenement near Bristo-port, Edinburgh, to serve as an office for transacting their business, with a large range of buildings behind it, designed as warehouses, to be filled with the richest commodities of the eastern and western world. But, sad event of human hopes and wishes! the office is now occupied as a receptacle for paupers, and the extensive warehouses as a lunatic asylum.

But it was not the Scots alone whose hopes were excited by the rich prospects held out to them. An offer being made by the managers of the Company, [TG59-32]

to share the expected advantages of the scheme with English and foreign merchants, it was so eagerly grasped at, that three hundred thousand pounds of stock was subscribed for in London within nine days after opening the books. The merchants
of Hamburgh and of Holland subscribed two hundred thousand pounds.

Such was the hopeful state of the new company's affairs, when the English jealousy of trade interfered to crush an adventure which seemed so promising. The idea which then and long afterwards prevailed in England was, that all profit was lost to the British empire which did not arise out of commerce exclusively English. The increase of trade in Scotland or Ireland they considered, not as an addition to the general prosperity of the united nations, but as a positive loss to England. The commerce of Ireland they had long laid under severe shackles, to secure their own predominance; but it was not so easy to deal with Scotland, which, totally unlike Ireland, was governed by its own independent legislature, and acknowledged no subordination or fealty to England, being in all respects a separate and independent country, though governed by the same King.

This new species of rivalry on the part of an old enemy, was both irritating and alarming. The English had hitherto thought of the Scots as a pour and fierce nation, who, in spite of fewer numbers and far inferior resources, was always ready to engage in war with her powerful neighbour; and now that these wars were over, it was embarrassing and provoking to find the same nation display, in spite of its proverbial caution, a hardy and ambitious spirit of emulating them in the paths of commerce.
These narrow-minded, unjust, and ungenerous apprehensions prevailed so widely throughout the English nation, that both Houses of Parliament joined in an address to the King, stating that the advantages given to the newly-erected Scottish Indian and African Company, would ensure that kingdom so great a superiority over the English East India Company, that a great part of the stock and shipping of England would be transported to the north, and Scotland would become a free port for all East Indian commodities, which they would be able to furnish at a much cheaper rate than the English. By this means it was said England would lose all the advantages of an exclusive trade in the Eastern commodities, which had always been a great article in her foreign commerce, and sustain infinite detriment in the sale of her domestic manufactures. The King, in his gracious reply to this address, acknowledged the justice of its statements, though as void of just policy as of grounds in public law. His royal answer bore, that "the King had been ill served in Scotland, but hoped some remedies might still be found to prevent the evils apprehended." To show that his resentment was serious against his Scottish ministers, King William, as we have already mentioned, deprived the Master of Stair of his office as secretary of state. Thus a statesman, who had retained his place in spite of the bloody deed of Glencoe, was disgraced for attempting to serve his country, in the most innocent and laudable manner, by extending her trade and national importance.
The English Parliament persisted in the attempt to find remedies for the evils which they were pleased to apprehend from the Darien scheme, by appointing a committee of enquiry, with directions to summon before them such persons as had, by subscribing to the Company, given encouragement to the progress of an undertaking, so fraught, as they alleged, with danger to the trade of England. These persons, being called before Parliament, and menaced with impeachment, were compelled to renounce their connexion with the undertaking, which was thus deprived of the aid of English subscriptions, to the amount, as already mentioned, of three hundred thousand pounds. Nay, so eager did the English Parliament show themselves in this matter, that they even extended their menace of impeachment to some native-born Scotsmen, who had offended the House by subscribing their own money to a Company formed in their own country, and according to their own laws.

That this mode of destroying the funds of the concern might be yet more effectual, the weight of the King's influence with foreign states was employed to diminish the credit of the undertaking, and to intercept the subscriptions which had been obtained for the Company abroad. For this purpose, the English envoy at Hamburgh was directed to transmit to the Senate of that commercial city a remonstrance on the part of King William, accusing them of having encouraged the commissioners of the Darien Company; requesting them to desist from doing so; intimating that the plan, said to be fraught with many evils, had not the
support of his Majesty; and protesting, that the refusal of the Senate to withdraw their countenance from the scheme, would threaten an interruption to the friendship which his Majesty desired to cultivate with the good city of Hamburgh.

The Senate returned to this application a spirited answer—"The city of Hamburgh," they said, "considered it as strange that the King of England should dictate to them, a free people, with whom they were to engage in commercial arrangements; and were yet more astonished to find themselves blamed for having entered into such engagements with a body of his own Scottish subjects, incorporated under a special act of Parliament."

But as the menace of the envoy showed that the Darien Company must be thwarted in all its proceedings by the superior power of England, the prudent Hamburghers, ceasing to consider it as a hopeful speculation, finally withdrew their subscriptions. The Dutch, to whom William could more decidedly dictate, from his authority as Stadtholder, and who were jealous, besides, of the interference of the Scots with their own East Indian trade, adopted a similar course, without remonstrance. Thus, the projected Company, deserted both by foreign and English associates, were crippled in their undertaking, and left to their own limited resources.

The managers of the scheme, supported by the general sense of the people of Scotland, made warm remonstrances to King William on the hostile interference of his Hamburgh envoy, and demanded redress for so gross a wrong. In William's answer,
he was forced meanly to evade what he was
resolved not to grant, and yet could not in equity
refuse. "The King," it was promised, "would
send instructions to his envoy, not to make use of
his Majesty's name or authority for obstructing
their engagements with the city of Hamburgh."
The Hamburghers, on the other hand, declared
themselves ready to make good their subscriptions,
if they should receive any distinct assurance from
the King of England, that in so doing they would
be safe from his threatened resentment. But, in
spite of repeated promises, the envoy received no
power to make such declaration. Thus the Darien
Company lost the advantage of support, to the
extent of two hundred thousand pounds, subscribed
in Hamburgh and Holland, and that by the
personal and hostile interference of their own
Monarch, under whose charter they were embodied.
Scotland, left to her unassisted resources, would
have acted with less spirit but more wisdom, in
renouncing her ambitious plan of colonization, sure
as it now was to be thwarted by the hostile
interference of her unfriendly but powerful neighbour
and rival. But those engaged in the scheme,
comprising great part of the nation, could not be expected
easily to renounce hopes which had been so
highly excited, and enough remained of the proud
and obstinate spirit with which their ancestors had
maintained their independence, to induce the Scots,
even when thrown back on their own limited means,
to determine upon the establishment of their favourite
settlement at Darien, in spite of the desertion
of their English and foreign subscribers, and in
defiance of the invidious opposition of their powerful
neighbours. They caught the spirit of their
ancestors, who, after losing so many dreadful battles,
were always found ready with sword in hand,
to dispute the next campaign.

The contributors to the enterprise were encouraged
in this stubborn resolution, by the flattering
account which was given of the country to be
colonized, in which every class of Scotsmen found
something to flatter their hopes, and to captivate their
imaginations. The description given of Darien by

Paterson was partly derived from his own
knowledge, partly from the report of bucaniers and
adventurers, and the whole was exaggerated by
the eloquence of an able man, pleading in behalf of
a favourite project.

The climate was represented as healthy and cool,
the tropical heats being, it was said, mitigated by
the height of the country, and by the shade of
extensive forests, which yet presented neither thicket
nor underwood, but would admit a horseman to
gallop through them unimpeded. Those acquainted
with trade were assured of the benefits of a safe
and beautiful harbour, where the advantage of free
commerce and universal toleration, would attract
traders from all the world; while the produce of
China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and Eastern
India, brought to the bay of Panama in the Pacific
ocean, might be transferred by a safe and easy
route across the isthmus to the new settlement,
and exchanged for all the commodities of Europe.
" Trade," said the commercial enthusiast, " will
beget trade - money will beget money - the
commercial world will no longer want work for their
hands, but will rather want hands for their work.
This door of the seas, and key of the universe, will
enable its possessors to become the legislators of
both worlds, and the arbitrators of commerce. The
settlers at Darien will acquire a nobler empire than
Alexander or Caesar, without fatigue, expense, or
danger, as well as without incurring the guilt and
bloodshed of conquerors." To those more vulgar
minds who cannot separate the idea of wealth from

[ TG59-39 ]
the precious metals, the projector held out the
prospect of golden mines. The hardy Highlanders,
many of whom embarked in the undertaking,
were to exchange their barren moors for extensive
savannahs of the richest pasture, with some latent
hopes of a creagh (or foray) upon Spaniards or
Indians. The Lowland laird was to barter his
meagre heritage, and oppressive feudal tenure, for
the free possession of unlimited tracts of ground,
where the rich soil, three or four feet deep, would
return the richest produce for the slightest cultivation.
Allured by these hopes, many proprietors
actually abandoned their inheritances, and many
more sent their sons and near relations to realize
their golden hopes, while the poor labourers, who
desired no more than bread and freedom of
conscience, shouldered their mattocks, and followed
their masters in the path of emigration.

Twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom
were youths of the best Scottish families, embarked
on board of five frigates, purchased at
Hamburgh for the service of the expedition ; for the
King refused the Company even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war, which lay idle at Burnt-island. They sailed from Leith roads [26th July 1698], reached their destination in safety, and disembarked at a place called Acta, where, by cutting through a peninsula, they obtained a safe and insulated situation for a town, called New Edinburgh, and a fort named Saint Andrew. With the same fond remembrance of their native land, the colony itself was called Caledonia. They were favourably received by the native princes, from whom they purchased the land they required. The harbour, which was excellent, was proclaimed a free port; and in the outset the happiest results were expected from the settlement.

The arrival of the colonists took place in winter, when the air was cool and temperate; but with the summer returned the heat, and with the heat came the diseases of a tropical climate. Those who had reported so favourably of the climate of Darien, had probably been persons who had only visited the coast during the healthy season, or mariners, who, being chiefly on ship-board, find many situations healthy, which prove pestilential to Europeans residing on shore. The health of the settlers, accustomed to a cold and mountainous country, gave way fast under the constant exhalations of the sultry climate, and even a more pressing danger than disease itself arose from the scarcity of food. The provisions which the colonists had brought from Scotland were expended, and the country
afforded them only such supplies as could be procured by the precarious success of fishing and the chase.

This must have been foreseen; but it was never doubted that ample supplies would be procured from the English provinces in North America, which afforded great superabundance of provisions, and from the West India colonies, which always possessed superfluities. It was here that the enmity of the King and the English nation met the unfortunate settlers most unexpectedly, and most severely. In North America, and in the West India islands, the most savage pirates and bucaniers, men who might be termed enemies to the human race, and had done deeds which seemed to exclude them from intercourse with mankind, had nevertheless found repeated refuge, had been permitted to refit their squadrons, and, supplied with every means of keeping the sea, had set sail in a condition to commit new murders and piracies.

But no such relief was extended to the Scottish colonists at Darien, though acting under a charter from their Sovereign, and establishing a peaceful colony according to the law of nations, and for the universal benefit of mankind.

The governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New York, published proclamations, setting forth, that whereas it had been signified to them (the governors) by the English Secretary of State, that his Majesty was unacquainted with the purpose and design of the Scottish settlers at Darien (which was a positive falsehood), and that it was contrary
to the peace entered into with his Majesty's allies (no European power having complained of it), and that the governors of the said colonies had been commanded not to afford them any assistance; therefore, they did strictly charge the colonists over whom they presided, to hold no correspondence with the said Scots, and to give them no assistance of arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other necessary whatsoever, either by themselves or any others for them; as those transgressing the tenor of the proclamation would answer the breach of his Majesty's commands at their highest peril.

These proclamations were strictly obeyed; and every species of relief, not only that which countrymen may claim of their fellow-subjects, and Christians of their fellow-Christians, but such as the vilest criminal has a right to demand, because still holding the same human shape with the community whose laws he has offended, - the mere supply, namely, of sustenance, the meanest boon granted to the meanest beggar, - was denied to the colonists of Darien.

Famine aided the diseases which swept them off in large numbers; and undoubtedly they, who thus perished for want of the provisions for which they were willing to pay, were as much murdered by King William's government, as if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe. The various miseries of the colony became altogether intolerable, and, after waiting for assistance eight months, by far the greater part of the adventurers having died, the miserable remainder abandoned the settlement.
Shortly after the departure of the first colony, another body of thirteen hundred men, who had been sent out from Scotland, arrived at Darien, under the hope of finding their friends in health, and the settlement prosperous. This reinforcement suffered by a bad passage, in which one of their ships was lost, and several of their number died. They took possession of the deserted settlement with sad anticipations, and were not long in experiencing the same miseries which had destroyed and dispersed their predecessors. Two months after, they were joined by Campbell of Finab, with a third body of three hundred men, chiefly from his own Highland estate, many of whom had served under him in Flanders, where he had acquired an honourable military reputation. It was time the colony should receive such military support, for in addition to their other difficulties, they were now threatened by the Spaniards.

Two years had elapsed since the colonization of Darien had become matter of public discussion, and notwithstanding their feverish jealousy of their South American settlements, the Spaniards had not made any remonstrance against it. Nay, so close...

and intimate was the King of Spain's friendship with King William, that it seems possible he might never have done so, unless the colonists had been disowned by their Sovereign, as if they had been vagabonds and outlaws. But finding the Scottish colony so treated by their Prince, the Spaniards felt themselves invited in a manner to attack it, and not only lodged a remonstrance against the
settlement with the English Cabinet, but seized one of the vessels wrecked on the coast, confiscated the ship, and made the crew prisoners. The Darien Company sent an address to the King by the hands of Lord Basil Hamilton, remonstrating against this injury; but William, who studied every means to discountenance the unfortunate scheme, refused, under the most frivolous pretexts, to receive the petition. This became so obvious, that the young nobleman determined that the address should reach the royal hands in season or out of season, and taking a public opportunity to approach the King as he was leaving the saloon of audience, he obtruded himself and the petition upon his notice, with more bluntness than ceremony. "That young man is too bold," said William; but, doing justice to Lord Basil's motive, he presently added, "if a man can be too bold in the cause of his country."

The fate of the colony now came to a crisis. The Spaniards had brought from the Pacific a force of sixteen hundred men, who were stationed at a place called Tubucantee, waiting the arrival of an armament of eleven ships, with troops on board, destined to attack fort Saint Andrew. Captain Campbell, who, by the unanimous consent of the settlers, was chosen to the supreme military command, marched against them with two hundred men, surprised and stormed their camp, and dispersed their army, with considerable slaughter. But in returning from his successful expedition, he had the mortification to learn that the Spanish ships had arrived before the harbour, disembarked their troops, and invested the place. A desperate
(59-45) Defence was maintained for six weeks: until loss
(59-45) of men, want of ammunition, and the approach of
(59-45) famine, compelled the colonists to an honourable
(59-45) surrender. 1 The survivors of this unhappy settlement
(59-45) were so few, and so much exhausted, that
(59-45) they were unable to weigh the anchor of the vessel,
(59-45) called The Rising Sun, in which they were to leave
(59-45) the fatal shore, without assistance from the
(59-45) conquering Spaniards.

[TG59-46]
(59-46) Thus ended the attempt of Darien, an enterprise
(59-46) splendid in itself, but injudicious, because far
(59-46) beyond the force of the adventurous little nation by
(59-46) which it was undertaken.  Paterson survived the
(59-46) disaster, and, even when all was over, endeavoured
(59-46) to revive the scheme, by allowing the English
(59-46) three-fourths in a new Stock Company.  But
(59-46) national animosities were too high to suffer his
(59-46) proposal to be listened to. He died at an advanced
(59-46) age, poor and neglected.

(59-46) The failure of this favourite project, deep sorrow
(59-46) for the numbers who had fallen, many of whom
(59-46) were men of birth and blood, the regret for
(59-46) pecuniary losses, which threatened national bankruptcy,

[TG59-47]
(59-47) and indignation at the manner in which their charter
(59-47) had been disregarded, all at once agitated from
(59-47) one end to the other a kingdom, which is to a
(59-47) proverb proud, poor, and warm in their domestic
(59-47) attachments. Nothing could be heard throughout
(59-47) Scotland but the language of grief and of resentment.
(59-47) Indemnification, redress, revenge, were demanded
(59-47) by every mouth, and each hand seemed ready to
vouch for the justice of the claim. For many years, no such universal feeling had occupied the Scottish nation.

King William remained indifferent to all complaints of hardship and petitions of redress, unless when he showed himself irritated by the importunity of the suppliants, and hurt at being obliged to evade what it was impossible for him, with the least semblance of justice, to refuse. The motives of a Prince, naturally just and equitable, and who, himself the President of a great trading nation, knew well the injustice which he was committing,

seem to have been, first, a reluctance to disoblige the King of Spain, but, secondly, and in a much greater degree, what William might esteem the political necessity of sacrificing the interests of Scotland to the jealousy of England, a jealousy equally unworthy and impolitic. But what is unjust can never be in a true sense necessary, and the sacrifice of principle to circumstances will, in every sense, and in all cases, be found as unwise as it is

It is, however, only justice to William to state, that though in the Darien affair he refused the Scots the justice which was unquestionably their due, he was nevertheless the only person in either kingdom who proposed, and was anxious to have carried into execution, an union between the kingdoms, as the only effectual means of preventing in future such subjects of jealousy and contention. But the prejudices of England as well as Scotland, rendered more inveterate by this unhappy quarrel,
disappointed the King's wise and sagacious overture.

Notwithstanding the interest in her welfare which King William evinced, by desiring the accomplishment of an union, the people of Scotland could not forget the wrongs which they had received concerning the Darien project; and their sullen resentment showed itself in every manner, excepting open rebellion, during the remainder of his reign.

In this humour, Scotland became a useless possession to the King. William could not wring from that kingdom one penny for the public service, or what he would have valued more, one recruit to carry on his continental campaigns. These hostile feelings subsisted to a late period.

William died in 1701, having six years and upwards survived his beloved consort Queen Mary. This great King's memory was, and is, justly honoured in England, as their deliverer from slavery, civil and religious, and is almost canonized by the Protestants of Ireland, whom he rescued from subjugation, and elevated to supremacy. But in Scotland, his services to church and state, though at least equal to those which he rendered to the sister countries, were in a considerable degree obliterated by the infringement other national rights, on several occasions. Many persons, as well as your grand-father, may recollect, that on the 5th of November, 1788, when a full century had elapsed after the Revolution, some friends to constitutional liberty proposed that the return of the day should be solemnized by an agreement to erect a monument to
the memory of King William, and the services which he had rendered to the British kingdoms. At this period an anonymous letter appeared in one of the Edinburgh newspapers, ironically applauding the undertaking, and proposing as two subjects of the entablature, for the base of the projected column, the massacre of Glencoe, and the distresses of the Scottish colonists at Darien. The proposal was abandoned as soon as this insinuation was made public. You may observe from this how cautious a monarch should be of committing wrong or injustice, however strongly recommended by what may seem political necessity; since the recollection of such actions cancels the sense of the most important national services, as in Scripture it is said, "that a dead fly will pollute a rich and costly unguent."

James II. died only four months before his son-in-law William. The King of France proclaimed James's son, that unfortunate Prince of Wales, born in the very storm of the Revolution, as William's successor in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; a step which greatly irritated the three nations, to whom Louis seemed by this act disposed to nominate a sovereign. Anne, the sister of the late Queen Mary, ascended the throne of these kingdoms, according to the provision made at the Revolution by the legislature of both nations.

At the period of Queen Anne's accession, Scotland was divided into three parties. These were,
first, the Whigs, stanch favourers of the Revolution, in the former reign called Williamites;
secondly, the Tories, or Jacobites, attached to the late King; and thirdly, a party sprung up in consequence of the general complaints arising out or the Darien adventure, who associated themselves for asserting the rights and independence of Scotland.

This latter association comprehended several men of talent, among whom Fletcher of Saltoun, already mentioned, was the most distinguished. They professed, that providing the claims and rights of the country were ascertained and secured against the encroaching influence of England, they did not care whether Anne or her brother, the titular Prince of Wales, was called to the throne. These statesmen called themselves the Country Party, as embracing exclusively for their object the interests of Scotland alone. This party, formed upon a plan and principle of political conduct hitherto unknown in the Scottish Parliament, was numerous, bold, active, and eloquent; and as a critical period had arrived in which the measures to be taken in Scotland must necessarily greatly affect the united empire, her claims could no longer be treated with indifference or neglect, and the voice of her patriots disregarded.

The conjuncture which gave Scotland new consequence, was as follows:—When Queen Anne was named to succeed to the English throne, on the death of her sister Mary, and brother-in-law William III., she had a family. But the young Duke
of Gloucester, the last of her children, had died before her accession to the crown, and there were no hopes of her having more; it became, therefore, necessary to make provision for the succession to the crown when the new Queen should die. The titular Prince of Wales, son of the abdicated James, was undoubtedly the next heir; but he was a Catholic, bred up in the court of France, inheriting all the extravagant claims, and probably the arbitrary sentiments, of his father; and to call him to the throne, would be in all likelihood to undo the settlement between king and people which had taken place at the Revolution. The English legislature, therefore, turned their eyes to another descendant of King James VI., namely, Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, by the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, with the Prince Palatine. This Princess was the nearest Protestant heir in blood to Queen Anne, supposing the claims of the son of James II. were to be passed over. She was a Protestant, and would necessarily, by accepting the crown, become bound to maintain the civil and religious rights of the nation, as settled at the Revolution, upon which her own right would be dependent. For these weighty reasons the English Parliament passed an Act of Succession, settling the crown, on the failure of Queen Anne and her issue, upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and her descendants. This act, most important in its purport and consequences, was passed in June, 1700.
It became of the very last importance to Queen Anne's administration, to induce, if possible, the legislation of Scotland to settle the crown of that kingdom on the same series of heirs to which that of England was destined. If, after the death of Queen Anne, the Scottish nation, instead of uniting in choosing the Electress Sophia, should call to the crown the titular Prince of Wales, the two kingdoms would again be separated, after having been under the same sway for a century, and all the evils of mutual hostilities betwixt the two extremities of the island, encouraged by the alliance and assistance of France, must again distract Great Britain. It became necessary, therefore, to try every species of persuasion to prevent a consequence fraught with so much mischief.

But Scotland was not in a humour to be either threatened or soothed into the views of England on this important occasion. The whole party of Anti-Revolutionists, Jacobites, or, as they called themselves, Cavaliers, although they thought it prudent for the present to submit to Queen Anne, entertained strong hopes that she herself was favourable to the succession of her brother after her own death; while their principles dictated to them that the wrong, as they termed it, done to James II., ought as speedily as possible to be atoned for by the restoration of his son. They were of course directly and violently hostile to the proposed Act of Settlement in favour of the Electress Sophia.

The country party, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, opposed the Act of Succession for different reasons. They
resolved to take this favourable opportunity to
diminishing or destroy the ascendency which had
been exercised by England respecting the affairs
of Scotland, and which, in the case of Darien, had
been so unjustly and unworthily employed to
thwart and disappoint a national scheme. They
determined to obtain for Scotland a share in the
plantation trade of England, and a freedom from
the restrictions imposed by the English Navigation
Act, and other regulations enacted to secure
a monopoly of trade to the English nation. Until
these points were determined in favour of Scotland,
they resolved they would not agree to pass
the Act of Succession, boldly alleging, that unless
the rights and privileges of Scotland were to be
respected, it was of little consequence whether she
chose a king from Hanover or Saint Germain.

The whole people of Scotland, excepting those
actually engaged in the administration, or expecting
favours from the court, resolutely adopted the
same sentiments, and seemed resolved to abide all
the consequences of a separation of the two kingdoms,
nay, of a war with England, rather than
name the Electress Sophia successor to the crown,
till the country was admitted to an equitable
portion of those commercial privileges which England
retained with a tenacious grasp. The crisis seemed
an opportunity of Heaven's sending, to give Scotland
consequence enough to insist on her rights.

With this determined purpose, the country
party in the Scottish Parliament, instead of adopting,
as the English ministers eagerly desired, the
Protestant Act of Succession, proposed a measure called an Act of Security. By this it was provided, that in case of Queen Anne's death without children, the whole power of the crown should, for the time, be lodged in the Scottish Parliament, who were directed to choose a successor of the royal line and Protestant religion. But the choice was to be made with this special reservation, that the person so chosen should take the throne only under such conditions of government as should secure, from English or foreign influence, the honour and independence of the Scottish crown and nation. It was further stipulated, that the same person should be incapable of holding the crowns of both kingdoms, unless the Scottish people were admitted to share with the English the full benefits of trade and navigation. That the nation might assume an appearance of strength necessary to support such lofty pretensions, it was provided by the same statute, that the whole men in Scotland capable of bearing arms, should be trained to the use of them by monthly drills; and, that the influence of England might expire at the same time with the life of the Queen, it was provided that all commissions of the officers of state, as well as those of the military employed by them, should cease and lose effect so soon as Anne's death took place.

This formidable act, which in fact hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the far stronger kingdom of England, was debated in the Scottish Parliament, clause by clause, and article by article, with the utmost fierceness and tumult. "We were often," says an eyewitness, "in the form of a Polish Diet,
with our swords in our hands; or at least our hands on our swords."

The Act of Security was carried in Parliament by a decided majority, but the Queen's commissioner refused the royal assent to so violent a statute. The Parliament, on their part, would grant no supplies, and when such were requested by the members of administration, the hall rung with the shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!" The Parliament was adjourned amidst the mutual discontent of both Ministers and Opposition.

The dispute betwixt the two nations was embroiled during the recess of Parliament by intrigues. Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat,

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had undertaken to be the agent of France in a Jacobite conspiracy, which he afterwards discovered to Government, involving in his accusation the Duke of Hamilton, and other noblemen. The persons accused defended themselves by alleging that the plot was a mere pretext, devised by the Duke of Queensberry, to whom it had been discovered by Fraser. The English House of Peers, in allusion to this genuine or pretended discovery, passed a vote, that a dangerous plot had existed in Scotland, and that it had its origin in the desire to overthrow the Protestant succession in that nation. This resolution was highly resented by the Scots, being considered as an unauthorized interference, on the part of the English peers, with the concerns of another kingdom. Everything seemed tending to a positive rupture between the sister kingdoms; and yet, my dear child, it was from this state of
things that the healing measure of an incorporating Union finally took its rise.

In the very difficult and critical conduct which the Queen had to observe betwixt two high-spirited nations, whose true interest it was to enter into the strictest friendship and alliance, but whose irritated passions for the present breathed nothing but animosity, Anne had the good fortune to be assisted by the wise counsels of Godolphin, one of the most sagacious and profound ministers who ever advised a crowned head. By his recommendation, the Queen proceeded upon a plan, which, while at first sight it seemed to widen the breach between the two nations, was in the end to prove the means of compelling both to lay aside their mutual prejudices and animosities. The scheme of a Union was to be proceeded upon, like that of breaking two spirited horses to join in drawing the same yoke, when it is of importance to teach them, that by moving in unison, and at an equal pace, the task will be easy to them both. Godolphin's first advice to the Queen was, to suffer the Scottish Act of Security to pass. The English, in their superior wealth and importance, had for many years looked with great contempt on the Scottish nation, as compared with themselves, and were prejudiced against the Union, as a man of wealth and importance might be against a match with a female in an inferior rank of society. It was necessary to change this feeling, and to show plainly to the English people, that, if the Scots were not allied with them in intimate friendship, they might prove dangerous enemies.
The Act of Security finally passed in 1704, having, according to Godolphin's advice, received the Queen's assent; and the Scottish Parliament, as the provisions of the statute bore, immediately began to train their countrymen, who have always been attached to the use of arms, and easily submit to military discipline.

The effect of these formidable preparations was, to arouse the English from their indifference to Scottish affairs. Scotland might be poor, but her numerous levies, under sanction of the Act of Security, were not the less formidable. A sudden inroad on Newcastle, as in the great Civil War, would distress London, by interrupting the coal trade; and whatever might be the event, the prospect of a civil war, as it might be termed, after so long a tract of peace, was doubtful and dangerous.

The English Parliament, therefore, showed a mixture of resentment tempered with a desire of conciliation. They enacted regulations against the Scottish trade, and ordered the Border towns of Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, to be fortified and garrisoned; but they declined, at the same time, the proposed measure of enquiring concerning the person who advised the Queen to consent to the Act of Security. In abstaining from this, they paid respect to Scottish independence, and at the same time, by empowering the Queen to nominate Commissioners for a Union, they seemed to hold out the olive branch to the sister kingdom.
While this lowering hurricane appeared to be gathering darker and darker betwixt the two nations, an incident took place which greatly inflamed their mutual resentment.

A Scottish ship, equipped for a voyage to India, had been seized and detained in the Thames, at the instance of the English East India Company. The Scots were not in a humour to endure this; and by way of reprisal, they took possession of a large English vessel trading to India, called the Worcester, which had been forced into the frith of Forth by unfavourable weather. There was something suspicious about this vessel. Her men were numerous, and had the air of pirates. She was better provided with guns and ammunition than is usual for vessels fitted out merely for objects of trade. A cipher was found among her papers, for corresponding with the owners, as if upon secret and dangerous business. All these mysterious circumstances seemed to intimate, that the Worcester, as was not uncommon, under the semblance of a trader, had been equipped for the purpose of exercising, when in remote Indian latitudes, the profession of a buccaneer or pirate.

One of the seamen belonging to this ship, named Haines, having been ashore with some company, and drinking rather freely, fell into a fit of melancholy, an effect which liquor produces on some constitutions, and in that humour told those who were present, that it is a wonder his captain and crew were not lost at sea, considering the wickedness
which had been done aboard that ship which
was lying in the roadstead. Upon these and similar
hints of something doubtful or illegal, the
Scottish authorities imprisoned the officers and
sailors of the Worcester, and examined them

[rigorous, in order to discover what the expressions
of their shipmate referred to.

Among other persons interrogated, a black slave
of the captain (surely a most suspicious witness)
told a story, that the Worcester, during their late
voyage, had, upon the Coromandel coast, near
Calicut, engaged, and finally boarded and captured
a vessel bearing a red nag, and manned with
English, or Scotch, or at least with people speaking the
English language; that they had thrown the crew
overboard, and disposed of the vessel and the cargo
to a native merchant. This account was in
some degree countenanced by the surgeon of the
Worcester, who, in confirmation of the slave's
story, said, that being on shore in a harbour on the
coast of Malabar, he heard the discharge of great
guns at sea; and saw the Worcester, which had
been out on a cruise, come in next morning with
another vessel under her stern, which he understood
was afterwards sold to a native merchant.
Four days afterwards he went on board the
Worcester, and finding her decks lumbered with goods,
made some enquiry of the crew how they had come
by them, but was checked for doing so by the mate,
and desired to confine himself to his own business.
Farther, the surgeon stated, that he was called to
dress the wounds of several of the men, but the
captain and mate forbade him to ask, or the
patients to answer, how they came by their hurts.

Another black servant, or slave, besides the one before mentioned, had not himself seen the capture of the supposed ship, or the death of the crew, but had been told of it by the first informer, shortly after it happened. Lastly, a Scottish witness declared that Green, the captain of the vessel, had shown him a seal bearing the arms of the Scottish African and Indian Company.

This story was greatly too vague to have been admitted to credit on any occasion when men's minds were cool and their judgments unprejudiced. But the Scottish nation was almost frantic with resentment on the subject of Darien. One of the vessels belonging to that unfortunate Company, called the Rising Sun, and commanded by Captain Robert Drummond, had been amissing for some time; and it was received as indisputable truth, that this must have been the vessel taken by the Worcester, and that her master and men had been murdered, according to the black slave's declaration.

Under this cloud of prejudice, Green, with his mate and crew, fifteen men in all, were brought to trial for their lives. Three of these unfortunate men, Linstead, the supercargo's mate, Bruckley, the cooper of the Worcester, and Haines, whose gloomy hints gave the first suspicion, are said to have uttered declarations before trial, confirming the truth of the charge, and admitting that the vessel so seized upon was the Rising Sun, and that
Captain Robert Drummond and his crew were the persons murdered in the course of that act of piracy. But Haines seems to have laboured under attacks of hypochondria, which sometimes induce men to suppose themselves spectators and accomplices in crimes which have no real existence. Linstead, like the surgeon May, only spoke to a hearsay story, and that of Bruckley was far from being clear. It will hereafter be shown, that if any ship was actually taken by Green and his crew, it could not be that of Captain Drummond, which met a different fate. This makes it probable, that these confessions were made by the prisoners only in the hope of saving their own lives, endangered by the fury of the Scottish people. And it is certain that none of these declarations were read, or produced as evidence, in court, nor were those stated to have made them examined as witnesses.

The trial of Green and his crew took place before the High Court of Admiralty; and a jury, upon the sole evidence of the black slave, - for the rest was made up of suggestions, insinuations, and reports, taken from hearsay; - brought in a verdict of guilty against Green and all his crew. The Government were disposed to have obtained a reprieve from the crown for the prisoners, whose guilt was so very doubtful; but the mob of Edinburgh, at all times a fierce and intractable multitude, arose in great numbers, and demanded their lives with such an appearance of uncontrollable fury, that the authorities became intimidated, and yielded. Captain Green himself, Madder his first mate, and Simpson the gunner, were dragged to Leith, loaded
by the way with curses and execrations. (April, 1705)
and even struck at and pelted by the
furious populace; and finally executed in
terms of their sentence, denying with their last
breath the crime which they were accused of.

The ferment in Scotland was somewhat appeased
by this act of vengeance, for it has no title to be
called a deed of justice. The remainder of Green's
crew were dismissed after a long imprisonment,
during the course of which cooler reflection induced
doubts of the validity of the sentence. At a much
later period it appeared, that, if the Worcester had
committed an act of piracy upon any vessel, it could
not at least have been on the Rising Sun, which
ship had been cast away on the island of Madagascar,
when the crew were cut off by the natives,
excepting Captain Drummond himself, whom Drury,
an English seaman in similar circumstances, found
alive upon the island.

This unhappy affair, in which the Scots, by their
precipitate and unjust procedure, gave the deepest
offence to the English nation, tended greatly to
increase the mutual prejudices and animosity of the
people of both countries against each other. But

the very extremity of their mutual enmity inclined
wise men of both nations to be more disposed to
submit to a Union, with all the inconveniences and
difficulties which must attend the progress of such
a measure, rather than that the two divisions of the
same island should again engage in intestine war.
The principal obstacle to a Union, so far as England was concerned, lay in a narrow-minded view of the commercial interests of the nation, and a fear of the loss which might accrue by admitting the Scots to a share of their plantation trade, and other privileges. But it was not difficult to show, even to the persons most interested, that public credit and private property would suffer immeasurably more by a war with Scotland, than by sacrificing to peace and unity some share in the general commerce. It is true, the opulence of England, the command of men, the many victorious troops which she then had in the field, under the best commanders in Europe, seemed to ensure final victory, if the two nations should come to open war. But a war with Scotland was always more easily begun than ended; and wise men saw it would be better to secure the friendship of that kingdom by an agreement on the basis of mutual advantage, than to incur the risk of invading, and the final necessity of securing it as a conquered country, by means of forts and garrisons. In the one case, Scotland would become an integral part of the empire; and, improving in the arts of peaceful industry, must necessarily contribute to the prosperity of England. In the case supposed, she must long remain a discontented and disaffected province, in which the exiled family of James II. and his allies the French would always find friends and correspondents. English statesmen were therefore desirous of a union. But they stipulated that it should be of the most intimate kind; such as should free England from the great inconvenience arising from the Scottish nation possessing a separate
The legislature and constitution of her own: and in order to blend her interests indelibly with those of England, they demanded that the supreme power of the state should be reposed in a Parliament of the united countries, to which Scotland might send a certain proportion of members, but which should meet in the English capital, and be of course more immediately under the influence of English counsels and interests.

The Scottish nation, on the other hand, which had of late become very sensible of the benefits of foreign trade, were extremely desirous of a federative union, which should admit them to the commercial advantages which they coveted. But while they grasped at a share in the English trade, they desired that Scotland should retain her rights as a separate kingdom, making as heretofore her own laws, and adopting her own public measures, uncontrolled by the domination of England. Here, therefore, occurred a preliminary point of dispute, which was necessarily to be settled previous to the farther progress of the treaty.

In order to adjust the character of the proposed Union-treaty in this and other particulars, commissioners for both kingdoms were appointed to make a preliminary enquiry, and report upon the articles which ought to be adopted as the foundation of the measure, and which report was afterwards to be subjected to the Legislatures of both kingdoms.

The English and Scottish commissioners being
both chosen by the Queen, that is, by Godolphin and the Queen’s ministers, were indeed taken from different parties, but carefully selected, so as to preserve a majority of those who could be reckoned upon as friendly to the treaty, and who would be sure to do their utmost to remove such obstacles as might arise in the discussion.

I will briefly tell you the result of these numerous and anxious debates. The Scottish commissioners, after a vain struggle, were compelled to submit to an incorporating Union, as that which alone would ensure the purposes of combining England and Scotland into one single nation, to be governed in its political measures by the same Parliament. It was agreed, that in contributing to the support of the general expenses of the kingdom, Scotland should pay a certain proportion of taxes, which were adjusted by calculation. But in consideration that the Scots, whose revenue, though small, was unencumbered, must thereafter become liable for a share of the debt which England had incurred since the Revolution, a large sum of ready money was to be advanced to Scotland as an equivalent for that burden; which sum, however, was to be repaid to England gradually from the Scottish revenue. So far all went on pretty well between the two sets of commissioners. The English statesmen also consented, with no great scruple, that Scotland should retain her own national Presbyterian Church, her own system or civil and municipal laws, which is in many important respects totally different from that of England, and her own courts for the administration
of justice. The only addition to her judicial establishment was the erection of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to decide in fiscal matters, and which follows the English forms.

But the treaty was nearly broken off when the English announced, that, in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, Scotland should only enjoy a representation equal to one thirteenth of the whole number. The proposal was received by the Scottish commissioners with a burst of surprise and indignation. It was loudly urged that a kingdom resigning her ancient independence, should at least obtain in the great national council a representation bearing the same proportion the population of Scotland did to that of England, which was one to six. If this rule, which seems the fairest that could be found, had been adopted, Scotland would have sent sixty-six members to the united Parliament. But the English refused peremptorily to consent to the admission of more than forty-five at the very utmost; and the Scottish commissioners were bluntly and decisively informed that they must either acquiesce in this proposal, or declare the treaty at an end. With more prudence, perhaps, than spirit, the majority of the commissioners chose to yield the point rather than run the risk of frustrating the Union entirely.

The Scottish Peerage were to preserve all the other privileges of their rank; but their right of sitting in Parliament, and acting as hereditary legislators, was to be greatly limited. Only sixteen of their number were to enjoy seats in the British
(60-69) House of Lords, and these were to be chosen by
election from the whole body. Such peers as were
amongst the number of commissioners were induced
to consent to this degradation of their order,
by the assurance that they themselves should be
created British peers, so as to give them personally,
by charter, the right which the sixteen could
only acquire by election.

(60-69) To smooth over the difficulties, and reconcile the
Scottish Commissioners to the conditions which
appeared hard to them, and above all, to afford them
some compensation for the odium which they were
certain to incur, they were given to understand that
a considerable sum out of the equivalent money
would be secured for their especial use. We might
have compassionated these statesmen, many of whom
were able and eminent men, had they, from the
sincere conviction that Scotland was under the
necessity of submitting to the Union at all events,
accepted the terms which the English Commissioners

dictated. But when they united with the degradation
of their country, the prospect of obtaining personal
wealth and private emoluments, we cannot
acquit them of the charge of having sold their own
honour and that of Scotland. This point of the
treaty was kept strictly secret; nor was it fixed
how the rest of the equivalent was to be disposed
of. There remained a disposable fund of about
three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which
was to be bestowed on Scotland in indemnification
for the losses of Darien, and other gratuities, upon
which all those members of the Scottish parliament
who might be inclined to sell their votes, and whose interest was worth purchasing, might fix their hopes and expectations.

When the articles, agreed upon by the Commissioners as the basis of a Union, were made public in Scotland, it became plain that few suffrages would be obtained in favour of the measure, save by menaces or bribery, unless perhaps from a very few, who, casting their eyes far beyond the present time, considered the uniting of the island of Britain as an object which could not be purchased too dearly. The people in general had awaited, in a state of feverish anxiety, the nature of the propositions on which this great national treaty was to rest; but even those who had expected the least favourable terms, were not prepared for the rigour of the conditions which had been adopted, and the promulgation of the articles gave rise to the most general expressions, not only of discontent, but of rage and fury against the proposed Union.

There was indeed no party or body of men in Scotland, who saw their hopes or wishes realized in the plan adopted by the Commissioners. I will show you, in a few words, their several causes of dissatisfaction:

The Jacobites saw in the proposed Union, an effectual bar to the restoration of the Stewart family. If the treaty was adopted, the two kingdoms must necessarily be governed by the English act, settling the succession of the crown on the Electress of Hanover. They were therefore resolved to oppose the Union to the utmost. The Episcopal clergy
(60-71) could hardly be said to have had a separate interest (60-71) from the Jacobites, and, like them, dreaded the (60-71) change of succession which must take place at the (60-71) death of Queen Anne. The Highland chiefs also, (60-71) the most zealous and formidable portion of the (60-71) Jacobite interest, anticipated in the Union a decay of (60-71) their own patriarchal power. They remembered (60-71) the times of Cromwell, who bridled the Highlands (60-71) by garrisons filled with soldiers, and foresaw that (60-71) when Scotland came to be only a part of the (60-71) British nation, a large standing army, at the constant (60-71) command of Government, must gradually suppress (60-71) the warlike independence of the clans.

(60-71) The Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, (60-71) both clergy and laity, were violently opposed to the (60-71) Union, from the natural apprehension, that so intimate (60-71) an incorporation of two nations was likely to (60-71) end in a uniformity of worship, and that the (60-71) hierarchy of England would, in that case, be extended (60-71) to the weaker and poorer country of Scotland, to

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(60-72) the destruction of the present establishment. This (60-72) fear seemed the better founded, as the Bishops, or (60-72) Lords Spiritual of the English House of Lords, (60-72) formed a considerable portion of what was proposed (60-72) to be the legislature of both kingdoms; so that (60-72) Scotland, in the event of the Union taking place, (60-72) must, to a certain extent, fall under the dominion (60-72) of prelates. These apprehensions extended to the (60-72) Cameronians themselves, who, though having so (60-72) many reasons to dread the restoration of the Stewarts, (60-72) and to favour the Protestant succession, looked, (60-72) nevertheless, on the proposed Union as almost a (60-72) worse evil, and a still farther departure from the
engagements of the Solemn League and Covenant, which, forgotten by all other parties in the nation, was still their professed rule of action.

The nobility and barons of the kingdom were alarmed, lest they should be deprived, after the example of England, of those territorial jurisdictions and privileges which preserved their feudal influence; while, at the same time, the transference of the seat of government to London, must necessarily be accompanied with the abolition of many posts and places of honour and profit, connected with the administration of Scotland as a separate kingdom, and which were naturally bestowed on her nobility and gentry. The Government, therefore, must have so much less to give away, the men of influence so much less to receive; and those who might have expected to hold situations of power and authority in their own country while independent, were likely to lose by the Union both power and patronage.

The persons who were interested in commerce complained, that Scotland was only tantalized by a treaty, which held out to the kingdom the prospect of a free trade, when, at the same time, it subjected them to all the English burdens and duties, raising the expenses of commerce to a height which Scotland afforded no capital to defray; so that the apprehension became general, that the Scottish merchants would lose the separate trade which they now possessed, without obtaining any beneficial share in that of England.

Again, the whole body of Scottish trades-people, artisans, and the like, particularly those of the
metropolis, foresaw, that in consequence of the Union, a large proportion of the nobility and gentry would be withdrawn from their native country, some to attend their duties in the British Parliament, others from the various motives of ambition, pleasure, or vanity, which induce persons of comparative wealth to frequent courts, and reside in capitals. The consequences to be apprehended were, that the Scottish metropolis would be deserted by all that were wealthy and noble, and deprived at once of the consideration and advantages of a capital; and that the country must suffer in proportion, by the larger proprietors ceasing to reside on their estates, and going to spend their rents in England.

These were evils apprehended by particular classes of men. But the loss and disgrace to be sustained by the ancient kingdom, which had so long defended her liberty and independence against England, were common to all her children; and should Scotland at this crisis voluntarily surrender her rank among nations, for no immediate advantages that could be anticipated, excepting such as might be obtained by private individuals, who had votes to sell, and consciences that permitted them to traffic in such ware, each inhabitant of Scotland must have his share in the apprehended dishonour. Perhaps, too, those felt it most, who, having no estates or wealth to lose, claimed yet a share, with the greatest and the richest, in the honour of their common country.

The feelings of national pride were inflamed by those of national prejudice and resentment. The
Scottish people complained, that they were not only required to surrender their public rights, but to yield them up to the very nation who had been most malevolent to them in all respects; who had been their constant enemies during a thousand years of almost continual war; and who, even since they were united under the same crown, had shown, in the massacre of Glencoe, and the disasters of Darien, at what a slight price they held the lives and rights of their northern neighbours. The hostile measures adopted by the English Parliament, - their declarations against the Scottish trade, - their preparations for war on the Border, - were all circumstances which envenomed the animosity of the people of Scotland; while the general training which had taken place under the Act of Security, made them confident in their own military strength, and disposed to stand their ground at all hazards.

Moved by anxiety, doubt, and apprehension, an unprecedented confluence of people, of every rank, sex, and age, thronged to Edinburgh from all corners of Scotland, to attend the meeting of the Union Parliament, which met 3d October, 1706. The Parliament was divided, generally speaking, into three parties. The first was composed of the courtiers or followers of Government determined at all events to carry through the Union, on the terms proposed by the Commissioners. This party was led by the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner, a person of talents and accomplishments, and great political address, who had filled the highest situations during the last reigns. He
was assisted by the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State, who was suspected to be naturally much disposed to favour the exiled family of Stewart, but who, sacrificing his political principles to love of power or of emolument, was deeply concerned in the underhand and private management by which the Union was carrying through. But the most active agent in the treaty was the Viscount Stair, long left out of administration on account of his share in the scandalous massacre of Glencoe and the affair of Darien. He was raised to an earldom in 1703, and was highly trusted and employed by Lord Godolphin, and the English administration. This celebrated statesman, now trusted and employed, by his address, eloquence, and talents, contributed greatly to accomplish the Union, and gained on that account, from a great majority of his displeased countrymen, the popular nickname of the Curse of Scotland.

The party opposing the Union consisted of those who were attached to the Jacobite interest, joined with the country party, who, like Fletcher of Saltoun, resisted the treaty, not on the grounds of the succession to the crown, but as destructive of the national independence of the kingdom. They were headed by the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer of Scotland, an excellent speaker, and admirably qualified to act as the head of a party in ordinary times, but possessed of such large estates as rendered him unwilling to take any decisive steps by which his property might be endangered. To this it seems to have been owing, that the more decided and effectual measures, by which alone the
Union treaty might have been defeated, though they often seemed to gain his approbation for a time, never had his hearty or effectual support in the end.

There was a third party, greatly smaller than either of the others, but which secured to themselves a degree of consequence by keeping together, and affecting to act independently of the rest, from which they were termed the Squadrone Volante. They were headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, and consisted of the members of an administration of which the Marquis had been the head, but which were turned out of office to make way for the Duke of Queensberry and the present ruling party. These discontented politicians were neither favourers of the Court which had dismissed them, nor of the opposition party. To speak plainly, in a case where their country demanded of them a decisive opinion, the Squadrone seem to have waited to see what course of conduct would best serve their own interest. We shall presently see that they were at last decided to support the treaty by a reconciliation with the court.

The unpopularity of the proposed measure throughout Scotland in general, was soon made evident by the temper of the people of Edinburgh. The citizens of the better class exclaimed against the favourers of the Union, as willing to surrender the sovereignty of Scotland to her ancient rival, whilst the populace stated the same idea in a manner more obvious to their gross capacities, and cried out that the Scottish crown, sceptre, and sword,
were about to be transferred to England, as they had been in the time of the usurper, Edward Longshanks.

On the 23d October, the popular fury was at its height. The people crowded together in the High Street and Parliament Square, and greeted their representatives as friends or enemies to their country, according as they opposed or favoured the Union. The Commissioner was bitterly reviled and hooted at, while, in the evening of the day, several hundred persons escorted the Duke of Hamilton to his lodgings, encouraging him by loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. The rabble next assailed the house of the Lord Provost, destroyed the windows, and broke open the doors, and threatened him with instant death as a favourer of the obnoxious treaty.

Other acts of riot were committed, which were not ultimately for the advantage of the Anti-Unionists, since they were assigned as reasons for introducing strong bodies of troops into the city. These mounted guard in the principal streets; and the Commissioner dared only pass to his coach through a lane of soldiers under arms, and was then driven to his lodgings in the Canongate amidst repeated volleys of stones and roars of execration. The Duke of Hamilton continued to have his escort of shouting apprentices, who attended him home every evening.

But the posting of the guards overawed opposition
both within and without the Parliament; and,
notwithstanding the remonstrances of the opposition
party, that it was an encroachment both on the
privileges of the city of Edinburgh and of the
Parliament itself, the hall of meeting continued to be
surrounded by a military force.

The temper of the kingdom of Scotland at large
was equally unfavourable to the treaty of Union
with that of the capital. Addresses against the
measure were poured into the House of Parliament
from the several shires, counties, burghs,
towns, and parishes. Men, otherwise the most
opposed to each other, Whig and Tory, Jacobite and
Williamite, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and
Cameronian, all agreed in expressing their detestation
of the treaty, and imploring the Estates of Parliament
to support and preserve entire the sovereignty
and independence of the Crown and kingdom, with
the rights and privileges of Parliament, valiantly
maintained through so many ages, so that the
succeeding generations might receive them unimpaired;
in which good cause the petitioners offered to
concur with life and fortune. While addresses of
this description loaded the table of the Parliament,
the promoters of the Union could only procure
from a few persons in the town of Ayr a single
address in favour of the measure, which was more
than overbalanced by one of an opposite tendency,
signed by a very large majority of the inhabitants
of the same burgh.

The Unionists, secure in their triumphant
majorities, treated these addresses with scorn. The
Duke of Argyle said, they were only fit to be made kites of, while the Earl of Marchmont proposed to reject them as seditious, and, as he alleged, got up collusively, and expressing the sense of a party rather than of the nation. To this it was boldly answered by Sir James Foulis of Colington, that, if the authenticity of the addresses were challenged, he had no doubt that the parties subscribing would attend the right honourable House in person, and enforce their petitions by their presence. This was an alarming suggestion, and ended the debate.

Amongst these addresses against the Union, there was one from the Commission of the General Assembly, which was supposed to speak the sentiments of most of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, who saw great danger to the Presbyterian Church from the measure under deliberation. But much of the heat of the clergy's opposition was taken off by the Parliament's passing an act for the Security of the Church of Scotland as by law established at the Revolution, and making this declaration an integral part of the treaty of Union.

This cautionary measure seems to have been deemed sufficient; and although some presbyteries sent addresses against the Union, and many ministers continued to preach violently on the subject, yet the great body of the clergy ceased to vex themselves and others with the alarming tendency of the measure, so far as religion and church discipline were concerned.

The Cameronians, however, remained unsatisfied, and not having forgotten the weight which
their arms had produced at the time of the
Revolution, they conceived that a similar crisis of public
affairs had again arrived, and required their active
interference. Being actually embodied and
possessed of arms, they wanted nothing save hardy
and daring leaders to have engaged them in actual
hostilities. They were indeed so earnest in
opposing the Union, that several hundreds of them
appeared in formal array, marched into Dumfries,
and, drawing up in military order around the cross
of the town, solemnly burnt the articles of Union,
and published a testimony, declaring that the
Commissioners who adjusted them must have been either
silly, ignorant, or treacherous, if not all three, and
protesting, that if an attempt should be made to
impose the treaty on the nation by force, the
subscribers were determined that they and their
companions would not become tributaries and bond
slaves to their neighbours, without acquitting
themselves as became men and Christians. After
publishing this threatening manifesto the assembly
dispersed.

This conduct of the Cameronians led to a
formidable conspiracy. One Cunningham of Eckatt,
a leading man of that sect at the time of the
Revolution, afterwards a settler at Darien, offered his
services to the heads of the opposition party, to
lead to Edinburgh such an army of Cameronians
as should disperse the Parliament, and break off
the treaty of Union. He was rewarded with
money and promises, and encouraged to collect the
sense of the country on the subject of his proposal.
This agent found the west country ripe for revolt, and ready to join with any others who might take arms against the Government on the footing of resistance to the treaty of Union. Cunningham required that a body of the Athole Highlanders should secure the town of Stirling, in order to keep the communication open between the Jacobite chiefs and the army of western insurgents, whom he himself was in the first instance to command. And had this design taken effect, the party which had suffered so much during the late reigns of the Stewarts, and the mountaineers, who had been found such ready agents in oppressing them, would have been seen united in a common cause, so strongly did the universal hatred to the Union overpower all other party feelings at this time.

A day was named for the proposed insurrection in the west, on which Cunningham affirmed he would be able to assemble at Hamilton, which was assigned as the place of rendezvous, seven or eight thousand men, all having guns and swords, several hundred with muskets and bayonets, and about a thousand on horseback; with which army he proposed to march instantly to Edinburgh, and disperse the Parliament. The Highlanders were to rise at the same time; and there can be little doubt that the country in general would have taken arms. Their first efforts would probably have been successful, but the final event must have been a bloody renewal of the wars between England and Scotland.

The Scottish Government were aware of the
danger, and employed among the Cameronians two
or three agents of their own, particularly one Ker
of Kersland, who possessed some hereditary influence
among them. The persons so employed did
not venture to cross the humour of the people, or
argue in favour of the Union; but they endeavoured
in various ways to turn the suspicion of the
Cameronians upon the Jacobite nobility and gentry,
to awaken hostile recollections of the persecutions
they had undergone, in which the Highlanders had
been willing actors, and to start other causes of
jealousy amongst people who were more influenced
by the humour of the moment than any reasoning
which could be addressed to them.

Notwithstanding the underhand practices of
Kersland, and although Cunningham himself is said
to have been gained over by the Government, the
scheme of rising went forward, and the day of
rendezvous was appointed; when the Duke of Hamilton,
either reluctant to awaken the flames of civil
war, or doubting the strength of Eckatt's party, and
its leader's fidelity, sent messengers into the west
country to countermand and postpone the intended
insurrection; in which he so far succeeded, that
only four hundred men appeared at the rendezvous,
instead of twice as many thousands; and these,
finding their purpose frustrated, dispersed
peaceably.

Another danger which threatened the Government
passed as easily over. An address against
the Union had been proposed at Glasgow, where,
as in every place of importance in Scotland, the
treaty was highly unpopular. The magistrates, acting under the directions of the Lord Advocate, endeavoured to obstruct the proposed petition, or at least to resist its being expressed in the name of the city. At this feverish time there was a national fast appointed to be held, and a popular preacher made choice of a text from Ezra, ch. viii. v. 21, "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Addressing himself to the people, who were already sufficiently irritated, the preacher told them that prayers would not do, addresses would not do - prayer was indeed a duty, but it must be seconded by exertions of a very different nature; "wherefore," he concluded, "up, and be valiant for the city of our God."

The populace of the city, taking this as a direct encouragement to insurrection, assembled in a state of uproar, attacked and dispersed the guards, plundered the houses of the citizens, and seized what arms they could find; in short, took possession of the town, and had every body's life and goods at their mercy. No person of any consequence appeared at the Lead of these rioters; and after having put themselves under the command of a mechanic named Finlay, who had formerly been a sergeant, they sent small parties to the neighbouring towns to invite them to follow their example. In this they were unsuccessful; the proclamations of Parliament, and the adjournment of the rendezvous
appointed by the Camerons, having considerably checked the disposition to insurrection. In short, the Glasgow riot died away, and the insurgents prevented bloodshed by dispersing quietly; Finlay and another of their leaders were seized by a party of dragoons from Edinburgh, conveyed to that city, and lodged in the castle. And thus was extinguished a hasty fire, which might otherwise have occasioned a great conflagration.

To prevent the repetition of such dangerous examples as the rendezvous at Hamilton and the tumults at Glasgow, the Parliament came to the resolution of suspending that clause of the Act of Security which appointed general military musters throughout Scotland; and enacted instead, that in consideration of the tumults which had taken place, all assembling in arms, without the Queen's special order, should be punished as an act of high treason. This being made public by proclamation, put a stop to future attempts at rising.

The project of breaking off the treaty by violence being now wholly at an end, those who opposed the measure determined upon a more safe and moderate attempt to frustrate it. It was resolved, that as many of the nobility, barons, and gentry of the realm as were hostile to the Union, should assemble in Edinburgh, and join in a peaceful, but firm and personal remonstrance to the Lord Commissioner, praying that the obnoxious measure might be postponed until the subscribers should receive an answer to a national address which they designed to present to the Queen at this interesting
It was supposed that the intended application to the Commissioner would be so strongly supported, that either the Scottish Government would not venture to favour a Union in the face of such general opposition, or that the English ministers themselves might take the alarm, and become doubtful of the efficacy or durability of a treaty, to which the bulk of Scotland seemed so totally averse.

About four hundred nobles and gentlemen of the first distinction assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of attending the Commissioner with the proposed remonstrance; and an address was drawn up, praying her Majesty to withdraw her countenance from the treaty, and to call a new Parliament.

When the day was appointed for executing the intended plan, it was interrupted by the Duke of Hamilton, who would on no terms agree to proceed with it, unless a clause was inserted in the address expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the succession on the House of Hanover.

This proposal was totally at variance with the sentiments of the Jacobite part of those who supported the address, and occasioned great and animated discussions among them, and considerable delay.

In the mean while, the Commissioner, observing the city unusually crowded with persons of condition, and obtaining information of the purpose for which so many gentlemen had repaired to the capital, made an application to Parliament, setting forth that a convocation had been held in Edinburgh of various persons, under pretence of requiring personal answers to their addresses to Parliament,
which was likely to endanger the public peace;
and obtained a proclamation against any meetings
under such pretexts during the sitting of Parliament,
which he represented as both inexpedient and
contrary to law.

While the Lord Commissioner was thus strengthening
his party, the Anti-Unionists were at discord
among themselves. The Dukes of Hamilton and
Athole quarrelled on account of the interruption
given by the former to the original plan of remonstrance;
and the country gentlemen who had attended
on their summons, returned home mortified,
disappointed, and, as many of them thought,
deceived by their leaders.

Time was mean while flying fast, and Parliament,
in discussing the separate articles of the Union, had
readied the twenty-second, being that designed to
fix the amount of the representation which Scotland
was to possess in the British Parliament, and, on
account of the inadequacy of such representation,
the most obnoxious of the whole.

The Duke of Hamilton, who still was, or affected
to be, firmly opposed to the treaty, now assembled
the leaders of the opposition, and entreated them to
forget all former errors and mismanagement, and

[TG60-89]
to concur in one common effort for the independence
of Scotland. He then proposed that the
Marquis of Annandale should open their proceedings,
by renewing a motion formerly made for the
succession of the crown in the House of Hanover,
which was sure to be rejected if coupled with any
measure interrupting the treaty of Union. Upon this the Duke proposed, that all the opposers of the Union, after joining in a very strong protest, should publicly secede from the Parliament; in which case it was likely, either that the Government party would hesitate to proceed farther in a matter which was to effect such total changes in the constitution of Scotland, or that the English might become of opinion that they could not safely carry on a national treaty of such consequence with a mere faction, or party of the Parliament, when deserted by so many persons of weight and influence.

The Jacobites objected to this course of proceeding, on account of the preliminary motion, which implied a disposition to call the House of Hanover to the succession, provided the Union were departed from by the Government. The Duke of Hamilton replied, that as the proposal was certain to be rejected, it would draw with it no obligation on those by whom it was made. He said, that such an offer would destroy the argument for forcing on the Union, which had so much weight in England, where it was believed that if the treaty did not take place, the kingdoms of England and Scotland would pass to different monarchs. He then declared frankly, that if the English should not discontinue pressing forward the Union after the formal protestation and secession which he proposed, he would join with the Jacobites for calling in the son of James II., and was willing to venture as far as any one for that measure.

It is difficult to suppose that the Duke of Hamilton...
was not serious in this proposal; and there
seems to be little doubt that if the whole body
opposing the Union had withdrawn in the manner
proposed, the Commissioner would have given up
the treaty, and prorogued the Parliament. But the
Duke lost courage, on its being intimated to him,
as the story goes, by the Lord High Commissioner,
in a private interview, that his Grace would be
held personally responsible, if the treaty of Union
was interrupted by adoption of the advice which he
had given, and that he should be made to suffer for
it in his English property. Such at least is the
general report; and such an interview could be

managed without difficulty, as both these distinguished
persons were lodged in the Palace of
Holyrood.

Whether acting from natural instability, whether
intimidated by the threats of Queensberry, or dreading
to encounter the difficulties when at hand, which
he had despised when at a distance, it is certain
that Hamilton was the first to abandon the course
which he had himself recommended. On the morning
appointed for the execution of their plan, when
the members of opposition had mustered all their
forces, and were about to go to Parliament, attended
by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens,
prepared to assist them if there should be an
attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned
that the Duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted
with the toothache, that he could not attend the
House that morning. His friends hastened to his
chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly
on this conduct, that he at length came down to
the House; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered, with extreme surprise, that they had reckoned on his Grace, as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The Duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court by being foremost in defeating their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost.

The members who had hitherto opposed the Union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the Duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards, most of them retired altogether from their attendance on Parliament; and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition.

Almost the only remarkable change in the articles of the Union, besides that relating to Church government, was made to quiet the minds of the common people, disturbed, as I have already mentioned, by rumours that the Scottish regalia were to be sent into England. A special article was inserted into the treaty, declaring that they should
on no occasion be removed from Scotland. At the same time, lest the sight of these symbols of national sovereignty should irritate the jealous feelings of the Scottish people, they were removed from the public view, and secured in a strong chamber, called the Crown-room, in the Castle of Edinburgh, where they remained so long in obscurity, that their very existence was generally doubted. But his present Majesty [K. George I V.] having directed that a commission should be issued to search after these venerable relics, they were found in safety in the place where they had been deposited, and are now made visible to the public under proper precautions.

It had been expected that the treaty of Union would have met with delays or alterations in the English Parliament. But it was approved of there, after very little debate by a large majority; and the exemplification or copy was sent down to be registered by the Scottish Parliament. This was done on the 25th March; and on the 22d April, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned for ever. Seafield, the Chancellor, on an occasion which every Scotsman ought to have considered as a melancholy one, behaved himself with a brutal levity, which in more patriotic times would have cost him his life on the spot, and said that "there was an end of an auld sang."

On the 1st of May, 1707, the Union took place, amid the dejection and despair which attend on the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen expression of discontent, that was far from
promising the course of prosperity which the treaty finally produced.

And here I must point out to you at some length, that, though there never could be a doubt that the Union in itself was a most desirable event, yet by the erroneous mode in which it was pushed on and opposed by all parties concerned, such obstacles were thrown in the way of the benefits it was calculated to produce, as to interpose a longer interval of years betwixt the date of the treaty and the national advantages arising out of it, than the term spent by the Jews in the wilderness ere they attained the promised land. In both cases the frowardness and passions of men rejected the blessings which Providence held out to them.

To understand this, you must know, that while the various plans for interrupting the treaty were agitated without doors, the debates in Parliament were of the most violent kind. " It resembled," said an eyewitness, " not the strife of tongues, but the clash of arms ; and the hatred, rage, and reproach which we exhausted on each other, seemed to be those of civil war rather than of political discussion." Much talent was displayed on both sides. The promoters of the Union founded their arguments not merely on the advantage, but the absolute necessity, of associating the independence of the two nations for their mutual honour and defence ; arguing, that otherwise they must renew the scenes of past ages, rendered dreadful by the recollection of three hundred and fourteen battles fought between two kindred nations, and more than a million of men slain on both sides. The
imaginary sacrifice of independent sovereignty,

was represented as being in reality an escape from the petty tyranny of their own provincial aristocracy, and a most desirable opportunity of having the ill-defined, and worse administered, government of Scotland, blended with that of a nation, the most jealous of her rights and liberties which the world ever saw.

While the Unionists pointed out the general utility of the amalgamation of the two nations into one, the opposition dwelt on the immediate disgrace and degradation which the measure must instantly and certainly impose on Scotland, and the distant and doubtful nature of the advantages which she was to derive from it.

Lord Belhaven, in a celebrated speech, which made the strongest impression on the audience, declared that he saw, in prophetic vision, the peers of Scotland, whose ancestors had raised tribute in England, now walking in the Court of Requests like so many English attorneys, laying aside their swords lest self-defence should be called murder? he saw the Scottish barons with their lips pad-locked, to avoid the penalties of unknown laws - he saw the Scottish lawyers struck mute and confounded at being" subjected to the intricacies and technical jargon of an unknown jurisprudence- he saw the merchants excluded from trade by the English monopolies-the artizans ruined fur want of custom-the gentry reduced to indigence-the lower ranks to starvation and beggary. " But above all, my lord," continued the orator, " I think
I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Caesar,

sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking
round her, covering herself with her royal mantle,
awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last
with the exclamation, ' And thou too, my son!'

These prophetic sounds made the deepest
impression on the House, until the effect was in some
degree dispelled by Lord Marchmount, who, rising to
reply, said, he too had been much struck by the noble
lord's vision, but that he conceived the exposition
of it might be given in a few words. " I awoke,
and behold it was a dream." But though Lord
Belhaven's prophetic harangue might be termed
in one sense a vision, it was one which continued
to exist for many years; nor was it until half a
century had passed away, that the Union began to
produce those advantages to Scotland which its
promoters had fondly hoped, and the fruits of
which the present generation has so fully reaped.

We must seek in the temper of the various parties
interested in carrying on and concluding this great
treaty, the reasons which for so many years
prevented the incalculable benefits which it was
expected to bestow, and which have been since
realized.

The first, and perhaps most fatal error, arose
out of the conduct and feelings of the English, who
were generally incensed at the conduct of the Scots
respecting the Act of Security, and in the precipitate
execution of Green and his companions, whom
their countrymen, with some reason, regarded as
men murdered on a vague accusation, merely
because they were Englishmen. This, indeed, was partly true; but though the Scots acted cruelly, it should have been considered that they had received much provocation, and were in fact only revenging, though rashly and unjustly, the injuries of Darien and Glencoe. But the times were unfavourable to a temperate view of the subject in either country. The cry was general throughout England, that Scotland should be conquered by force of arms, and secured by garrisons and forts, as in the days of Cromwell. Or, if she was to be admitted to a Union, there was a general desire on the part of the English to compel her to receive terms as indifferent as could be forced upon an inferior and humbled people.

These were not the sentiments of a profound statesman, and could not be those of Godolphin. He must have known that the mere fact of accomplishing a treaty could no more produce the cordial and intimate state of unity which was the point he aimed at, than the putting a pair of quarrelsome hounds into the same couples could reconcile the animals to each other. It may, therefore, be supposed, that, left to himself, so great a politician would have tried, by the most gentle means, to reconcile Scotland to the projected measure; that he would have been studious to efface every thing that appeared humiliating in the surrender of national independence; would have laboured to smooth those difficulties which prevented the Scots from engaging in the English trade; and have allowed her a more adequate representation in the
(60-98)national Parliament, which, if arranged according to her proportion of public expenses, would only have made the inconsiderable addition of fifteen members to the House of Commons. In fine, the English minister would probably have endeavoured to arrange the treaty on such terms of advantage for the poorer country, as should, upon its being adopted, immediately prove to the Scots, by its effects, that it was a measure they ought for their own sakes to have desired and concurred in. In this manner, the work of many years would have been, to a certain degree, anticipated, and the two nations would have felt themselves united in interest and in affection also, soon after they had become nominally one people. Whatever England might have sacrificed in this way, would have been gained by Great Britain, of which England must necessarily be the predominant part, and as such must always receive the greatest share of benefit by whatever promotes the good of the whole.

(60-98)But though Godolphin's wisdom might have carried him to such conclusions, the passions and prejudices of the English nation would not have permitted him to act upon them. They saw, or thought they saw, a mode of bringing under subjection, a nation which had been an old enemy and a troublesome friend, and they, very impolitically, were more desirous to subdue Scotland than to reconcile her. In this point the English statesmen committed a gross error, though rendered perhaps inevitable, by the temper and prejudices of the nation.

(TG60-99]
The Scottish supporters of the Union might, on their part, have made a stand for better terms on behalf of their country. And it can scarcely be supposed that the English would have broken off a treaty of such importance, either for the addition of a few members, or for such advantages of commerce as Scotland might reasonably have demanded. But these Scottish commissioners, or a large part of them, had, unhappily, negotiated so well for themselves, that they had lost all right of interfering on the part of their country. We have already explained the nature of the equivalent, by which a sum of four hundred thousand pounds, or therabouts, advanced at this time by England, but to be repaid out of the Scottish revenue within fifteen years, was to be distributed in the country, partly to repay the losses sustained by the Darien Company, partly to pay arrears of public salaries in Scotland, most of which were due to members of the Scottish Parliament; and finally, to satisfy such claims of damage arising out of the Union, as might be brought forward by any one whose support was worth having.

The distribution of this money constituted the charm by which refractory Scottish members were reconciled to the Union. I have already mentioned the sum of thirty thousand pounds, which was peculiarly apportioned to the commissioners who originally laid the basis of the treaty. I may add there was another sum of twenty thousand pounds, employed to secure to the measures of the court the party called the Squadrone Volante. The account of the mode in which this last sum was
Distributed has been published; and it may be doubted whether the descendants of the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who accepted this gratification, would be more shocked at the general fact of their ancestors being corrupted, or scandalized at the paltry amount of the bribe. One noble lord accepted of so low a sum as eleven guineas; and the bargain was the more hard, as he threw his religion into the bargain, and from Catholic turned Protestant, to make his vote a good one.

Other disgraceful gratuities might be mentioned, and there were many more which cannot be traced. The treasure for making good the equivalent was sent down in waggons from England, to be deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; and never surely was so valuable an importation received with such marks of popular indignation. The dragoons who guarded the wains were loaded with execrations, and the carters, nay, even their poor horses, were nearly pelted to death, for being accessory in bringing to Edinburgh the price of the independence of the kingdom.

The public indignation was the more just, that this large sum of money in fact belonged to the Scottish nation, being the compensation to be paid to them, for undertaking to pledge their revenue for a part of the English national debt. So that, in fact, the Parliament of Scotland was bribed with the public money belonging to their own country. In this way, Scotland herself was made to pay the price given to her legislators for the sacrifice of her independence.
The statesmen who accepted of these gratuities, under whatever name disguised, were marked by the hatred of the country, and did not escape reproach even in the bosom of their own families. The advantage of their public services was lost by the general contempt which they had personally incurred. And here I may mention, that while carrying on the intrigues which preceded the passing of the Union, those who favoured that measure were obliged to hold their meetings in secret and remote places of rendezvous, lest they should have been assaulted by the rabble. There is a subterranean apartment in the High Street (No. 177), called the Union-Cellar,' from its being one of their haunts; and the pavilion in the gardens belonging to the Earl of Murray's Hotel in the Canongate (No. 172), is distinguished by tradition, as having been used for this purpose.

Men, of whom a majority had thus been bought and sold, forfeited every right to interfere in the terms which England insisted upon; and Scotland, therefore, lost that support, which, had these statesmen been as upright and respectable as some of them were able and intelligent, could not have failed to be efficacious. But, despised by the English, and detested by their own country, fettered, as Lord Belhaven expressed it, by the golden chain of equivalents, the Unionists had lost all freedom of remonstrance, and had no alternative left, save that of fulfilling the unworthy bargain they had made.

The Opposition party also had their share of
error on this occasion. If they had employed a part of that zeal with which they vindicated the shadowy rights of Scotland’s independence (which after all, resolved itself into the title of being governed like a province, by a viceroy, and by English influence, not the less predominant that it was indirect), in order to obtain some improvement in

the more unfavourable clauses of the treaty; if, in other words, they had tried to make a more advantageous agreement when the Union was under discussion, instead of attempting to break it off entirely, they might perhaps have gained considerable advantages for Scotland. But the greater part of the anti-Unionists were also Jacobites; and therefore, far from desiring to render the treaty more unexceptionable, it was their object that it should be as odious to the people of Scotland as possible, in order that the universal discontent excited by it might turn to the advantage of the exiled family.

Owing to all these adverse circumstances, the interests of Scotland were considerably neglected in the treaty of Union; and in consequence the nation, instead of regarding it as an identification of the interests of both kingdoms, considered it as a total surrender of their independence, by their false and corrupted statesmen, into the hand of their proud and powerful rival. The gentry of Scotland looked on themselves as robbed of their natural consequence, and disgraced in the eyes of the country; the merchants and tradesmen lost the direct commerce between Scotland and foreign countries, without being, for a length of time, able to procure a share in a more profitable trade with
the English colonies, although ostensibly laid open to them. The populace in the towns, and the peasants throughout the kingdom, conceived the most implacable dislike to the treaty; factions, hitherto most bitterly opposed to each other, seemed ready to rise on the first opportunity which might occur for breaking it; and the cause of the Stewart family gained a host of new adherents, more from dislike to the Union than any partiality to the exiled prince.

A long train of dangers and difficulties was the consequence, which tore Scotland to pieces with civil discord, and exposed England also to much suffering. Three rebellions, two of which assumed a very alarming character, may, in a great measure, be set down to the unpopularity of this great national act; and the words, "Prosperity to Scotland, and no Union," is the favourite inscription to be found on Scottish sword-blades, betwixt 1707 and 1746.

But although the passions and prejudices of mankind could for a time delay and interrupt the advantages to be derived from this most important national measure, it was not the gracious will of Providence that, being thus deferred, they should be ultimately lost. The unfortunate insurrection of 1745-6 entirely destroyed the hopes of the Scottish Jacobites, and occasioned the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions and military tenures, which had been at once dangerous to the Government, and a great source
of oppression to the subject. This, though attended with much individual suffering, was the final means of at once removing the badges of feudal tyranny, extinguishing civil war, and assimilating Scotland to the sister-country. After this period, the advantages of the Union were gradually perceived and fully experienced.

[ TG60-105 ]

It was not, however, till the accession of his late Majesty, that the beneficial effects of this great National treaty were generally felt and recognised. From that period there was awakened a spirit of Industry formerly unknown in Scotland; and ever since, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, uniting cordially, as one people, in the improvement and defence of the island which they inhabit. The happy change from discord to friendship, -- from war to peace, and from poverty and distress to national prosperity, was not attained without much peril and hazard; and should I continue these Volumes, from the period of the Union to that of the Accession of George the Third, I can promise you, the addition will be neither the least interesting nor the least useful, of your Grandfather's labours in your behalf.

[ TG61-115 ]

WE are now, my dear child, approaching a period more resembling our own than those through which I have hitherto conducted you. In England, and in the Lowlands of Scotland, men used the same language, possessed in a considerable degree the same habits of society, and lived under the same forms of government, which have existed in Britain
down to the present day. The Highlanders, indeed, retained their ancient manners; and although, from the establishment of forts and garrisons in their country, the laws had much more power over them than formerly, so that they could no longer break out into the same excesses, they still remained, in their dress; customs, manners, and language, much more like the original Scots in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, than the Lowlanders of the same period resembled their ancestors of the seventeenth century.

But though the English and Lowland Scots exhibited little distinction in their manners and habits, excepting that those of the latter people indicated less wealth or refinement of luxury, there was no sympathy of feeling between them, and the recent measure of the Union had only an effect resembling that of putting two quarrelsome dogs into the same couples, or two sullen horses into the same yoke. Habit may in course of time teach them to accommodate themselves to each other; but the first consequence of the compulsory tie which unites them is the feeling of aggravated hostility.

The predominant prejudices of the English represented the Scots, in the language of the celebrated Dean Swift, as a poor, fierce, and haughty people, detesting their English neighbours, and looking upon them as a species of Egyptians, whom it was not only lawful but commendable to plunder, whether by open robbery or secret address. The
poverty of the North Britons, and the humble and patient labour by which individuals were frequently observed to emerge from it, made them the objects of contempt to the English; while, on the other hand, the irascible and turbulent spirit of the nation, and a habitual use of arms, exposed them to aversion and hatred. This peculiar characteristic was, at the time of the Union, very general in Scotland. The Highlanders, you must remember, always carried weapons, and if thought of at all by their southern neighbours, they must have been considered as absolute and irreclaimable savages. The Lowlanders were also used to arms at this period, for almost the whole Scottish nation had been trained under the Act of Security; the population was distributed into regiments, and kept ready for action; and in the gloomy and irritated state of mind in which the Scots had been placed by the management of the Union treaty, they spoke of nothing more loudly and willingly than of war with England. The English had their especial reasons for disliking the Union. They did not, in general, feel nattered by the intimate confederacy and identification of their own rich country and civilized inhabitants with the boreal region of the North, and its rude and savage tribes. They were afraid that the craft, and patient endurance of labour of the Scots, would give them more than their share of the colonial trade which they had hitherto monopolized to themselves.

Yet, though such was the opinion held by the English in general, the more enlightened part of the nation, remembering the bloody wars which had so long desolated Britain in its divided state, dated...
from the Union an era of peace and happiness to both countries; and, looking far into futurity, foresaw a time when the national prejudices, which for the present ran so high, would die out or be eradicated like the weeds which deface the labours of the agriculturist, and give place to plenty and to peace. It was owing to the prevalence of such feelings, that the Duke of Queensberry, the principal negotiator of the treaty of Union, when he left Scotland for London after the measure was perfected, was received with the greatest distinction in the English towns through which he passed. And when he approached the neighbourhood of London, many of the members of the two Houses came to meet and congratulate a statesman, who, but for the guards that surrounded him, would, during the progress of the treaty, have been destroyed by his countrymen in the streets of Edinburgh!

In England, therefore, the Union had its friends and partisans. In Scotland it was regarded with an almost universal feeling of discontent and dishonour. The Jacobite party, who had entertained great hopes of eluding the act for settling the kingdom upon the family of Hanover, beheld them entirely blighted; the Whigs, or Presbyterians, found themselves forming part of a nation in which Prelacy was an institution of the state; the Country Party, who had nourished a vain but honourable idea of maintaining the independence of Scotland, now saw it, with all its symbols of ancient sovereignty, sunk and merged under the government of England. All the different professions and classes of men saw each something in the obnoxious treaty,
which affected their own interest.

The nobles of an ancient and proud land, which they were wont to manage at their pleasure, were now stripped of their legislative privilege, unless as far as exercised, like the rights of a petty corporation, by a handful of delegates; the smaller barons and gentry shared their humiliation, their little band of representatives being too few, and their voices too feeble, to produce any weight in the British House of Commons, to which a small portion was admitted.

The clergy's apprehension for their own system of church discipline was sensitively awakened, and their frequent warnings from the pulpit kept the terror of innovation before their congregations.

The Scottish lawyers had equal reason for alarm. They witnessed what they considered as the degradation of their profession, and of the laws, to the exposition of which they had been bred up. They saw their supreme civil court, which had spurned at the idea of having their decrees reviewed even in the Parliament, now subjected to appeal to the British House of Peers; a body who could be expected to know little of law at all, and in which the Chancellor, who presided, was trained in the jurisprudence of another country. Besides, when the sceptre departed from Scotland, and the lawgiver no longer sate at her feet, it was likely that her municipal regulations should be gradually assimilated to those of England, and that her lawyers should by degrees be laid aside and rendered useless,
by the introduction of the institutions of a foreign country which were strange to their studies.

The merchants and trading portion of Scotland also found grievances in the Union peculiar to themselves. The privileges which admitted the Scots into the colonial trade of England, only represented the apples of Tantalus, so long as local prejudices, want of stock, and all the difficulties incident to forcing capital into a new channel, or line of business, obstructed their benefiting by them. On the other hand, they lost all the advantage of their foreign trade whenever their traffic became obstructed by the imposition of English duties. They lost, at the same time, a beneficial, though illicit trade, with England itself, which took place in consequence of foreign commodities being so much cheaper in Scotland. Lastly, the establishment

of two Boards of Customs and Excise, with the introduction of a shoal of officers, all Englishmen, and, it was said, frequently men of indifferent and loose character, I was severely felt by the commercial part of a nation, whose poverty had hitherto kept them tolerably free from taxation.

The tradesmen and citizens were injured in the tenderest point, by the general emigration of families of rank and condition, who naturally went to reside in London, not only to attend their duties in Parliament, but to watch for those opportunities of receiving favours which are only to be obtained by being constantly near the source of preferment; not to mention numerous families of consequence,
who went to the metropolis merely for fashion's sake. This general emigration naturally drained Scotland of the income of the non-residents, who expended their fortunes among strangers, to the prejudice of those of their country folk, who had formerly lived by supplying them with necessaries or luxuries.

The agricultural interest was equally affected by the scarcity of money, which the new laws, the

money drawn by emigrants from their Scottish estates, to meet the unwonted expenses of London, the decay of external commerce, and of internal trade, all contributed to produce.

Besides these peculiar grievances which affected certain classes or professions, the Scots felt generally the degradation, as they conceived it, of their country being rendered the subservient ally of the state, of which, though infinitely more powerful, they had resisted the efforts for the space of two thousand years. The poorest and meanest, as well as the richest and most noble, felt that he shared the national honour; and the former was even more deeply interested in preserving it un tarnished than the latter, because he had no dignity or consideration due to him personally or individually, beyond that which belonged to him as a native of Scotland.

There was, therefore, nothing save discontent and lamentation to be heard throughout Scotland, and men of every class vented their complaints against the Union the more loudly, because their
(61-122)sense of personal grievances might be concealed
(61-122)and yet indulged under popular declamations
(61-122)concerning the dishonour done to the country.

(61-122)To all these subjects of complaint there lay
(61-122)obvious answers, grounded on the future benefits
(61-122)which the Union was calculated to produce, and
(61-122)the prospect of the advantages which have since
(61-122)arisen from it. But at the time immediately

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(61-123)the immediate evils which we have detailed were
(61-123)present, tangible, and certain. There was a want
(61-123)of advocates for the Union, as well as of arguments
(61-123)having immediate and direct cogency. A
(61-123)considerable number of the regular clergy, indeed, who
(61-123)did not share the feverish apprehensions of prelatic
(61-123)innovation, which was a bugbear to the majority
(61-123)of their order, concluded it was the sounder policy
(61-123)to adhere to the Union with England, under the
(61-123)sovereignty of a Protestant prince, than to bring
(61-123)back, under King James VII., the evils in church
(61-123)and state which had occasioned the downfall of his
(61-123)father. But by such arguments, the ministers who
(61-123)used them only lowered themselves in the eyes of
(61-123)the people, who petulantly replied to their pastors,
(61-123)that none had been more loud than they against
(61-123)the Union, until they had got their own manses,
(61-123)glebes, and stipends assured to them; although
(61-123)that being done, they were now contented to yield
(61-123)up the civil rights of the Scottish monarchy, and
(61-123)endanger the stability of the Scottish church. Their
(61-123)hearers abandoned the kirks, and refused to attend
(61-123)the religious ordinances of such clergymen as
favoured the Union, and went in crowds to wait
upon the doctrines of those who preached against
the treaty with the same zeal with which they had
formerly magnified the Covenant. Almost all the
dissenting and Cameronian ministers were anti-
unionists, and some of the more enthusiastic were
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controversy had fallen asleep, I have heard my
grandfather say (for your grandfather, Mr Hugh Little-
John, had a grandfather in his time), that he had
heard an old clergyman confess he could never
bring his sermon, upon whatever subject, to a

clusion, without having what he called a blaud, that
is a slap, at the Union.

If the mouths of the clergymen who advocated
the treaty were stopped by reproaches of personal

interest, with far more justice were those reproaches
applied to the greater part of the civil statesmen,
by whom the measure had been carried
through and completed. The people of Scotland
would not hear these gentlemen so much as speak
upon the great incorporating alliance, for the
accomplishment of which they had laboured so
effectually. Be the event of the Union what it would,
the objection was personal to many of those statesmen
by whom it was carried through, that they had
pressed the destruction of Scottish independence,
which it necessarily involved, for private and
selfish reasons, resolving into the gratification of their
own ambition or avarice. They were twitted with
the meanness of their conduct even in the Parliament
of Britain. A tax upon linen cloth, the staple
commodity of Scotland, having been proposed in
the House of Commons, was resisted by Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, and other Scottish members, favourers of the Union, until Mr Harley, who had been Secretary of State during the treaty, stood up, and cut short the debate, by saying, "Have we not bought the Scots, and did we not acquire a right to tax them? or for what other purpose did we give the equivalent?" Lockhart of Carnwath arose in reply, and said, he was glad to hear it plainly acknowledged that the Union had been a matter of bargain, and that Scotland had been bought and sold on that memorable occasion; but he was surprised to hear so great a manager in the traffic name the equivalents as the price, since the revenue of Scotland itself being burdened in relief of that sum, no price had been in fact paid, but what must ultimately be discharged by Scotland from her own funds.

The detestation of the treaty being for the present the ruling passion of the times, all other distinctions of party, and even of religious opinions in Scotland, were laid aside, and a singular coalition took place, in which Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Cavaliers, and many friends of the Revolution, drowned all former hostility in the predominant aversion to the Union. Even the Cameronians, who now formed a powerful body in the state, retained the same zeal against the Union when established, which had induced them to rise in arms against it while it was in progress.

It was evident, that the treaty of Union could not be abolished without a counter-revolution; and
for a time almost all the inhabitants of Scotland

were disposed to join unanimously in the Restoration, as it was called, of James the Second's son, to the throne of his fathers; and had his ally, the King of France, been hearty in his cause, or his Scottish partisans more united among themselves, or any leader amongst them possessed of distinguished talent, the Stewart family might have repossessed themselves of their ancient domain of Scotland, and perhaps of England also. To understand the circumstances by which that hope was disappointed, it is necessary to look back on the history of James II., and to take some notice of the character and situation of his son.

The Chevalier de Saint George, as he was called by a conventional name, which neither gave nor denied his royal pretensions, was that unfortunate child of James II., whose birth, which ought in ordinary cases to have been the support of his father's throne, became by perverse chance the strongest incentive for pressing forward the Revolution. He lost his hopes of a kingdom, therefore, and was exiled from his native country, ere he knew what the words country or kingdom signified, and lived at the court of Saint Germain's, where Louis XIV. permitted his father to maintain a hollow pageant of royalty. Thus the son of James II. was brought up in what is generally admitted to be the very worst way in which a prince can be educated; that is, he was surrounded by all the pomp and external ceremony of imaginary royalty, without learning by experience any part of its real duties or actual business. Idle and
discontented men, who formed the mimicry of a
council, and played the part of ministers, were as
deeply engaged in political intrigues for ideal offices
and dignities at the court of Saint Germains,
as if actual rank or emolument had attended them,
- as reduced gamblers have been known to spend
days and nights in play, although too poor to stake
any thing on the issue of the game.

It is no doubt true, that the versatility of the
statesmen of England, including some great names,
offers a certain degree of apology for the cabinet
of the dethroned prince, to an extent even to justify
the hopes that a counter-revolution would soon take
place, and realize the expectations of the St Germains
courtiers. It is a misfortune necessarily
attending the success of any of those momentous
changes of government, which, innovating upon the
constitution of a country, are termed revolutions,
that the new establishment of things cannot for
some time attain that degree of respect and
veneration which antiquity can alone impress. Evils
are felt under the new government, as they must
under every human institution, and men readily
reconcile their minds to correct them, either by
adopting further alterations, or by returning to that
order of things which they have so lately seen in
existence. That which is new itself, may, it is
supposed, be subjected to further innovations without
inconvenience, and if these are deemed essential
and necessary, or even advantageous, there
seems to ardent and turbulent spirits little reason
to doubt, that the force which has succeeded so lately in destroying the institutions which had the venerable sanction of antiquity, may be equally successful in altering or remodelling that which has been the work of the present generation, perhaps of the very statesmen who are now desirous of innovating upon it. With this disposition to change still further what has been recently the subject of alteration, mingle other passions. There must always be many of those that have been active in a recent revolution, who have not derived the personal advantages which they were entitled, or, which is the same thing, thought themselves entitled, to expect. Such disappointed men are apt, in their resentment, to think that it depends only upon themselves to pull down what they have assisted to build, and to rebuild the structure in the destruction of which they have been so lately assistants. This was in the utmost extent evinced after the English Revolution. Not only subordinate agents, who had been active in the Revolution, but some men of the highest and most distinguished talents, were induced to enter into plots for the restoration of the Stuarts. Marlborough, Carmarthen, and Lord Russell, were implicated in a correspondence with France in 1692; and indeed, throughout the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, many men of consequence, not willing explicitly to lend themselves to counter-revolutionary plots, were yet not reluctant to receive projects, letters, and promises from the ex-king, and return in exchange vague expressions of good-will for the cause of their old monarch, and respect for his person.
It is no wonder, therefore, that the Jacobite ministers at St Germains were by such negotiations rendered confident that a counter-revolution was approaching, or that they intrigued for their share in the honours and power which they conceived would be very soon at their master's disposal. In this they might, indeed, have resembled the hunters in the fable, who sold the bear's hide before they had killed him; but, on the other hand, they were less like simpletons who spend their time in gambling for nothing, than eager gamblers who play for a stake, which, though they do not yet possess, they soon expect to have at their disposal.

Amid such petty and empty feuds, it was not likely that the son of James II. should greatly augment the strength of mind of which nature had given him but a small share, especially as his father had laid aside those habits of business with which he was once familiar, and, resigning all hopes of his restoration, had abandoned himself entirely to the severities of ascetic devotion. From his advice and example, therefore, the Chevalier de St George could derive no advantage; and Heaven had not granted him the talents which supply the place of instruction.

The heir of this ancient line was not, however, deficient in the external qualities, which associate well with such distinguished claims. He was of tall stature, and possessed a nobly formed countenance, and courteous manners. He had made one or two campaigns with applause, and showed no
deficiency of courage, if he did not display much energy. He appears to have been good-humoured, kind, and tractable. In short, born on a throne, and with judicious ministers, he might have been a popular prince; but he had not the qualities necessary either to win or to regain a kingdom.

Immediately before the death of his unfortunate father, the Chevalier de St George was consigned to the protection of Louis XIV., in an affecting manner. The French monarch came for the last time to bid adieu to his unfortunate ally when stretched on his deathbed. Affected by the pathos of the scene, and possessing in reality a portion of that royal magnanimity by which he was so ambitious of being distinguished, Louis declared publicly his purpose to recognise the title of his friend's son, as heir to the throne of Britain, and take his family under his protection. The dying prince half raised himself from his bed, and endeavoured to speak his gratitude; but his failing accents were drowned in a murmur of mingled grief and joy, which broke from his faithful followers. They were melted into tears, in which Louis himself joined. And thus was given, in a moment of enthusiasm, a promise of support which the French King had afterwards reason to repent of, as he could not gracefully shake off an engagement contracted under such circumstances of affecting solemnity; although in after periods of his reign, he was little able to supply the Chevalier de St George with succours as his promise had entitled that prince to expect.
Louis was particularly embarrassed by the numerous plans and schemes for the invasion of Scotland and England, proposed either by real Jacobites eager to distinguish themselves by their zeal, or by adventurers, who, like the noted Captain Simon Fraser, assumed that character, so as to be enabled either to forward the Chevalier de St George's interest, or betray his purpose to the English Ministry, whichever might best advance the interest of the emissary. This Captain Fraser (afterwards the celebrated Lord Lovat) was looked upon with coldness by the Chevalier and Lord Middleton, his secretary, but he gained the confidence of Mary of Este, the widow of James II. Being at length, through her influence, despatched to Scotland, Fraser trafficked openly with both parties; and although, whilst travelling through the Highlands, he held the character and language of a highflying Jacobite, and privately betrayed whatever he could worm out of them to the Duke of Queensberry, then the royal commissioner and representative of Queen Anne, he had nevertheless the audacity to return to France, and use the language of an injured and innocent man, till he was thrown into the Bastile for his double dealing. It is probable that this interlude of Captain Fraser, which happened in 1703, contributed to give Louis a distrust of Scottish Jacobite agents, and inclined him, notwithstanding the general reports of disaffection to Queen Anne's government, to try the temper of the country by an agent of his own, before resolving to give any considerable assistance towards an invasion, which his wars in Flanders,
and the victories of Marlborough, rendered him ill
able to undertake.

THERE are two reflections which arise from what
we have stated in the former chapter, too natural
to escape observation.

In the first place, we are led to conclude that all
leagues or treaties between nations, which are de-
signed to be permanent, should be grounded not
only on equitable, but on liberal principles. Whatever
advantages are assumed from the superior
strength, or more insidiously attained by the superior
cunning, of one party or the other, operate as

so many principles of decay, by which the security
of the league is greatly endangered, if not actually
destroyed. There can be no doubt that the open
corruption and precipitate violence with which the
Union was forced on, retarded for two generations
the benefits which would otherwise have arisen
from it; and that resentment, not so much against
the measure itself, as against the disadvantageous
terms granted to Scotland, gave rise to two, or,
taking into account the battle of Glenshiel, to three
civil wars, with all the peculiar miseries which
attended them. The personal adherence of many
individuals to the Stewart family might have
preserved Jacobite sentiments for a generation, but
would scarce have had intensity sufficient to kindle
a general flame in the country, had not the sense
of the unjust and illiberal manner in which the
Union was concluded, come in aid of the zeal of
the Jacobites, to create a general or formidable
attack on the existing Government. As the case
actually stood, we shall presently see how narrowly
the Union itself escaped destruction, and the nation
a counter-revolution.

This conducts us to the second remark, which I
wish you to attend to, namely, how that, with all
the facilities of intercourse afforded by the manners
of modern nations, it nevertheless is extremely
difficult for one government to obtain what they
can consider as trustworthy information concerning
the internal affairs and actual condition of
another, either from the statements of partisans, who
profess themselves in league with the state which
makes the enquiry, or from agents of their own, sent on purpose to pursue the investigation. The
first class of Informants deceive their correspondents and themselves, by the warm and sanguine
view which they take of the strength and importance of their own party; the last are Incapable of
forming a correct judgment of what they see and hear, for want of that habitual and familiar knowledge of the manners of a country which is necessary to enable them to judge what peculiar allowances ought to be made, and what special restrictions may be necessary, in interpreting the language of those with whom they communicate on the subject of their mission.

This was exemplified in the enquiries instituted by Louis XIV. for ascertaining the exact disposition of the people of Scotland towards the Chevalier de St George. The agent employed by the French monarch was Lieutenant-colonel Hooke,
an Englishman of good family. This gentleman followed King James II. to France, and was there received into the service of Louis XIV. to which he seems to have become so much attached as to have been comparatively indifferent to that of the son of his former master. His instructions from the French King were, to engage the Scots who might be disposed for an insurrection as deeply as possible to France, but to avoid precise promises, by which he might compromise France in any corresponding obligation respecting assistance or supplies. In a word, the Jacobite or anti-unionist party were to have leave from Louis to attempt a rebellion against Queen Anne, at their own proper risk, providing the Grand Monarque, as he was generally termed, should be no further bound to aid them in the enterprise, or protect them in case of its failure, than he should think consistent with his magnanimity, and convenient for his affairs. This was no doubt a bargain by which nothing could be lost by France, but it had been made with too great anxiety to avoid hazard, to be attended with much chance of gaining by it.

With these instructions Colonel Hooke departed for Scotland in the end of February or beginning of March 1707, where he found, as had been described by the correspondence kept up with the Scots, different classes of people eager to join in an insurrection, with the purpose of breaking the Union, and restoring the Stewart family to the throne. We must first mention the state in which he found the Jacobite party, with whom principally he came to communicate.
This party, which, as it now included the Country faction, and all others who favoured the dissolution of the Union, was much more universally extended than at any other period in Scottish history, either before or afterwards, was divided into two parties, having for their heads the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, noblemen who stood in opposition to each other in claiming the title of the leader of the Jacobite interests. If these two great men were to be estimated according to their fidelity to the cause which they had espoused, their pretensions were tolerably equal, for neither of them could lay much claim to the honour due to political consistency. The conduct of Athole during the Revolution had been totally adverse to the royal interest; and that of the Duke of Hamilton, on his part, though affecting to act as head of the opposition to the Union, was such as to induce some suspicion that he was in league with the Government; since, whenever a decisive stand was to be made, Hamilton was sure to find some reason, better or worse, to avoid coming to extremities with the opposite party. Notwithstanding such repeated acts or defection on the part of these great dukes, their rank, talents, and the reliance on their general sincerity in the Jacobite cause, occasioned men of that party to attach themselves as partisans to one or other of them. It was natural that, generally speaking, men should choose for their leader the most influential person in whose neighbourhood they themselves resided or had their property; and thus the Highland Jacobites beyond the Tay rallied under the Duke of Athole; those of the south and west, under
(62-137)the Duke of Hamilton. From this it also followed,
(62-137)that; the two divisions of the same faction, being of
(62-137)different provinces, and in different circumstances,
(62-137)held separate opinions as to the course to be pursued
(62-137)in the intended restoration.

(62-137)The northern Jacobites, who had more power
(62-137)of raising men, and less of levying money, than
(62-137)those of the south, were for rushing at once into
(62-137)war without any delay, or stipulation of foreign
(62-137)assistance; and without further aid than their own
(62-137)good hearts and ready swords, expressed themselves

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(62-138)determined to place on the throne him whom they
(62-138)termed the lawful heir.

(62-138)When Hooke entered into correspondence with
(62-138)this class of the Jacobite party, he found it easy to
(62-138)induce them to dispense with any special or precise
(62-138)stipulations concerning the amount of the succours
(62-138)to be furnished by France, whether in the shape of
(62-138)arms, money, or auxiliaries, so soon as he represented
(62-138)to them that any specific negotiation of this
(62-138)kind would be indelicate and unhandsome to the
(62-138)King of France, and probably diminish his inclination
(62-138)to serve the Chevalier de St George. On this
(62-138)point of pretended delicacy were these poor
(62-138)gentlemen induced to pledge themselves to risks likely
(62-138)to prove fatal to themselves, their rank, and their
(62-138)posterity, without any of the reasonable precautions
(62-138)which were absolutely necessary to save them from
(62-138)destruction.

(62-138)But when the Duke of Hamilton (by his Secretary),
(62-138)Lord Kilsythe, Lockhart of Carnwath, Cochrane
of Kilmaronock, and other leaders among the Jacobites of the west, had a conference with Colonel Hooke, their answers were of a different tenor. They thought that to render the plan of insurrection at all feasible, there should be a distinct engagement on the part of the King of France, to send over the Chevalier de St George to Scotland, with an auxiliary army of ten, or, at the very least, of eight thousand men. Colonel Hooke used very haughty language in answer to this demand, which he termed a "presuming to give advice to Louis XIV. how to manage his own affairs; " as if it had not been the business of the Jacobites themselves to learn to what extent they were to expect support, before staking their lands and lives in so dangerous an enterprise.

The extent of Colonel Hooke's success was obtaining a memorial, signed by ten lords and chiefs, acting in the name, as they state, of the bulk of the nation, but particularly of thirty persons of distinction, from whom they had special mandates, in which paper they agreed that upon the arrival of the Chevalier de St George, they would make him master of Scotland, which was entirely in his interest, and immediately thereafter proceed to raise an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse. With this force they proposed to march into England, seize upon Newcastle, and distress the City of London by interrupting the coal trade. They stated their hope that the King would send with the Chevalier an auxiliary army.
of at least five thousand men, some officers, and a
general of high rank, such as the Scottish nobles
would not scruple to obey. The Duke of Berwick,
a natural son of the late king, and a general
of first-rate talent, was particularly fixed upon.
They also complained of a want of field-pieces,
battering-cannon, and arms of every kind, and
stated their desire of a supply. And lastly, they
dwelt upon the need they had of a subsidy of six
hundred thousand livres, to enable them to begin
the war. But they stated these in the shape of
humble requests, rather than demands or conditions,
and submitted themselves in the same memorial to
any modification or alteration of the terms, which
might render them more acceptable to King Louis.
Thus Hooke made good the important point in his
instructions, which enjoined him to take the Scottish
Jacobites bound as far as possible to the King
of France, while he should on no account enter
any negotiations which might bind his
Majesty to any counter-stipulations. Louis showed
considerable address in playing this game, as
it is vulgarly called, of Fast and Loose, giving
every reason to conclude that his ministers, if not
the sovereign himself, looked less upon the invasion
of Scotland as the means of effecting a
counter-revolution, than in the light of a diversion,
which would oblige the British to withdraw a large
proportion of the troops which they employed in
Flanders, and thus obtain a superiority for France

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on the general theatre of war. With this purpose,
and to take the chance, doubtless, of fortunate
events, and the generally discontented state of
Scotland, the French court received and discussed
At their leisure the prodigal offer of the Scottish Jacobites.

At length, after many delays, the French monarch actually determined upon making an effort. It was resolved to send to Scotland the heir of the ancient kings of that country, with a body of about five or six thousand men, being the force thought necessary by the faction of Athole - that of Hamilton having demanded eight thousand men at the very least. It was agreed that the Chevalier de St George should embark at Dunkirk with this little army, and that the fleet should be placed under the command of the Comte de Forbin, who had distinguished himself by several naval exploits.

When the plan was communicated by Monsieur de Chamillard, then minister for naval affairs, the commodore stated numerous objections to throwing so large a force ashore on the naked beach, without being assured of possessing a single harbour, or fortified place, which might serve them for a defence against the troops which the English Government would presently despatch against them. "If," pursued Forbin, "you have five thousand troops to throw away on a desperate expedition, give me the command of them; I will embark them in shallops and light vessels, and I will surprise Amsterdam, and, by destroying the commerce of the Dutch capital, take away all means and desire on the part of the United Provinces to continue the war." Let us have no inure of this," replied the Minister; "you are called upon to execute the King's commands, not to discuss
them. His Majesty has promised to the King and Queen Dowager of England (the Chevalier de St George and Mary d'Este) that he is to give them the stipulated assistance, and you are honoured with the task of fulfilling his royal word." To hear was to obey, and the Comte de Forbin set himself about the execution of the design intrusted to him; but with a secret reluctance, which boded ill for the expedition, since, in bold undertakings, success is chiefly insured by the zeal, confidence, and hearty co-operation of those to whom the execution is committed. Forbin was so far from being satisfied with the commission assigned him, that he started a thousand difficulties and obstacles, all of which he was about to repeat to the Monarch himself in a private interview, when Louis, observing the turn of his conversation, cut his restive admiral short by telling him, that he was busy at that moment, and wished him a good voyage.

The commander of the land forces was the Comte de Gasse who afterwards bore the title of Marechal de Matignon. Twelve battalions were embarked on board of eight ships of the line and twenty-four frigates, besides transports and shallops for disembarkation. The King of France displayed his magnificence, by supplying the Chevalier de St George with a royal wardrobe, services of gold and silver plate, rich liveries for his attendants, splendid uniforms for his guards, and all external appurtenances befitting the rank of a sovereign prince. At parting, Louis bestowed on his guest a sword, having its hilt set with diamonds,
and, with that felicity of compliment which was natural to him above all other princes, expressed, as the best wish he could bestow upon his departing friend, his hope that they might never meet again. It was ominous that Louis used the same turn of courtesy in bidding adieu to the Chevalier's father, previous to the battle of La Hogue.

The Chevalier departed for Dunkirk, and embarked the troops; and thus far all had been conducted with such perfect secrecy, that England was totally unaware of the attempt which was meditated. But an accident at the same time retarded the enterprise, and made it public. This was the illness of the Chevalier de St George, who was seized with the measles. It could then no longer remain a secret that he was lying sick in Dunkirk, with the purpose of heading an expedition, for which the troops were already embarked,

It was scarcely possible to imagine a country more unprepared for such an attack than England, unless it were Scotland. The great majority of the English army were then in Flanders. There only remained within the kingdom five thousand men, and these chiefly new levies. The situation of Scotland was still more defenceless. Edinburgh castle was alike unfurnished with garrison, artillery, ammunition, and stores. There were not in the country above two thousand regular soldiers, and these were Scottish regiments, whose fidelity was very little to be reckoned upon, if there should, as was probable, be a general insurrection of their countrymen. The panic in London was great, at
court, in camp, and in city: there was also an
unprecedented run on the Bank, which, unless that
great national institution had been supported by an
association of wealthy British and foreign
merchants, must have given a severe shock to public
credit. The consternation was the more overwhelming,
that the great men in England were
jealous of each other, and, not believing that the
Chevalier would have ventured over upon the

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encouragement of the Scottish nation only, suspected
the existence of some general conspiracy, the
explosion of which would take place in England.

Amid the wide-spaying alarm, active measures
were taken to avert the danger. The few
regiments which were in South Britain were directed
to march for Scotland in all haste. Advices were
sent to Flanders, to recall some of the British troops
there for the more pressing service at home.
General Cadogan, with ten battalions, took shipping
in Holland, and actually sailed for Tynemouth.
But even amongst these there were troops which
could not be trusted. The Earl of Orkney's
Highland regiment, and that which is called the
Scotch fusileers, are said to have declared they
would never use their swords against their country
in an English quarrel. It must be added, that the
arrival of this succour was remote and precarious.
But England had a readier and more certain
resource in the superiority of her navy.

With the most active exertions a fleet of forty
sail of the line was assembled and put to sea, and,
ere the French squadron commanded by Forbin
had sailed, they beheld this mighty fleet before Dunkirk, on the 28th of February, 1708. The Comte de Forbin, upon this formidable apparition, despatched letters to Paris for instructions, having no doubt of receiving orders, in consequence, to disembark the troops, and postpone the expedition. Such an answer arrived accordingly; but while Forbin was preparing, on the 14th March, to carry it into execution, the English fleet was driven off the blockade by stress of weather; which news having soon reached the court, positive orders came, that at all risks the invading squadron should proceed to sea.

They sailed accordingly on 17th March from the roads of Dunkirk; and now not a little depended on the accidental circumstance of wind and tide, as these should be favourable to the French or English fleets. The elements were adverse to the French. They had no sooner left Dunkirk roads than the wind became contrary, and the squadron was driven into the roadstead called Newport-pits, from which place they could not stir for the space of two days, when, the wind again changing, they set sail for Scotland with a favourable breeze. The Comte de Forbin and his squadron arrived in the entrance of the frith of Forth, sailed as high up as the point of Crail, on the coast of Fife, and dropped anchor there, with the purpose of running up the frith as far as the vicinity of Edinburgh on the next day, and there disembarking the Chevalier de St George, Marechal Matignon, and his troops. In the mean time, they showed signals, fired guns, and endeavoured to call the attention of their
friends, whom they expected to welcome them ashore.

None of these signals were returned from the land; but they were answered from the sea in a manner as unexpected as it was unpleasing. The report of five cannon, heard in the direction of the mouth of the frith, gave notice of the approach of Sir George Byng and the English fleet, which had sailed the instant their admiral learned that the Comte de Forbin had put to sea; and though the French had considerably the start of them, the British admiral contrived to enter the frith immediately after the French squadron.

The dawn of morning showed the far superior force of the English fleet advancing up the frith, and threatening to intercept the French squadron in the narrow inlet of the sea into which they had ventured. The Chevalier de St George and his attendants demanded to be put on board a smaller vessel than that commanded by Monsieur de Forbin, with the purpose of disembarking at the ancient castle of Wemyss, on the Fife coast, belonging to the earl of the same name, a constant adherent of the Stewart family. This was at once the wisest and most manly course which he could have followed. But the son of James II. was doomed to learn how little freewill can be exercised by the prince who has placed himself under the protection of a powerful auxiliary. Monsieur de Forbin, after evading his request for some time, at length decidedly said to him: "Sire, by the orders of my royal master, I am directed to take the same
precautions for the safety of your august person as
decare. You are at present in safety, and I will
never consent to your being exposed in a ruinous
chateau, in an open country, where a few hours
might put you in the hands of your enemies. I
am intrusted with your person; I am answerable
for your safety with my head; I beseech you,

therefore, to repose your confidence in me
equently, and to listen to no one else. All those who
dare give you advice different from mine, are either
traitors or cowards." Having thus settled the
Chevalier's doubts in a manner savouring something
of the roughness of his profession, the Comte
de Forbin bore down on the English admiral, as if
determined to fight his way through the fleet. But
as Sir George Byng made signal for collecting his
ships to meet the enemy, the Frenchman went off
on another tack, and, taking advantage of the manoeuvre
to avoid the English admiral, steered for
the mouth of the frith. The English ships having
been long at sea, were rather heavy sailers, while
those of Forbin had been carefully selected and
careened for this particular service. The pursuit
of Byng was therefore in vain, excepting that the
Elizabeth, a slow-sailing vessel of the French fleet,
fell into his hands.

Admiral Byng, when the French escaped him,
proceeded to Edinburgh to assist in the defence of
the capital, in case of any movement of the
Jacobites which might have endangered it. The
Comte de Forbin, with his expedition, had, on the
other hand, the power of choosing among all the
ports on the north-east coast of Scotland, from Dundee to Inverness, the one which circumstances might render most eligible for the purpose of disembarking the Chevalier de St George and the French troops. But whether from his own want of cordiality in the object of the expedition, or whether, as was generally suspected by the Scottish Jacobites at the time, he had secret orders from his court which regulated his conduct, Forbin positively refused to put the disinherited prince, and the soldiers destined for his service, on shore at any part of the north of Scotland, although the Chevalier repeatedly required him to do so. The expedition returned to Dunkirk, from which it had been four weeks absent; the troops were put ashore and distributed in garrison, and the commanders hastened to court, each to excuse himself, and throw the blame of the failure upon the other.

On the miscarriage of this intended invasion, the malecontents of Scotland felt that an opportunity was lost, which never might, and in fact never did, again present itself. The unanimity with which almost all the numerous sects and parties in Scotland were disposed to unite in any measure which could rid them of the Union, was so unusual, that it could not be expected to be of long duration in a factious a nation. Neither was it likely that the kingdom of Scotland would, after such a lesson, be again left by the English Government so ill provided for defence. Above all, it seemed probable that the vengeance of the Ministry would
descend so heavily on the heads of those who had been foremost in expressing their good wishes to the cause of the Chevalier de St George, as might induce others to beware of following their example on future occasions.

During the brief period when the French fleet was known to be at sea, and the landing of the army on some part of the coast of Scotland was expected almost hourly, the depression of the few who adhered to the existing government was extreme. The Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief of the Scottish forces, hurried down from England to take the command of two or three regiments, which were all that could be mustered for the defence of the capital, and, on his arrival, wrote to the Secretary of State that the Jacobites were in such numbers, and showed themselves so elated, that he scarce dared look them in the face as he walked the streets. On the approach of a fleet, the Earl drew up his army in hostile array on Leith Sands, as if he meant to withstand any attempt to land. But great was his relief, when the approaching vessels of war showed the flag of England, instead of France, and proved to be those of Sir George Byng, instead of the Comte de Forbin's.

When this important intelligence was publicly known, it was for the Jacobites in their turn to abate the haughty looks before which their enemies had quailed, and resume those which they wore as a suffering but submissive faction. The Jacobite gentlemen of Stirlingshire, in particular, had almost gone the length of rising in arms, or, to speak more
properly, they had actually done so, though no opportunity had occurred of coming to blows. They had now, therefore, reason to expect the utmost vengeance of Government.

This little band consisted of several men of wealth, influence, and property. Stirling of Keir, Seaton of Touch, Edmondstoun of Newton, Stirling of Carden, and others, assembled a gallant body of horse, and advanced towards Edinburgh, to be the first who should offer themselves for the service of the Chevalier de St George. Learning by the way the failure of the expedition, they dispersed themselves, and returned to their own homes. They were seized, however, thrown into prison, and threatened to be tried for high treason.

The Duke of Hamilton, with that want of decision which gave his conduct an air of mysterious inconsistency, had left his seat of Kinniel to visit his estates in Lancashire, while the treaty concerning the French invasion was in dependence. He was overtaken on his journey by a friend, who came to apprise him, that all obstructions to the expedition being overcome, it might be with certainty expected on the coast in the middle of March. The Duke seemed much embarrassed, and declared to Lockhart or Carnwath, that he would joyfully return, were it not that he foresaw that his giving such a mark of the interest he took in the arrival of the Chevalier, as that which stopping short on a journey, and returning to Scotland on the first news that he was expected, must necessarily imply, would certainly determine the Government to arrest
him on suspicion. But his Grace pledged himself, that when he should learn by express that the French were actually arrived, he would return to Scotland in spite of all opposition, and rendezvous at Dumfries, where Mr Lockhart should meet him with the insurgents of Lanarkshire, the district in which both their interests lay.

The Duke had scarcely arrived at his house of Ashton, in Lancashire, when he was arrested as a suspicious person, and was still in the custody of the messenger when he received the intelligence that the French armament had actually set sail. Even this he did not conceive a fit time to declare himself, but solemnly protested, that so soon as he should learn that the Chevalier had actually landed, he would rid himself of the officer in whose custody he was, and set off for Scotland at the head of forty horse, to live or die in his service. As the Chevalier never set foot ashore, we have no means of knowing whether the Duke of Hamilton would have fulfilled his promise, which Mr Lockhart seems to have considered as candidly and sincerely given, or have had recourse to some evasion, as upon other critical occasions.

The Government, as is usual in such cases, were strict in investigating the cause of the conspiracy, and menacing those who had encouraged it, in a proportion corresponding to the alarm into which they had been thrown. A great many of the Scottish nobility and gentry were arrested on suspicion, secured in prisons and strong fortresses in Scotland, or sent to London in a kind of triumph,
on account of the encouragement they were supposed to have given to the invasion.

The Stirlingshire gentlemen, who had actually taken arms and embodied themselves, were marked out as the first victims, and were accordingly sent back to Scotland, to be tried in the country where they had committed the crime. They met more favourable judges than was perhaps to have been expected.

Being brought to trial before the High Court or Justiciary, several witnesses were examined, who had seen the gentlemen assembled together in a body, but no one had remarked any circumstance which gave them the character of a military force.

They had arms, Indeed, but few gentlemen of that day stirred abroad without sword and pistol. No one had heard any treasonable conversation, or avowal of a treasonable purpose. The jury, therefore, found the crime was Not Proved against them - a verdict which, by the Scottish law, is equivalent in its effects to one of Not Guilty, but which is applied to those cases in which the accused persons are clouded with such a shade of suspicion as renders their guilt probable in the eyes of the jury, though the accuser has failed to make it good by proof. Their trial took place on the 22d November, 1708.

A short traditional story will serve to explain the cause of their acquittal. It is said, the Laird of Keir was riding joyfully home, with his butler in attendance, who had been one of the evidence
produced against him on the trial, but who had,
apon examination, forgot every word concerning
the matter which could possibly prejudice his master.
Keir could not help expressing some surprise
to the man at the extraordinary shortness of
memory which he had shown on particular questions
being put to him. "I understand what your honour
means very well," said the domestic coolly,
"but my mind was made up rather to trust my
own soul to the mercy of Heaven than your honour's
body to the tender compassion of the Whigs."
This tale carries its own commentary.

Having failed to convict conspirators who had
acted so openly, the Government found it would
be hopeless to proceed against those who had been

arrested on suspicion only. This body included
many noblemen; and gentry of the first rank, believed
to entertain Jacobite sentiments. The Duke
of Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls
Seaforth, Errol, Nithsdale, Marischal, and Murray;
Lords Stormont, Kilsythe, Drummond, Nairne,
Belhaven, and Sinclair, besides many gentlemen
of fortune and influence, were all confined in the
Tower, or other state prisons. The Duke of
Hamilton is supposed to have been successful in making
interest with the Whigs for their release, his
Grace proposing, in return, to give the Ministers
the advantage of his interest, and that of his friends,
upon future elections. The prisoners were accordingly
dismissed on finding bail.

The government, however, conceived that the
failure to convict the Stirlingshire gentlemen
accused of high treason (of which they were certainly
guilty), arose less from the reluctance of
witnesses to bear testimony against them, than in
advantages afforded to them by the uncertain and
general provisions of the Scottish statutes in cases
of treason. They proposed to remedy this by
abrogating the Scottish law, and introducing that

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of England in its stead, and ordaining that treasons
committed in Scotland should be tried and
decided in what is technically called a Commission
of Oyer and Terminer, i.e. a Court of Commissioners
appointed for hearing and deciding a particular
cause, or set of causes. This, it must be
noticed, contained an important advantage to the
Government, since the case was taken from under
the cognizance of the ordinary courts of justice,
and intrusted to commissioners named for the special
occasion, who must, of course, be chosen from
men friendly to Government, awake to the alarm
arising from any attack upon it, and, consequently,
likely to be somewhat prejudiced against the
parties brought before them, as accomplices in such
enterprise. On the other hand, the new law,
with the precision required by the English system,
was decided and distinct in settling certain forms
of procedure, which, in Scotland, being left to the
arbitrary pleasure of the judges, gave them an
opportunity of favouring or distressing the parties
brought before them. This was a dangerous latitude
upon political trials, where every man, whatever
might be his rank, or general character for
impartiality, was led to take a strong part on one
side or other of the question out of which the
criminal interest had arisen.
Another part of the proposed act was, however, a noble boon to Scotland. It freed the country for ever from the atrocious powers of examination under torture. This, as we have seen, was currently practised during the reigns of Charles II.

and his brother James; and it had been put in force, though unfrequently, after the Revolution. A greater injustice cannot be imagined, than the practice of torture to extort confession, although it once made a part of judicial procedure in every country of Europe, and is still resorted to in some continental nations. It is easy to conceive, that a timid man, or one peculiarly sensible to pain, will confess crimes of which he is innocent, to avoid or escape from the infliction of extreme torture; while a villain, of a hardy disposition of mind and body, will endure the worst torment that can be imposed on him, rather than avow offences of which he is actually guilty.

The laws of both countries conformed but too well in adding to the punishment of high treason certain aggravations, which, while they must disgust and terrify the humane and civilized, tend only to brutalize the vulgar and unthinking part of the spectators, and to familiarize them with acts of cruelty. On this the laws of England were painfully minute. They enjoined that the traitor should be cut down from the gibbet before life and sensibility to pain were extinguished - that while half-strangled, his heart should be torn from his breast and thrown into the fire - his body opened and embowelled, and - omitting other more shamefully
savage injunctions,-that his corpse should be quartered,
and exposed upon bridges and city towers,
and abandoned to the carrion crow and the eagle.
Admitting that high treason, as it implies the
destruction of the government under which we live,

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is the highest of all possible crimes, still the
forfeiture of life, which it does, and ought to infer,
is the highest punishment which our mortal state
affords. All the butchery, therefore, which the
former laws of England prescribed, only disgusts
or hardens the heart of the spectator; while the
apparatus of terror seldom affects the criminal, who
has been generally led to commit the crime by some
strong enthusiastic feeling, either implanted in him
by education, or caught up from sympathy with
others; and which, as it leads him to hazard life
itself, is not subdued or daunted by the additional
protracted tortures, which can be added to the
manner in which death is inflicted.

Another penalty annexed to the crime of high
treason, was the forfeiture of the estates of the
criminal to the crown, to the disinheriting of his
children, or natural heirs. There is something in this
difficult to reconcile to moral feeling, since it may,
in some degree, be termed visiting the crimes of
the parents upon the children. It may be also
alleged, that it is hard to forfeit and take away from
the lawful line of succession property which may
have been acquired by the talents and industry of
the criminal's forefathers, or, perhaps, by their
meritorious services to the state. But, on the other
hand, it must be considered, that there is something
not unappropriate in the punishment of reducing
to poverty the family of him, who by his attack on
the state, might have wrought the ruin of thousands
of families. Nor is it less to be admitted, that this
branch of the punishment has a quality always

Desirable - namely, a strong tendency to deter men
from the crime. High treason is usually the
offence of men of rank and wealth; at least such
being the leaders in civil war, are usually selected
for punishment. It is natural that such individuals,
however willingly they may venture their own persons,
should be apt to hesitate when the enterprise
involves all the fortunes of their house, name, rank,
and other advantages, which, having received perhaps
from a long train of ancestors, they are naturally
and laudably desirous to transmit to their
posterity.

The proposal for extending the treason law of
England into North Britain, was introduced under
the title of a bill for further completing and
perfecting the Union. Many of the Scottish members
alleged, on the contrary, that the proposed
enactments were rather a violation of the national treaty.
since the bill was directly calculated to encroach on
the powers of the Court of Justiciary, which had
been guaranteed by the Union. This objection
was lessened at least by an amendment on the bill,
which declared, that three of the Judges of Justiciary
(so the Criminal Court of Scotland is termed)
should be always included in any Commission of
Oyer and Terminator. The bill passed into a statute,
and has been ever since the law of the land.

Thus was the Union completed. We shall next
endeavour to show, in the phrase of mechanics, how this new machine worked; or, in other words, how this great alteration on the internal Constitution of Great Britain answered the expectations of those by whom the changes were introduced.

IN order to give you a distinct idea of the situation in which Great Britain was placed at this eventful period, I shall first sketch the character of three or four of the principal persons of Scotland whose influence had most effect in producing the course of events which followed. I shall then explain the course pursued by the Scottish representatives in the national Parliament; and these preliminaries being discussed, I shall, thirdly, endeavour to trace the general measures of Britain respecting her foreign relations, and to explain the effect which these produced upon the public tranquility of the United Kingdom.

The Duke of Hamilton you are already somewhat acquainted with, as a distinguished character during the last Parliament of Scotland, when he headed the opposition to the treaty of Union; and also during the plot for invading Scotland and restoring the Stewart family, when he seems to have been regarded as the leader of the Lowland Jacobites, those of the Highlands rather inclining to the Duke of Athole. He was the peer of the highest rank in Scotland, and nearly connected with the royal family; which made some accuse him of looking towards the crown, a folly of which his acknowledged good sense might be allowed to acquit him. He was handsome in person, courtly and amiable
in manners, generally popular with all classes, and the natural head of the gentry of Lanarkshire, many of whom are descended from his family. Through the influence of his mother, the Duchess, he had always preserved a strong interest among the Hillmen, or Cameroonians, who had since the Revolution shown themselves in arms more than once; and, in case of a civil war or invasion, must have been of material avail. With all these advantages of birth, character, and influence, the Duke of Hamilton had a defect which prevented his attaining eminence as a political leader. He possessed personal valour, as he showed in his last and tragic scene, but he was destitute of political courage and decision. Dangers which he had braved at a distance, appalled him when they approached near; he was apt to disappoint his friends, as the horse who baulks the leap to which he has come gallantly up, endangers, or perhaps altogether unseats his rider. Even with this defect, Hamilton was beloved and esteemed by Lockhart, and other leaders of the Tory party, who appear rather to have regretted his unsteadiness as a weakness, than condemned it as a fault.

The next Scottish nobleman, whose talents made him pre-eminent on the scene during this eventful period, was John, Duke of Argyle, a person whose greatness did not consist in the accidents of rank, influence, and fortune, though possessed of all these in the highest order which his country permitted, since his talents were such as must have forced him into distinction and eminence, in what humble state soever he might have been born. This great man
was heir of the ancient house of Argyle, which makes so distinguished a figure in Scottish history, and whose name occurs so often in the former volumes of these tales. The Duke of whom we now speak was the great-grandson of the Marquis of Argyle who was beheaded after the Restoration, and grandson of the earl who suffered the same fate under James I. The family had been reduced to very narrow circumstances, by those repeated acts of persecution.

The house of Argyle was indemnified at the Revolution, when the father of Duke John was restored to his paternal property, and in compensation for the injuries and injustice sustained by his father and grandfather, was raised to the rank of Duke. A remarkable circumstance which befell Duke John in his infancy, would, by the pagans, have been supposed to augur, that he was under the special care of Providence, and reserved for some great purposes. About the time (tradition says on the very day, 30th June, 1685) that his grandfather, the Earl Archibald, was about to be executed, the heir of the family, then about seven years old, fell from a window of the ancient tower of Lethington, near Haddington, the residence at that time of his grandmother, the Duchess of Lauderdale. The height is so great, that the child escaping unhurt, might be accounted a kind of miracle.

Having entered early on a military life, to which his family had been long partial, he distinguished himself at the siege of Keyserswart, under the eye
of King William. Showing a rare capacity for business, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1705, on which occasion he managed so well, as to set on foot the treaty of Union, by carrying through the Act for the appointment of Commissioners, to adjust that great national measure. The Duke, therefore, laid the first stone of an edifice, which, though carried on upon an erroneous and narrow system, was nevertheless, ultimately calculated to be, and did in fact prove, the basis of universal prosperity to the United Kingdoms. In the last Scottish Parliament, his powerful eloquence was a principal means of supporting that great treaty. Argyle's name does not appear in any list of the sharers of the equivalent money: and his countrymen, amid the unpopularity which attached to the measure, distinguished him as having favoured it from real principle. Indeed, it is an honourable part of this great man's character, that, though bent on the restoration of the fortunes of his family, sorely abridged by the mischances of his grandfather and great-grandfather, and by the extravagances of his father, he had too much sense and too much honour ever to stoop to any indirect mode of gaining personal advantage, and was able, in a venal age, to set all imputations of corruption at defiance; whereas the statesman who is once detected bartering his opinions for lucre, is like a woman who has lost her reputation, and can never afterwards regain the public trust and good opinion which he has forfeited. Argyle was rewarded, however, by being created an English Peer, by the title of Earl of Greenwich, and Baron Chatham.
Argyle, after the Union was carried, returned to the army, and served under Marlborough with distinguished reputation, of which it was thought that great general even condescended to be jealous. At least it is certain that there was no cordiality between them, it being understood that when there was a rumour that the Whig administration of Godolphin would make a push to have the Duke created general for life, in spite of the Queen's pleasure to the contrary, Argyle offered, if such an attempt should be made, to make Marlborough prisoner even in the midst of the victorious army which he commanded. At this time, therefore, he was a steady and zealous friend of Harley and Bolingbroke, who were then beginning their Tory administration. To recompense his valuable support, he was named by the Tory Ministry commander-in-chief in Spain, and assured of all the supplies in troops and money which might enable him to carry on the war with success in that kingdom, where the Tories had all along insisted it should be maintained. With this pledge, Argyle accepted the appointment, in the ambitious hope of acquiring that military renown which he principally coveted.

But the Duke's mortification was extreme in finding, on his arrival in Spain, the British army in a state too wretched to undertake any enterprise of moment, and indeed unfit even to defend its positions. The British Ministers broke the word they had pledged for his support, and sent him neither money, supplies, nor reinforcements;
so that instead of rivalling Marlborough, as had been his ambition, in conquering territories and gaining battles, Argyle saw himself reduced to the melancholy necessity of retiring to Minorca to save the wreck of the army. The reason given by the Ministers for this breach of faith was, that having determined on that accommodation with France which was afterwards termed the peace of Utrecht, they did not desire to prosecute the war with vigour either in Spain or any other quarter. Argyle fell sick with mortified pride and resentment. He struggled for life in a violent fever, and returned to Britain with vindictive intentions towards the Ministers, who had, he thought, disappointed him, by their breach of promise, of an ample harvest of glory.

On his return to England, the Ministers, Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Bolingbroke, endeavoured to soothe the Duke's resentment by appointing him commander-in-chief in Scotland, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh; but notwithstanding, he remained a bitter and dangerous opponent of their Administration, formidable by his high talents, both civil and military, his ready eloquence, and the fearless energy with which he spoke and acted. Such was the distinguished John Duke of Argyle, whom we shall often have to mention in these pages.

John, eleventh Earl of Mar, of the name of Erskine, was also a remarkable person at this period. He was a man of quick parts and prompt eloquence, an adept in state intrigues, and a successful
courtier. His paternal estate had been greatly embarrassed by the mismanagement of his father, but in a great measure redeemed by his own prudent economy. He obtained the command of a regiment of foot, but though we are about to see him at the head of an army, it does not appear that Mar had given his mind to military affairs, or acquired experience by going on actual service. His father had been a Whig; and professed Revolution principles, and the present Earl entered life bearing the same colours. He brought forward in the Parliament of Scotland the proposal for the treaty of Union, and was one of the Scottish commissioners for settling the preliminary articles. Being secretary of state for Scotland during the last Scottish Parliament, he supported the treaty both with eloquence and address. Mar does not appear amongst those who received any portion of the equivalents; but as he lost his secretaryship by the Union, he was created keeper of the signet, with a pension, and was admitted into the English Privy Council. Upon the celebrated change of the Administration in 1710, the Earl of Mar, then one of the fifteen peers who represented the nobility of Scotland, passed over to the new Ministers, and was created one of the British secretaries of state. In this capacity he was much employed in the affairs of Scotland, and in managing such matters as they had to do in the Highlands. His large estate upon the river Dee in Aberdeenshire, called the forest of Braemar, placed him at the head of a considerable Highland following of his own, which rendered it more easy for him, as dispenser of the bounties of Government, to establish an interest among the
chiefs, which ultimately had fatal consequences to them and to himself.

Such were the three principal Scottish nobles on whom the affairs of Scotland, at that uncertain period, very much depended. We are next to give some account of the manner in which the forty-five members, whom the Union had settled to be the proportion indulged to Scotland as her share of the Legislature, were received in the English senate.

And here it must be noticed, that although individually the Scottish members were cordially received in London, and in society saw or felt no prejudice whatever existing against them on account of their birth-place, and though there was no dislike exhibited against them individually, yet they were soon made sensible that their presence in the senate was as unacceptable to the English members, as the arrival of a body of strange rams in a pasture, where a nock of the same animals have been feeding for some time. The contentions between those who are in possession and the new comers, are in that case carried to a great height, and occasion much noise and many encounters; and for a long time the smaller band of strangers are observed to herd together, and to avoid intermingling with the original possessors, nor, if they attempt to do so, are they cordially received.

This same species of discord was visible between the great body of the English House of Commons
and the handful of Scottish members introduced among them by the Union. It was so much the case, that the national prejudices of English and Scots pitted against each other, even interfered with and overcame the political differences, by which the conduct and votes of the representatives of both nations would have been otherwise regulated.

The Scottish members, for example, found themselves neglected, thwarted, and overborne by numbers, on many occasions where they conceived the immediate interests of their country were concerned, and where they thought that, in courtesy and common fairness, they, as the peculiar representatives of Scotland, ought to have been allowed something more than their small proportion of five-and-forty votes. The opinion even of a single member of Parliament is listened to with some deference, when the matter discussed intimately concerns the shire or burgh which he represents, because he obtains credit for having made himself more master of the case than others who are less interested. And it was surely natural for the Scots to claim similar deference when speaking in behalf of a whole kingdom, whose wants and whose advantages could be known to none in the House so thoroughly as to themselves. But they were far from experiencing the courtesy which they expected. It was expressely refused to them in the following instances.

1. The alteration of the law of high treason, already mentioned, was a subject of discord. The Scottish members were sufficiently desirous that their law, in this particular, should be modelled
2. Another struggle for national advantage

(TG63-170)

It occurred respecting the drawbacks of duty allowed upon fish cured in Scotland. This advantage the Scottish merchants had a right to by the letter of the treaty, which expressly declared, that there should be a free communication of trade and commercial privileges between the kingdoms, so that the Scottish as well as the English merchant was entitled to these drawbacks. To this the English answered, that the salt with which the Scottish fish were cured before the Union, had not paid the high English duty, and that to grant drawbacks upon goods so prepared, would be to return to the Scottish trader sums which he had never advanced. There was some reason, no doubt, in the objection; but in so great a transaction as the Union of two kingdoms, there must have occurred circumstances which, for one cause or another, must necessarily create an advantage to individuals of the one country or the other; and it seemed ungracious in the wealthy kingdom of England to grudge to the poorer people of Scotland so trifling a benefit attendant on so important a measure. The English Parliament did accordingly at last agree to this drawback; but the action lost its grace from the obvious unwillingness with which the advantage was conceded, and, as frequently happens, the giving up the point in question did
not consign to oblivion the acrimony of the discussions which it had occasioned. The debates on the several questions we have just noticed, all occurred in the sessions of the British Parliament during which the Union was completed.

In 1710, Queen Anne, becoming weary of her Whig ministers, as I will tell you more at length, took an opportunity to dismiss them, upon finding the voice of the country unfavourable to them, in the foolish affair of Sacheverel; and, as is the usual course in such cases, she dissolved the Parliament in which the Administration had a majority, and assembled a new one.

The Tory Ministry, like all Ministers entering on office, endeavoured, by civility or promises, to gain the support of every description of men; and the Scottish members, who, after all, made up forty-five votes, were not altogether neglected. The new Ministry boasted to the representatives of North Britain, that the present Parliament consisted chiefly of independent country gentlemen, who would do impartial justice to all parts of Britain, and that Scotland should have nothing to complain of.

An opportunity speedily occurred of proving the sincerity of these promises. It must first be remarked, that the opposition made to the measures of Government had hitherto been almost entirely on the side of the Scottish members in the Lower House, who had pursued the policy of
threatening to leave the Administration in a minority in trying questions, by passing in a body to the Opposition; a line of political tactics which will always give to a small but united band a certain weight in the House of Commons, where nicely balanced questions frequently occur, and forty-five votes may turn the scale one way or other. By this policy the Scottish commoners had sometimes produced a favourable issue on points in which their country was concerned. But such was not the practice of the representatives of the peerage, who, having some of them high rank, with but small fortunes to sustain it, were for a time tolerably tractable, voting regularly along with the Ministers in power. A question, however, arose of which we shall speak presently, concerning the privileges of their own order, which disturbed this interested and self-seeking course of policy.

Another reason for the lukewarmness of the Scottish peers was, that the commoners of Scotland had been active on two occasions, in which they had interposed barriers against the exorbitant power of the aristocracy. The first was, an enactment passed rendering the eldest sons of Scottish peers incapable of sitting as members in the House of Commons. This incapacity was imposed, because, being of the same rank or status as the nobility, it was considered that the eldest sons of the nobles were, like their fathers, virtually represented by the sixteen Scottish peers sent to the Upper House. The second regulation displeasing to the peerage was that which rendered
illegal the votes of such electors in Scotland, as, not being possessed in their own right of the qualification necessary by law, had obtained a temporary conveyance of a freehold qualification of the necessary amount, which they bound themselves to restore to the person by whom it was lent, for the purpose of voting at elections. The effect of this law was to destroy an indirect mode by which the peers had attempted to interfere in the election of the commoners. For before this provision, although a peer could not himself appear or vote for the election of a commoner, he might, by cutting his crown-holding into qualifications of the necessary amount, and distributing them among confidential persons, place so many factitious voters on the roll, as might outvote those real proprietors in whom the constitution vested the right of election.

These two laws show that the Scottish members of the House of Commons were alive to the value of their constitutional rights, and the danger to their freedom from the interference of the peers in elections to the Lower House. These differences occasioned some coldness between the Sixteen

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Peers and the Scottish Members of Parliament, and prevented for a time a co-operation between them in cases where the interests of their common country seemed to require it. The following incident, to which I have already alluded, put an end to this coldness.

Queen Anne, in the course other administration, had begun to withdraw her favours from the Whigs and confer them upon the Tories, even upon such
as were supposed to have embraced the Jacobite interest. Among these, the Duke of Hamilton being conspicuous, he was, in addition to his other tides, created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of the Duke of Brandon. A similar exertion of the Queen's prerogative had already been made in the case of the Duke of Queensberry, who had been called to the British peerage, by the title of Duke of Dover. But notwithstanding this precedent, there was violent opposition to the Duke of Hamilton taking his seat as a British peer. It was said no Scottish noble could sit in that House by any other title than as one of the sixteen Peers, to which number the peerage of that kingdom had been restricted as an adequate representation; and the Opposition pretended to see great danger in opening any other way to their getting into the Upper House, even through the grant of the Sovereign, than the election of their own number. The fallacy of this reasoning is obvious, seeing it was allowed on all hands that the Queen could have made any Scotsman a British peer, providing he was not a peer in his own country. Thus the Scottish peerage were likely to be placed in a very awkward situation. They were peers already, as far as the question of all personal privileges went; but because they were such, it was argued that they were not capable of holding the additional privilege of sitting as legislators, which it was admitted the Queen could confer, with all other immunities, upon any Scottish commoner. Their case was that of the bat in the fable, who was rejected both by birds and mice, because she had some alliance with each of them. A Scottish peer, not being one of
the elected sixteen, could not be a legislator in his
own country, for the Scottish Parliament was
abolished; and according to this doctrine, he had
become, for no reason that can be conjectured,
incapable of being called to the British House of
Peers, to which the King could summon by his will
any one save himself and his co-peers of Scotland.
Nevertheless, the House of Peers, after a long
debate, and by a narrow majority, decided, that no
Scottish peer being created a peer of Great Britain
since the Union, had a right to sit in that house.
The Scottish peers, highly offended at the decision,
drew up a remonstrance to the Queen, in which
they complained of it as an infringement of the
Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole
peerage of Scotland. The resolution of the House
of Peers was afterwards altered, and many of the
Scottish nobility have, at various periods, been
created peers of Great Britain.

But during the time while it remained binding,
it produced a considerable change in the temper of

the Scottish peers, and brought them to form a
closer union among themselves and with the
commons. Influenced by these feelings of resentment,
and by the energy of the Duke of Argyle, they
bestirred themselves to resist the extension of the
malt tax to Scotland.

This tax, which the Scots dreaded peculiarly,
because it imposed upon their malt a duty equal to
that levied in England, had been specially canvassed
in the course of the treaty of Union; and it
had finally been agreed that Scotland should not pay
the tax during the continuance of the war. In point of strict right, the Scots had little to say, excepting that the peace with Spain was not yet proclaimed, which might have enabled them to claim a delay, but not an exemption from the imposition. In point of equity, there was more to be pleaded. The barley grown in Scotland, being raised on an inferior soil, is not, at least was not at the time of the Union, worth more than one-third or one-half of the intrinsic value of that raised on the fertile soil, and under the fine climate, of England. If, therefore, the same duty was to be laid on the same quantity as in South Britain, the poorer country would be taxed in a double or triple proportion to that which was better able to bear the burden. Two Scottish peers, the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar, and two commoners, Cockburn, younger of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath, a Whig and Tory of each house, were deputed to wait upon Queen Anne, and represent particularly, besides some other grievances, the dangerous discontents which

taxation so unequal as that upon malt was likely to occasion in so poor a country as Scotland. This was stated to her majesty personally, who returned the answer ministers had put into her mouth. "She was sorry," she said, "that her people of Scotland thought they had reason to complain; but she thought they drove their resentment too far, and wished they did not repent it."

The war, however, being ended by the peace of Utrecht, the English proposed to extend the obnoxious tax to Scotland. The debates in both Houses became very animated. The English
testified some contempt for the poverty of Scotland, while the Scottish members, on the other hand, retorted fiercely, that the English took advantage of their great majority of numbers and privilege of place, to say more than, man to man, they would dare to answer. The Scottish peers in the Upper House maintained the cause of the country with equal vehemence. But the issue was, the duty was imposed, with a secret assurance on the part of Ministers that it was not to be exacted. This last indulgence was what Scotland, strictly speaking, was not entitled to look for, since her own Estates had previously conceded the question; and they had no right to expect from the British Parliament a boon, which their own, while making the bargain, had neglected to stipulate. But they felt they had been treated with haughtiness and want of courtesy in the course of the debate; and so great was their resentment, that in a general meeting of the forty-five Scottish members, they came to the resolution to move for the dissolution of the Union, as an experiment which had failed in the good effects it was expected to produce—which resolution was also adopted by the Scottish peers. It was supported by Scottish members of all parties, Whigs and Revolutionists, as well as Tories and Jacobites; and as all the English Whigs who, being in office, were so eager for the establishment of the Union, were now, when in opposition, as eager for its dissolution, its defence rested with the English Tories, by whom it had been originally opposed at every stage of its progress. This important treaty, which involved so much of national happiness, stood in danger of sharing the fate of a young fruit-tree, cut
down by an ignorant gardener, because it bears no fruit in the season after it has been planted.

The motion for the dissolution of the Union was brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord Findlater and Seafield (1st June, 1713) - that very Lord Findlater and Seafield, who, being Chancellor of the Scottish Parliament by which the treaty was adjusted, signed the last adjournment of his country's representatives with the jeering observation, that "there was an end of an old song" His lordship, with a considerable degree of embarrassment, arising from the recollection of his own inconsistency, had the assurance to move that this "old song" should be resumed, and the Union abolished, on account of the four following alleged grievances:—1. The abolition of the Privy Council of Scotland; 2. The introduction of the English law of High Treason; 3. The incapacity of Scottish peers to be called to Parliament as peers of Britain; 4. The imposition of the malt tax. None of these reasons of complaint vindicated Lord Findlater's proposition. 1. The abolition of the Privy Council was a boon rather than a grievance to Scotland, which that oppressive body had ruled with a rod of iron. 2. The English treason law was probably more severe in some particulars than that of Scotland, but it had the undeniable advantage of superior certainty and precision. 3. The incapacity of the Scottish peers was indeed an encroachment upon their privileges, but it was capable of being reversed, and has been reversed accordingly, without the necessity of destroying the Union. 4. If the malt tax was a grievance, it was one
which the Scottish commissioners, and his lordship amongst others, had under their view during the progress of the treaty, and to which they had

formally subjected their country, and were not, therefore, entitled to complain, as if something new or unexpected had happened, when the English availed themselves of a stipulation to which they themselves had consented.

The Duke of Argyle supported the motion for abrogating the Union, with far more energy than had been displayed by Lord Findlater. He declared, that when he advocated the treaty of Union, it was for the sole reason that he saw no other mode of securing the Protestant succession to the throne; he had changed his mind on that subject, and thought other remedies as capable of securing that great point. On the insults and injuries which had been unsparingly flung upon Scotland and Scotsmen, he spoke like a high-minded and high-spirited man; and to those who had hinted reproaches against him, as having deserted his party, he replied, that he scorned the imputations they threw out, as much as he despised their understanding.

This bold orator came nearest to speaking out the real cause of the universal discontent of the Scottish members, which was less the pressure of any actual grievance, than the sense of the habitually insulting and injurious manner in which they were treated by the English members, as if the representatives of some inferior and subjugated province. But personal resentment, or offended
national pride, however powerful, ought not to have been admitted as reasons for altering a national enactment, which had been deliberately and seriously entered into; for the welfare of posterity is not to be sacrificed to the vindictive feelings of the present generation.

The debate on Lord Findlater's motion was very animated, and it was wonderful to see the energy with which the Tories defended that Union which they had opposed in every stage, while the Whigs, equally inconsistent, attempted to pull down the fabric which their own hands had been so active in rearing. The former, indeed, could plead, that, though they had not desired to have a treaty of Union, yet, such having been once made, and the ancient constitutions of both countries altered and accommodated to it, there was no inconsistency in their being more willing it should remain, than that the principles of the constitution should be rendered the subject of such frequent changes and tamperings. The inconsistency of the Whigs hardly admits of equal apology.

The division upon the question was so close, that it was rejected by a majority of four only; so nearly had that important treaty received its death-blow within six years after it was entered into.

Shortly after this hairbreadth escape, for such we may surely term it, another circumstance occurred, tending strongly to show with what sensitive jealousy the Scots of that day regarded any
(63-182)reflections on their country. The two great parties
(63-182)of Whig and Tory, the former forming the
(63-182)Opposition, and the latter the Ministerial party,
(63-182)besides their regular war in the House of Commons,
(63-182)had maintained a skirmishing warfare of
(63-182)pamphlets and lampoons, many of them written by
(63-182)persons of distinguished talent.

(63-182)Of these, the celebrated Sir Richard Steele
(63-182)wrote a tract, called the Crisis, which was widely
(63-182)circulated by the Whigs. The still more able
(63-182)Jonathan Swift, the intimate friend and advocate
(63-182)of the existing ministers, published (but anonymously)
(63-182)a reply, entitled "The Public Spirit of
(63-182)the Whigs set forth, in their encouragement of the
(63-182)author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic, political
(63-182)lampoon against the Whigs and their champion,
(63-182)interspersed with bitter reflections upon the Duke
(63-182)of Argyle and his country.

[TG63-183]
(63-183)In this composition, the author gives rein to his
(63-183)prejudices against the Scottish nation. He grudged
(63-183)that Scotland should have been admitted into
(63-183)commercial privileges, by means of this Union, from
(63-183)which Ireland was excluded. The natural mode
(63-183)of redressing this inequality, was certainly to put
(63-183)all the three nations on a similar footing. But as
(63-183)nothing of this kind seemed at that time practicable,
(63-183)Swift accused the Scots of affectation, in pretending
(63-183)to quarrel with the terms of a treaty which was
(63-183)so much in their favour, and supposes, that while
(63-183)carrying on a debate, under pretence of abrogating
(63-183)the Union, they were all the while in agony lest
(63-183)they should prove successful. Acute observer of
(63-183)men and motives as he was, Swift was in this
instance mistaken. Less sharp-sighted than this celebrated author, and blinded by their own exasperated pride, the Scots were desirous of wreaking their revenge at the expense of a treaty which contained so many latent advantages, in the same manner as an intoxicated man vents his rage at the expense of valuable furniture or important papers. In the pamphlet which gave so much offence, Swift denounced the Union "as a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason;" and he defied "any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a Union." The necessity, he justly, but offensively, imputes to the Scots refusing to settle the Crown on the line of Hanover, when, according to the satirist, it was thought "highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce, northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king." He censures Godolphin highly for suffering the Act of Security to pass, by which the Scots assumed the privilege of universally arming themselves. "The Union, he allows, became necessary, because it might have cost England a year or two of war to reduce the Scots." In this admission, Swift pronounces the highest panegyric on the treaty, since the one or two years of hostilities might have only been the recommencement of that war, which had blazed inextinguishably for more than a thousand years.

The Duke of Argyle had been a friend, even a patron, of the satirist, but that was when he acted with Oxford and Bolingbroke, in the earlier part of the administration, at which time he gratified at
once their party spirit and his own animosity, by attacking the Duke of Marlborough, and declining to join in the vote of thanks to that great general. While Argyle was in Spain, Swift had addressed a letter to him in that delicate style of flattery, of which he was as great a master as of every power of satirical sarcasm. But when the Duke returned to Britain, embittered against Ministers by their breach of promise to supply him with money and reinforcements, and declared himself the unrelenting opponent of them, their party, and their measures, Swift, their intimate confident and partisan, espoused their new quarrel, and exchanged the panegyrics of which the Duke had been the object for poignant satire. Of the number of the Scottish nobility, he talks as one of the great evils of

[TG63-185]

the Union, and asks if it were ever reckoned as an advantage to a man who was about to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, that she brought in her train a numerous retinue of retainers and dependents. He is supposed to have aimed particularly at the Duke of Argyle, and his brother, Lord Islay, in these words: "I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole revenue, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace, and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotsman who had not travelled could form an idea of."

These shafts of satire against a body of men so sensitive and vindictive as the Scots had lately shown themselves, and directed also against a
person of the Duke of Argyle's talents and consequence, were not likely, as the Ministers well knew, to be passed over lightly, either by those who felt aggrieved, or the numerous opposition party, who were sure to avail themselves of such an opportunity for pressing home a charge against Swift, whom all men believed to be the author of the tract, and under whose shafts they had suffered both as a party and as individuals. The Ministry therefore formed a plan to elude an attack, which might have been attended with evil consequences to so valued and valuable a partisan.

They were in the right to have premeditated a scheme of defence, or rather of evasion, for the accusation was taken up in the House of Lords by the Earl of Wharton, a nobleman of high talent, and not less eager in the task, that the satirist had published a character of the Earl himself, drawn when Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which he was painted in the most detestable colours. Wharton made a motion, concluding that the honour of the House was concerned in discovering the villainous author of so false and scandalous a libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. The Lord Treasurer Oxford disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody the publisher and printer of the pamphlet complained of. On the next day, the Earl of Mar informed the House, that he, as Secretary of State, had raised a prosecution in his Majesty's name against John Barber. This course was intended, and had the effect, to screen Swift; for, when the printer was himself made the object
of a prosecution, he could not be used as an evidence against the author, whom, and not the printer or publisher, it was the purpose of the Whigs to prosecute. Enraged at being deprived of their prey, the House of Peers addressed the Queen, stating the atrocity of the libel, and beseeching her Majesty to issue a proclamation offering a reward for the discovery of the author. The Duke of Argyle and the Scottish Lords, who would have perhaps acted with a truer sense of dignity, had they passed over such calumnies with contempt, pressed their address on the Queen by personal remonstrance, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the writer.

Every one knew Swift to be the person aimed at as the author of the offensive tract. But he remained, nevertheless, safe from legal detection.

Thus I have given you an account of some, though not of the whole debates, which the Union was, in its operation, the means of exciting in the first British Parliament. The narrative affords a melancholy proof of the errors into which the wisest and best statesmen are hurried, when, instead of considering important public measures calmly and dispassionately, they regard them in the erroneous light in which they are presented by personal feeling and party prejudices. Men do not in the latter case ask, whether the public will be benefited or injured by the enactment under consideration, but whether their own party will reap most advantage.
by defending or opposing it.

[ TG64-189 ]

IN my last Chapter I detailed to you the consequences of the Union, and told you how the unfair, unkind, and disparaging reception which the English afforded to the Scottish members in the Houses of Lords and Commons, although treating them in their private capacities with every species of kindness, had very nearly occasioned the breach of the treaty. I must now retrace the same ground, to give you a more distinct idea how Britain stood in general politics, independent of the frequent and fretful bickerings between England and Scotland in the British Parliament.

[ TG64-190 ]

King William, as I have already told you, died in 1701, little lamented by his subjects, for though a man of great ability, he was too cold and phlegmatic to inspire affection, and besides he was a foreigner. In Scotland his memory was little reverenced by any party. The Highlanders remembered Glencoe, the Lowlanders could not forget Darien; the Episcopalians resented the destruction of their hierarchy, the Presbyterians discovered in his measures something of Erastianism, that is, a purpose of subjecting the Church to the State.

Queen Anne, therefore, succeeded to her brother-in-law, to the general satisfaction of her subjects. Her qualities, too, were such as gained for her attachment and esteem. She was a good wife, a most affectionate mother, a kind mistress, and, to add to her domestic virtues, a moat confiding
and faithful friend.

The object of her attachment in this latter capacity was Lady Churchill, who had been about her person from a very early period. This woman was so high-spirited, haughty, and assuming, that even her husband (afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough), the conqueror in so many battles, frequently came off less than victorious in any domestic dispute with her. To this lady, Anne, for several years before her succession to the crown, had been accustomed in a great measure to yield up her own opinions. She left the house of her father, James II., and mingled in the Revolution at the instance of Lady Churchill. At her accession

Queen Anne was rather partial to the Tories, both from regarding their principles as more favourable to monarchy, and because, though the love of power, superior to most other feelings, might induce her to take possession of the throne, which by hereditary descent ought to have been that of her father or brother, yet she still felt the ties of family affection, and was attached to that class of politicians who regarded the exiled family with compassion, at least, if not with favour. All these, Queen Anne's own natural wishes and predilections, were overborne by her deference to her favourite's desires and interest. Their intimacy had assumed so close and confidential a character, that she insisted that her friend should lay aside all the distinctions of royalty in addressing her, and they corresponded together in terms of the utmost equality, the sovereign assuming the name of Morley, the servant that of Freeman, which
Lady Churchill, now Countess of Marlborough, chose as expressive of the frankness of her own temper. Sunderland and Godolphin were ministers of unquestionable talent, who carried on with perseverance and skill the scheme formed by King William for defending the liberties of Europe against the encroachments of France. But Queen Anne reposed her confidence in them chiefly because they were closely connected with Mrs Freeman and her husband. Now, this species of arrangement, my dear boy, was just such a childish whim as when you and your little brother get into a basket, and play at sailing down to A--, to see grandpapa. A sovereign cannot enjoy the sort of friendship which subsists between equals, for he cannot have equals with whom to form such a union; and every attempt to play at make-believe intimacy commonly ends in the royal person's being secretly guided and influenced by the flattery and assentation of an artful and smooth-tongued parasite, or tyrannized over by the ascendance of a haughtier and higher mind than his own. The husband of Queen Anne, Prince George of Denmark, might have broken off this extreme familiarity between his wife and her haughty favourite; but he was a quiet, good, humane man, meddling with nothing, and apparently considering himself unfit for public affairs, which agreed with the opinion entertained of him by others.

The death of Queen Anne's son and heir, the Duke of Gloucester, the sole survivor of a numerous family, by depriving her of the last object of domestic affection, seemed to render the Queen's
extreme attachment to her friend more direct, and
Lady- Marlborough's influence became universal.
The war which was continued against the French,
had the most brilliant success, and the general was
loaded with honours; but the Queen favoured
Marlborough less because he was the most accomplished
and successful general at that time in the
world, than as the husband of her affectionate Mrs
Freeman. In short, the affairs of England, at all
times so influential in Europe, turned altogether
upon the private friendship between Mrs Freeman
and Mrs Morley.

At the moment when it seemed most completely
secure, this intimacy was overthrown by the
influence of a petty intrigue in the Queen's family.
The Duchess of Marlborough, otherwise Mrs
Freeman, had used the power with which her
mistress's partiality had invested her, far too roughly
She was avaricious and imperious in her demands,
careless, and even insolent in her conduct towards
the Queen herself. For some time this was
endured as an exercise of that frank privilege of
equality with which her Majesty's friendship had
invested her. For a much longer space it may be
supposed, the Queen tolerated her caprice and insolence,
partly because she was afraid other violent
temper, partly because she was ashamed to break
off the romantic engagement which she had herself
formed. She was not, however, the less impatient
of the Duchess of Marlborough's yoke, or less
watchful of an opportunity to cast it off.

The Duchess had introduced among the Queen's
attendants, in the capacity of what was called a dresser,
a young lady of good birth, named Abigail Hill,

a kinswoman of her own. She was the reverse of
the Duchess in her temper, being good-humoured,
lively, and, from disposition and policy, willing to
please her mistress in every manner possible. She
attracted by degrees first the Queen's favour, and
at length her confidence; so that Anne sought, in
the solicitous attentions and counsels of her new
friend, consolation from the rudeness with which
the Duchess treated her both in private and public
life. The progress of this intimacy was closely
watched by Harley, a statesman of talents, and
hitherto professing the principles of the Whigs.
He had been repeatedly Speaker of the House of
Commons, and was Secretary of State in the existing
Whig administration. But he was ambitious
of higher rank in the cabinet, being conscious of
superior talents, and he caballed against the Duchess
of Marlborough, in consequence of her
having repulsed his civilities towards her with her
usual insolence of manner. The partner of Harley's
counsels was Mr Henry St John (afterwards
Lord Bolingbroke), a young man of the most
distinguished abilities, and who subsequently made a
great figure both in politics and in literature.

Harley lost no time in making advances to intimacy
with the new favourite; and as he claimed
some kindred with Miss Hill's family, this was
easily accomplished. This lady's interest with the
Queen was now so great, that she was able to procure
her cousin private audiences with the Queen,
who, accustomed to the harshness of the Duchess
of Marlborough, whose tone of authority had been adopted by the Whig Ministers of the higher class, was soothed by the more respectful deportment of these new counsellors. Harley was more submissive and deferential in his manners, and conducted himself with an attention to the Queen's wishes and opinions, to which she had been hitherto little accustomed. It was undoubtedly his purpose to use the influence thus acquired, to the destruction of Godolphin's authority, and to accomplish his own rise to the office of first Minister. But his attempt did not succeed in the first instance. His secret intrigues and private interviews with the Sovereign were prematurely discovered, and Harley and his friends were compelled to resign their offices; so that the Whig administration seemed more deeply rooted than ever.

About the same time, Miss Hill was secretly married to Mr Masham; a match which gave great offence to the Duchess of Marlborough, who was beginning to feel that her relation had superseded her in her mistress's affections. As this high-tempered lady found the Queen's confidence was transferred from her, she endeavoured to maintain her ascendancy by threats and intimidation, and was for a time successful in ruling the mind of her late friend by means of fear, as she did formerly by affection. But a false step of the Whig administration enabled Queen Anne at last to shake off this intolerable bondage.

A silly and hot-headed clergyman, named Sacheverel, had preached and printed a political sermon,
In which he maintained high Tory principles, and railed at Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer, and head of Queen Anne's Administration, whom he termed Volpone, after an odious character so named in one of Ben Jonson's Plays. The great majority of the landed gentlemen of England were then addicted to Tory principles, and those of the High Church. So bold and daring a sermon, though it had no merit but its audacity to recommend it, procured immense popularity amongst them. The Ministers were incensed beyond becoming moderation. The House of Commons impeached the preacher before the tribunal of the House of Lords, and his trial came before the Peers on 27th February, 1710. The utmost degree of publicity was given to it, by the efforts of the Whigs to obtain Doctor Sacheverel's conviction and a severe sentence, and by the corresponding exertions of the Tories to screen him from punishment. The multitude took up the cry of High Church and Sacheverel, with which they beset the different members of both Houses as they went down to Parliament. The trial, which lasted three weeks, excited public attention, in a degree hitherto almost unknown. The Queen herself attended almost every day, and her sedan chair was surrounded by crowds, shouting, "God bless the Queen and Doctor Sacheverel! We hope your Majesty is for High Church and Sacheverel." The mob arose, and exhibited their furious zeal for the church by destroying the chapels and meeting-houses of dissenters, and committing similar acts of violence.
The consequence was, that the Doctor was found guilty indeed by the House of Peers, but escaped with being suspended from preaching for three years; a sentence so slight, that it was regarded by the accused and his friends as an acquittal, and they triumphed accordingly. Bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of rejoicing appeared in celebrating of the victory.

As these manifestations of the public sentiment were not confined to the capital, but extended over all England, they made evident the unpopularity of the Whig government, and encouraged the Queen to put in execution the plan she had long proposed to herself, of changing her Ministry, and endeavouring to negotiate a peace, and terminate the war, which seemed to be protracted without end. Anne, by this change of government and system, desired also to secure the church, which her old prejudices taught her to believe was in danger - and, above all, to get rid of the tyranny of her former friend, Mrs Freeman. A new Administration, therefore, was formed under Harley and St John, who, being supported by the Tory interest, were chiefly, if not exclusively, governed by Tory principles. At the same time, the Duchess of Marlborough was deprived of all her offices about the Queen's person, and disgraced, as it is termed, at court, that is, dismissed from favour and employment. Her husband's services could not be dispensed with so easily; for while the British army were employed, no general could supply the place of Marlborough, who had so often led them
to victory. But the Tory Ministers endeavoured
to lower him in the eyes of the public, by an
investigation into certain indirect emoluments taken in
his character as general-in-chief, and to get rid of
the indispensable necessity of his military services,
by entering into negotiations for peace.

The French Government saw and availed themselves
of the situation in which that of Britain was
placed. They perceived that peace was absolutely
necessary to Oxford and Bolingbroke's existence
as ministers, even more so than it was to France as
a nation, though her frontiers had been invaded,
her armies repeatedly defeated, and even her
capital to a certain degree exposed to insult. The
consequence was, that the French rose in their
terms, and the peace of Utrecht, after much
negotiation, was at length concluded, on conditions
which, as they respected the allies, and the British
nation in particular, were very much disproportioned
to the brilliant successes of the war.

That article of the treaty, which was supposed
by all friends of Revolution principles to be most
essential to the independence and internal peace of
Great Britain, seemed indeed to have been adjusted
with some care. The King of France acknowledged,
with all formality, the right of Queen
Anne to the throne, guaranteed the Act of Succession
settling it upon the House of Hanover, and
agreed to expel from his territories the unfortunate
son of James II. This was done accordingly.
Yet notwithstanding that the Chevalier de St
George was compelled to remove from the territories
of his father's ally, who, on James's death, had
formally proclaimed him King of England, the unhappy Prince had perhaps at the moment of his expulsion more solid hopes of being restored to his father's throne, than any which the favour of Louis could have afforded him. This will appear from the following considerations.

Queen Anne, as we have already stated, was attached to the High Church establishment and clergy; and the principles with which these were embued, if not universally Jacobitical, were at least strongly tinctured with a respect for hereditary right. These doctrines could not be supposed to be very unpleasing to the Queen herself, as a woman or as a sovereign, and there were circumstances in her life which made her more ready to admit them. We have already said, that the part which Anne had taken at the Revolution, by withdrawing from her father's house, had been determined by the influence of Lady Churchill, who was now, as Duchess of Marlborough, the object of the Queen's hatred, as much as ever she had been that of her affection in the character of Mrs Freeman, and her opinions and the steps which they had led to, were not probably recollected with much complacency. The desertion of a father, also, however coloured over with political argument, is likely to become towards the close of life a subject of anxious reflection. There is little doubt that the Queen entertained remorse on account of her filial disobedience; more especially, when the early death of her children, and finally that of a hopeful young prince, the Duke of Glocester, deprived her of all chance of leaving" the kingdom to an heir of
her own. These deprivations seemed an appropriate
punishment to the disobedient daughter, who

had been permitted to assume for a time her father's
crown, but not to transmit it to her heirs. As the
Queen's health became broken and infirm, it was
natural that these compunctious thoughts should
become still mere engrossing, and that she should
feel no pleasure in contemplating the prospect
which called the Prince of Hanover, a distant
relation, to reign over England at her decease; or
that she should regard with aversion, almost
approaching to horror, a proposal of the Whig party,
to invite the Electoral Prince to visit Britain, the
crown of which was to devolve upon him after the
decease of its present possessor. On the other
hand, the condition of the Chevalier de St George,
the Queen's brother, the only surviving male of her
family, a person whose restoration to the crown of
his fathers might be the work of her own hand, was
likely to affect the Queen with compassionate interest,
and seemed to afford her at the same time an
opportunity of redressing such wrongs as she might
conceive were done to her father, by making large
though late amends to his son.

Actuated by motives so natural, there is little
doubt that Queen Anne, so soon as she had freed
herself from the control of the Duchess of
Marlborough, began to turn her mind towards fixing
the succession of the crown on her brother, the
Chevalier de St George, after her own death, to
the prejudice of the act which settled it on the
Electoral Prince of Hanover. And she might be
the more encouraged to nourish some hopes of
success, since a great portion of her subjects of the

Three Kingdoms were Jacobites upon principle, and others had but a short step to make from the extremity of Tory sentiments to those which were directly favourable to the Mouse of Stewart. Ireland, the last portion of the British dominions which adhered to King James the Second, could not be supposed indifferent to the restoration of his son. In England, a very great proportion of the High Church clergy, the Universities, and the Tory interest, which prevailed among the country gentlemen, entertained the same bias, and were at little pains to conceal it. In Scotland men were still bolder in avowing their opinions, of which occurred the following instance.

The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, that is to say, the incorporated society of lawyers entitled to practise at the bar, are a body even of more weight and consequence than is attached to them in most countries from the nature of their profession. In the beginning of the 18th century, especially, the Faculty comprehended almost all the sons of good family who did not embrace the army as their choice; for the sword or gown, according to the ideas of that time, were the only occupations which could be adopted by a gentleman. The Advocates are possessed of a noble library, and a valuable collection of medals. To this learned body, Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon (by birth, a daughter of the noble house of Howard, and a keen Jacobite), sent the present of a medal for their cabinet. It bore on the one side the head of the Chevalier de St George, with the motto, Cujus est?
(64-203)(Whom does it represent?) and on the reverse the
British Isles, with the legend, Reddite (Restore
them). The Dean of Faculty having presented
this very intelligible emblem to his brethren, a
debate arose, whether or not it should be received
into their collection, which was carried on in very
warm language, and terminated in a vote, which,
by a majority of sixty-three to twelve, resolved on
the acceptance of the medal. Two advocates were
deputed to express, in the name of the learned
body, their thanks to the Duchess; and they failed
not to do it in a manner expressing pointedly their

full comprehension of the import of her Grace's
compliment. They concluded, by stating their
hope, that her Grace would soon have a farther
opportunity to oblige the Faculty, by presenting
them with a second medal on the subject of a
restoration. But when the proceeding became public,
the Advocates seem to have been alarmed for the
consequences, and at a general meeting of the
Faculty (27th July, 1711), the medal was formally
refused, and placed in the hands of the Lord
Advocate, to be restored to the Duchess of Gordon.
The retractation, however, could not efface the
evidence, that this learned and important public
body, the commentators on the laws of Scotland,
from whom the guardians of her jurisprudence are
selected, had shown such boldness as to give a
public mark of adherence to the Chevalier de St
George. It was also remarked, that the Jacobite
interest predominated in many of the Scottish
elections.
While the Queen saw a large party among her subjects in each kingdom well disposed to her brother's succession, one at least of her ministers was found audacious enough to contemplate the same measure, though in doing so, he might be construed into impeaching his mistress's own right to the sovereign authority. This was Henry St John, created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. He was a person of lively genius and brilliant parts - a scholar, an orator, and a philosopher. There was a reverse to the fair side of the picture. Bolingbroke was dissipated in private life, daringly sceptical in theological speculation, and when his quick perception showed him a chance of rising, he does not appear to have been extremely scrupulous concerning the path which he trode, so that it led to power. In the beginning of his career as a public man he attached himself to Harley; and when that statesman retired from the Whig Administration, in 1708, St John shared his disgrace, and lost the situation of Secretary at War. On the triumph of the Tories, in 1710, when Harley was made Prime Minister, St John was named Secretary of State. Prosperity, however, dissolved the friendship which had withstood the attacks of adversity; and it was soon observed that there was a difference of opinion as well as character between the Premier and his colleague.

Harley, afterwards created Earl of Oxford, was a man of a dark and reserved character - slow, timid, and doubtful, both in counsel and action, and apparently one of those statesmen who affect to
govern by balancing the scales betwixt two contending factions, until at length they finally become the objects of suspicion and animosity to both. He had been bred a Whig, and although circumstances had disposed him to join, and even to head, the Tories, he was reluctantly induced to take any of the violent party measures which they expected at his hand, and seems, in return, never to have possessed their full confidence or unhesitating support.

However far Oxford adopted the principles of Toryism, he stopped short of their utmost extent, and was one of the political sect then called Whimsicals, who were supposed not to know their own minds, because they avowed principles of hereditary right, and at the same time desired the succession of the line of Hanover. In evidence of his belonging to this class of politicians, it was remarked that he sent his brother, Mr Harley, to the court of Hanover, and through him affected to maintain a close intercourse with the Elector, and expressed much zeal for the Protestant line of succession.

All this mystery and indecision was contrary to the rapid and fiery genius of St John, who felt that he was not admitted into the private and ultimate views of the colleague with whom he had suffered adversity. He was disgusted, too, that Harley should be advanced to the rank of an earl, while he himself was only created a viscount. His former friendship and respect for Oxford was gradually changed to coldness, enmity, and hatred, and he began, with much art, and a temporary degree of success, to prepare a revolution in the state, which
he designed should end in Oxford's disgrace, and
his own elevation to the supreme authority. He
entered with zeal into the ulterior designs of the
most extravagant Tories, and, in order to recommend
himself to the Queen, did not, it is believed,
spare to mingle in intrigues for the benefit of her
exiled brother.

It was remarked, that the Chevalier de St George,
when obliged to leave France, found refuge in the
territories of the Duke of Lorraine; and that petty
German Prince had the boldness to refuse an application

of the British Government, for the removal
of his guest from his dominions. It was believed
that the Duke dared not have acted thus unless he
had had some private assurance that the application
was only made for an ostensible purpose, and that
the Queen did not, in reality, desire to deprive her
brother of this place of refuge. Other circumstances
led to the same conclusion, that Anne and
her new ministers favoured the Jacobite interest.

It is more than probable that the Duke of Hamilton,
whom we have so often mentioned, was to
have been deeply engaged in some transactions
with the French court, of the most delicate nature,
when, in 1713, he was named ambassador extraordinary
to Paris; and there can be little doubt
that they regarded the restoration of the line of
Stewart. The unfortunate nobleman hinted this
to his friend, Lockhart of Carnwath, when, parting
with him for the last time, he turned back to
embrace him again and again, as one who was impressed
with the consciousness of some weighty trust,
perhaps with a prescient sense of approaching calamity. Misfortune, indeed, was hovering over him, and of a strange and bloody character. Having a lawsuit with Lord Mohun, a nobleman of debauched and profligate manners, whose greatest achievement was

having, a few years before, stabbed a poor play-actor, in a drunken frolic, the Duke of Hamilton held a meeting with his adversary, in the hope of adjusting their dispute. In this conference, the Duke, speaking of an agent in the case, said the person in question had neither truth nor honour, to which Lord Mohun replied he had as much of both qualities as his Grace. They parted on the exchange of these words. One would have thought that the offence received lay on the Duke's side, and that it was he who was called upon to resent what had passed, in case he should think it worth his while. Lord Mohun, however, who gave the affront, contrary to the practice in such cases, also gave the challenge. They met at the Ring in Hyde Park, where they fought with swords, and in a few minutes Lord Mohun was killed on the spot; and the Duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded, did not survive him for a longer space. Mohun, who was an odious and contemptible libertine, was regretted by no one; but it was far different with the Duke of Hamilton, who, notwithstanding a degree of irresolution which he displayed in politics, his understanding, perhaps, not approving the lengths to which his feelings might have carried him, had many amiable, and even noble qualities, which made him generally lamented. The Tories considered the death of the Duke of Hamilton as so peculiar, and the period when it happened as so
critical, that they did not hesitate to avow a
confident belief that Lord Mohun had been pushed to
sending the challenge by some zealots of the Whig
party, and even to add, that the Duke fell, not by
the sword of his antagonist, but by that of General
Macartney, Lord Mohun's second. The evidence
of Colonel Hamilton, second to the Duke, went far
to establish the last proposition; and General
Macartney, seeing, perhaps, that the public prejudice
was extreme against him, absconded, and a reward
was offered for his discovery. In the subsequent
reign, he was brought to trial, and acquitted, on
evidence which leaves the case far from a clear one.

The death of the Duke of Hamilton, however,
whether caused by political resentment or private
hatred, did not interrupt the schemes formed for
the restoration of the Stewart family. Lord
Bolingbroke himself went on a mission to Paris, and
it appears highly probable he then settled secret
articles explanatory of those points of the Utrecht
treaty, which had relation to the expulsion of the
Pretender from the dominions of France, and the
disclamration of his right of succession to the crown
of Britain. It is probable, also, that these remained
concealed from the Premier Oxford, to whose views
in favour of the Hanoverian succession they were
distinctly opposed.

Such being the temper of the Government of
England, divided, as it was, betwixt the dubious
conduct of Lord Oxford, and the more secret, but
bolder and decided intrigues of Bolingbroke, the
general measures which were adopted with respect to
Scotland indicated a decided bias to the Jacobite
interest, and those by whom it was supported.

[TG65-211]
THE Presbyterians of Scotland had been placed
by the Revolution in exclusive possession of the
Church government of that kingdom. But a
considerable proportion of the country, particularly in
the more northern shires, remained attached to the
Episcopal establishment and its forms of worship.
These, however, were objects of enmity and fear
to the Church of Scotland, whose representatives
and adherents exerted themselves to suppress, by
every means in their power, the exercise of the
Episcopal mode of worship, forgetful of the
complaints which, they themselves had so justly made
concerning the violation of the liberty of conscience
during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.
We must here remark, that the Episcopal Church
of Scotland had, in its ancient and triumphant state,

[TG65-212]
retained some very slight and formal differences,
which distinguished their book of Common Prayer
from that which is used in the Church of England.
But in their present distressed and disconsolate
condition, many of them had become content to
resign these points of distinction, and, by conforming
exactly to the English ritual, endeavoured to obtain
a freedom of worship as Episcopalians in Scotland,
similar to the indulgence which was granted to those
professing Presbyterian principles, and other
Protestant dissenters in England. The Presbyterian
Church Courts, however, summoned such Episcopal
preachers before them, and prohibited them from exercising their ministry, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment, which, in the case of one person (the Rev. Mr Greenshields), was inflicted with no sparing hand. Others were insulted and ill-used by the multitude, in any attempt which they made to exercise their form of worship. This was the more indefensible, as some of these reverend persons joined in prayer for the Revolution establishment; and whatever conjecture might be formed concerning the probability of their attachment to the exiled family, they had laid aside every peculiarity on which their present mode of worship could, be objected to as inferring Jacobitism.

An Act of Toleration was therefore most justly and rightfully passed (February, 1712) by Parliament, for the toleration of all such Episcopal clergymen men using the Church of England service, as should be disposed to take the Oath of Abjuration, renouncing all adherence to the cause of James II. or his descendant, the existing Pretender. This toleration gave great offence to the Presbyterian clergy, since it was taking out of their hands a means, as they alleged, of enforcing uniformity of worship, which, they pretended, had been insured to them at the Revolution. Every allowance is justly to be made for jealousies and apprehensions, which severe persecution had taught the ministers of the Scottish Church to entertain; but impartial history shows us how dangerous a matter it is to intrust the judicatures of any church with the power of tyrannizing over the consciences of those who have adopted different forms of worship, and how wise as well
The Presbyterian Church was still more offended by the introduction of a clause into this Act of Toleration, obliging the members of their own church, as well as dissenters from their mode of worship, to take the Oath of Abjuration. This clause has been inserted into the Act as it passed the House of Commons, on the motion of the Tories, who alleged that the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland ought to give the same security for their fidelity to the Queen and Protestant succession, which was to be exacted from the Episcopalians. The Scottish Presbyterians complained bitterly of this application of the Oath of Abjuration to themselves. They contended that it was unnecessary, as no one could suspect the Church of Scotland of the least tendency towards Jacobitism, and that it was an usurpation of the State over the Church, to impose by statute law an oath on the ministers of the Church, whom, in religious matters, they considered as bound only by the Acts of their General Assembly. Notwithstanding their angry remonstrances, the Oath of Abjuration was imposed on them by the same act which decreed the tolerance of the Episcopal form of worship on a similar condition.

The greater number of the Presbyterian ministers did at length take the oath, but many continued to be recusants, and suffered nothing in consequence, as the Government overlooked their non-compliance. There can be little doubt that this clause, which seems otherwise a useless
tampering with the rooted opinions of the Presbyterians, was intended for a double purpose. First, it was likely to create a schism in the Scottish Church, between those who might take, and those who might refuse the oath, which, as dividing the opinions, was likely to diminish the authority, and affect the respectability, of a body zealous for the Protestant succession. Secondly, it was foreseen that the great majority of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland avowedly attached to the exiled family, would not take the Oath of Abjuration, and were likely on that account to be interrupted by the Presbyterians of the country where they exercised their functions. But if a number of the Presbyterian clergy themselves were rendered liable to the same charge for the same omission, and only indebted for their impunity to the connivance of the Government, it was not likely they would disturb others upon grounds which might be objected to themselves. The expedient was successful; for though it was said that only one Episcopal minister in Scotland, Mr Cockburn of Glasgow, took the Oath of Abjuration, yet no prosecutions followed their recusancy, because a large portion of the ministers of the Kirk would have been liable to vexation on the same account.

Another act of the same session of Parliament, which restored to patrons, as they were called, the right of presenting clergymen to vacant churches in Scotland, seemed calculated, and was probably designed, to render the churchmen more dependent on the aristocracy, and to separate them in some degree from their congregations, who could
not be supposed to be equally attached to, or
influenced by a minister who held his living by the
gift of a great man, as by one who was chosen by
their own free voice. Each mode of election is
subject to its own particular disadvantages. The
necessity imposed on the clergyman who is
desirous of preferment, of suiting his style of preaching
to the popular taste, together with the indecent
heats and intrigues which attend popular elections,
are serious objections to permitting the flock to
have the choice of their shepherd. At the same
time, the right of patronage is apt to be abused in
particular instances, where persons of loose morals,
slender abilities, or depraved doctrine, may be
imposed, by the fiat of an unconscientious individual.

upon a congregation who are unwilling to receive
him. But as the Presbyterian clergy possess the
power of examination and rejection, subject to an
appeal to the superior church courts, whatever may
be thought of the law of patronage in theory, it
has not, during the lapse of more than a century,
had any effect in practice detrimental to the
respectability of the Church of Scotland. There is
no doubt, however, that the restoration of the right
of lay patrons in Queen Anne's time was designed
to separate the ministers of the Kirk from the
people, and to render them more dependent on the
nobility and gentry, amongst whom, much more
than the common people, the sentiments of
Jacobitism predominated.

These measures, though all of them indirectly
tending to favour the Tory party, which might, in
Scotland, be generally termed that of the Stewart
family, had yet other motives which might be plausibly alleged for their adoption.

Whatever might be the number and importance of the Lowland gentry in Scotland, who were attached to the cause of the Chevalier de St George, and that number was certainly very considerable, the altered circumstances of the country had so much restricted their authority over the inferior classes, that they could no longer reckon upon raising any considerable number of men by their own influence, nor had they, since the repeal of the Act of Security, the power of mustering or disciplining their followers, so as to render them fit for military service. It was not to be expected that, with the aid of such members of their family, domestics, or dependents, as might join them in any insurrection, they could do more than equip a few squadrons of horse, and even if they could have found men, they were generally deficient in arms, horses, and the means of taking the field.

The Highland clans were in a different state; they were as much under the command of their superior chiefs and chieftains as ever they had been during the earlier part of their history; and, separated from civilisation by the wildernesses in which they lived, they spoke the language, wore the dress, submitted to the government, and wielded the arms of their fathers. It is true, that clan wars were not now practised on the former great scale, and that two or three small garrisons of soldiers quartered amongst them put some stop to their predatory incursions. The superior
chieftains and tacksmen, more especially the duinhe wassals, or dependent gentlemen of the tribe, were in no degree superior in knowledge to the common clansmen. The high chiefs, or heads of the considerable clans, were in a very different situation. They were almost all men of good education, and polite manners, and when in Lowland dress and Lowland society, were scarce to be distinguished from other gentlemen, excepting by an assumption of consequence, the natural companion of conscious authority. They often travelled abroad, and sometimes entered the military service, looking always forward to the time when their swords should be required in the cause of the Stewarts, to whom they were in general extremely attached; though in the West Highlands the great influence of the Duke of Argyle, and in the North that of the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Reay, together with the Chiefs of Grant, Ross, Munro, and other northern tribes, fixed their clans in the Whig interest.

These chiefs were poor; for the produce of their extensive but barren domains was entirely consumed in supporting the military force of the clan, from whom no industry was to be expected, as it would have degraded them in their own eyes, and in those of their leaders, and rendered them unfit for the discharge of their warlike duties. The chiefs, at the same time, when out of the Highlands, were expensive as well as needy. The sense of self-importance, which we have already noticed, induced them to imitate the expenses of a richer country, and many, by this inconsistent conduct, exposed themselves to pecuniary distress. To
such men money was particularly acceptable, and it was distributed among them annually by Queen Anne's Government, during the latter years of her reign, to the amount of betwixt three and four thousand pounds. The particular sum allotted to each chief was about L.360 Sterling, for which a receipt was taken, as for a complete year's payment of the bounty-money which her Majesty had been pleased to bestow on the receiver.

These supplies were received the more willingly, because the Highland chiefs had no hesitation in regarding the money as the earnest of pay to be issued for their exertions in the cause of the House of Stewart, to which they conceived themselves to be attached by duty, and certainly were so by inclination. And there can be no doubt, as the pensions were sure to be expended in maintaining and increasing their patriarchal followers, and keeping them in readiness for action, it seems to have been considered by the chiefs, that the largesses were designed by Government for that, and no other purpose. The money was placed at the disposal of the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State, and his being the agent of this bounty, gave him the opportunity of improving and extending his influence among the Highland chiefs, afterwards so fatally employed for them and for himself.

The construction which the chiefs put upon the bounty bestowed on them was clearly shown by their joining in a supplication to the Queen, about the end of the year 1713, which got the name of the Sword-in-hand Address. In one paragraph,
they applaud the measures taken for repressing the license of the press, and trust that they should no longer be scandalized by hearing the Deity blasphemed, and the sacred race of Stewart traduced, with equal malice and impunity. In another, they expressed their hopes, that, after her Majesty's demise, "the hereditary and parliamentary sanction might possibly meet in the person of a lineal successor." These intimations are sufficiently plain, to testify the sense in which they understood the Queen's bounty-money.

The Duke of Argyle, whose own influence in the Highlands was cramped and interfered with by the encouragement given to the Jacobite clans, brought the system of their pensions before Parliament, as a severe charge against the Ministers, whom he denounced as rendering the Highlands a seminary for rebellion. The charge led to a debate of importance.

The Duke of Argyle represented that "the Scots Highlanders, being for the most part either rank Papists, or declared Jacobites, the giving them pecuniary assistance was, in fact, keeping up Popish seminaries and fomenting rebellion." In answer to this the Treasurer Oxford alleged, "That in this particular he had but followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced the Highlanders, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet; and if the present Ministry could be charged with any mismanagement on that head, it was only for re-trenching part of these gratuities." This reference;
to the example of King William, seemed to shut
the door against all cavil on the subject, and the
escape from censure was regarded as a triumph by
the Ministers. Yet as it was well understood, that
the pensions were made under the guise of military
pay, it might have been safely doubted, whether
encouraging the chiefs to increase the numbers and
military strength of their clans was likely to render
them more orderly or peaceable subjects; and the
scheme of Ministers seemed, on the whole, to
resemble greatly the expedient of the child's keeper
who should give her squalling charge a knife in
order to keep it quiet.

These various indications manifested that the
Ministry, at least a strong party of them, were
favourable to the Pretender, and meant to call him
to the throne on the Queen's decease. This event
could not now be far distant, since, with every
symptom of declining health, Anne was harassed
at once with factions among her subjects and
divisions in her councils, and, always of a timid temper,
had now become, from finding her confidence
betrayed, as jealous and suspicious as she had been
originally docile in suffering herself to be guided
without doubt or hesitation. She had many subjects
of apprehension pressing upon a mind which,
ever of peculiar strength, was now enfeebled by
disease. She desired, probably, the succession of
her brother, but she was jealous lest the hour of
that succession might be anticipated by the zeal of
his followers; nor did she less dread, lest the
effects of that enthusiasm for the house of Hanover,
which animated the Whigs, might bring the Electoral
Prince over to England, which she compared
to digging her grave while she was yet alive. The disputes betwixt Oxford and Bolingbroke divided her councils, and filled them with mutual upbraidings, which sometimes took place before the Queen; who, naturally very sensitive to the neglect of the personal etiquette due to her rank, was at once alarmed by their violence, and offended by the loose which they gave to their passions in her very presence.

The Whigs, alarmed at the near prospect of a crisis which the death of the Queen could not fail to bring on, made the most energetic and simultaneous preparations to support the Hanoverian succession to the crown, by arms, if necessary. They took special care to represent, at the court of Hanover, their dangers and sufferings on account of their attachment to the Protestant line; and such of them as lost places of honour or profit, were, it may be believed, neither moderate in their complaints, nor sparing in the odious portraits which they drew of their Tory opponents. The Duke of Argyle, and Generals Stanhope and Cadogan, were actively engaged in preparing such officers of the British army as they dared trust, to induce the soldiers, in case of need, to declare themselves against the party who had disgraced Marlborough their victorious general - had undervalued the achievements which they had performed under his command, and put a stop to the career of British conquest by so doing. The Elector of Hanover was induced to negotiate with Holland and other powers, to supply him with troops and shipping, in case it should be necessary to use force in supporting
(65-222) his title to the succession of Great Britain.
(65-222) A scheme was laid for taking possession of the

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(65-223) Tower on the first appearance of danger; and the
(65-223) great men of the party entered into an association,
(65-223) binding themselves to stand by each other in
(65-223) defence of the Protestant succession.

(65-223) While the Whigs were united in these energetic
(65-223) and daring measures, the Tory Ministers were,
(65-223) by their total disunion, rendered incapable of
(65-223) availing themselves of the high ground which they
(65-223) occupied, as heads of the Administration, or by the
(65-223) time allowed them by the flitting sands of the
(65-223) Queen's life, which were now rapidly ebbing. The
(65-223) discord between Oxford and Bolingbroke had now
(65-223) risen so high, that the latter frankly said, that if the
(65-223) question were betwixt the total ruin of their party,
(65-223) and reconciliation with Oxford and safety, he would
(65-223) not hesitate to choose the first alternative. Their
(65-223) views of public affairs were totally different. The
(65-223) Earl of Oxford advised moderate measures, and
(65-223) even some compromise or reconciliation with the
(65-223) Whigs. Bolingbroke conceived he should best
(65-223) meet the Queen's opinions by affecting the most
(65-223) zealous high church principles, giving hopes of the
(65-223) succession of her brother after her death, and by
(65-223) assiduously cultivating the good graces of Mrs Hill
(65-223) (now created Lady Masham), the royal favourite;
(65-223) in which, by the superior grace of his manners, and
(65-223) similarity of opinions, he had entirely superseded
(65-223) the Lord Treasurer Oxford.

(65-223) This dissension betwixt the political rivals, which
(65-223) had smouldered so long, broke out into open
hostility in the month of July, 1714, when an extremely bitter dialogue, abounding in mutual recriminations, passed in the Queen's presence betwixt Lord Treasurer Oxford on the one part, and Bolingbroke and Lady Masham on the other. It ended in the Lord Treasurer's being deprived of his office.

The road was now open to the full career of Bolingbroke's ambition. The hour he had wished and lived for was arrived; and neither he himself, nor any other person, entertained a doubt that he would be raised to the rank of lord treasurer and first minister. But vain are human hopes and expectations! The unfortunate Queen had suffered so much from the fatigue and agitation which she had undergone during the scene of discord which she had witnessed, that she declared she could not survive it. Her apprehensions proved prophetic.

The stormy consultation, or rather debate, to which we have alluded, was held on the 27th July, 1714. On the 28th, the Queen was seized with a lethargic disorder. On the 30th her life was despaired of.

Upon that day, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, both hostile to the present, or, as it might, rather now be called, the late, Administration, took the determined step of repairing to the Council-board where the other members, humbled, perplexed, and terrified, were well contented to accept their assistance. On their suggestion, the treasurer's staff was conferred on the Duke of Shrewsbury,
a step with which the dying Queen declared her satisfaction; and thus fell the towering hopes of Bolingbroke.

On the 1st of August Queen Anne expired, the Last of the lineal Stewart race who sat on the throne Of Britain. She was only fifty years old, having Reigned for twelve years; and her death took place At the most critical period which the empire had Experienced since the Revolution.

THE period of Queen Anne's demise found the Jacobites, for a party who were both numerous and zealous, uncommonly ill prepared and irresolute. They had nursed themselves in the hope that the dark and mysterious conduct of Oxford was designed to favour his purpose of a counter-revolution; and the more open professions of Bolingbroke, which reached the Jacobites of Scotland through the medium of the Earl of Mar, were considered as pointing- more explicitly to the same important end.

But they were mistaken in Oxford's purpose, who only acted towards them as it was in his nature to do towards all mankind; and so regulated his conduct as to cause the Jacobites to believe he was upon their side, while, in fact, his only purpose was to keep factions from breaking into extremities, and to rule all parties, by affording hopes to each in their turn, which were all to be ultimately found delusive.
Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was more sanguine and decided, both in opinion and action; and he would probably have been sufficiently active in his measures in behalf of King James, had he possessed the power of maturing them. But being thus mocked by the cross fate which showed him the place of his ambition at one moment empty, and in the next all access to it closed against him, he was taken totally unprepared; and the Duke of Ormond, Sir William Windham, and other leaders of the Jacobite party, shared the same disadvantage. They might, indeed, have proclaimed King James the Third in the person of the Chevalier de St George, and trusted to their influence with the Tory landed gentlemen, and with the populace, to effect an universal insurrection. Some of them even inclined to this desperate measure; and the celebrated Dr Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, offered to go to Westminster in his rochet and lawn sleeves, and himself to perform the ceremony. This, however, would have been commencing a civil war, in which, the succession of the house of Hanover being determined by the existing law, the insurrectionists must have begun by incurring the guilt of high treason, without being assured of any force by which they might be protected. Upon the whole, therefore, the Jacobites, and those who wished them well, remained, after the Queen's death, dejected, confused, and anxiously watchful of circumstances, which they did not pretend to regulate or control.

On the contrary, the Whigs, acting with uncommon firmness and unanimity, took hold of the power
which had so lately been possessed by their opponents,
like troops who seize in action the artillery of
their enemy, and turn it instantly against them.
The privy counsellors who were of that party,
imitating the determined conduct of the Dukes of
Somerset and Argyle, repaired to the Council,
without waiting for a summons, and issued instant
orders for the proclamation of King George, which
were generally obeyed without resistance. The
assembled Parliament recognised King George I.

as the sovereign entitled to succeed, in terms of the
act regulating the destination of the crown. The
same proclamation took place in Ireland and Scotland
without opposition; and thus the King took
legal and peaceable possession of his kingdom. It
appeared, also, that England's most powerful, and,
it might seem, most hostile neighbour, Louis XIV.,
was nowise disposed to encourage any machinations
which could disturb the Elector of Hanover's
accession to the crown. The Chevalier de St George
had made a hasty journey to Paris, upon learning
the tidings of Queen Anne's death; but far from
experiencing a reception favourable to his views on
the British crown, he was obliged to return to
Lorraine, with the sad assurance that the monarch
of France was determined to adhere to the Treaty
of Utrecht, by an important article of which he had
recognized the succession of the House of Hanover
to the Crown of Great Britain. It is more than
probable, as before hinted, that there had been,
during the dependence of the treaty, some private
understanding, or perhaps secret agreement with
Bolingbroke, which might disarm the rigour of this
article. But it was evident that the power of the
minister with whom such an engagement had been
made, if indeed it existed in any formal shape, was
now utterly fallen; and the affairs of Britain were,
soon after King George's accession, intrusted to a
ministry, who had the sagacity to keep the French
King firm to his engagement, by sending to Paris
an ambassador, equally distinguished for talents in
war and in diplomacy, and for warm adherence to
the Protestant line.

This eminent person was John Dalrymple, the
second Earl of Stair, whose character demands
particular notice amongst the celebrated Scotsmen
of this period. He was eldest surviving son of the
first Earl, distinguished more for his talents than
his principles, in the reigns of King William and
Queen Anne, infamous for his accession to the
massacre of Glencoe, and unpopular from the skill
and political talent which he displayed in favour of
the Union, in carrying which through the Scottish
Parliament he was a most useful agent. According
to the prejudiced observations of the common
people, ill fortune seemed to attend his house. He
died suddenly during the dependence of the Union
treaty, and vulgar report attributed his death to
suicide, for which, however, there is no evidence
but that of common fame.

A previous calamity of a cruel nature had
occurred, in which John, his second son, was the
unfortunate agent. While yet a mere boy, and
while playing with fire-arms, he had the great
misfortune to shoot his elder brother, and kill him on
the spot. The unhappy agent in this melancholy
affair was sent off by the ill-fated parents, who could not bear to look upon him, to reside with a clergyman in Ayrshire, as one who was for ever banished from his family. The person to whose care he was committed was fortunately a man of sound sense, and a keen discriminator of character.

The idea he formed of the young exile's powers of mind induced him, by a succession of favourable reports, mixed with intercession, warmly to solicit his pupil's restoration to the family, of which he afterwards became the principal ornament. It was long before he could effect a reconciliation; and the youth, when this was accomplished, entered into the army with the advantages of his rank, and those arising out of early misfortune, which had compelled him to severe study. He was repeatedly distinguished in the wars of Marlborough, and particularly at Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. Lord Stair rose in rank in proportion to his military reputation, but was deprived of his command when the Tory ministers, in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, new modelled the army, to the exclusion of the Whig officers. Upon the accession of George I. he was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, a privy counsellor, and commander of the Scottish forces in the absence of the Duke of Argyle. Shortly after that great event, the Earl of Stair was, as we have already mentioned, sent to Paris, where he held for several years the situation of ambassador extraordinary, and where his almost miraculous power of acquiring information enabled him to detect the most secret intrigues of the Jacobites, and to watch, and even overawe, the conduct of the court of France,
who, well disposed as they were to encourage
privately the undertakings of the Chevalier St George,
which public faith prevented them from countenancing
openly, found themselves under the eye of

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the most active and acute of statesmen, from whom
nothing seemed to remain concealed; while his
character for courage, talent, and integrity, made
it equally impossible to intimidate, deceive, or
influence him. It may be added, that his perfect
knowledge of good breeding, in a nation where
manners are reduced almost to a science, enabled
Lord Stair to preserve the good-will and favour
of those with whom he treated, even while he
insisted upon topics the most unpalatable to the
French Monarch and his ministers, and that in a
manner the most courteous in style, though most
unyielding in purpose. It may be believed that
large sums in secret service money were lavished
in this species of diplomacy. Lord Stair was
always able, by his superior information, to
counteract the plots of the Jacobites, and, satisfied with
doing so, was often desirous of screening from the
vengeance of his own court the misguided individuals
who had rashly engaged in them. It was
owing to the activity of this vigilant diplomatist
that George I. owed, in a great measure, the
neutrality of France, which was a very important
addition to the security of his new throne.

To return to our history:- George I., in the
fifty-fifth year of his age, thus quietly installed in
his British dominions, landed at Greenwich on the
17th of September, six weeks after the death of his
predecessor, Queen Anne. The two great parties of the kingdom seemed in appearance equally disposed to receive him as their rightful monarch; and both submitted to his sway, though with very different hopes and feelings.

The triumphant Whigs were naturally assured of King George's favour towards those who had always shown themselves friendly to his title to the throne; and confident of the merit they might claim, were desirous of exerting their influence, to the utter disgrace, discomfiture, and total suppression, of their political opponents.

The Tories, on the other hand, thought it still possible, while renouncing every plan of opposing the accession of King George, to present themselves before him in such a manner as might command regard; for the number, quality, and importance of a party, which comprised a great majority of the established clergy, the greater part of both the universities, many, if not the largest portion of the lawyers, and the bulk of the proprietors of the soil, or what is called the landed interest, rendered their appearance imposing. Though dejected and humbled, therefore, by their fall from power, they consoled themselves with the idea, that they were too numerous and too important to be ill received by a Sovereign whose accession they had not opposed, and whom, on the contrary, they had shown themselves willing to acknowledge in the capacity of their monarch, disproving, as they might be disposed to think, by their dutiful demonstrations, any rumours which might have reached his Majesty.
of the disaffection of many among them to his person.

It would certainly have been the best policy of the newly enthroned monarch, to have received and rewarded the services of the Whigs, without lending himself to the gratification of their political enmities. There was little policy in taking measures which were likely to drive into despair, and probably into rebellion, a large party among his subjects; and there might have been more wisdom, perhaps, as well as magnanimity, in overlooking circumstances which had occurred before his accession—in receiving the allegiance and dutiful professions of the Tories, without attaching any visible doubts to their sincerity—in becoming thus the King of Great Britain, instead of the chief of a party—and by stifling the remembrance of old feuds, and showing himself indifferently the paternal ruler of all his subjects, to have convinced any who remained disaffected, that if they desired to have another prince, they had at least no personal reason for doing so.

We cannot, however, be surprised that George I., a foreign prince, totally unacquainted with the character of the British nation, their peculiar constitution, and the spirit of their parties—which usually appear, when in the act of collision, much more violent and extravagant than they prove to be when a cessation of hostilities takes place,—should have been disposed to throw himself into the arms of the Whigs, who could plead their
sufferings for having steadily adhered to his interest; or that those who had been his steady adherents should have found him willingly inclined to aid them in measures of vindictive retaliation upon their opponents, whom he had some reason to regard as his personal enemies. It was a case, in which to forgive would have been politic as well as magnanimous; but to resent injuries, and revenge them, was a course natural to human feeling.

The late Ministers seemed for a time disposed to abide the shock of the enmity of their political rivals. Lord Oxford waited on the King at his landing, and, though coldly received, remained in London till impeached of high treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower. Lord Bolingbroke continued to exercise his office of Secretary of State until he was almost forcibly deprived of it. An impeachment was also brought against him. His conscience probably pleaded guilty, for he retired to France, and soon after became Secretary to the Chevalier de St George. The Duke of Ormond, a nobleman of popular qualities, brave, generous, and liberal, was in like manner impeached, and in like manner made his escape to France. His fate was peculiarly regretted, for the general voice exculpated him from taking any step with a view to selfish aggrandisement. Several of the Whigs themselves, who were disposed to prosecute to the uttermost the mysterious Oxford and the intriguing Bolingbroke, were inclined to sympathise with the gallant and generous cavalier, who had always professed openly the principles on which he acted. Many other distinguished persons
of the Tory party were threatened with prosecutions, or actually subjected to them; which filled the whole body with fear and alarm, and inclined some of the leaders amongst them to listen to the desperate counsels of the more zealous Jacobites, who exhorted them to try their strength with an enemy who showed themselves implacable, and not to submit to their ruin without an effort to defend themselves. A large party of the populace all through the country, and in London itself, renewed the cry of "High Church for ever," with

which were mingled the names of Ormond and Oxford, the principal persons under prosecution. Among the clergy, there were found many who, out of zeal for their order, encouraged the lower classes in their disorderly proceedings; in which they burnt and destroyed the meeting-houses of dissenters, pillaged the houses of their ministers, and committed all those irregularities by which an English mob is distinguished, but whose vehemence of sentiment generally evaporates in such acts of clamour and violence.

There were, however, deeper symptoms of disaffection than those displayed in the empty roar and senseless ravage of the populace. Bolingbroke and Ormond, who had both found refuge at the court of the Pretender to the crown, and acknowledged his title, carried on a secret correspondence with the Tories of influence and rank in England, and encouraged them to seek, in a general insurrection for the cause of James III., a remedy for
the evils with which they were threatened, both personally and as a political party. But England had been long a peaceful country. The gentry were opulent, and little disposed to risk, in the event of war, their fortunes and the comforts which they procured them. Strong assistance from France might have rendered the proposal of an insurrection more acceptable; but the successful diplomacy of Lord Stair at the Court of Louis destroyed all hopes of this, unless on a pitifully small scale. Another resource occurred to the Jacobite leaders, which might be attained by instigating Scotland to set the example of insurrection. The gentry in that country were ready for war, which had been familiar to them on many occasions during the lives of their fathers and their own. They might be easily induced to take arms - the Highlanders, to whom war was a state preferable to peace, were sure to take the field with them - the Border counties of England were most likely to catch the flame, from the disposition of many of the gentry there, and the conflagration, it was expected, might, in the present humour of the nation, be extended all over England. To effect a rising, therefore, in Scotland, with a view to a general insurrection throughout Great Britain, became the principal object of those who were affected by, or who resented, the prosecutions directed with so much rigour against the members of Queen Anne's last ministry.

John, eighteenth Lord Erskine, and eleventh Earl of Mar, whom we have repeatedly mentioned as Secretary of State during the last years
of Queen Anne, and as the person to whom the
distribution of money among the Highland clans,
and the general management of Scottish affairs,
was intrusted by her Ministry, was naturally
considered as the person best qualified to bring his
countrymen to the desired point. Mar had not
felt any difficulty in changing from the Whig
principles which he professed at the time of the
Union, - on which occasion he was one of the
Scottish Secretaries of State,-to the Tory
principles of Bolingbroke, which he now professed.
We do him, therefore, no wrong in supposing, that
he would not have sturdily rejected any proposal
from the court of George I. to return to the party
of Whig and Low Church. At least it is certain,
that when the heads of the Tory party had determined
to submit themselves to George I., Lord
Mar, in following the general example, endeavoured
to distinguish himself by a display of influence
and consequence, which might mark him
as a man whose adherence was worth securing, and
who was, at the same time, willing to attach himself
to the new Sovereign. In a letter addressed
to King George while in Holland, and dated 30th
August, 1714, the Earl expresses great apprehension
that his loyalty or zeal for the King's interests
may have been misrepresented to his Majesty, because
he found himself the only one of Queen
Anne's servants whom the Hanoverian ministers
at the court of London did not visit. His lordship
then pleads the loyalty of his ancestors, his own
services at the Union, and in passing the Act of
Succession; and, assuring the King that he will
find him as faithful a subject and servant as ever
any of his family had been to the preceding royal race, or as he himself had been to the late Queen; he conjures him not to believe any misrepresentations of his conduct, and concludes with a devout prayer for the quiet and peaceful reign of the Monarch, in disturbing which he himself was destined to be the prime instrument.

But it was not only on his individual application that the Earl of Mar expected indemnity, and perhaps favour, at the court of George I. He desired also to display his influence over the Highlanders, and for that purpose procured a letter, subscribed by a number of the most influential chiefs of the clans, addressed to himself, as having an estate and interest in the Highlands, conjuring him to assure the Government of their loyalty to his Sacred Majesty, King George, and to protect them, and the heads of other clans who, from distance, could not attend at the signing of the letter, against the misrepresentations to which they might be exposed; protesting, that as they had been ready to follow Lord Mar's directions in obeying Queen Anne, so they would be equally forward to concur with him in faithfully serving King George. At the same time, a loyal address of the clans to the same effect, drawn up by Lord Grange, brother to Mar, was forwarded to and placed in the hands of the Earl, to be delivered to the King at his landing. Lord Mar attended at Greenwich accordingly, and doubtless expected a favourable reception, when delivering to the new Monarch a recognition of his authority on the part of a class of his subjects who were supposed to be inimical to his
accession, and were certainly best prepared to disturb his new reign. Lord Mar was, however, informed that the King would not receive the address of the clans, alleging it had been concocted at the court of the Pretender; and he was at the same time commanded to deliver up the seals, and informed that the King had no farther occasion for his services.

On the policy of this repulse it is almost unnecessary to make observations. Although it might be very true that the address was made up with the sanction of the Chevalier de St George and his advisers, it was not less the interest of George I. to have received, with the usual civility, the expressions of homage and allegiance which it contained. In a similar situation, King William did not hesitate to receive, with apparent confidence, the submission of the Highland clans, though it was well understood that it was made under the express authority of King James II. A monarch whose claim to obedience is yet young, ought in policy to avoid an immediate quarrel with any part of his subjects who are ready to profess allegiance as such. His authority is, like a transplanted tree, subject to injury from each sudden blast, and ought, therefore, to be secured from such, until it is gradually connected by the ramification of its roots incorporating themselves with the soil in which it is planted. A sudden gust may in the one case overturn, what in the other can defy the rage of a continued tempest. It seems at least certain, that bluntly, and in a disparaging manner, refusing an address expressing allegiance and loyalty, and
affronting the haughty courtier by whom it was
presented, King George exposed his government
to the desperate alternative of civil war, and the
melancholy expedient of closing it by bringing
many noble victims to the scaffold, which during
the reign of his predecessor had never been stained
with British blood shed for political causes. The
impolicy, however, cannot justly be imputed to a
foreign Prince, who, looking at the list of Celtic
names, and barbarously unpronounceable designations
which were attached to the address, could
not be supposed to infer from thence, that the
subscribers were collectively capable of bringing into
the field, on the shortest notice, ten thousand men,
who, if not regular soldiers, were accustomed to a

sort of discipline which rendered them equal to
such. There were many around the King who
could have informed him on this subject; and, to
their falling to do so, the bloodshed, and
concomitant misfortunes of the future civil war, must justly
be attributed.

The Earl of Mar, thus repulsed in his advances
to the new Monarch, necessarily concluded that his
ruin was determined on; and, with the desire of
revenge, which was natural at least, if not justifiable,
he resolved to place himself at the head of the
disaffected party in Scotland, encouraging them to
instant insurrection, and paying back the contumely
with which his offer of service had been rejected,
by endangering the government of the Prince at
whose hands he had experienced such an insult.

It was early in August, 1715, that the Earl of
Mar embarked at Gravesend, in the strictest incognito, having for his companions Major-general Hamilton and Colonel Hay, men of some military experience. They sailed in a coal-sloop, working, it was said, their passage, the better to maintain their disguise, landed at Newcastle, hired a vessel there, and then proceeded to the small port of Elie, on the eastern shore of Fife, a county which then abounded with friends to the Jacobite cause. The state of this province in other respects offered facilities to Mar. It is a peninsula, separated from Lothian by the frith of Forth, and from the shire of Angus by that of Tay; and as it did not, until a very late period, hold much intercourse with the metropolis, though so near it in point of distance,

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it seemed like a district separated from the rest of Scotland, and was sometimes jocosely termed the "Kingdom of Fife." The commonalty were, in the beginning of the 18th century, almost exclusively attached to the Presbyterian persuasion; but it was otherwise with the gentry, who were numerous in this province to a degree little known in other parts of Scotland. Its security, during the long wars of former centuries, had made it early acquainted with civilisation. The value of the soil, on the sea-coasts at least, had admitted of great subdivision of property; and there is no county of Scotland which displays so many country-seats within so short a distance of each other. These gentlemen were, as we have said, chiefly of the Tory persuasion, or, in other words, Jacobites; for the subdivision of politicians termed Whimsicals, or Tories attached to the House of Hanover, could hardly be said to exist in Scotland, though well known in South Britain.
Besides their tenants, the Fife lairds were most of them men who had not much to lose in civil broils, having to support an establishment considerably above the actual rents of their estates, which were, of course, impaired by increasing debts: they were, therefore, the less unwilling to engage in dangerous enterprises. As a party affecting the manners of the ancient Cavaliers, they were jovial in their habits, and cautious to omit no opportunity of drinking the King's health; a point of loyalty which, like virtue of other kinds, had its own immediate reward. Loud and bold talkers, the Jacobites had accustomed, themselves to think they were the prevailing party; an idea which those of any particular faction, who converse exclusively with each other, are usually found to entertain. Their want of knowledge of the world, and the total absence of newspapers, save those of a strong party leaning, whose doctrines or facts they took care never to correct by consulting any of an opposite tendency, rendered them at once curious and credulous. This slight sketch of the Fife lairds may be applied, with equal justice, to the Jacobite country gentlemen of that period in most counties of Scotland. They had virtues to balance their faults and follies. The political principles they followed had been handed down to them from their fathers; they were connected, in their ideas, with the honour of their country; and they were prepared to defend them with a degree of zeal, which valued not the personal risks in which the doing so might place life and property. There were also individuals among them who had natural talents improved by education. But, in general, the persons whom the Earl of Mar was now desirous to
stir up to some sudden act of mutiny, were of that
frank and fearless class who are not guilty of seeing
far before them. They had already partaken in
the general excitation caused by Queen Anne's
death, and the approaching crisis which was expected
to follow that important event. They had
struggled with the Whig gentry, inferior in number,
but generally more alert and sagacious in counsel
and action, concerning the addresses of head-courts
and the seats on the bench of justices. Many of them
had commissioned swords, carabines, and pistols,

from abroad. They had bought up horses fit for
military service; and some had taken into their
service additional domestics, selecting in preference
men who had served in some of the dragoon regiments,
which had been reduced in consequence of
the peace of Utrecht. Still, notwithstanding these
preparations for a rising, some of the leading men
in Fife, as elsewhere, were disposed to hesitate
before engaging in the irretrievable step of rebellion
against the established government. Their reluctance
was overcome by the impatience of the majority,
excited by the flattering though premature
rumours which were actively circulated by a set of
men, who might be termed the Intelligencers of the
faction.

It is well known, that in every great political
body there are persons, usually neither the wisest,
the most important, or most estimable, who endeavour
to gain personal consequence by pretending
peculiar access to information concerning its most
intimate concerns, and who are equally credulous
in believing, and indefatigable in communicating,
whatever rumours are afloat concerning the affairs of the party, whom they encumber by adhering to. With several of these Lord Mar communicated, and exalted their hopes to the highest pitch, by the advantageous light in which he placed the political matters which he wished them to support, trusting to the exaggerations and amplifications with which they were sure to retail what he had said.

Such agents, changing what had been stated as probabilities into certainties, furnished an answer to every objection which could be offered by the more prudent of their party. If any cautious person objected to stir before the English Jacobites had shown themselves serious, some one of these active vouchers was ready to affirm, that every thing was on the point of a general rising in England, and only waited the appearance of a French fleet with ten thousand men, headed by the Duke of Ormond. Did the listener prefer an invasion of Scotland, the same number of men, with the Duke of Berwick at their head, were as readily promised. Supplies of every kind were measured out, according to the desire of the auditors; and if any was moderate enough to restrain his wish to a pair of pistols for his own use, he was assured of twenty brace to accommodate his friends and neighbours. This kind of mutual delusion was every day increasing; for as those who engaged in the conspiracy were interested in obtaining as many proselytes as possible, they became active circulators of the sanguine hopes and expectations by which they, perhaps, began already to suspect that they had been themselves deceived.
It is true, that looking abroad at the condition of Europe, these unfortunate gentlemen ought to have seen, that the state of France at that time was far from being such, as to authorize any expectations of the prodigal supplies which she was represented as being ready to furnish, or, rather, as being in the act of furnishing. Nothing was less likely, than that that kingdom, just extricated from a war in which it had been nearly ruined, by a peace so much more advantageous than they had reason to expect, should have been disposed to afford a pretext for breaking the treaty which had pacified Europe, and for renewing against France the confederacy under whose pressure she had nearly sunk. This was more especially the case, when, by the death of Louis XIV., (1st August, 1715) whose ambition and senseless vanity had cost so much blood, the government devolved on the Regent Duke of Orleans. Had Louis survived, it is probable that, although he neither did nor dared to have publicly adopted the cause of the Chevalier de St George, as was indeed evident by his refusing to receive him at his court; yet, the recollection of his promise to the dying James II, as well as the wish to embarrass England, might have induced him to advance money, or give some underhand assistance to the unhappy exile. But, upon Louis's death, the policy of the Duke of Orleans, who had no personal ties whatever with the Chevalier de St George, induced him to keep entire good faith with Britain-to comply with the requisitions of the Earl of Stair—and to put a stop to all such
preparations in the French ports, as the vigilance
of that minister had detected, and denounced as
being made for the purpose of favouring the Jacobite
insurrection. Thus, while the Chevalier de
St George was represented as obtaining succours
in arms, money, and troops, from France, to an
amount which that kingdom could hardly have
supplied, and from her inferiority in naval force,
certainly must have found it difficult to have
transported into Britain, even in Louis's most palmy
days, the ports of that country were even closed
against such exertions as the Chevalier might make
upon a small scale by means of his private
resources.

But the death of Louis XIV. was represented
in Scotland as rather favourable, than otherwise, to
the cause of James the Pretender. The power of
France was now wielded, it was said, by a courageous
and active, young prince, to whose character
enterprise was more natural than to that of an aged
and heart-broken old man, and who would, of
course, be ready to hazard as much, or more, in the
cause of the Jacobites, than the late monarch had
so often promised. In short, the death of Louis
the Great, long the hope and prop of the Jacobite
cause, was boldly represented as a favourable event
during the present crisis.

Although a little dispassionate enquiry would
have dispelled the fantastic hopes, founded on the
baseless rumour of foreign assistance, yet such
fictions as I have here alluded to, tending to exalt
the zeal and spirits of the party, were circulated
because they were believed, and believed because they were circulated; and the gentlemen of Stirlingshire, Perth, Angus, and Fifeshire, began to leave their homes, and assemble in arms, though in small parties, at the foot of the Grampian hills, expecting the issue of Lord Mar's negotiations in the Highands.

Upon leaving Fifeshire, having communicated with such gentlemen as were most likely to serve his purpose, Mar proceeded instantly to his own estates of Braemar, lying along the side of the river Dee, and took up his residence with Farquharson of Invercauld. This gentleman was chief of the clan Farquharson, and could command a very considerable body of men. But he was vassal to Lord Mar for a small part of his estate, which gave the Earl considerable influence with him; not, however, sufficient to induce him to place himself and followers in such hazard as would have been occasioned by an instant rising. He went to Aberdeen, to avoid importunity on the subject, having previously declared to Mar, that he would not take arms until the Chevalier de St George had actually landed. At a later period he joined the insurgents.

Disappointed in this instance, Mar conceived, that as desperate resolutions are usually most readily adopted in large assemblies, where men are hurried forward by example, and prevented from retreating, or dissenting, by shame, he should best attain his purpose in a large convocation of the chiefs and men of rank, who professed attachment to the exiled family. The assembly was made
under pretext of a grand hunting match, which, as maintained in the Highlands, was an occasion of general rendezvous of a peculiar nature. The lords attended at the head of their vassals, all, even Lowland guests, attired in the Highland garb, and the sport was carried on upon a scale of rude magnificence. A circuit of many miles was formed around the wild desolate forests and wildernesses,

which are inhabited by the red deer, and is called the tinchel. Upon a signal given, the hunters who compose the tinchel begin to move inwards, closing the circle, and driving the terrified deer before them, with whatever else the forest contains of wild animals who cannot elude the surrounding sportsmen. Being in this manner concentrated and crowded together, they are driven down a defile, where the principal hunters lie in wait for them, and show their dexterity by marking out and shooting those bucks which are in season. As it required many men to form the tinchel, the attendance of vassals on these occasions was strictly insisted upon. Indeed, it was one of the feudal services required by the law, attendance on the superior at hunting being as regularly required as at hosting, that is, joining his banner in war; or watching and warding, garrisoning, namely, his castle in times of danger.

An occasion such as this was highly favourable; and the general love of sport, and well-known fame of the forest of Braemar for game of every kind, assembled many of the men of rank and influence who resided within reach of the rendezvous, and a great number of persons besides, who,
though of less consequence, served to give the meeting the appearance of numbers. This great council was held about the 26th of August, and it may be supposed, they did not amuse themselves much with hunting, though it was the pretence and watchword of their meeting.

Among the noblemen of distinction, there appeared in person, or by representation, the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Tulliebardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth and Linlithgow; the Viscounts of Kilsyte, Kenmuir, Kingston, and Stormount; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy, and Nairne. Of the chiefs of clans, there attended Glengarry, Camp bell of Glendarule, on the part of the powerful Earl of Breadalbane, with others of various degrees of importance in the Highlands.

When this council was assembled, the Earl of Mar addressed them in a species of eloquence which was his principal accomplishment, and which was particularly qualified to succeed with the high-spirited and zealous men by whom he was surrounded. He confessed, with tears in his eyes, that he had himself been but too instrumental in forwarding the Union between England and Scotland, which had given the English the power, as they had the disposition, to enslave the latter kingdom. He urged that the Prince of Hanover was an usurping intruder, governing by means of an encroaching and innovating faction; and that
the only mode to escape his tyranny was to rise
boldly in defence of their lives and property, and
to establish on the throne the lawful heir of these
realms. He declared that he himself was determined
to set up the standard of James III., and
summon around it all those over whom he had
influence, and to hazard his fortune and life in the

cause. He invited all who heard him to unite in
the same generous resolution. He was large in
his promises of assistance from France in troops
and money, and persisted in the story that two
descents were to take place, one in England, under
the command of Ormond, the other in Scotland,
under that of the Duke of Berwick. He also
strongly assured his hearers of the certainty of a
general insurrection in England, but alleged the
absolute necessity of showing them an example in
the north, for which the present time was most
appropriate, as there were few regular troops in
Scotland to restrain their operations, and as they
might look for assistance to Sweden as well as to
France.

It has been said that Mar, on this memorable
to show letters from the Chevalier de St
George, with a commission nominating the Earl his
lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of his
armies in Scotland. Other accounts say, more
probably, that Mar did not produce any other
credentials than a picture of the Chevalier, which he
repeatedly kissed, in testimony of zeal for the cause
of the original, and that he did not at the time
pretend to the supreme command of the enterprise.
This is also the account given in the statement of
the transaction drawn up by Mar himself, or under
his eye, where it is plainly said, that it was nearly
a month after the standard was set up ere the Earl
of Mar could procure a commission.

The number of persons of rank who were
assembled, the eloquence with which topics were

publicly urged which had been long the secret inmates
of every bosom, had their effect on the assembled
guests; and every one felt, that to oppose
the current of the Earl's discourse by remonstrance
or objection, would be to expose himself to the
charge of cowardice, or of disaffection to the
common cause. It was agreed that all of them should
return home, and raise, under various pretexts,
whatever forces they could individually command
against a day, fixed for the 3d of September, on
which they were to hold a second meeting at
Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, in order to settle how
they were to take the field. The Marquis of
Huntly alone declined to be bound to any limited
time; and in consequence of his high rank and
importance, he was allowed to regulate his own
motions at his own pleasure.

Thus ended that celebrated hunting in Braemar,
which, as the old bard says of that of Chevy Chace,
might, from its consequences, be wept by a
generation which was yet unborn. There was a
circumstance mentioned at the time, which tended to
show that all men had not forgotten that the Earl
of Mar, on whose warrant this rash enterprise was
undertaken, was considered by some as rather too
versatile to be fully trusted. As the castle of
Braemar was overflowing with guests, it chanced that, as was not unusual on such occasions, many of the gentlemen of the secondary class could not obtain beds, but were obliged to spend the night around the kitchen fire, which was then accounted no great grievance. An English footman, a domestic of the Earl, was of a very different opinion. Accustomed to the accommodations of the south, he came bustling in among the gentlemen, and complained bitterly of being obliged to sit up all night, notwithstanding he shared the hardship with his betters, saying, that rather than again expose himself to such a strait, he would return to his own country and turn Whig. However, he soon after comforted himself by resolving to trust his master's dexterity for escaping every great danger. "Let my lord alone," he said ; "if he finds it necessary, he can turn cat-in-pan with any man in England."

While the Lowland gentlemen were assembling their squadrons, and the Highland chief's levying their men, an incident took place in the metropolis of Scotland, which showed that the spirit of enterprise which animated the Jacobites, had extended to the capital itself.

James Lord Drummond, son of that unfortunate Earl of Perth, who, having served James VII. as Chancellor of Scotland, had shared the exile of his still more unfortunate master, and been rewarded with the barren title of Duke of Perth, was at present in Edinburgh; and by means of one Mr Arthur, who had been formerly an ensign in the Scots
Guards, and quartered in the Castle, had formed a plan of surprising that inaccessible fortress, which resembled an exploit of Thomas Randolph, or the Black Lord James of Douglas, rather than a feat of modern war. This Ensign Arthur found means of seducing, by money and promises, a sergeant named Ainslie, and two privates, who engaged, that, when it was their duty to watch on the walls which rise from the precipice looking northward, near the Sally-port, they would be prepared to pull up from the bottom certain rope-ladders prepared for the purpose, and furnished with iron grappling to make them fast to the battlements. By means of these, it was concluded that a select party of Jacobites might easily scale the walls, and make themselves masters of the place. By a beacon placed on a particular part of the Castle, three rounds of artillery, and a succession of fires made from hill to hill through Fife and Angus shires, the signal of success was to be communicated to the Earl of Mar, who was to hasten forward with such forces as he had collected, and take possession of the capital city and chief strength of Scotland.

There was no difficulty in finding agents in this perilous and important enterprise. Fifty Highlanders, picked men, were summoned up from Lord Drummond's estates in Perthshire, and fifty more were selected among the Jacobites of the metropolis. These last were disbanded officers, writers' clerks and apprentices, and other youths of a class considerably above the mere vulgar. Drummond, otherwise called MacGregor, of Bahaldie, a Highland gentleman of great courage, was named...
to command the enterprise. If successful, this

achievement must have given the Earl of Mar and
his forces the command of the greater part of Scotland,
and afforded them a safe and ready means of
communication with the English malecontents, the
want of which was afterwards so severely felt.
He would also have obtained a large supply of
money, arms, and ammunition deposited in the
fortress, all of which were most needful for his
enterprise. And the apathy of Lieutenant-Colonel
Stewart, then deputy-governor of the castle, was
so great that, in spite of numerous blunders on the
part of the conspirators, and an absolute revelation
on the subject made to Government, the surprise
had very nearly taken place.

The younger conspirators who were to go on
this forlorn hope, had not discretion in proportion
to their courage. Eighteen of them, on the
night appointed, were engaged drinking in a tippling
house, and were so careless in their communications,
that the hostess was able to tell some
person who enquired what the meeting was about,
that it consisted of young gentlemen who were in
the act of having their hair powdered, in order to
go to the attack of the castle. At last the full
secret was intrusted to a woman. Arthur, their
guide, had communicated the plot to his brother, a
medical man, and engaged him in the enterprise.
But when the time for executing it drew nigh, the
doctor's extreme melancholy was observed by his
wife, who, like a second Belvidera or Portia,
suffered him not to rest until she extorted the secret
from him, which she communicated in an anonymous
letter to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston,
then Lord Justice-Clerk, who instantly despatched
the intelligence to the castle. The news arrived
critically, that it was with difficulty the messenger
obtained entrance to the castle; and even then the
deputy-governor, disbelieving the intelligence, or
secretly well affected to the cause of the Pretender,
contented himself with directing the rounds and
patrols to be made with peculiar care, and retired
to rest.

In the mean time, the Jacobite storming party had
rendezvoused at the church yard of the West
Kirk,(8th Sept.) and proceeded to post themselves
beneath the castle wall. They had a part of their rope
ladders in readiness, but the artificer, one Charles
Forbes, a merchant in Edinburgh, who ought to
have been there with the remainder, which had
been made under his direction, was nowhere to be
seen. Nothing could be done during his absence;
but, actuated by their impatience, the party
scrambled up the rock, and stationed themselves beneath
the wall, at the point where their accomplice kept
sentry. Here they found him ready to perform
his stipulated part of the bargain, by pulling up
the ladder of ropes which was designed to give

them admittance. He exhorted them, however, to
be speedy, telling them he was to be relieved by
the patrol at twelve o'clock, and if the affair were
not completed before that hour, that he could give
no further assistance. The time was fast flying,
when Bahaldie, the commander of the storming
party, persuaded the sentinel to pull up the grapnel, and make it fast to the battlements, that it might appear whether or not they had length of ladder sufficient to make the attempt. But it proved as indeed they had expected, more than a fathom too short. At half past eleven o'clock, the steps of the patrol, who had been sent their rounds earlier than usual, owing to the message of the Lord Justice-Clerk, were heard approaching, on which the sentinel exclaimed, with an oath, "Here come the rounds I have been telling you of this half hour; you have ruined both yourself and me; I can serve you no longer." With that he threw down the grappling-iron and ladders, and in the hope of covering his own guilt, fired his musket, and cried " Enemy!" Every man was then compelled to shift for himself, the patrol firing on them from the wall. Twelve soldiers of the burgher guard, who had been directed by the Lord Justice-Clerk to make the round of the castle on the outside, took prisoners three youths, who insisted that they were found there by mere accident, and an old man, Captain MacLean, an officer of James VII., who was much bruised by a fall from the rocks.

The rest of the party escaped along the north bank of the North Loch, through the fields called Barefoord's Parks, on which the New Town of Edinburgh now stands. In their retreat they met their tardy engineer, Charles Forbes, loaded with the ladders which were so much wanted a quarter of an hour before. Had it not been for his want of punctuality, the information and precautions of the Lord Justice-Clerk would have been insufficient for the safety of the place. It does not appear that any of the conspirators
were punished, nor would it have been easy to obtain proof of their guilt. The treacherous sergeant was hanged by sentence of a court-martial, and the deputy-governor (whose name of Stewart might perhaps aggravate the suspicion that attached to him) was deprived of his office, and imprisoned for some time.

It needed not this open attack on the castle of Edinburgh, or the general news of Lord Mar's Highland armament, and the rising of the disaffected gentlemen in arms throughout most of the counties of Scotland, to call the attention of King George's Government to the disturbed state of that part of his dominions. Measures for defence were hastily adopted. The small number of regular troops who were then in Scotland were concentrated, for the purpose of forming a camp at Stirling, in order to prevent the rebels from seizing the bridge over the Forth, and thereby forcing their way into the Low country. But four regiments, on the peace establishment, only mustered two hundred and fifty-seven men each; four regiments of dragoons were considerably under two hundred to a regiment—a total of only fifteen hundred men at the utmost.

To increase these slender forces, two regiments of dragoons, belonging to the Earl of Stair, with two regiments of foot quartered in the north of England, were ordered to join the camp at Stirling with all possible despatch. The foot regiments of Clayton and Wightman, with the dragoons of Evans, were recalled from Ireland. The six
thousand auxiliary forces with whom the Dutch had engaged, in case of need, to guarantee the succession of the House of Hanover, were required of the States, who accordingly ordered the Scotch regiments in their service to march for the coast, but excused themselves from actually embarking them, in consequence of the French ambassador having disowned, in the strongest manner, any intent on the part of his court to aid the factions in England by sending over the Pretender to Britain, or to assist those who were in arms in his behalf. The Dutch alleged this as a sufficient reason for suspending the shipment of these auxiliaries.

Besides these military measures, the Ministers of George I. were not remiss in taking such others as might check the prime cause of rebellions in Scotland, namely, that feudal influence possessed by the aristocracy over their vassals, tenants, and dependents, by which the great men, when disgraced or disappointed, had the power of calling to arms, at their pleasure, a number of individuals, who, however unwilling they might be to rise against the Government, durst not, and could not, without great loss and risk of oppression, oppose themselves to their superior's pleasure.

On the 30th of August, therefore, an act was passed for the purpose of encouraging loyalty in Scotland, a plant which of late years had not been found to agree with the climate of that cold and northern country, or at least, where found to luxuriate, it was of a nature different from that known
This statute, commonly called the Clan Act, enacted, 1. That if a feudal superior went into rebellion, and became liable to the pains of high treason, all such vassals holding lands under him, as should continue in their allegiance, should in future hold these lands of the Crown. 2. If a tenant should have remained at the King’s peace while his landlord had been engaged in rebellion, and convicted of treason, the space of two years gratuitous possession should be added to that tenant's lease. 3. If the superior should remain loyal and peaceful while the vassal should engage in rebellion, and incur conviction of high treason, then the fief, or lands held by such vassal, shall revert to the superior as if they had never been separated from his estate. 4. Another clause declared void such settlements of estates and deeds of entail as might be made on the 1st day of August, 1714, or at any time thereafter, declaring that they should be no bar to the forfeiture of the estates for high treason, seeing that such settlements had been frequently resorted to for the sole purpose of evading the punishment of the law.

This remarkable act was the first considerable step towards unloosing the feudal fetters, by which the command of the superior became in some measure the law of the vassal. The clause concerning settlements and entails was also important, and rendered nugatory the attempts which had been frequently made to evade the punishment of forfeiture, by settlements made previous to the time
when those who granted the deeds engaged in rebellion. Such deeds as were executed for onerous, causes, that is, for value of some kind received, were justly excepted from the operation of this law.

There was, moreover, another clause, empowering the crown to call upon any suspected person or persons in Scotland to appear at, Edinburgh, or where it should be judged expedient, for the purpose of finding bail, with certification that their failure to appear should subject them to be put to the horn as rebels, and that they should incur the forfeiture of the liferent escheat. Immediately afterwards, summonses were issued to all the noblemen and gentlemen either actually in arms, or suspected of favouring the Jacobite interest, from the Earl of Mar and his compeers, down to Rob Roy MacGregor, the celebrated outlaw. The list amounted to about fifty men of note, of which only two, Sir Patrick Murray, and Sir Alexander Erskine, thought proper to surrender themselves.

Besides these general measures, military resistance to the expected rebellion was prepared in a great many places, and particularly in borough-towns and seaports. It is here to be remarked, that a great change had taken place among the bulk of the people of Scotland, from the ill-humour into which they had been put by the conclusion of the Union treaty. At that time, such were the effects of mortified pride, popular apprehension, and national antipathy, that the populace in every town and country would have arisen to place the
Pretender on the throne, notwithstanding his professing the Catholic religion, and being the grandson of James VII., of whose persecutions, as well as those in the time of his predecessor, Charles II., the Presbyterians of the west nourished such horrible recollections. Accordingly, we have seen that it was only by bribing their chiefs, and deceiving them by means of adroit spies, that the Cameronians, the most zealous of Presbyterians, who disowned the authority of all magistrates who had not taken the Solemn League and Covenant, were prevented from taking arms to dissolve the Union Parliament, and to declare for the cause of James III. But it happened with the Union, as with other political measures, against which strong prejudices have been excited during their progress:— the complication of predicted evils were so far from being realized, that the opponents of the treaty began to be ashamed of having entertained such apprehensions. None of the violent changes which had been foretold, none of the universal disgrace and desolation which had been anticipated in consequence, had arisen from that great measure. The enforcing of the Malt Tax was the roost unpopular, and that impost had been for the time politically suspended. The shopkeepers of Edinburgh, who had supplied the peers of Scotland with luxuries, had found other customers, now that the aristocracy were resident in London, or they had turned their stock into other lines of commerce. The ideal consequence of a legislature of their own holding its sittings in the metropolis of Scotland, was forgotten when it became no longer visible, and the abolition of the Scottish
Privy Council might, on calm reflection, be considered as a national benefit rather than a privation. In short, the general resentment excited by the treaty of Union, once keen enough to suspend all other motives, was a paroxysm too violent to last—men recovered from it by slow degrees, and though it was still predominant in the minds of some classes, yet the opinions of the lower orders in general had in a great measure returned to their usual channel, and men entertained in the south and west, as well as in many of the boroughs, their usual wholesome horror for the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender, which, for a certain time, had been overpowered and lost in their apprehensions for the independence of Scotland.

In 1715, also, the merchants and better class of citizens, who began to entertain some distant views of enriching themselves by engaging in the commerce of the plantations, and other lucrative branches of trade, opened up by the Union, were no longer disposed to see any thing tempting in the proposal of Mar and his insurgents, to destroy the treaty by force; and were, together with the lower classes, much better disposed to listen to the expostulations of the Presbyterian clergy, who sensible of what they had to expect from a counter-revolution, exerted their influence, generally speaking, with great effect, in support of the present Government of King George. The fruits of this change in the temper and feelings of the middling and lower classes, were soon evident in the metropolis and throughout Scotland. In Edinburgh, men of wealth and substance subscribed a bond of association, in order to raise subscriptions for
purchasing arms and maintaining troops; and a body of the subscribers themselves formed a regiment, under the name of the Associate Volunteers of Edinburgh. They were four hundred strong. Glasgow, with a prescient consciousness of the commercial eminence which she was to attain by means of the treaty of Union, contributed liberally in money to defend the cause of King George, and raised a good regiment of volunteers. The western counties of Renfrew and Ayrshire offered four thousand men, and the Earl of Glasgow a regiment of a thousand at his own charge. Along the Border, the Whig party were no less active. Dumfries distinguished itself, by raising among the inhabitants seven volunteer companies of sixty men each. This was the more necessary, as an attack was apprehended from the many Catholics and disaffected gentlemen who resided in the neighbourhood. The eastern part of Teviotdale supplied the Duke of Roxburgh, Sir William Bonnet of Grubet, and Sir John Pringle of Stitchel, with as many men as they could find arms for, being about four companies. The upper part of the county, and the neighbouring shire of Selkirk, were less willing to take arms. The hatred of the Union still prevailed amongst them more than elsewhere, inflamed, probably, by the very circumstance of their vicinity to England, and the recollection of the long wars betwixt the kingdoms. The Cameronian preachers, also, had possessed many speculative shepherds with their whimsical and chimerical doubts concerning the right of uncovenanted magistrates to exercise any authority, even in the most urgent case of national emergency. This doctrine was as rational
as if the same scrupulous persons had discovered that it was unlawful to use the assistance of firemen during a conflagration, because they had not taken the Solemn League and Covenant. These scruples were not universal, and assumed as many different hues and shades as there were popular preachers to urge them; they tended greatly to retard and embarrass the exertions of Government to prepare for defence in these districts. Even the popularity of the Reverend Thomas Boston, an eminent divine of the period, could not raise a man for the service of Government out of his parish of Ettrick.

Notwithstanding, however, partial exceptions, the common people of Scotland, who were not overawed by Jacobite landlords, remained generally faithful to the Protestant line of succession, and showed readiness to arm in its behalf.

Having thus described the preparations for war, on both sides, we will, in the next Chapter, relate the commencement of the campaign.

ON the 6th September, 1715, the noblemen, chiefs of clans, gentlemen, and others, with such followers as they could immediately get in readiness, assembled at Aboyne; and the Earl of Mar, acting as General on the occasion, displayed the royal standard, at Castletown, in Braemar; and proclaimed, with such solemnity as the time and place admitted, James King of Scotland, by the title of James VIII., and King of England, Ireland, and their dependencies,
by that of James III. The day was stormy, and the gilded ball which was on the top of the standard spear was blown down, a circumstance which the superstitious Highlanders regarded as ominous of ill fortune; while others called to mind, that, by a strange coincidence, something of the same kind happened in the evil hour when King Charles I. set up his standard at Nottingham.

After this decisive measure, the leaders of the insurgents separated to proclaim King James in the towns where they had influence, and to raise as many followers as each could possibly command, in order to support the daring defiance which they had given to the established Government.

It was not by the mildest of all possible means that a Highland following, as it is called, was brought into the field at that period. Many vassals were, indeed, prompt and ready for service, for which their education and habits prepared them. But there were others who were brought to their chief's standard by much the same enticing mode of solicitation used in our own day for recruiting the navy, and there were many who conceived it prudent not to stir without such a degree of compulsion as might, in case of need, serve as some sort of apology for having been in arms at all. On this raising of the clans in the year 1715, the fiery cross was sent through the districts or countries, as they are termed, inhabited by the different tribes. This emblem consisted of two branches of wood, in the form of a
cross, one end singed with fire, and the other stained
with blood. The inhabitants transmitted the signal
from house to house with all possible speed, and the
symbol implied, that those who should not appear
at a rendezvous which was named, when the cross
was presented, should suffer the extremities of fire
and sword.1 There is an intercepted letter of Mar
himself, to John Forbes of Increrau, bailie of his
lordship of Kildrummie, which throws considerable
light on the nature of a feudal levy:-
"Inverauld, Sept. 9, at Night, 1715.
"Jocke, - Ye was in the right not to come with
the hundred men you sent up to-night, when I expected
four times their numbers. It is a pretty
thing my own people should be refractory, when
all the Highlands are rising, and all the Lowlands
are expecting us to join them. Is not this the thing
we are now about, which they have been wishing
these 26 years? And now when it is come, and the
King and country's cause is at stake, will they for
ever sit still and see all perish? I have used
gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced
to put other orders I have in execution. I send

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you enclosed an order for the Lordship of
Kildrummie, which you will immediately intimate to
all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it
will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell
them from me, that it will not be in my power to
save them (were I willing) from being treated as
enemies by these that are soon to join me; and they
may depend upon it that I will be the first to propose
and order their being so. Particularly, let my
own tenants in Kildrummie know, that if they come
not forth with their best arms, I will send a party
immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe This only a threat,—but by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I expect them in their best accoutrements on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself, and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your King and country."

This remarkable letter is dated three days after the displaying of the standard. The system of social life in the Highlands, when viewed through the vista of years, has much in it that is interesting and poetical; but few modern readers would desire to exchange conditions with a resident within the romantic bounds of Mar's lordship of Kildrummie, where such were liable to a peremptory summons to arms, thus rudely enforced.

Proceeding towards the Lowlands by short marches, Mar paused at the small town of Kirkmichael, and afterwards at Mouline in Perthshire, moving slowly, that his friends might have leisure to assemble for his support. In the mean time, King James was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal; at Dunkeld by the Marquis of Tullibardine, contrary to the wishes of his father, the Duke of Athole; at Castle Gordon by the Marquis of Huntly; at Brechin by the Earl of Panmure, a rich and powerful nobleman, who had acceded to the cause since the rendezvous at the Braemar.
hunting. The same ceremony was performed at Montrose by the Earl of Southesk; at Dundee by Graham of Dunroon, of the family of the celebrated Claverhouse, and to whom King James had given that memorable person's title of Viscount of Dundee; and at Inverness by the Laird of Borlum, commonly called Brigadier MacIntosh, from his having held that rank in the service of France. This officer made a considerable figure during the Rebellion, in which he had influence to involve his chief and clan, rather contrary to the political sentiments of the former; he judged that Inverness was a station of importance, and therefore left a garrison to secure it from any attack on the part of the Grants, Monroes, or other Whig clans in the vicinity.

The possession of the town of Perth now became a point of great importance, as forming the communication between the Highlands and the Lowlands, and being the natural capital of the fertile countries on the margin of the Tay. The citizens were divided into two parties, but the magistrates, who, at the head of one part of the inhabitants, had declared for King George, took arms and applied to the Duke of Athole, who remained in allegiance to the ruling monarch, for a party to support them. The Duke sent them three or four hundred Athole Highlanders, and the inhabitants conceived themselves secure, especially as the Earl of Rothes, having assembled about four hundred militia men, was advancing from Fife to their support. The honourable Colonel John Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, took, however, an opportunity
to collect together some fifty or a hundred horse from the gentlemen of Stirling, Perthshire, and Fife, and marched towards the town. The Tory burghers, who were not inferior in numbers, began to assume courage as these succours appeared, and the garrison of Highlanders knowing that although the Duke of Athole remained attached to the Government, his eldest son was in the Earl of Mar's army, gave way to their own inclinations, which were decidedly Jacobitical, and joined Colonel Hay, for thy purpose of disarming the Whig burghers, to whose assistance they had been sent. (18th Sept.) Thus Perth, by a concurrence of accidents, fell into the hands or the insurgent Jacobites, and gave them the command of all the Lowlands in the east part of Scotland. Still, as the town was but slightly fortified, it might have been recovered by a sudden attack, if a detachment had been made for that purpose, from the regular camp at Stirling. But General Whetham, who as yet commanded there, was not an officer of activity. He was indeed superseded by the Duke of Argyle, commander-in-chief in Scotland, who came to Stirling on the 14th September; but the opportunity of regaining Perth no longer existed. The town had been speedily reinforced, and secured for the Jacobite interest, by about two hundred men, whom the Earl of Strathmore had raised to join the Earl of Mar, and a body of Fifeshire cavalry who had arrayed themselves for the same service under the Master of Sinclair. Both these noblemen were remarkable characters. The Earl of Strathmore, doomed to lose his
life in this fatal broil, was only about eighteen
years old, but at that early age he exhibited every
symptom of a brave, generous, and modest
disposition, and his premature death disappointed the
most flourishing hopes. He engaged in the Rebellion
with all the zeal of sincerity, raised a strong
regiment of Lowland infantry, and distinguished
himself by his attention to the duties of a military
life.

The Master of Sinclair, so called because the
eldest son of Henry seventh Lord Sinclair, had
served in Marlborough's army with good reputation;
but he was especially remarkable for having,
in the prosecution of an affair of honour, slain two
gentlemen of the name of Shaw, brothers to Sir
John Shaw of Greenock, and persons of rank and
consequence. He was tried by a court-martial,
and condemned to death, but escaped from prison,
not without the connivance of the Duke of
Marlborough himself. As the Master of Sinclair's family
were Tories, he obtained his pardon on the
accession of their party to power in 1712. In
1715, he seems to have taken arms with great
reluctance, deeming the cause desperate, and having
no confidence in the probity or parts of the Earl
of Mar, who assumed the supreme authority. He
was a man of a caustic and severe turn of mind,
suspicious and satirical, but acute and sensible.
He has left Memoirs, curiously illustrative of this
ill-fated enterprise, of which he seems totally to
have despaired long before its termination.

That part of the Earl of Mar's forces which lay
in the eastern and north-eastern parts of Scotland, were now assembled at Perth, the most central place under his authority. They amounted to four or five thousand men, and although formidable for courage and numbers, they had few other qualities necessary to constitute an army. They wanted a competent general, money, arms, ammunition, regulation, discipline; and, above all, a settled purpose and object of the campaign. On each of these deficiencies, and on the manner and degree in which they were severally supplied, I will say a few words, so as to give you some idea of this tumultuary army, before proceeding to detail what they did, and what they left undone.

There can be no doubt, that from the time he embarked in this dangerous enterprise, Mar had secretly determined to put himself at the head of it, and gratify at once his ambition and his revenge. But it does not appear that at first he made any pretensions to the chief command. On the contrary, he seemed willing to defer to any person of higher rank than his own. The Duke of Gordon would have been a natural choice, from his elevated rank and great power. But, besides that he had not come out in person, though it was not doubted that he approved of his son's doing so, the Duke was a Catholic, and it was not considered politic that Papists should hold any considerable rank in the enterprise, as it would have given rise to doubts among their own party, and reproaches from their opponents. Finally, the Duke, being one of the suspected persons summoned by Government to surrender himself, obeyed the call, and was
appointed to reside at Edinburgh on his parole. The Duke of Athole had been a leader of the Jacobites during the disputes concerning the Union, and had agreed to rise in 1707, had the French descent then taken place. Upon him, it is said, the Earl of Mar offered to devolve the command of the forces he had levied. But the Duke refused the offer at his hands. He said, that if the Chevalier de St George had chosen to impose such a responsible charge upon him, he would have opened a direct communication with him personally; and he complained that Mar, before making this proposal to him, had intrigued in his family; having instigated his two sons, the Marquis of Tullibardine and Lord Charles Murray, as well as his uncle, Lord Nairne, to take arms without his consent, and made use of them to seduce the Athole men from their allegiance to their rightful lord. He therefore declined the offer which was made to him of commanding the forces now in rebellion, and Mar retained, as if by occupancy, the chief command of the army. As he was brave, high-born, and possessed of very considerable talent, and as his late connexion with the chiefs of Highland clans, while distributor of Queen Anne's bounty, rendered him highly acceptable to them, his authority was generally submitted to, especially as it was at first supposed that he acted only as a locum tenens for the Duke of Berwick, whose speedy arrival had been announced. Time passed on, however, the Duke came not, and the Earl of Mar continued to act as commander-in-chief, until confirmed in it, by an express commission from the Chevalier de St George. As the Earl was unacquainted with military
affairs, he used the experience of Lieutenant-General Hamilton and Clephane of Carslogie, who had served during the late war, to supply his deficiencies in that department. But though these gentlemen had both courage, zeal, and warlike skill, they could not assist their principal in what his own capacity could not attain—the power of forming and acting upon a decided plan of tactics.

Money, also much wanted, was but poorly supplied by such sums as the wealthier adherents of the party could raise among themselves. Some of them had indeed means of their own, but as their funds became exhausted, they were under the necessity of returning home for more; which was with some the apology for absence from their corps much longer and more frequently than was consistent with discipline. But the Highlanders and Lowlanders of inferior rank, could not subsist, or be kept within the bounds of discipline, without regular pay of some kind. Lord Southesk gave five hundred pounds, and the Earl of Panmure the same sum, to meet the exigencies of the moment. Aid was also solicited and obtained from various individuals, friendly to the cause, but unequal, from age or infirmity, to take the field in person; and there were many prudent persons, no doubt, who thought it the wisest course to sacrifice a sum of money, which, if the insurrection were successful, would give them the merit of having aided it, while, if it failed, their lives and estates were secured from the reach of the law against treason. Above all, the insurgents took especial care to secure all the public money
that was in the hands of collectors of taxes, and other public officers, and to levy eight months' cess wherever their presence gave them the authority. At length, considerable supplies were received from France, which in a great measure relieved their wants in that particular. Lord Drummond was appointed to be treasurer to the army.

Arms and ammunition were scarce amongst the insurgents. The Highland clans were, indeed, tolerably armed with their national weapons; but the guns of the Lowlanders were in wretched order, and in a great measure unfit for service. The success of an expedition in some degree remedied this important deficiency.

Among other northern chiefs who remained faithful to George I., amidst the general defection, was the powerful Earl of Sutherland, who, on the news of the insurrection, had immediately proceeded by sea to his Castle of Dunrobin, to collect his vassals. In order that they might be supplied with arms, a vessel at Leith was loaded with firelocks, and other weapons, and sailed for the Earl's country. The wind, however, proving contrary, the master of the ship dropped anchor at Burntisland, on the Fifeshire of the frith of Forth, of which he was a native, that he might have an opportunity to see his wife and children before his departure.

The Master of Sinclair, formerly mentioned, whose family estate and interest lay on the shores of the Frith, got information of this circumstance, and suggested the seizure of these arms by a scheme
which argued talent and activity, and was the first symptom which the insurgents had given of either one or other. The Master of Sinclair, with about fourscore troopers, and carrying with him a number of baggage-horses, left Perth about night fall, and, to baffle observation, took a circuitous road to Burntisland. (2d Oct.) He arrived in that little seaport town with all the effect of a complete surprise, and though the bark had hauled out of

the harbour into the roadstead, he boarded her by means of boats, and secured possession of all the arms, which amounted to three hundred. Mar, as had been agreed upon, protected the return of the detachment by advancing a body of five hundred Highlanders as far as Auchtertool, halfway between Perth and Burntisland. On this occasion, the Master of Sinclair, an old officer, and acquainted with the usual discipline of war, was greatly annoyed by the disorderly conduct of the volunteer forces under his charge. He could not prevail on the gentlemen of his squadron to keep watch with any vigilance, nor prevent them from crowding into alehouses to drink. In returning homeward, several of them broke off without leave, either to visit their own houses which were near the road, or to indulge themselves in the pleasure of teasing such Presbyterian ministers as came in their way. When he arrived at Auchtertool, the disorder was yet greater. The Highland detachment, many of them Mar's own men from Dee-side, had broken their ranks, and were dispersed over the country, pillaging the farm-houses; when Sinclair got a Highland officer to command them to desist and return, they refused to obey, nor was
there any means of bringing them off, save by spreading a report that the enemy's dragoons were approaching; then they drew together with wonderful celerity, and submitted to be led back to Perth with the arms that had been seized, which went some length to remedy the scarcity of that most important article in the insurgent army.

A greater deficiency even than that of arms, was the want of a general capable to form the plan of a campaign, suitable to his situation and the character of his troops, and then carry it into effect with firmness, celerity, and decision. Generals Hamilton and Gordon, both in Mar's army; were men of some military experience, but totally void of that comprehensive genius which combines and executes the manoeuvres of a campaign; and Mar himself, as already intimated, seems to have been unacquainted even with the mere mechanical part of the profession. He appears to have thought that the principal part of his work was done when the insurrection was set on foot, and that once effected, it would carry itself on, and the rebels increase in such numbers, as to render resistance impossible. The greater part of the Jacobites in East Lothian were, he knew, ready to take horse; so were those of the counties of Dumfries and Lanark; but they were separated from his army by the frith of Forth, and likely to require assistance from him, in order to secure protection when they assembled. Montrose, or Dundee, with half the men whom Mar had already under him, would have marched without hesitation towards Stirling, and compelled the Duke of Argyle, who had not as yet quite two thousand men, either to fight or retreat, which must
have opened the Lowlands and the Borders to the operations of the insurgents. But such was the reputation of the Duke, that Mar resolved not to encounter him until he should have received all the reinforcements from the north and west which he could possibly expect, in the hope, by assembling an immense superiority of force, to counterbalance the acknowledged military skill of his distinguished opponent.

As it was essential, however, to the Earl of Mar's purpose, to spread the flame of insurrection into the Lowlands, he determined not to allow the check which Argyle's forces and position placed on his movements, to prevent his attempting a diversion by passing at all hazards a considerable detachment of his army into Lothian, to support and encourage his Jacobite friends there. His proposal was to collect small vessels and boats on the Fife side of the frith, and dispatch them across with a division of his army, who were to land on such part of the coast of East Lothian as the wind should permit, and unite themselves with the malecontents wherever they might find them in strength.

But ere noticing the fate of this expedition, we must leave Mar and his army, to trace the progress of the insurrection in the south of Scotland and the north of England, where it had already broken out.

THE reports of invasion from France - of King James's landing with a foreign force, abundance of arms, ammunition, and treasure, and the full purpose
to reward his friends and chastise his enemies
-the same exaggerated intelligence from England,
concerning general discontent and local insurrection,
which had raised the north of Scotland in
arms - had their effect also on the gentlemen of
Jacobite principles in the south of that country, and
in the contiguous frontiers of England, where a
number of Catholic families, and others devoted to
the exiled family, were still to be found. Ere the
hopes inspired by such favourable rumours had
passed away, came the more veracious intelligence,
that the Earl of Mar had set up James's standard
in the Highlands, and presently after, that he had
taken possession of Perth-that many noblemen of
distinguished rank and interest had joined his camp,
and that his numbers were still increasing.

These reports gave a natural impulse to the zeal
of men, who, having long professed themselves the
liege subjects of the Stewart family, were ashamed
to sit still when a gallant effort was made to effect
their restoration, by what was reported to be, and
in very truth was, a very strong party, and an
army much larger than those commanded by Montrose
or Dundee, and composed chiefly of the same
description of troops at the head of whom they had
gained their victories. The country, therefore,
through most of its districts, was heaving with the
convulsive throes which precede civil war, like those
which announce an earthquake. Events hurried
on to decide the doubtful and embolden the timorous.
The active measures resolved on by government,
in arresting suspected persons throughout England
and the southern parts of Scotland, obliged the
professed Jacobites to bring their minds to a resolution, and either expose their persons to the dangers of civil war, or their characters to the shame of being judged wanting in the hour of action, to all the protestations which they had made in those of safety and peace.

These considerations decided men according to their characters, some to submit themselves to imprisonment, for the safety of their lives and

fortunes-others to draw the sword, and venture their all in support of their avowed principles. Those gentlemen who embraced the latter course, more honourable, or more imprudent perhaps, began to leave their homes, and drew together in such bodies as might enable them to resist the efforts of the magistrates, or troops sent to arrest them. The civil war began by a very tragical encounter in a family, with the descendants of which your grandfather has long enjoyed peculiar intimacy, and of which I give the particulars after the account preserved by them, though it is also mentioned in most histories of the times.

Among other families of distinction in East Lothian, that of Mr Hepburn of Keith was devotedly attached to the interests of the House of Stewart, and he determined to exert himself to the utmost in the approaching conflict. He had several sons, with whom, and his servants, he had determined to join a troop to be raised in East Lothian, and commanded by the Earl of Winton. This gentleman being much respected in the county, it was deemed of importance to prevent his showing an example
which was likely to be generally followed. For this purpose, Mr Hepburn of Humbie and Dr Sinclair of Hermandston resolved to lay the Laird of Keith under arrest, and proceeded towards his house with a party of the horse-militia, on the morning of the 8th of October, 1715, which happened to be the very morning that Keith had appointed to set forth on his campaign, having made all preparations on the preceding evening. The family had assembled for the last time at the breakfast-table, when it was observed that one of the young' ladies looked more sad and disconsolate, than even the departure of her father and brothers upon a distant and precarious expedition seemed to warrant at that period, when the fair sex were as enthusiastic in politics as the men.

Miss Hepburn was easily induced to tell the cause of her fears. She had dreamed she saw her youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, and generally esteemed, shot by a man whose features were impressed on her recollection, and stretched dead on the floor of the room in which they were now assembled. The females of the family listened and argued - the men laughed, and turned the visionary into ridicule. The horses were saddled, and led out into the court-yard, when a mounted party was discovered advancing along the flat ground, in front of the mansion-house, called the Plain of Keith. The gate was shut; and when Dr Sinclair, who was most active in the matter, had announced his purpose, and was asked for his warrant, he handed in at a window the commission of the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant.
of the county. This Keith returned with contempt, and announced that he would stand on his defence. The party within mounted their horses, and sallied out, determined to make their way; and Keith, discharging a pistol in the air, charged the Doctor sword in hand; the militia then fired, and the youngest of the Hepburns was killed on the spot. The sister beheld the catastrophe from the window, and to the end of her life persisted that the homicide had the features of the person whom she saw in her dream. The corpse was carried into the room where they had so lately breakfasted, and Keith, after having paid this heavy tax to the demon of civil war, rode off with the rest of his party to join the insurgents. Dr Sinclair was censured very generally, for letting his party zeal hurry him into a personal encounter with so near a neighbour and familiar friend; he vindicated himself, by asserting that his intentions were to save Keith from the consequences into which his rash zeal for the Stewart family was about to precipitate that gentleman and his family. But Dr Sinclair ought to have been prepared to expect, that a high-spirited man, with arms in his hands, was certain to resist this violent mode of opening his eyes to the rashness of his conduct; and he who attempts to make either religious or political converts by compulsion, must be charged with the consequences of such violence as is most likely to ensue.

Mr Hepburn and his remaining sons joined the Jacobite gentry of the neighbourhood, to the number of fifty or sixty men, and directed their course
westward towards the Borders, where a considerable party were in arms for the same cause. The leader of the East Lothian troop was the Earl of Winton, a young nobleman twenty-five years old, said to be afflicted by a vicissitude of spirits approaching to lunacy. His life had been marked by some strange singularities, as that of his living a long time as bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith in France, without holding any communication with his country or family. But, if we judge from his conduct in the rebellion, Lord Winton appears to have displayed more sense and prudence than most of those engaged in that unfortunate affair.

This Lothian insurrection soon merged in the two principal southern risings, which took place in Dumfries-shire and Galloway in Scotland, and in Northumberland and Cumberland in England.

On the western frontier of Scotland, there were many families not only Jacobites in politics, but Roman Catholics in religion; and therefore bound by a double tie to the heir of James II., who, for the sake of that form of faith, may be justly thought to have forfeited his kingdoms. Among the rest, the Earl of Nithsdale, combining in his person the representation of two noble families, those of the Lord Herries and the Lord Maxwell, might be considered as the natural leader of the party. But William, Vicount Kenmure, in Galloway, a Protestant, was preferred as chief of the enterprise, as it was not thought prudent to bring Catholics too much forward in the affair, on account of the scandal
to which their promotion might give rise. Many
neighbouring gentlemen were willing to throw
themselves and their fortunes into the same adventure
in which Nithisdale and Kenmure stood committed.
The latter was a man of good sense and
resolution, well acquainted with civil affairs, but a
stranger to the military art.

In the beginning of October, the plan of
insurrection was so far ripened, that the gentlemen of
Galloway, Nithisdale, and Annandale, proposed by
a sudden effort to possess themselves of the county
town of Dumfries. The town was protected on
the one side by the river Nith; on the others it
might be considered as open. But the zeal of the
inhabitants, and of the "Whig gentlemen of the
neighbourhood,1 baffled the enterprise, which must
otherwise have been attended with credit to the
arms of the insurgents. The Lord Lieutenant and
his deputies collected the fencible men of the county,
and brought several large parties into Dumfries, to
support, if necessary, the defence of the place.
The provost, Robert Corbett, Esq. mustered the
citizens, and putting himself at their head, harangued
them in a style peculiarly calculated to inspire
confidence. He reminded them that their laws and
religion were at stake, and that their cause resembled
that of the Israelites, when led by Joshua

Nevertheless," said the considerate Provost of
Dumfries; " as I, who am your unworthy leader,
cannot pretend to any divine commission like that of the son of Nun, I do not take upon me to recommend the extermination of your enemies, as the judge of Israel was commanded to do by a special revelation. On the contrary, I earnestly entreat you to use your assured victory with clemency, and remember, that the misguided persons opposed to you are still your countrymen and brethren." This oration, which, instead of fixing the minds of his followers on a doubtful contest, instructed them only how to make use of a certain victory, had a great effect in encouraging the bands of the sagacious provost, who, with their auxiliaries from the country, drew out and took a position to cover the town of Dumfries.

Lord Kenmure marched from Moffat, with about a hundred and fifty horse, on Wednesday the 13th of October, with the purpose of occupying Dumfries. But finding the friends of Government in such a state of preparation, he became speedily aware that he could not with a handful of cavalry propose to storm a town, the citizens of which were determined on resistance. The Jacobite gentlemen, therefore, retreated to Moffat, and thence to Langholm and Hawick. From thence they took their departure for the eastward, to join the Northumberland gentlemen who were in arms in the same cause, and towards whom we must now direct our attention.

In England, a very dangerous and extensive purpose of insurrection certainly existed shortly after the Queen's death; but the exertions of
Government had been so great in all quarters, that it was everywhere disconcerted or suppressed. The University of Oxford was supposed to be highly dissatisfied at the accession of the House of Hanover; and there, as well as at Bath, and elsewhere in the west, horses, arms, and ammunition, were seized in considerable quantities, and most of the Tory gentlemen who were suspected of harbouring dangerous intentions, were either arrested, or delivered themselves up on the summons of Government. Amongst these was Sir William Wyndham, one of the principal leaders of the High Church party.

In Northumberland and Cumberland, the Tories, at a greater distance from the power of the

Government, were easily inclined to action; they were, besides, greatly influenced by the news of the Earl of Mar's army, which, though large enough to have done more than it ever attempted, was still much magnified by common fame. The unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who acted so prominent a part in this shortlived struggle, was by birth connected with the exiled royal family; his lady also was a bigot in their cause; and the Catholic religion, which he professed, made it almost a crime in this nobleman to remain peaceful on the present occasion. Thomas Forster of Bamborough, member of Parliament for the county of Northumberland, was equally attached to the Jacobite cause; being a Church-of-England man, he was adopted as the commander-in-chief of the insurrection, for the same reason that the Lord Kenmure was preferred to the Earl of Nithsdale.
in the command of the Scottish levies. Warrants being issued against the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr Forster, they absconded, and lurked for a few days among their friends in Northumberland, till a general consultation could be held of the principal northern Tories, at the house of Mr Fenwick of Bywell; when, as they foresaw that, if they should be arrested, and separately examined, they could scarce frame such a defence as might save them from the charge of high treason, they resolved to unite in a body, and try the chance that fortune might send them. With this purpose they held a meeting (6th Oct.) at a place called Greenrig, where Forster arrived with about twenty horse. They went from this to the top of a hill, called the Waterfalls, where they were joined by Lord Derwentwater. This reinforcement made them near sixty horse, with which they proceeded to the small town of Rothbury, and from thence to Warkworth, where they proclaimed King James III. On the 10th of October they marched to Morpeth, where they received further reinforcements, which raised them to three hundred horse, the highest number which they ever attained. Some of these gentlemen remained undecided till the last fatal moment, and amongst these was John Hall of Otterburn. He attended a meeting of the quarter sessions, which was held at Alnwick, for the purpose of taking measures for quelling the rebellion, but left it with such precipitation that he forgot his hat upon the bench, and joined the fatal meeting at the Waterfalls. The insurgents could levy no foot soldiers,
though many men offered to join them; for they had neither arms to equip them, nor money to pay them. This want of infantry was the principal cause why they did not make an immediate attack on Newcastle, which had formed part of their original plan. But the town, though not regularly fortified, was surrounded with a high stone wall, with old-fashioned gates. The magistrates, who were zealous on the side of Government, caused the gates to be walled up with masonry, and raised a body of seven hundred volunteers for the defence of the town, to which the keelmen, or bargemen employed in the coal-trade upon the Tyne, made offer of seven hundred more; and, in the course of a day or two, General Carpenter arrived with part of those forces with whom he afterwards attacked the insurgents. After this last reinforcement, the gentlemen, as Forster's cavalry were called, lost all hopes of surprising Newcastle. About the same time, however, a beam of success which attended their arms, might be said just to glimmer and disappear. This was the exploit of a gentleman named Lancelot Errington, who, by a dexterous stratagem, contrived to surprise the small castle or fort, upon Holy Island, which might have been useful to the insurgents in maintaining their foreign communication. But before Errington could receive the necessary supplies of men and provisions, the governor of Berwick detached a party of thirty soldiers, and about fifty volunteers, who, crossing the sands at low water, attacked the little fort, and carried it sword in hand. Errington was wounded and taken prisoner, but afterwards made his escape.
This disappointment, with the news that troops were advancing to succour Newcastle, decided Forster and his followers to unite themselves with the Viscount Kenmure and the Scottish gentlemen engaged in the same cause. The English express found Kenmure near Hawick, at a moment when his little band of about two hundred men had almost determined to give up the enterprise. Upon receiving Forster's communication, however, they resolved to join him at Rothbury.

On the 19th of October, the two bodies of insurgents met at Rothbury, and inspected each other's military state and equipments, with the anxiety of mingled hope and apprehension. The general character of the troops was the same, but the Scots seemed the best prepared for action, being mounted on strong hardy horses, fit for the charge, and, though but poorly disciplined, were well armed with the basket-hilted broadswords, then common throughout Scotland. The English gentlemen, on the other hand, were mounted on fleet blood-horses, better adapted for the race-course and hunting-field than for action. There was among them a great want of war-saddles, curb-bridles, and, above all, of swords and pistols; so that the Scots were inclined to doubt whether men so well equipped for flight, and so imperfectly prepared for combat, might not, in case of an encounter, take the safer course, and leave them in the lurch. Their want of swords in particular, at least of cutting swords fit for the cavalry service is proved by an anecdote. It is said, that as they entered
the town of Wooler, their commanding-officer gave
the word—"Gentlemen, you that have got swords,
draw them;" to which a fellow among the crowd
answered, not irrelevantly—"And what shall they

do who have none?" When Forster, by means of
one of his captains named Douglas, had opened a
direct communication with Mar's army, the
messenger stated that the English were willing to
give horses worth L.25—a considerable
price for such swords as are generally worn
by Highlanders.

It may be also here noticed, that out of the four
troops commanded by Forster, the two raised by
Lord Derwentwater and Lord Widrington were,
like those of the Scots, composed of gentlemen, and
their relations and dependents. But the third and
fourth troops differed considerably from the others
in their composition. The one was commanded by
John Hunter, who united the character of a Border
farmer with that of a contraband trader; the
other by the same Douglas whom we have just
mentioned, who was remarkable for his dexterity
and success in searching for arms and horses, a
trade which he is said not to have limited to the
time of the Rebellion. Into the troops of these last-
named officers, many persons of slender reputation
were introduced, who had either lived by smuggling,
or by the ancient Border practice of horse-
lifting, as it was called. These light and
suspicious characters, however, fought with determined
courage at the barricades of Preston.

The motions of Kenmure and Forster were
now decided by the news, that a detachment from
Mar's army had been sent across the frith of Forth
to join them; and this requires us to return to the
Northern insurrection, which was now endeavouring

to extend and connect itself with that which
had broke out on the Border. The Earl of Mar,
it must be observed, had, from the first moment of
his arrival at Perth, or at least as soon as he was
joined by a disposable force, designed to send a
party over the frith into Lothian, who should
courage the Jacobites in that country to rise; and
he proposed to confer this command upon the Master
of Sinclair. As, however, this separation of
his forces must have considerably weakened his own
army, and perhaps exposed him to an unwelcome
visit from the Duke of Argyle, Mar postponed his
purpose until he should be joined by reinforcements.
These were now pouring fast into Perth.

From the North, the Marquis of Huntly, one of
the most powerful of the confederacy, joined the
army at Perth with foot and horse, Lowlanders
and Highlanders, to the amount of nearly four
thousand men. The Earl-Marischal had the day
before brought up his own power, consisting of
about eighty horse. The arrival of these noblemen
brought some seeds of dissension into the
camp. Marischal, so unlike the wisdom of his
riper years, with the indiscretion of a very young
man, gave just offence to Huntly, by endeavouring
to deprive him of a part of his following.

The occasion was this: The MacPhersons, a
very stout, hardy clan, who are called in Gaelic,
MacVourigh, and headed by Cluny MacPherson, held some possessions of the Gordon family, and therefore naturally placed themselves under the Marquis of Huntly's banner on the present occasion, although it might be truly said, that in general they were by no means the most tractable vassals. Marischal endeavoured to prevail on this Clan-Vourigh to place themselves under his command instead of that of Huntly, alleging, that as the MacPhersons always piqued themselves on being a distinguished branch of the great confederacy called Clan-Chattan, so was he, by his name of Keith, the natural chief of the confederacy afore-said. Mar is said to have yielded some countenance to the claim, the singularity of which affords a curious picture of the matters with which these insurgents were occupied. The cause of Mar's taking part in such a debate was alleged to be, the desire which he had to lower the estimation of Huntly's power and numbers. The Mac-Phersons, however, considered the broad lands which they held of the Gordon as better reason for rendering him their allegiance, than the etymological arguments urged by the Earl Marischal, and refused to desert the banner under which they had come to the field.

Another circumstance early disgusted Huntly with an enterprise in which he could not hope to gain any thing, and which placed in peril a princely estate, and a ducal title. Besides about three squadrons of gentlemen, chiefly of his own name, well mounted and well armed, he had brought into the field a squadron of some fifty men strong, whom
he termed Light Horse, though totally unfit for the service of petite guerre which that name implies. A satirist describes them as consisting of great lubberly fellows, in bonnets, without boots, and mounted on long-tailed little ponies, with snaffle bridles, the riders being much the bigger animals of the two; and instead of pistols, these horsemen were armed with great rusty muskets, tied on their backs with ropes. These uncouth cavaliers excited a degree of mirth and ridicule among the more civilized southern gentry; which is not surprising, any more than that both the men, and Huntly, their commander, felt and resented such uncivil treatment—a feeling which was gradually increased into a disinclination to the cause in which they had received the indignity.

Besides these Northern forces, Mar also expected many powerful succours from the northwest, which comprehended the tribes termed, during that insurrection, by way of excellence, The Clans. The chiefs of these families had readily agreed to hold the rendezvous which had been settled at the hunting match of Braemar; but none of them, save Glengarry, were very hasty in recollecting their promise. Of this high chief a contemporary says, it would be hard to say whether he had more of the lion, the fox, or the bear, in his disposition; for he was at least as crafty and rough as he was courageous and gallant. At any rate, both his faults and virtues were consistent with his character, which attracted more admiration than that of any other engaged in Mar's insurrection. He levied his men, and marched to
the braes of Glenorchy, where, after remaining eight days, he was joined by the Captain of Clanranald, and Sir John MacLean; who came, the one with the MacDonalds of Moidart and Arisaig; the other with a regiment of his own name, from the isle of Mull. A detachment of these clans commenced the war by an attempt to surprise the garrison at Inverlochy. They succeeded in taking some outworks, and made the defenders prisoners, but failed in their attack upon the place, the soldiers being on their guard.

Still, though hostilities were in a manner begun, these western levies were far from complete. Stewart of Appin, and Cameron of Lochiel, would neither of them move; and the Breadalbane men, whose assistance had been promised by the singular Earl of that name, were equally tardy. There was probably little inclination, on the part of those clans who were near neighbours to the Duke of Argyle, and some of them Campbells, to displease that powerful and much-respected nobleman. Another mighty limb of the conspiracy, lying also in the north-western extremity of Scotland, was the Earl of Seaforth, chief of the MacKenzies, who could bring into the field from two to three thousand men of his own name, and that of MacRae, and other clans dependent upon him. But he also was prevented from taking the field and joining Mar, by the operations of the Earl of Sutherland, who, taking the chief command of some of the northern clans disposed to favour government - as, the Monroes, under their chief, Monro of Foulis; the MacKays, under Lord Rae;
the numerous and powerful clan of Grant, along

[68-302]with his own following-had assembled a little
(68-302)army, with which he made a demonstration
(68-302)towards the bridge of Alness. Thus, at the head
(68-302)of a body of about twelve or fifteen hundred men,
(68-302)Sutherland was so stationed on the verge of
(68-302)Seaforth's country, that the latter chief could not
(68-302)collect his men, and move southward to join Mar,
(68-302)without leaving his estates exposed to ravage.
(68-302)Seaforth prepared to move, however, so soon as
(68-302)circumstances would admit, for while he faced the
(68-302)Earl of Sutherland with about eighteen hundred
(68-302)men, he sent Sir John MacKenzie of Coull to
(68-302)possess himself of Inverness, Brigadier MacIntosh,
(68-302)by whom it was occupied for James VIII., having
(68-302)moved southward to Perth.

Thus, from one circumstance or another, the
(68-302)raising of the western clans was greatly delayed;
(68-302)and Mar, whose plan it was not to attempt any
(68-302)thing till he should have collected the whole force
(68-302)together which he could possibly expect, was, or
(68-302)thought himself, obliged to remain at Perth, long
(68-302)after he had assembled an army sufficient to attack
(68-302)the Duke of Argyle, and force his way into the
(68-302)southern part of Scotland, where the news of his
(68-302)success, and the Duke's defeat or retreat, together
(68-302)with the hope of plunder, would have decided those
(68-302)tardy western chieftains, who were yet hesitating
(68-302)whether they should join him or not. Mar, however,
(68-302)tried to influence them by arguments of a
(68-302)different nature, such as he had the power of offering;
(68-302)and despatched General Gordon to expedite
(68-302)these levies, with particular instructions to seize
on the Duke of Argyle's castle at Inverary, and the arms understood to be deposited there. There was afterwards supposed to be some personal spleen, in the Earl's thus beginning direct hostilities against his great opponent; but it must be said, to the honour of the rebel general, that he resolved not to set the example of beginning with fire and sword; and therefore directed, that though General Gordon might threaten to burn the castle at Inverary, he was on no account to proceed to such extremity without farther orders. His object probably was, besides a desire to possess the arms said to be in the place, to effect a complete breach between the Duke of Argyle and the clans in his vicinity, which must have necessarily been attended with great diminution of the Duke's influence. We shall see presently how far this line of policy appears to have succeeded.

During the currency of these events, Mar received information of the partial rising which had taken place in Northumberland, and the disposition to similar movements which showed itself in various parts of Scotland. It might have been thought, that these tidings would have induced him at length to burst from the sort of confinement, in which the small body commanded by Argyle retained so superior an army. If Mar judged that the troops under his command, assembled at Perth, were too few to attack a force which they more than doubled, there remained a plan of manoeuvring by which he might encounter Argyle at a yet greater advantage. He might have commanded General
Gordon, when he had collected the western clans, who could not amount to fewer than four thousand men, instead of amusing himself at Inverary, to direct their course to the fords of Frew, by which the river Forth may be crossed above Stirling, and near to its source. Such a movement would have menaced the Duke from the westward, while Mar himself might have advanced against him from the north, and endeavoured to possess himself of Stirling bridge, which was not very strongly guarded. The insurgent cavalry of Lord Kenmure could also have co-operated in such a plan, by advancing from Dumfries towards Glasgow, and threatening the west of Scotland. It is plain that the Duke of Argyle saw the danger of being thus cut off from the western counties, where Government had many zealous adherents; for he ordered up five hundred men from Glasgow to join his camp at Stirling; and on the 24th of September, commanded all the regiments of fencibles and volunteers in the west of Scotland to repair to Glasgow, as the most advantageous central point from which to protect the country, and cover his own encampment; and established garrisons at the village of Drymen, and also in several gentlemen's houses adjacent to the fords of Frew, to prevent or retard any descent of the Highlanders into the Low Country by that pass. But the warlike habits of the Highlanders were greatly superior to those of the raw Lowland levies, whom they would probably have treated with little ceremony.

Nevertheless, the Earl of Mar, far from adopting
a plan so decisive, resolved to afford support
to Kenmure and Forster, by his original plan of
marching a detachment to their assistance, instead
of moving his whole force towards the Lowlands.
This, e conceived, might be sufficient to give them
the aid and protection of a strong body of infantry,
and enable them to strengthen and increase their
numbers, whilst the measure allowed him to
remain undisturbed at Perth, to await the final result
of his intrigues in the Highlands, and those which
he had commenced at the Court of the Chevalier
de St George. There were many and obvious
dangers in making the proposed movement. A
great inlet of the sea was to be crossed; and if the
passage was to be attempted about Dunfermline or
Inverkeithing, where the Forth was less broad, it
was to be feared that the bustle of collecting boats,
and the march of the troops which were to form
the detachment, might give warning to the Duke
of Argyle of what was intended, who was likely
to send a body of his dragoons to surprise and cut
off the detachment on their arrival at the southern
side of the Forth. On the other hand, to
attempt the passage over the lower part of the frith,
where vessels were more numerous, and could he
assembled with less observation, was to expose the
detachment to the uncertainties of a passage of
fifteen or eighteen miles across, which was guarded
by men-of-war, with their boats and launches, to
which the officers of the customs at every seaport
had the most strict orders to transmit intelligence

of whatever movement might be attempted by the
rebels. Upon a choice of difficulties, however, the
crossing of the frith from Pittenweem, Crail, and
other towns situated to the eastward on the Fife coast, was determined on.

The troops destined for the adventure were Mar's own regiment, as it was called, consisting of the Farquharsons, and others from the banks of the Dee-that of the MacIntoshes-those of Lords Strathmore, Nairne, and Lord Charles Murray, all Highlanders, excepting Lord Strathmore's Low-land regiment. They made up in all about two thousand five hundred men; for in the rebel army the regiments were weak in numbers, Mar having gratified the chiefs, by giving each the commission of colonel, and allowing him the satisfaction to form a battalion out of Ins own followers, however few in number.

The intended expedition was arranged with some address. Considerable parties of horse traversed Fifeshire in various directions, proclaiming" James VIII., and levying the cess of the county, though in very different proportions on those whom they accounted friends or enemies to their cause, their demands upon the Litter being both larger, and more rigorously enforced. These movements were contrived to distract the attention of the Whigs, and that of the Duke of Argyle, by various rumours, tending to conceal Mar's real purpose of sending a detachment across the frith. For the same purpose, when their intention could be no longer concealed, the English men-of-war were deceived concerning the place where the attempt was to be made. Mar threw troops into the castle of Burntisland, and seemed busy in collecting vessels
in that little port. The armed ships were induced by these appearances to slip their cables, and, standing over to Burntisland, commenced a cannonade, which was returned by the rebels from a battery which they had constructed on the outer port of the harbour, with little damage on either side.

By these feints Mar was enabled to get the troops, designed to form the expedition, moved in secrecy down to Pittenweem, the Ely, Crail, and other small ports so numerous on that coast. The were placed under the command of MacIntosh of Borlum, already mentioned, commonly called Brigadier MacIntosh, a Highland gentleman, who was trained to regular war in the French service. He was a bold, rough soldier, but is stated to have degraded the character by a love or plunder which would have better become a lower rank in the army. But this may have been a false or exaggerated charge.

The English vessels of war received notice of, the design, or observed the embarkation from their topmasts, but too late to offer effectual interruption. They weighed anchor, however, at flood-tide, and sailed to intercept the flotilla of the insurgents. Nevertheless, they only captured a single boat, with about forty Highlanders. Some of the vessels were, however, forced back to the Fife coast, from which they came; and the boats which bore Lord Strathmore's Lowland regiment, and others filled with Highlanders, were forced into the island of May, in the mouth of the Forth,
where they were blockaded by the men-of-war.
The gallant young Earl intrenched himself on the island, and harangued his followers on the fidelity which they owed to the cause; and undertook to make his own faith evident, by exposing his person wherever the peril should prove greatest, and accounting it an honour to die in the service of the Prince for whom he had taken arms. Blockaded in an almost desert island, this young nobleman had the additional difficulty of subduing quarrels and jealousies betwixt the Highlanders and his own followers from Angus. These dissensions ran so high, that the Lowlanders resolved to embrace an opportunity to escape from the island with their small craft, and leave the Highlanders to their fate. The proposal was rejected by Strathmore with ineffable disdain, nor would he leave his very unpleasant situation, till the change of winds and waves afforded him a fair opportunity of leading all who had been sharers in his misfortune in safety back to the coast they sailed from.

Mean time the greater part of the detachment designed for the descent upon Lothian, being about sixteen hundred men, succeeded in their desperate attempt, by landing at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gulan, and other places on the southern shores of the frith, from whence they marched upon Haddington, where they again formed a junction, and refreshed themselves for a night, till they should learn the fate of their friends who had not yet appeared. We have not the means of knowing whether MacIntosh had any precise orders for his conduct when he should find himself in Lothian.
The despatches of Mar would lead us to infer that he had instructions, which ought to have directed his march instantly to the Borders, to unite himself with Kenmure and Forster. But he must have had considerable latitude in his orders, since it was almost impossible to frame them in such a manner as to meet, with any degree of precision, the circumstances in which he might be placed, and much must have, of course, been intrusted to his own discretion. The surprise, however, was great, even in the Brigadier's own little army, when, instead of marching southward, as they had expected, they were ordered to face about and advance rapidly on the capital.

This movement Mar afterwards termed a mistake on the Brigadier's part. But it was probably occasioned by the information which Macintosh received from friends in Edinburgh, that the capital might be occupied by a rapid march, before it could be relieved by the Duke of Argyle, who was lying thirty miles off. The success of such a surprise must necessarily have given great eclat to the arms of the insurgents, with the more solid advantages of obtaining large supplies both of arms and money, and of intercepting the communication between the Duke of Argyle and the south. It is also probable, that Macintosh might have some expectation of an insurrection taking place in Edinburgh, on the news of his approach.

But, whatever were Ins hopes and motives, he marched with his small force on the metropolis, 14th October, 1715, and the movement excited the most universal alarm.
The Lord Provost, a gentleman named Campbell, was a man of sense and activity. The instant that he heard of the Highlanders having arrived at Haddington, he sent information to the Duke of Argyle, and arming the city guard, trained bands, and volunteers, took such precautions as he could to defend the city, which, though surrounded by a high wall, was far from being tenable even against a coup-de-main. The Duke of Argyle, foreseeing all the advantages which the insurgents would gain even from the temporary possession of the capital, resolved on this, as on other occasions, to make activity supply the want of numbers. He mounted two hundred infantry soldiers on country horses, and uniting them with three hundred chosen dragoons, placed himself at their head, and made a forced march from Stirling to relieve Edinburgh. This he accomplished with such rapidity, that he entered the West Port of Edinburgh about ten o'clock at night, just about the same moment that MacIntosh had reached the place where Piershill barracks are now situated, within a mile of the eastern gate of the city. Thus the metropolis, which seemed to be a prey for the first occupant, was saved by the promptitude of the Duke of Argyle. His arrival spread universal joy among the friends of Government, who, from something resembling despair, passed to the opposite extremity of hope and triumph. The town had been reinforced during the day by various parties of horse militia from Berwickshire and Mid-Lothian, and many volunteers, whom the news of the Duke of Argyle's arrival greatly augmented, not so much on account of the number
which attended him, as of the general confidence
reposed in his talents and character.

The advancing enemy also felt the charm
communicated by the Duke's arrival; but to them it
conveyed apprehension and dismay, and changed
their leader's hopes of success into a desire to
provide for the safety of his small detachment,
respecting which he was probably the more anxious that
the number of the Duke's forces were in all likelihood
exaggerated, and besides consisted chiefly of
cavalry, respecting whom the Highlanders entertained
at that time a superstitious terror. Moved
by such considerations, and turning off the road to
Brigadier MacIntosh directed his march upon Leith,
which he entered without opposition. In the prison
of that place he found the forty men belonging to
his own detachment who had been taken during the
passage, and who were now set at liberty. The
Highlanders next took possession of such money
and provisions as they found in the Custom House.
After these preliminaries, they marched across the
drawbridge, and occupied the remains of a citadel,
built by Oliver Cromwell during the period of his
usurpation. It was a square fort, with five demi-
bastions and a ditch; the gates were indeed demolished,
but the ramparts were tolerably entire, and
the Brigadier lost no time in barricading all accessible
places with beams, planks, carts, and barrels,
filled with stones and other similar materials. The
vessels in the harbour supplied them with cannon,
which they planted on the ramparts, and prepared
themselves as well as circumstances admitted for a
desperate defence.

Early next morning, the Duke of Argyle presented himself before the fortified post of the Highlanders, with his three hundred dragoons, two hundred infantry, and about six hundred new-levied men, militia, and volunteers; among the latter class were seen several clergymen, who, in a war of this nature, did not consider their sacred character inconsistent with assuming arms. The Duke summoned the troops who occupied the citadel to surrender, under the penalty of high treason, and declared, that if they placed him under the necessity of bringing up cannon, or killed any of his men in attempting a defence, he would give them no quarter. A Highland gentleman, named Kinackin, answered resolutely from the ramparts, "That they laughed at his summons of surrender—that they were ready to abide his assault; as for quarter, they would neither give nor receive it—"

and if he thought he could force their position, he was welcome to try the experiment."

The Duke having received this defiance, carefully reconnoitred the citadel, and found the most important difficulties in the way of the proposed assault. The troops must have advanced two hundred yards before arriving at the defences, and during all that time would have been exposed to a fire from an enemy under cover. Many of those who must have been assailants were unacquainted with discipline, and had never seen action; the Highlanders, though little accustomed to exchange the fire of musketry in the open field, were excellent
marks men from behind walls, and their swords and daggers were likely to be formidable in the defence of a breach or a barricade, where the attack must be in some degree tumultuary. To this was to be added the Duke's total want of cannon and mortars, or artillery-men by whom they could be managed. All these reasons Induced Argyle to postpone an attack, of which the result was so uncertain, until he should be better provided. The volunteers were very anxious for an attack; but we are merely told, by the reverend historian of the Rebellion, that when they were given to understand that the post of honour, viz. the right of leading the attack, was their just right as volunteers, it made them heartily approve of the Duke's measure in deferring the enterprise. Argyle therefore retreated to Edinburgh, to make better preparations for an attack with artillery next day.

But as MacIntosh's intention of seizing on the capital had failed, it did not suit his purpose to abide in the vicinity. He left the citadel of Leith at nine o'clock, and conducted his men in the most profound silence along the sands to Seaton house, about ten miles from Edinburgh, a strong castle belonging to the Earl of Winton, surrounded by a high wall. Here they made a show of fortifying themselves, and collecting provisions, as if they intended to abide for some time. The Duke of Argyle, with his wonted celerity, made preparations to attack MacIntosh in his new quarters. He sent to the camp at Stirling for artillery-men, and
began to get ready some guns in Edinburgh castle, with which he proposed to advance to Seaton, and dislodge its new occupants. But his purpose was again interrupted by express upon express, despatched from Stirling by General Whetham, who commanded in the Duke's absence, acquainting his superior with the unpleasing information that Mar, with his whole army, was advancing towards Stirling, trusting to have an opportunity of destroying the few troops who were left there, and which did not exceed a thousand men.

Upon these tidings the Duke, leaving two hundred and fifty men of his small command under the order of General Wightman, to prosecute the plan of dislodging the Highlanders from their stronghold of Seaton, returned in all haste, with the small remainder of his forces, to Stirling, where his presence was much called for. But before adverting to events which took place in that quarter, we shall conduct MacIntosh and his detachment some days' journey farther on their progress.

On Saturday, the 15th of October, the environs of Seaton house were reconnoitred by a body of dragoons and volunteers. But as the Highlanders boldly marched out to skirmish, the party from Edinburgh thought themselves too weak to hazard an action, and retired towards the city, as did the rebels to their garrison. On Monday the 17th of October, the demonstration upon Seaton was renewed in a more serious manner, Lord Rothes, Lord Torphichen, and other officers, marching against the house with three hundred volunteers,
and the troops which had been left by the Duke of Argyle, to dislodge MacIntosh. But neither in this third attempt was it found prudent, without artillery, to attack the pertinacious mountaineers, as indeed a repulse, in the neighbourhood of the capital, must necessarily have been attended with consequences not to be rashly risked. The troops of the Government, therefore, returned a third time to Edinburgh, without having farther engaged with the enemy than by a few exchanges of shot.

MacIntosh did not consider it prudent to give his opponent an opportunity of attacking him again in his present position. He had sent a letter to General Forster, which, reaching the gentlemen engaged in that unadvised expedition, while they were deliberating whether they should not abandon it, determined them to remain in arms, and unite themselves with those Highlanders, who had crossed the frith at such great risk, in order to join them. Forster and Kenmure, therefore, returned an answer to MacIntosh's communication, proposing to meet his forces at Kelso or Coldstream, as should be most convenient for him. Such letters as the Brigadier had received from Mar, since passing the Forth, as well as the tenor of his former and original instructions, directed him to form a junction with the gentlemen engaged on the Borders; and he accepted accordingly of their invitation, and assigned Kelso as the place of meeting.

His first march was to the village of Longformachus, which he reached on the evening of the 19th of October. It may be mentioned, that, in the
course of their march, they passed Hermandston, the seat of Dr Sinclair, which MacIntosh, with some of the old vindictive Highland spirit, was extremely desirous to have burned, in revenge of the death of young Hepburn of Keith. He was dissuaded from this extreme course, but the house was plundered by Lord Nairne's Highlanders, who were active agents in this species of punishment. Sir William Bennet of Grubet, who had occupied Kelso for the Government, with some few militia and volunteers, learning that fifteen hundred Highlanders were advancing against him from the eastward, while five or six hundred horse, to which number the united forces of Kenmure and Forster might amount, were marching downwards from the Cheviot mountains, relinquished his purpose of defending Kelso; and, abandoning the barricades, which he had made for that purpose, retired to Edinburgh with his followers, carrying with him the greater part of the arms which he had provided. The cavalry of Forster and Kenmure, marching from Wooler, arrived at Kelso a few hours before the Highlanders, who set out on the same morning from Dunse. The Scottish part of the horse marched through Kelso without halting, to meet with MacIntosh at Ednam-bridge, a compliment which they conceived due to the gallantry with which, through many hazards, the Brigadier and his Highlanders had advanced to their succour. The united forces, when mustered at Kelso, were found to amount to about six hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot, for MacIntosh had lost some men by desertion. They then entered the town in triumph, and possessed themselves of such arms
as Sir William Bennet had left behind him. They proclaimed James VIII. in the market-place of this beautiful town, and attended service (the officers at least) in the Old Abbey Church, where a non-juring clergyman preached a sermon on hereditary right, the text being, Deut. xxi. 17, The right of the first-born is his. The chiefs then held a general council on the best mode of following out the purposes of their insurrection. There were two lines of conduct to choose betwixt, one of which was advocated by the Scottish gentlemen, the other by the insurgents from the north of England.

According to the first plan of operations, it was proposed that their united forces should move westward along the Border, occupying in their way the towns of Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow itself. They expected no resistance on either of these points, which their union with MacIntosh's troops might not enable them to overcome. Arrived in the west of Scotland, they proposed to open the passes, which were defended chiefly by militia and volunteers, to the very considerable force of the Argyle-shire clans, which were already assembled under General Gordon. With the Earl of Mar's far superior army in front, and with the force of MacIntosh, Kenmure, and Forster upon his left flank and in his rear, it was conceived impossible that, with all his abilities, the Duke of Argyle could persevere in maintaining his important post at Stirling;

there was every chance of his being driven entirely out of the "ancient kingdom," as Scotland
was fondly called.

This plan of the campaign had two recommendations. In the first place, it tended to a concentration of the rebel forces, which, separated as they were, and divided through the kingdom, had hitherto been either checked and neutralized like that of Mar by the Duke of Argyle, or fairly obliged to retreat and shift for safety from the forces of the Government, as had been the fate of Forster and Kenmure. Secondly, the basis on which the scheme rested was fixed and steady. Mar's army, on the one hand, and Gordon with the clans, on the other, were bodies of troops existing and in arms, nor was there any party in the field for the Government, of strength adequate to prevent their forming the proposed junction.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the English insurgents expressed the strongest wish to follow an opposite course, and carry the war again into England, from which they had been so lately obliged to retreat. Their proposal had at first a bold and spirited appearance, and might, had it been acted upon with heart and unanimity, have had a considerable chance of success. The dragoons and horse which had assembled at Newcastle under General Carpenter, were only a thousand strong, and much fatigued with forced marches. Reinforced as the insurgents were with MacIntosh and his infantry, they might have succeeded by a sudden march in attacking Carpenter in his quarters,

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or fighting him in the field; at all events, their great superiority of numbers would have compelled
the English general either to hazard an action at very great disadvantage, or to retreat. In either case, the Northumbrian gentlemen would have remained masters of their native province, and might have made themselves masters of Newcastle, and interrupted the coal trade; and, finally, the great possessions and influence of Lord Derwentwater and others would have enabled them to add to their force as many infantry as they might find means of arming, without which, the gentry who were in arms could only be considered as a soul without a body, or a hilt without a blade. But Forster and his friends would not agree to a measure which had so much to recommend it, but lost time in empty debates, remaining at Kelso from the 22d to the 27th of October, until it became impossible to put the plan in execution. For they learned, that while they were deliberating, General Carpenter was acting; and his little army, being reinforced and refreshed, was now advanced to Wooler, to seek them out and give them battle.

Forster and the English officers then insisted on another scheme, which should still make England the scene of the campaign. They proposed that, eluding the battle which General Carpenter seemed willing to offer, they should march westward along the middle and west Borders of Scotland, till they could turn southward into Lancashire, where they assured their Scottish confederates that their friends were ready to rise in numbers, to the amount of twenty thousand men at least, which would be sufficient to enable them to march to London in defiance of all opposition.
Upon this important occasion the insurgents gave a decided proof of that species of credulity which disposes men to receive, upon very slight evidence, such tidings as flatter their hopes and feelings, and which induced Addison to term the Jacobites of that period a race of men who live in a dream, daily nourished by fiction and delusion, and whom he compares to the obstinate old knight in Rabelais, who every morning swallowed a chimera for breakfast.

The Scottish gentlemen, and Lord Winton in particular, were not convinced by the reasoning of their Southern friends, nor do they appear to have been participant of their sanguine hopes of a general rising in Lancashire; accordingly, they strongly opposed the movement in that direction. All, therefore, which the rebels, in their divided counsels, were able to decide upon with certainty, was to move westward along the Border, a course which might advance them equally on their road, whether they should finally determine to take the route to the west of Scotland or to Lancashire. We must refer to a future part of this history for the progress and ultimate fate of this ill-starred expedition.

WE must now return to the Earl of Mar's army, which must be considered as the centre and focus of the insurrection. Since his occupation of Perth, Lord Mar had undertaken little which had the appearance of military enterprise. His possession even of Fifeshire and Kinross had been in some degree contested by the supporters of Government. The Earl of Rothes, with a few dragoons
and volunteers, had garrisoned his own house of Lesly, near Falkland, and was active in harassing those parties of horse which Mar sent into the country to proclaim James VIII., and levy the cess and public taxes. Upon one of these occasions, (28th September) he surprised Sir Thomas Bruce, while in the act of making the proclamation in the town of Kinross, and carried him off a prisoner. The Earl of Rothes retained possession of his garrison till Mar's army became very strong", when he was obliged to withdraw it. But Mar continued to experience occasional checks, even in the military promenades in which he employed the gentlemen who composed his cavalry. It is true, these generally arose from nothing worse than the loose discipline observed by troops of this condition, their carelessness in mounting guards, or in other similar duties, to which their rank and habits of life had not accustomed them.

The only important manoeuvre attempted by the Earl of Mar, was the expedition across the frith under Brigadier MacIntosh, of which the details are given in the last chapter. Its consequences were such as to force the General himself into measures of immediate activity, by which he had not hitherto seemed much disposed to distinguish himself, but which became now inevitable.

It happened that, on the second day after MacIntosh's departure from Fife, a general review of the troops in Perth was held in the vicinity of that town, and the Earl Marischal's brother, James (afterwards the celebrated Field-Marshal Keith),
galloped along the line, disseminating some of those favourable reports which were the growth of the day, and, as one succeeded as fast as another dropped, might be termed the fuel which supplied the fire of the insurrection, or rather, perhaps, the bellows which kept it in excitation. The apocryphal tidings of this day were, that Sir William Wyndham had

surprised Bristol for King James III., and that Sir William Blacket had taken both Berwick and Newcastle-intelligence received by the hearers with acclamations, which, if it had been true, were no less than it deserved.

But from these visions the principal persons in the insurrection were soon recalled to sad realities. A meeting of the noblemen, chiefs of clans, and commanders of corps, was summoned, and particular care taken to exclude all intruders of inferior rank. To this species of council of war Mar announced, with a dejected countenance, that Brigadier MacIntosh, having, contrary to his orders, thrown himself into the citadel of Leith, was invested there by the Duke of Argyle. He laid before them the letter he had received from the Brigadier, which stated that a few hours would determine his fate, but that he was determined to do his duty to the last. The writer expressed his apprehension that cannons and mortars were about to be brought against him. The Earl of Mar said that he gave the detachment up for lost, but suggested it might be possible to operate a diversion in its favour, by making a feint towards Stirling. The proposal was seconded by General Hamilton, who said that such a movement might possibly do
good, and could produce no harm.

The movement being determined upon, Mar marched with a large body of foot to Auchterarder, and pushed two squadrons of horse as far forward as Dunblane, which had the appearance of a meditated attack upon Stirling. It is said to have been

the opinion of General Hamilton, that the foot should have taken possession of a defile which continues the road from the northern end of Stirling bridge through some low and marshy ground, and is called the Long Causeway. The rebels being in possession of this long and narrow pass, it would have been as difficult for the Duke of Argyle to have got at them as it was for them to reach him. And the necessity of guarding the bridge itself with the small force he possessed, must have added to Argyle's difficulties, and afforded General Gordon, and the western clans who were by This time expected to be at Dunbarton, full opportunity to have advanced on Stirling by Drymen and the Loch of Monteith, keeping possession, during their whole march, of high and hilly grounds fit for the operations of Highlanders. In this manner the Duke of Argyle would have been placed between two fires, and must have run the greatest risk of being cut off from the reinforcements which he anxiously expected from Ireland, as well as from the west of Scotland.

Against this very simple and effective plan of the campaign, Mar had nothing to object but the want of provisions; in itself a disgrace to a general who had been quartered so long in the neighbourhood
of the Carse of Gowrie, and at the end of autumn, when the farm-yards are full, without having secured a quantity of meal adequate to the maintenance of his army for a few days. General Hamilton combated this objection, and even demonstrated that provisions were to be had; and Mar apparently acquiesced in his reasoning. But having come with the infantry of his army as far as Ardoch, the Earl stopped short, and refused to permit the movement on the Long Causeway to be made, alleging that Marischal and Linlithgow had decided against the design. It seems probable, that, as the affair drew to a crisis. Mar, the more that military science was wanted, felt his own ignorance the more deeply, and, afraid to attempt any course by which he might have controlled circumstances, adopted every mode of postponing a decision, in the hope they might, of themselves, become favourable in the long run.

In the mean time, the news of Mar's march to Auchterarder and Dunblane had, as we have elsewhere noticed, recalled the Duke of Argyle to his camp at Stirling, leaving a few of his cavalr, with the militia and volunteers, to deal with MacIntosh and his nimble Highlanders, who escaped out of their hands, first by their defence of Seaton, and then by their march to Kelso. Argyle instantly took additional defensive measures against Mar, by barricading the bridge of Stirling, and breaking down that which crosses the Teith at the village of Doune. But his presence so near his antagonist was sufficient to induce the Earl of Mar to retreat with his whole force to his former quarters.
at Perth, and wait the progress of events.

These were now approaching to a crisis. With MacIntosh's detachment Mar had now no concern; they were to pursue their good or evil destiny apart. The Earl of Mar had also received a disagreeable hint, that the excursions by which he used to supply himself with funds, as well as to keep up the terror of his arms, were not without inconvenience. A detachment of about fourscore horse and three hundred Highland foot, chiefly followers of the Marquis of Huntly, was sent to Dunfermline to raise the cess. The direct road from Perth to Dunfermline is considerably shorter, but the troops had orders to take the route by Castle-Campbell, which prolonged the journey considerably, for no apparent purpose save to insult the Duke of Argyle’s garrison there, by marching in their view. When the detachment arrived at Dunfermline, Gordon of Glenbucket, who commanded the Highlanders, conducted them into the old abbey, which is strongly situated and there placed a sentinel. He took up his own quarters in the town, and placed a sentinel there also. The commander of the horse, Major Graham, took the ineffectual precaution of doing the same at the bridge, but used no farther means to avoid surprise. The gentlemen of the squadron sought each his personal accommodation, with their usual neglect of discipline, neither knowing with accuracy where they were to find their horses, nor fixing on any alarm-post where they were to rendezvous. Their officers sat down to a bottle of wine. During all this scene of confusion, the Honourable
Colonel (afterwards Lord) Cathcart, was lying without the town, with a strong party of cavalry, and obtaining regular information from his spies within it.

About five in the morning of the 24th of October, he entered the town with two parties of his dragoons, one mounted and the other on foot. The surprisal was complete, and the Jacobite cavaliers suffered in proportion; several were killed and wounded, and about twenty made prisoners, whose loss was the more felt, as they were all gentlemen, and some of them considerable proprietors. The assailants lost no time in their enterprise, and retreated as speedily as they entered. The neighbourhood of the Highland infantry in the Abbey was a strong reason for despatch. This slight affair seemed considerable in a war which had been as yet so little marked by military incident. The appearance of the prisoners at Stirling, and the list of their names, gave eclat to the Duke of Argyle's tactics, and threw disparagement on those of Mar. On the other side, stories were circulated at Perth of the loss which Cathcart had sustained in the action, with rumours of men buried in the night, and horses returned to Stirling without their riders. This account, however fabulous, was received with credit even by those who were engaged at Dunfermline; for the confusion having been general, no one knew what was the fate of his comrade. But in very deed, the whole return of casualties on Colonel Cathcart's side amounted to a dragoon hurt in the cheek, and a horse wounded. This little affair was made the subject of songs and pasquils in the army at Perth, which increased
the Marquis of Huntly's disgust at the enterprise.

By this time three regiments of infantry, and

Evans's dragoons, had joined the Duke of Argyle, who now felt himself strong enough to make detachments, without the fear of weakening his own position. A battalion of foot was sent to Kilsythe, along with a detachment of dragoons, who were to watch the motions of the troops of Forster and Kenmure, in case the whole, or any part of them, should resolve to penetrate into the west of Scotland.

The Earl of Mar was also on the point of being joined by the last reinforcements which he could expect, the non-arrival of which had hitherto been the cause, or at least the apology, for his inactivity. The various causes of delay had been at length removed in the following manner. Seaforth, it must be remembered, was confronted by Lord Sutherland with his own following, and the Whig clans of Grant, Monro, Ross, and others. But about the same time the Earl of Seaforth was joined by Sir Donald MacDonald of Skye, with seven hundred of his own clan, and as many MacKinnons, Chisholms, and others, as raised the total number to about four thousand men. The Earl of Sutherland, finding this force so much stronger than what he was able to bring against it, retreated to the Bonar, a strait of the sea dividing Rossshire from Sutherland, and there passed to his own side of the ferry. Seaforth, now unopposed, advanced to Inverness, and after leaving a garrison there, marched to Perth to join the Earl of Mar, to whose insurrectionary army his troops made a
The clans of the West were the only reinforcements which Mar had now to expect; but these were not only considerable from their numbers, but claimed a peculiar fame in arms even over the other Highlanders, both from their zeal for the Jacobite cause, and their distinguished bravery. But Mar had clogged General Gordon, who was to bring up this part of his forces, with a commission which would detain him some time in Argyleshire. His instructions directed him especially to take and garrison the castle of Inverary, the principal seat of the Duke of Argyle. The clans, particularly those of Stewart of Appin, and Cameron of Lochiel, though opposed to the Duke in political principles, respected his talents, and had a high regard for his person as an individual, and therefore felt reluctance at entering upon a personal quarrel with him by attacking his castle. These chiefs hung back accordingly, and delayed joining. When Glengarry and Clanronald had raised their clans, they had fewer scruples. During this time, Campbell of Finab was intrusted with the difficult task of keeping the assailants in play until the Duke of Argyle should receive his expected reinforcements from Ireland. He was soon joined by the Earl of Islay, the Duke's younger brother. By the assistance of Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, about a thousand men were assembled to defend Inverary, when four or five thousand appeared in arms before it. A sort of treaty was entered into, by which the insurgent clans agreed to withdraw from the country of Argyle; with which
purpose, descending Strathfillan, they marched towards

Castle-Drummond, which is in the vicinity of Perth, and within an easy march of Mar's headquarters.

One important member of the insurrection must also be mentioned. This was the Earl of Breadalbane, the same unrelenting statesman who was the author of the Massacre of Glencoe. He had been employed by King William in 1689 to achieve, by dint of money, the settlement and pacification of the Highlands; and now, in his old age, he imagined his interest lay in contributing to disturb them. When cited to appear at Edinburgh as a suspected person, he procured a pathetic attestation under the hand of a physician and clergyman, in which the Earl was described as an infirm man, overwhelmed with all the evils that wait on old age. None of his infirmities, however, prevented him from attending the Earl of Mar's summons, on the very day after the certificate is dated. Breadalbane is supposed to have received considerable sums of money from the Earl of Mar, who knew the only terms on which he could hope for his favour. But for a long time the wily Earl did nothing decisive, and it was believed that he entertained a purpose of going to Stirling, and reconciling himself with the Duke of Argyle, the head of the elder branch of his house. This, however, Breadalbane did not do; but, on the contrary, appeared in the town of Perth, where the singular garb and peculiar manners of this extraordinary old chief attracted general attention. He possessed powers
of satirical observation in no common degree; and seemed to laugh internally at whatever he saw which he considered as ridiculous, but without suffering his countenance to betray his sentiments, except to very close observers. Amidst the various difficulties of the insurgents, his only advice to them was, to procure a printing press, and lose no time in issuing gazettes.

Mar took the hint, whether given in jest or earnest. He sent to Aberdeen for a printing press, in order to lose no time in diffusing intelligence more widely by that comprehensive organ of information. It was placed under the management of Robert Freebairn, one of the printers for the late Queen Anne, whose principles had led him to join the insurgent army. He was chiefly employed in extending by his art the delusions through means of which the insurrection had been originally excited, and was in a great measure kept afloat. It is a strong example of this, that while Mar actually knew nothing of the fate of Forster and Kenmure, with the auxiliary party of Highlanders under MacIntosh; yet it was boldly published that they were masters of Newcastle, and carried all before them, and that the Jacobites around London had taken arms in such numbers, that King George had found it necessary to retire from the metropolis.

It does not appear that the Earl of Breadalbane was so frank in affording the rebels his military support, which was very extensive and powerful, as in imparting his advice how to make an impression on the public mind by means of the press.
His own age excused him from taking the field; and it is probable, his experience and sagacious observation discovered little in their counsels which promised a favourable result to their enterprise, though supported certainly by a very considerable force in arms. A body of his clan, about four or five hundred strong, commanded by the Earl's kinsman, Campbell of Glendarule, joined the force under General Gordon; but about four hundred, who had apparently engaged in the enterprise against Inverary, and were embodied for that purpose, dispersed, and returned to their own homes afterwards without joining Mar.

The whole force being now collected on both sides, it seemed inevitable, that the clouds of civil war which had been so long lowering on the horizon, should now burst in storm and tempest on the devoted realm of Scotland.

I HAVE delayed till this point in the Scottish history some attempt to investigate the causes and conduct of the Rebellion, and to explain, if possible, the supineness of the insurgent general and chiefs, who, having engaged in an attempt so desperate, and raised forces so considerable, should yet, after the lapse of two months, have advanced little farther in their enterprise than they had done in the first week after its commencement.

If we review the Earl of Mar's conduct from beginning to end, we are led to the conclusion, that the insurrection of 1715 was as hastily as rashly undertaken. It does not appear that Mar was in
communication on the subject with the court of the Chevalier de St George previous to Queen Anne's death. That event found him at liberty to recommend himself to the favour of King George, and show his influence with the Highland chiefs, by procuring an address of adhesion from them, of a tenor as loyal as his own. These offers of service being rejected, as we have already said, in a harsh and affronting manner, made the fallen Minister conclude that his ruin was determined on; and his private resentment, which, in other circumstances, would have fallen to the ground ineffectual and harmless, lighted unhappily amongst those combustibles, which the general adherence to the exiled family had prepared in Scotland.

When Mar arrived in Fifeshire from London, it was reported that he was possessed of £100,000 in money, instructions from the Pretender, under his own hand, and a commission appointing him lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of his forces in Scotland. But though these rumours were scattered in the public ear, better accounts allege, that in the commencement of the undertaking, Mar did not pretend to assume any authority over the other noblemen of his own rank, or produce any other token from the Chevalier de St George, than his portrait. A good deal of pains were taken to parade a strong-box, said to enclose a considerable sum of money, belonging to the Earl of Mar; but it was not believed to contain treasure of more than £3000, if, indeed, it held so much. As to the important point of a
general to command in chief, the scheme, when originally contemplated at the Court of St Germain's, turned upon the Duke of Ormond's landing in England, and the Duke of Berwick in Scotland, whose well-known talents were to direct the whole affair. After commencing his insurrection, there can be little doubt that Mar did the utmost, by his agents in Lorraine, to engage the favourable opinion of the Chevalier; and the unexpected success of his enterprise, so far as it had gone, and the great power he had been able to assemble, were well calculated to recommend him to confidence. In the mean time, it was necessary there should be a general to execute the duties of the office ad interim. Mar offered, as I have told you, the command to the Duke of Athole, who refused to be connected with the affair. Huntly, from his power and rank in possession and expectation, might have claimed the supreme authority, but his religion was an obstacle. Seaforth lay distant, and was late in coming up. The claims of these great nobles being set aside, there was nothing so natural as that Mar himself should assume the command of an insurrection, which would never have existed without his instigation. He was acceptable to the Highlanders, as having been the channel through which the bounty of the late Queen Anne had been transmitted to them; and had also partisans, from his liberality to certain of the Lowland nobles who had joined him, whose estates and revenues were not adequate to their rank, a circumstance which might be no small cause for their rushing into so ruinous an undertaking. Thus Mar assumed the general's
truncheon which chance offered to his hand, because there was no other who could pretend to it.

Like most persons in his situation, he was not inclined to distrust his own capacity for using to advantage the power which he had almost fortuitously become possessed of; or, if he nourished any doubt upon this subject, he might consider his military charge to be but temporary, since, from the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears he expected from France some person whose trade had been war, and to whom he might with honour resign his office. Such an expectation may account for the care with which the Jacobite commander abstained from offensive operations, and for his anxious desire to augment his army to the highest point, rather than to adventure it upon the most promising enterprise.

It is probable Mar was encouraged to persevere in his military authority, in which he must have met with some embarrassment, when he found himself confirmed in it by Ogilvie of Boyne, an especial messenger from the Chevalier de St George, who, greatly flattered by the favourable state of affairs in Scotland, conferred upon the Earl of Mar in form, that command, which he had so long exercised in point of fact, and it was said, brought a patent, raising him to the dignity of Duke of Mar. Of the last honour, little was known, but the commission of Mar as general was read at the head of every corps engaged in the insurrection.

It might be matter of wonder that the vessel

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which brought over Mr Ogilvie, the bearer of this commission, had not been freighted with men, money, or provisions. The reason appears to have been, that the Chevalier de St George had previously expended all the funds he could himself command, or which he could borrow from foreign courts favourable to his title, in equipping a considerable number of vessels designed to sail from Havre-de-Grace and Dieppe, with large quantities of arms and ammunition. But the Earl of Stair, having speedily discovered the destination of these supplies, remonstrated with the Court of France upon proceedings so inconsistent with the treaty of Utrecht; and Sir George Byng, with a squadron of men-of-war, blockaded the ports of France, with the purpose of attacking the vessels if they should put to sea. The Regent Duke of Orleans immediately gave orders to the inspectors of naval affairs to prevent the arming and sailing of the vessels intended for the service of the Chevalier de St George. Thus the supplies designed for the insurgents were intercepted, and the whole expense which had been laid out upon the projected expedition was entirely lost. This affords a satisfactory reason why the exiled Prince could send little to his partisans in Scotland, unless in the shape of fair words and commissions.

In the mean time, the Earl of Mar, and the nobles and gentlemen embarked in his enterprise, although disappointed in these sanguine expectations under which it had been undertaken, and in finding that the death of Louis XIV., and the prudence of his successor in power, would deprive
them of all hopes of foreign assistance, were yet desirous to receive that species of encouragement which might be derived from seeing the Chevalier de St George himself at the head of the army, which they had drawn together in his name and quarrel. An address, therefore, was made to King James VIII., as he was termed, praying him to repair to Scotland, and to encourage, by his personal presence, the flame of loyalty, which was represented as breaking out in every part of that kingdom, pledging the lives and honour of the subscribers for his personal security, and insisting on the favourable effect likely to be produced upon their undertaking, by his placing himself at its head. Another address was drawn up to the Regent Duke of Orleans, praying him, if he was not pleased to aid the heir of the House of Stewart at this crisis of his fate, that he would at least permit him to return to his own country, to share the fate of his trusty adherents, who were in arms in his behalf. This paper had rather an extraordinary turn, sounding as if the Chevalier de St George had been in prison, and the Regent of France the keeper of the key. The addresses, however, were subscribed by all the men of quality at Perth, though great was the resentment of these proud hidalgos, to find that the king's printer, Mr Robert Freebairn, was permitted to sign along with them. The papers were, after having been signed, intrusted to the care of the Honourable Major Hay, having as his secretary the historian Dr Abercromby, with charge to wait upon the Chevalier at the Court of Lorraine, or where he might happen to be, and urge the desire of the subscribers. The choice of the ambassador,
and the secrecy which was observed on the subject of his commission, were regarded as deserving censure by those in the army who conceived that, the general welfare being concerned in the measures to be adopted, they had some right to be acquainted with the mode in which the negotiation was to proceed. Mar afterwards despatched two additional envoys on the same errand; the first was Sir Alexander Erskine of Alva, who was wrecked on his return; the second, an agent of considerable acuteness, named Charles Forbes.

The Earl of Mar had not ascended to the pitch of power which he now enjoyed, without experiencing the usual share of ill-will and unfavourable construction. The Master of Sinclair, a man of a temper equally shrewd and severe, had from the beginning shown himself dissatisfied with the management of the insurrection, and appears, like many men of the same disposition, to have been much more ready to remark and censure errors than to assist in retrieving them. The Earl of Huntly seems also to have been disobliged by Mar, and to have looked on him with dislike or suspicion; nor were the Highlanders entirely disposed to trust him as their general. When Glengarry,

one of their ablest chiefs, joined the army at Perth, separate from those first assembled at Perth, and act in conjunction with the forces of the Earl of Huntly; and it was proposed to Sinclair to join in this sort of association, by which the army would in fact have been effectually separated into two parts. Glengarry, however, was dissuaded from this secession; and although it is intimated, that in
order to induce him to abandon his design, the arguments arising from good cheer and good fellowship were freely resorted to, it is not the less true, that his returning to the duty of a soldier was an act of sober reason.

The Earl of Mar, amidst his other duties, having a wish to prepare a place of arms for the residence of the Chevalier de St George on his expected arrival, made an attempt to cover Perth by fortifications, so as to place it out of danger from a coup-de-main. General Hamilton attended to this duty for a short time; but afterwards it was almost entirely given up to the direction of a Frenchman, who had been a dancing and fencing-master, and whose lines of defence furnished much amusement to the English engineers, who afterwards became possessed of them.

Before resuming the narrative, I may tell you, that in this same eventful month of October, when there were so many military movements in Scotland, the Duke of Ormond was despatched by the Chevalier de St George, with arms and ammunition, and directions to land on the coast of England.

Three cannon were fired as a signal to the Jacobites, who were expected to flock in numbers to the shore, the name of Ormond being then most popular among them. But the signals not being answered, the vessel bore off, and returned to France. Had the Duke landed, the Jacobite party would have been in the singular predicament of having a general in England, without an army, and an army in Scotland without an effective general.
We now approach the catastrophe of these intestine commotions; for the Earl of Mar had by the beginning of November received all the reinforcements which he had to expect, though it may be doubted whether he had rendered his task of forcing or turning the Duke of Argyle's position more easy, or his own army much stronger, by the time he had spent in inactivity. His numbers were indeed augmented, but so were those of the Duke so that the armies bore the same proportion to each other as before. This was a disadvantage to the Highlanders; for where a contest is to take place betwixt undisciplined energy and the steadiness of regular troops, the latter must always attain superiority in proportion as their numbers in the field increase, and render the day likely to be decided by manoeuvres. Besides this, the army of Mar sustained a very great loss by desertion during the time he lay at Perth. The Highlanders, with the impatience and indolence of a half-civilized people, grew weary alike of remaining idle, and of being employed in the labour of fortification, or the dull details of ordinary parade exercise. Many also went home for the purpose of placing in safety their accumulation of pay, and what booty they had been able to find in the Lowlands. Such desertions were deemed by the clans to be perfectly in rule, and even the authority of the chiefs was inadequate to prevent them.

Neither do the plans of the Earl of Mar seem to have been more distinctly settled, when he finally determined on the important step of making a movement.
in advance. It seems to have been given out, that he was to make three feigned attacks upon the Duke's army at one and the same time—namely, one upon the Long Causeway and Stirling bridge; another at the Abbey ford, a mile below Stirling; and a third at the Drip-coble, a ford a mile and a half above that town. By appearing on so many points at once, Mar might hope to occupy the Duke's attention so effectually, as to cross the river with his main body at the fords of Forth. But, as the Duke of Argyle did not give his opponent time to make these movements, it cannot be known whether Mar actually contemplated them.

It is, however, certain that the Earl of Mar entertained the general purpose of reaching, if possible, the fords of Forth, where that river issues out of Lochard, and thus passing over to the southern side. To reach this part of the river, required a march of two days through a hilly and barren country. Nor were Mar and his advisers well acquainted with the road, and they had no other guide but the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy MacGregor, who they themselves said was not to be trusted, and who, in point of fact, was in constant communication with his patron, the Duke of Argyle, to whom he sent intelligence of Mar's motions. It was said, too, that this outlaw only knew the fords from having passed them with Highland cattle—a different thing, certainly, from being acquainted with them in a military point of view. It was probably, however, with a view to the information which Rob Roy could give on this point, that Mar, in a letter of the 4th of November,
(70-346)complains of that celebrated outlaw for not having
(70-346)come to Perth, where he wished much to have a
(70-346)meeting with him.

(70-346)But if Mar and his military council had known
(70-346)the fords of Forth accurately, still it was doubtful
(70-346)in what situation they might find the passes when
(70-346)they arrived there. They might have been fortified
(70-346)and defended by the Duke of Argyle, or a
(70-346)detachment of his army; or they might be impassable
(70-346)at this advanced season of the year, for they
(70-346)are at all times of a deep and impracticable
(70-346)character. Last of all, before they could reach the
(70-346)heads of the Forth, Mar and his army must have
(70-346)found the means of crossing the Teith, a river
(70-346)almost as large and deep as the Forth itself, on

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(70-347)which Argyle had destroyed the bridge of Doune,
(70-347)which afforded the usual means of passage.

(70-347)Such were the difficulties in the way of the
(70-347)insurgents; and they are of a kind which argues a
(70-347)great want of intelligence in a camp which must
(70-347)have contained many persons from Menteith and
(70-347)Lennox, well acquainted with the country through
(70-347)which the Highland army were to pass, and who
(70-347)might have reconnoitred it effectually,
(70-347)notwithstanding the small garrisons of west-country militia
(70-347)and volunteers, which the Duke had placed in
(70-347)Gartartan, and other houses of strength in the
(70-347)neighbourhood of Aberfoill. But it was not the
(70-347)will of Heaven that the insurgents should ever
(70-347)march far enough on their expedition to experience
(70-347)inconveniences from the difficulties we have pointed
(70-347)out; for the Duke of Argyle, though far inferior
in force, adopted the soldier-like resolution of drawing out such strength as he had, and interrupting the march of the insurgents by fighting them, before they should have an opportunity of descending upon the Forth. For this purpose, he called in all his garrisons and outposts, and having mustered a main body of not quite four thousand men, he marched from Stirling towards Dunblane, on the morning of Saturday, the 12th of November.

On the 10th of November, the Earl of Mar had broken up from his quarters at Perth, and advanced to Auchterarder, where the infantry were quartered, while the cavalry found accommodation in the vicinity.

But, during that night, the Highland army suffered in its nominal strength by two considerable desertions. The one was that of the whole clan of Fraser, amounting to four hundred men. They had joined Mar's army very recently, under Fraser of Fraserdale, who had married the heiress of their late chieftain. Just at this crisis, however, the heim-male of the family, the celebrated Fraser of Lovat, arrived in the north, and recalled by his mandate the clan of Fraser from the standards of King James VIII. to transfer them to those of George I. The Frasers, deeming their duty to their chief paramount to that which they owed to either monarch, and recognising the right of the male-heir to command them in preference to that of the husband of the heir-female, unanimously obeyed the summons of the former, and left the camp, army, and cause in which they were engaged.
There will be occasion to mention more of the
Erasers hereafter.

The other desertion was that of two hundred of
the Earl of Huntly's Highland followers, who
complained of having been unjustly overburdened with
what is called fatigue-duty. Thus diminished, the
army, after having been reviewed by their general,
marched off their ground in the following order.
The Master of Sinclair with the Fifeshire squadron,
and two squadrons of Huntly's cavalry, formed
the advance of the whole. The western clans
followed, being, first, the MacDonals, under their
different chiefs of Clan Ranald, Glengarry, Sir
Donald MacDonald, Keppoch, and Glencoe. The
next were Breadalbane's men, with five regiments,
consisting of the following clans: the MacLeans,
under Sir John MacLean, their chief; the Camerons,
under Lochiel; the Stewarts, commanded by
Appin; and those who remained of Huntly's
followers from Strathdon and Glenlivet, under Gordon
of Glenbucket. This chosen body of Highlanders
were in high spirits, and so confident of
success, that they boasted that their division of
Mar's army only would be more than enough to
deal with the Duke of Argyle and all the force he
commanded. General Gordon was commander of
the whole Highland vanguard.

The rest of the army, commanded by Mar in
person, with the assistance of General Hamilton,
followed the advanced division; and it was settled
that the rearguard should march only as far as
Ardoch, while the vanguard should push forward as
far as the town of Dunblane, where they had quartered on their former march from Perth, eight miles to the west of Ardoch, where the rear was to halt.

The horse, at the head of the first column, were advancing according to their orders, when a lame boy, running as fast as his infirmity would permit, stated to the Master of Sinclair, who commanded the advance, that he was sent by the wife of the Laird of Kippendavie, whose husband was in the Jacobite army, to tell the Earl of Mar that the Duke of Argyle was in the act of marching through Dunblane. The news, though the appearance of the messenger excited some doubt, was entitled to be treated with respect. A reconnoitring party was sent forward, an express was despatched to Mar, who was six or seven miles in the rear, and General Gordon anxiously looked around him to find some strong ground on which to post the men. The river Allan lay in their front, and the Master of Sinclair proposed pushing across, and taking possession of some farm-houses, visible on the opposite side, where the gentlemen might find refreshment, and the horses forage. But General Gordon justly thought that the passing of a river at nightfall was a bad preparation for a body of infantry, who were to lie out till morning in the open air, in a hard frost, in the middle of November. At length the dispute was terminated, on two farm-houses being discovered on the left side of the river, where the horse obtained some accommodation, though in a situation in which they might have been destroyed by a sudden attack,
before they could have got out of the enclosures, among which they were penned up like cattle, rather than quartered like soldiers. To guard against such a catastrophe, General Gordon posted advanced guards and videttes, and sent out patrols with the usual military precautions. Soon after they had taken their quarters for the night. Lord Southesk and the Angus-shire cavalry came up, with the intelligence that Mar and the whole main body were following, and the Earl accordingly appeared at the bivouac of the vanguard about nine o’clock at night.

Fresh intelligence came to them from Lady Kippendavie, who seems to have been as correct in her intelligence, and accurate in communicating with the insurgent army, as she was singular in her choice of messengers, this last being an old woman, who confirmed the tidings of the enemy's approach. The reconnoitring parties, sent forward by Sinclair, came in with news to the same purpose.

The whole of Mar's army being now collected together within a very narrow circumference, slept on their arms, and wrapped in their plaids, feeling less inconvenience from the weather, which was a severe frost, than would probably have been experienced by any other forces in Europe.

By daybreak, on Sunday, 13th November, the insurgent army drew up in two lines of battle, on the plain above the place where they had spent the night. They had not long assumed this posture, when they perceived a strong squadron of horse
(70-351)upon an eminence to the south of their lines. This
(70-351)was the Duke of Argyle, who, with some general

[TG70-352]
(70-352)officers, had taken this post in advance, for the
(70-352)purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and
(70-352)proceedings. In this he succeeded but imperfectly,
(70-352)on account of the swells and hollows which lay
(70-352)between him and Mar's army.

(70-352)In the mean time, Mar, after satisfying himself
(70-352)that he was in presence of the enemy, called a
(70-352)council of his nobles, general officers, chiefs of
(70-352)clans, and commanders of corps. He is allowed on
(70-352)this occasion to have made them a most animating
(70-352)speech. It sank, in part, upon unwilling ears, for
(70-352)there were already several persons of consequence,
(70-352)among whom Huntly and Sinclair seem to have
(70-352)been the leaders, who, despairing of the cause in
(70-352)which they were engaged, were desirous to open
(70-352)a communication with the Duke of Argyle, in order
(70-352)to learn whether he had power to receive their
(70-352)submission, and admit them to pardon on their
(70-352)former footing of living quietly under Government.
(70-352)This, however, was only whispered among
(70-352)themselves; for even those who entertained such
(70-352)opinions, were at the same time conscious that the
(70-352)crisis was come, in which they must fight for peace
(70-352)sword-in-hand, and that, by gaining a victory, they
(70-352)might dictate honourable terms; while, if they
(70-352)attempted a retreat, they would be no longer able to
(70-352)keep their Highland levies together, or to open a
(70-352)negotiation with the air of strength absolutely
(70-352)necessary to command a tolerable capitulation.

(70-352)When, therefore, the Earl of Mar reminded his
military auditors of the injustice done to the royal

English yoke, and conjured them not to let slip the
opportunity which they had so long languished for,
but instantly attack the enemy, with that spirit which
their cause and their wrongs were calculated to
inspire, his words awakened a corresponding energy in
the hearers. The Earl of Huntly only asked,
whether a battle won would, in their present
circumstances, place their rights, and those of their country,
within their reach? or, whether there was any hope
of foreign aid, to enable them to withstand the arms
of England and her allies? " All this," he said,
" my Lord of Mar could doubtless inform them of,
since he had lately received a letter from Lord
Bolingbroke, which he desired might be laid before
the council."

The critical circumstances of the moment, and
the enthusiasm which had been excited in the
assembly, enabled Mar to dispense with attending to
questions which he might have found it difficult to
answer. Gliding over the interruption given by
Huntly, he stated to the council the question, in
the words, " Fight or not? " The chiefs, nobles,
and officers, answered, with an universal shout of
" Fight," and their resolution reaching the two
lines, as they stood drawn up in order of battle,
was welcomed with loud huzzas, tossing up of
hats and bonnets, and a cheerfulness, which seemed,
even to those who had been before uncertain and
doubtful of the issue, a sure presage of speedy
victory.

In this state of excited feeling, the army of Mar
advanced towards the enemy. The two lines in which they stood upon the moor were broken up each into two columns, so that it was in four columns that they pursued the order of their march, descending the hill which they had first occupied, crossing a morass, which the hard frost of the night before had rendered passable for cavalry as well as infantry, and ascending the opposite height, from which the Duke of Argyle was observing their movements. The Duke, on his part, as soon as he saw the extremity of Mar's wing wheel to the right, in order to make the movement we have described, immediately comprehended that their purpose was to avail themselves of their superiority of numbers, and attack his small force at once on the left flank, and in front. He rode hastily down the eminence, at the foot of which his force was drawn up, in order at once to get them into such a disposition as might disappoint the object of the enemy, and to lead his troops up the hill. He drew up his little army of about four thousand men, extending his disposition considerably to the right, placing three squadrons of horse on that wing, and as many on the left of his front line; the centre being composed of six battalions of foot. Each wing of horse was supported by a squadron of dragoons. The second line was composed of two battalions in the centre, with a squadron of dragoons on either wing. In this order, and having his right considerably advanced against the enemy's left, so as to admit of his withdrawing his own left wing from a flank attack, the Duke ascended the
hill, seeing nothing of the enemy, who had left the
high grounds, and were advancing to meet him on
the other side of the same height, which he was in
the act of mounting. The Highlanders, as has
been already stated, advanced in four columns,
marching by their right.

Each column of infantry, four in number, was
closed by a body of cavalry, which, when the column
should deploy into line, were to take up their ground
on the flank. The Highlanders marched, or rather
ran, with such eagerness towards the enemy, that
the horse were kept at the gallop in the rear. Both
armies were thus ascending the hill in column, and
met, as it were unexpectedly, upon the top, being
in some points within pistol-shot before they were
aware of each others presence. Both, therefore,
endeavoured at the same time to form line-of-battle,
and some confusion occurred on either side. In
particular, two squadrons of the insurgent cavalry
were placed in the centre of the right wing, instead
of being stationed on the flank, as had been intended,
and as the rules of war required. This discovery,
however, was of much less consequence to the
Highlanders, whose terrors consisted in the head-
long fury of the onset, whilst the strength of the
regulars depended on the steadiness of their
discipline.

It was at this moment that an old chief, impatient
for the command to charge, and seeing the English
soldiers getting into order, became enraged at seeing
the favourable minute pass away, and made the
memorable exclamation, " Oh, for one hour of
The Duke's left wing was commanded by General Whitham, who does not appear to have been distinguished either for courage or conduct. The right of Mar's line was hastily formed, consisting of the western clans, MacDonalds, MacLeans, and the followers of Breadalbane, when old Captain Livingstone rode up, a veteran soldier, who had served in King James's army before the Revolution, and with several oaths called to General Gordon, who commanded the right wing, instantly to attack. The General hesitated, but the chiefs and clans caught the enthusiasm of the moment. A gentleman, named MacLean, who lived to a great age, thus described the attack of his own tribe; and there can be no doubt that the general onset was made under similar circumstances. When his clan was drawn up in deep order, the best born, bravest, and best armed of the warriors in front, Sir John MacLean placed himself at their head, and said, with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, this is a day we have long wished to see. Yonder stands MacCallanmore for King George-Here stands MacLean for King James.-God bless MacLean and King James!-Charge, gentlemen!"

The clan then muttered a very brief prayer, fixed the bonnet firm on the head, stripped off their plaids, which then comprehended the philabeg also, and rushed on the enemy, firing their fusees irregularly, then dropping them, and drawing their swords, and uniting in one wild yell, when they mingled among the bayonets. The regular troops
on the left received this fierce onset of the
mountaineers with a heavy fire, which did considerable
execution. Among others who dropped was the
gallant young chief of Clan Ranald, mortally
wounded. His fall checked for an instant the
impetuosity of his followers, when Glengarry, so often
mentioned, started from the ranks, waved his bonnet
around his head, exclaiming, "Revenge,
revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for
mourning!" The Highlanders, resuming the fury
of their attack, mingled with the regulars, forced
their line in every direction, broke through them
and dispersed them, making great slaughter among
men less active than themselves, and loaded with
an unwieldy musket, which in individual or
irregular strife, has scarce ever been found a match for
the broadsword. The extreme left of Argyle's
army was thus routed with considerable slaughter,
for the Highlanders gave no quarter; but the troops
of the centre, under General Wightman, remained
unbroken; and it would seem to have been the
business of the rebel cavalry to have charged them
in the flank or rear, exposed as they must have
been by the flight of Whitham and the left wing.
Of their cavalry, however, two squadrons,
commanded by Drummond and Marischal, went off in
pursuit of those whom the Highlanders had scattered;
while Lord Huntly's, and that of Fife, under
the Master of Sinclair, remained inactive on the
field of battle, without engaging at all. It would
seem that they were kept in check by the dragoons
of Argyle's second line, who did not fly like the
first, but made an orderly retreat in the face of the
enemy.
On the right wing and centre, the event of the battle was very different. The attack of the Highlanders was as furious as on their right. But their opponents, though a little staggered, stood their ground with admirable resolution, and the Duke of Argyle detached Colonel Cathcart, with a body of horse, to cross a morass, which the frost had rendered passable, and attack the Highlanders on the flank as they advanced to the charge. In this manner their rapid assault was checked and baffled; and although the Camerons, Stewarts, and other clans of high reputation, formed the left wing of Mar's army, yet that, and his whole second line, were put to flight by the masterly movement of the Duke of Argyle, and the steadiness of the troops he commanded. But his situation was very perilous; for as the fugitives consisted of five thousand men, there was every prospect of their rallying and destroying the Duke's small body, consisting only of five squadrons of horse, supported by Wightman, with three battalions of infantry, who had lately composed the centre of the army. Argyle took the bold determination to press on the fugitives with his utmost vigour, and succeeded in driving them back to the river Allan, where they had quartered the night before. The fugitives made frequent halts, and were as often again attacked and broken. This was particularly remarked of the body of horse who carried James's standard, and was called the Restoration Squadron. The gentlemen composing it made repeated and vigorous attacks, in which they were only broken and
borne down by the superior weight of the English cavalry. It was in one of these reiterated charges that the gallant young Earl of Strathmore lost his life, while in vain attempting to rally his Angus-shire regiment. He was slain by a private dragoon, after having had quarter given to him. The Earl of Panmure was also wounded and made prisoner by the royalists, but was rescued by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.

The field of battle now presented a singular appearance, for the left of both armies were broken and flying, the right of both victorious and in pursuit. But the events of war are of less consequence than the use which is made of them. It does not appear than any attempt was made on the part of Mar to avail himself of his success on the right.

General Whitham had indeed resigned the field of battle to his opponents, and from thence fled almost to Stirling bridge. The victorious Highlanders did not take the trouble to pursue them, but having marched across the scene of action, drew up on an eminence, called the Stony Hill of Kippendavie, where they stood in groups with their drawn swords in their hands. One cause of their inactivity at this critical moment may be attributed to having dropped their fire-arms, according to their fashion when about to charge; another, certainly, was the want of active aides-de-camp to transmit orders; and a third, the character of the Highlanders, who are not always disposed to obedience. This much is certain, that had their victorious right wing pursued in the Duke of Argyle's rear when he advanced towards the river Allan, they must
have placed him in the greatest danger, since his utmost exertion was scarce equal to keep the multitude before him in full retreat. It is also stated, that some of the Highlanders showed an unwillingness to fight. This is alleged to have been particularly the case with the celebrated Rob Roy, a dependent, it will be observed, of the Duke of Argyle's, and in the habit, during the whole insurrection, of furnishing him with intelligence from the enemy's camp. A strong party of MacGregors and MacPhersons were under the command of this outlaw, who, when ordered to charge, answered coolly, " If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me." It is said, that a bold man of the Clan Vourigh, called Alister MacPherson, who followed Rob Roy's original profession of a drover, impatient at the inactivity in which they were detained, threw off his plaid, drew his sword, and called on the MacPhersons to follow. " Hold, Sandie," said Rob Roy; " were the question about a drove of sheep, you might know something; but as it concerns the leading of men, it is for me to decide." Were the question about a drove of Glen-Angus wethers," retorted the MacPherson, " the question with you, Rob, would not be who should be last, but who should be first." This had almost produced a battle betwixt the two champions; but in the mean time, the opportunity of advancing was lost.

The Duke of Argyle having returned back from his pursuit of the enemy's left wing, came in contact with their right, which, victorious as we have intimated, was drawn up on the hill of Kippendavie.
Mutual menaces of attack took place, but the combat was renewed on neither side. Both armies showed a disposition to retreat, and Mar, abandoning a part of his artillery, drew back to Auchterarder, and from thence retired to Perth. Both generals claimed the victory, but as Mar abandoned from that day all thoughts of a movement to the westward, his object must be considered as having been completely defeated; while Argyle attained the fruits of victory in retaining the position by which he defended the Lowlands, and barred against the insurgents every avenue by which they could enter them.

The numbers slain in the battle of Sheriffmuir were considerable. Seven or eight hundred were killed on the side of the rebels, and the royalists must have lost five or six hundred. Much noble and gentle blood was mixed with that of the vulgar. A troop of volunteers, about sixty in number, comprehending the Dukes of Douglas and Roxburghe, the Earls of Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudon, Belhaven, and Rothes, fought bravely, though the policy of risking such a troupe doree might be questionable. At all events, it marked a great change of times, when the Duke of Douglas, whose ancestors could have raised an army as numerous as those of both sides in the field of Sheriffmuir, fought as a private trooper, assisted only by two or three servants. This body of volunteers behaved in a manner becoming their rank. Many of them were wounded, and the Earl of Forfar was slain.
The loss of the Earl of Strathmore and of the young Clan Ranald, was a severe blow to the Insurrection. The last was a complete soldier, trained in the French Guards, and full of zeal for the cause of James. "My family," he replied to Mar's summons to join him, "have been on such occasions ever wont to be the first on the field, and the last to leave it." When he fell out of the ranks, mortally wounded, Mar met him, and, ignorant of what had happened, demanded why he was not in the front. "I have had my share," said the dying chief, and fell dead before his commander. Many of his men retired from the army in consequence of his death.

Thus began and thus ended a confused affray, of which a contemporary ballad-maker truly says, "there is nothing certain, except that there was actually a battle, which he witnessed."

THE confused battle of Sheriffmuir being ended by the approach of night, both parties had time to count what they had lost and won in the course of the day. That of the insurgents was easily summed up. The Highlanders, on their right, had behaved with their usual courage, and maintained the reputation which they had acquired of old times under Montrose, and more lately when commanded by Dundee. But in every other particular the events of the battle were unfavourable to the insurgents. A great many of their best men had retired without leave, as was their invariable practice, to see their families, or to secure their small
stock of booty, which some of them had augmented by plundering the baggage of their own army.

This desertion thinned the ranks even of those clans who had been victorious, and the Highlanders of the vanquished division of the army had much better reasons for following the example thus set. Their numbers that morning had been from eight to ten thousand men; and at the close of the day, about four thousand of them were missing. Some leaders, too, of high rank and quality, had graced the retreat by their example; and it was said of Huntly and Seaforth in particular, that they were the first fugitives of any rank or condition who reached Perth, and discouraged their numerous followers, by their retreat from the field of action. It was therefore in vain for the insurgents, under this state of diminution and discouragement, to abide a second battle, or endeavour to renew the attempt to pass the Forth, which they had not been able to accomplish with double their now reduced numbers.

But besides the effects of desertion, the insurgent army had other difficulties to contend with. The improvidence of their leaders had been so unpardonably great, that they had set out from one of the most fertile to a comparatively barren district of Scotland, with provisions for two or three days only, and their ammunition was proportionally scanty. It was therefore evident, that they were in no condition to renew the attempt in which they had that morning miscarried; nor had Mar
any alternative, save that of leading back his army
to their old quarters at Perth, to wait until some
unexpected event should give them spirits for a
fresh effort. Accordingly, as already mentioned,
having passed the night after the action among the
enclosures of Auchterarder, he returned towards
Perth the next morning. The Duke of Argyle,
on the other hand, having fallen back on Dunblane,
with the troops he himself commanded, and,
rejoined by such of the fugitives of the left wing as
could be collected, he lay on his arms all night,
epecting to renew the action on the succeeding day.

On approaching the field of battle on Monday,
the 14th of November, at break of day, the Duke
of Argyle found it abandoned by the enemy, who
had left their dead and wounded at his disposal,
together with the honours of the field, amongst
which the principal trophies were fourteen colours,
or standards, and six pieces of field cannon, which
Mar had brought to the field in an useless bravado,

since he had neither ammiration nor men to serve
them, and which he had found himself unable to
remove. Amongst the gentlemen who fell on this
occasion, were several on both sides alike eminent
for birth and character. The body of the gallant
young Earl of Strathmore was found on the field,
watched by a faithful old domestic, who, being
asked the name of the person whose body he waited
upon with so much care, made this striking reply,
" He was a man yesterday."

The Earl of Mar had endeavoured to pave the
way for a triumphant return to Perth, by a species
of Gazette, in which he claimed the victory on the
right and centre, and affirmed, that had the left
wing and the second line behaved as his right
and the rest of the first line did, the victory had
been complete. But he could not again excite the
enthusiasm of his followers, many of whom began
now in earnest to despair of their situation, the
large odds of numbers which they possessed in the
field of Sheriffmuir having been unable to secure
them a decided victory.

Many rumours were in the mean time spread
among the insurgents, concerning successes which
were reported to have been obtained by Forster
and his troops over General Carpenter in England,
and bonfires and rejoicings were made for these
supposed victories, at a time when, in fact, Forster
and Kenmure were totally defeated, their soldiers
dispersed, and themselves prisoners.

You must not forget that the force of General
Forster consisted of the troops of horse levied on
the Northumberland frontier by the Earl of
Derwentwater and others, joined with the gentlemen
of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, under Lord Kenmure,
and the Lothian Jacobites, under the Earl of
Winton, composing altogether a body of five or six
hundred horse, to whom must be added about fourteen
hundred Highlanders, being those sent across
the frith by the Earl of Mar, under command of
MacIntosh of Borlum. You must also recollect,
that in this little army there were great differences
of opinion as to the route which they were to pursue.
The English gentlemen persisted in the delusion,
that they had only to show themselves in the west of England, in order to draw the whole country to their standard, while the Scots, both the Lowland gentlemen and Highlanders, desired to march upon Dumfries, and, after taking possession of that town, proceed to the west of Scotland, and force open a communication betwixt their force and the main army under Mar, by which they reasonably hoped to dislodge Argyle from his post at Stirling.

Unfixed which course to pursue, and threatened by General Carpenter, who moved against them from Newcastle towards Kelso, at the head of a thousand horse, the insurgents left the latter town, where they had been joined by the Brigadier MacIntosh, and marched to Jedburgh, not without one or two false alarms. They had, however, the advantage of outstripping General Carpenter, and the English gentlemen became still more impatient to return into their own country, and raise the Jacobites of the west. The Highlanders, learning that such a plan was at last adopted, separated themselves from the horse as soon as the march began, and drawing up on a moor above the town of Hawick, declared, that if the insurgents proposed to march against the enemy, they would fight it out to the last; but that they would not go into England to be kidnapped and made slaves of, as their ancestors were in Cromwell's time. And when the horse drew up, as if for the purpose of attack, the Highlanders cocked their pieces, and prepared for action, saying, That if they must needs be made a sacrifice, they would prefer their own country
as the scene of their death. The discontented mountaineers would listen to no one save the Earl of Winton, who joined them in desiring to march westward to the assistance of the Earl of Mar; to whom, indeed, by preventing Argyle from concentrating his forces, they might have done excellent service, for the Duke could never have recalled a regiment of horse which he had at Kilsythe, had the southern insurgents threatened that post. The Highlanders were at length put in motion, under a declaration that they would abide with the army while they remained in Scotland, but should they enter England they would return back.

In the mean time the citizens of the town of Dumfries saw themselves again threatened by the rebel forces, and assuming an attitude of resistance, marched out to occupy a position in front of the place, on which they threw up some hasty fortifications. At the same time they received intelligence from General Carpenter, who had now reached Jedburgh, that if they could but defend themselves for six hours, he would within that time attack the rear of the enemy.

The news, that the Dumfries citizens intended to defend their town, which lay in front, while Carpenter was prepared to operate in the rear of the rebels, induced Mr Forster and his friends to renew with great urgency their proposal of entering England, affirming to their northern associates that they were possessed of letters of advice, assuring them of a general insurrection. The Scots, worn out with the perseverance of their English associates,
and unable to believe that men would have
deceived themselves or others by illusory hopes,
when engaged in such a momentous undertaking,
at length yielded to their remonstrances. Accordingly,
having reached Ecclefechan on their way
to Dumfries, the English counsels prevailed, and
the insurgents halted at the former village, turned
south, and directed their march on Langholm, with
the design of making for the west of England.

The Earl of Winton dissented so widely from
the general resolution, that he left the army with a
considerable part of his troop, and it seemed for a
time as if he had renounced the undertaking
together. Ashamed, however, to break off abruptly
from a cause which he had embraced from motives
of duty and conscience, he changed his purpose,
and again joined the main body. But though this
unfortunate young nobleman returned to the fatal
standard, it was remarked that from this time he
cessated to take any interest in the debates or
deliberations of his party, but seized with a kind of
reckless levity upon such idle opportunities of
amusement as chance threw in his way, in a manner
scarce resembling one engaged in an important and
perilous enterprise.

The Highlanders were again divided from their
confederates in their opinion respecting the alteration
of the line of march, and the object of their
expedition. Many agreed to march into England.
Others, to the number of four hundred, broke away
entirely from their companions, with the purpose of returning to their mountains through the western districts and by the heads of the Forth. They might have accomplished this, but for the difficulty of finding provisions, which obliged them to separate into small parties, several of which were made prisoners by the peasantry, who in that country were chiefly Cameronians, and accustomed to the use of arms.

The rest of the army, diminished by this desertion, proceeded to Brampton, near Carlisle, where Mr Forster, producing his commission to that effect, was recognised as General of King James's forces in England. It is possible, that the desire to obtain the supreme command of the army might have made this gentleman the more anxious for having the march directed on his native country; and his first exploit in his new capacity seemed to give a lustre to his undertaking, although the success was more owing to the fears of the opposite party, than to any particular display of courage on the part of the Jacobite General and his little army.

It must be observed, that the horse-militia of Westmoreland, and of the northern parts of Lancashire, had been drawn out to oppose the rebels; and now the posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled along with them at Penrith, by summons from Lord Lonsdale, sheriff of the county. But being a mere undisciplined mob, ill-armed, and worse arrayed, they did not wait for an attack either from the cavalry, or the Highlanders, but dispersed in every direction,
leaving to the victors the field of battle, covered
with arms and a considerable number of
horses. Lonsdale, deserted by every one save
about twenty of his own servants, was obliged to
make his escape, and found shelter in the old castle
of Appleby.

In marching through Cumberland and Westmoreland,
there was little seen of that enthusiasm
in the Jacobite cause which the English officers
had taught their associates to expect. Manchester
was on this, as upon a later occasion, the first
town where the inhabitants seemed disposed to
embark in the insurrection, and form a company
for that purpose. Intimation of their friendly
disposition reached the insurgents at Lancaster, and
encouraged them to advance. It was, indeed,
time That their friends should join them, for they

had daily news of troops marching to oppose and
surround them. On their side they resolved to
extend themselves, the more easily to gather fresh
forces; and having moved from Lancaster to
Preston, they resolved to possess themselves of
Warrington bridge, with a view to securing
Liverpool.

While they were scheming an attack on this
celebrated seaport, which its citizens were
preparing to defend with much vigour, the Government
forces, which had assembled around them,
were advancing towards them on several quarters.

It seems strange, that while possessing a strong
party of friends in the country, being a very large
proportion of the landed gentry, with a considerable proportion of the populace, the insurgents

should nevertheless have suffered themselves to be so completely surprised. But the spirit of delusion which possessed the whole party, and pervaded; all their proceedings, was as remarkable here as on other occasions. While Forster and his companions were thinking of extending the fire of insurrection to Manchester and Liverpool, General Willis, who commanded in Cheshire for King George, had taken measures for extinguishing it entirely. This active general issued orders to several regiments, chiefly of horse and dragoons, quartered in the neighbouring counties, appointing them to rendezvous at Warrington bridge on the 10th of November, on which day he proposed to place himself at their head, and dispute with the rebels their approach to Manchester. At the same time, Willis entered into communication with General Carpenter, whose unwearied exertions had dogged the insurgents from Northumberland, and was now advancing upon them.

These tidings came like a thunderbolt on Forster's army. Forster had but a choice of difficulties, namely, either to march out and dispute with Major-General Willis the passage of the river Ribble, by which Preston is covered, or abide within an open town, and defend it by such assistance from fortifications, barricades, and batteries, as could be erected within a few hours.

The first of these courses had its advantages. The bridge across the Ribble was long, narrow, and
might have been easily defended, especially as there was a party of one hundred chosen Highlanders stationed there, under the command of John Farquharson of Invercauld, a chief of great character for courage and judgment; and who, though General Willis was approaching very near to the bridge, might have been relied on as secure of maintaining his ground till succours were despatched from the town. Beyond the bridge there extended a long and deep lane, bordered with hedges, well situated for defence, especially against cavalry. All this was in favour of the defence of the bridge; but, on the other hand, if Forster had drawn his squadrons of gentlemen out of Preston, he must have exposed them to the rough shock of ordinary troopers, which they were neither mounted nor armed so as to sustain. It was probably this which determined the Jacobite leader to maintain his defence in the town of Preston itself, rather than in front of it. The insurgents took judicious measures for this purpose, and pursued them with zeal and spirit. Four barricades were hastily erected. The Earl of Derwentwater, stripping to the waistcoat, encouraged the men to labour as well by his own example as his liberality, and the works were speedily completed.

One of these barriers was situated a little below the church, and was supported by the gentlemen volunteers, who mustered in the churchyard. The defence was commanded by Brigadier MacIntosh. The second was formed at the end of a lane, which was defended by Lord Charles Murray; the third was called the Windmill barricade—it was held.
out by the Laird of MacIntosh, chief of the name;

the fourth barricade was drawn across the street leading towards Liverpool, and was stoutly manned by Hunter, the Northumbrian freebooter, and his moss-troopers. Each barricade was protected by two pieces of cannon; and the houses on both sides of the street were occupied by defenders, so as to pour a destructive flanking fire on any assailant. General Willis, having accurately surveyed the defences, resolved upon attacking them.

On Saturday, the 12th of November, being the day previous to that on which the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought, General Willis commenced his operations upon the town of Preston by a double attack. The barricade on the street below the church was assaulted with great fury; but so insupportable a fire was opened from the defences and the houses adjacent, that the assailants were beat off with considerable loss. It would seem, that to aid him in the defence of his post, Brigadier MacIntosh had called in some soldiers who had been posted in the street leading to Wigan. Preston's regiment (well known as the Old Cameronian, and forming part of Willis's attacking force) were therefore enabled to penetrate through that avenue, and seizing two houses which overlooked the town, did the defendants more injury than they sustained from any other attack. The barricade commanded by Lord Charles Murray, was, in like manner, stoutly attacked, and fiercely defended; but the Jacobite officer receiving a reinforcement of fifty volunteers, his resistance was ultimately successful. Captains Hunter and Douglas
likewise made a desperate defence at the barrier intrusted to them, and the assault upon the post defended by the Chief of MacIntosh, was equally fatal to the assailants.

When the soldiers of Willis retired from their various points of attack, they set fire, according to their orders, to the houses betwixt them and the barricades. By the light afforded by this conflagration, the skirmish was carried on during the night; and had not the weather been uncommonly still, Preston, which was the scene of contest, must have been burned to the ground.

Although the insurgents had preserved the advantage in every attack, it was evident, that, cut off from all assistance, and cooped up in the streets of a burning town, where they had but few men to maintain an extended circle of defence, nothing short of a miracle could relieve them. General Willis, whilst directing the attack on the barricades, had, at the same time, guarded every pass by which the devoted band could escape. Of those who desperately attempted to sally, several were cut to pieces; and it was but very few who escaped by hewing their way through the enemy.

On the morning of the 13th, being the day after the attack, the situation of Forster and his army became yet more desperate. General Carpenter, so long their pursuer, now came up with so many additional forces, chiefly cavalry, as completed the blockade of the place, and left the besieged no hope of escape or relief. Willis, as inferior in rank,
offered to resign, of course, the charge of the siege to his superior officer; but General Carpenter generously refused to take the command, observing, that Willis deserved the honour of finishing the affair which he had begun so auspiciously. The dispositions of the latter general were therefore so actively followed up, that the blockade of the town was effectually completed, and the fate of the rebels became inevitable.

The scene of unavoidable destruction had different effects upon the different characters of the unfortunate insurgents in Preston, in like manner as the approach of imminent peril has upon domesticated and savage animals when they are brought to extremity,-the former are cowed into submission, while the latter, brought to bay, become more desperately ferocious in their resistance. The English gentlemen began to think upon the possibility of saving their lives, and entertained the hope of returning once more to the domestic enjoyment of their homes and their estates; while the Highlanders, and most of the Scottish Insurgents, even of the higher classes, declared for sallying out and dying like men of honour, with sword in hand, rather than holding their lives on the base tenure of submission.

Such being their different views of the measures to be adopted, the English determined to accomplish a capitulation at all events; and Oxburgh, an Irish Catholic, who had been Forster's tutor in military matters, went out to propose a surrender to the English generals. The mission was coldly...
received, and he was distinctly given to understand, that no terms would he granted excepting those of unconditional surrender, with the sole provision that they should be secured from immediate execution. He returned to the town, and the errand on which he had visited the enemy's position being understood, General Forster was nearly pistolled by a Scottish gentleman, named Murray, and his life only saved by a friendly hand, which struck the weapon upwards in the act of its being discharged.

Captain Dalzell, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, then went out in the name of the Scots, but could obtain no more favourable terms. Some time, however, was gained, in which the principal leaders had time to consider that Government might be satisfied with a few examples, while the greater part of the insurgents, in which every one's confidence in his individual good luck led him to hope he would be included, would escape at least the extremity of punishment. After the Scots, and especially the Highlanders, had persisted for some time in their determination of resistance, they at length found themselves obliged to surrender on no better terms than the English, which amounted only to this, that they should not be instantly put to the sword. Their leaders were surrendered as hostages; and at length, after manifesting the greatest unwillingness to give up their arms, they accepted the capitulation, if such it could be called. It certainly appears, that by surrendering at discretion, the greater part of them expected at least
On laying down their arms, the unhappy garrison were enclosed in one of the churches, and treated with considerable rigour, being stripped and ill-used by the soldiery. About fourteen hundred men, of all sorts, were included in the surrender; amongst whom there were about two hundred domestic servants, followers of the gentlemen who had assumed arms, about three hundred gentlemen volunteers, the rest consisting of Brigadier MacIntosh's command of Highlanders. Six of the prisoners were condemned to be shot by martial law, as holding commissions under the Government against which they had borne arms. Lord Charles Murray obtained a reprieve with difficulty, through the interest of his friends. Little mercy was shown to the misguided private men, whose sole offence was having complied with what was in their eyes a paramount duty, the obedience to their chiefs. Very many underwent the fate which made them so unwilling to enter England, namely, that of banishment to the plantations in America.

The prisoners of most note were sent up to London, into which they were introduced in a kind of procession, which did less dishonour to the sufferers than to the mean minds who planned and enjoyed such an ignoble triumph. By way of balancing the influence of the Tory mob, whose violences in burning chapels, &c., had been of a formidable and highly criminal character, plans had been
adopted by Government to excite and maintain a
rival spirit of tumult among such of the vulgar as
were called, or called themselves, the Low Church
party. Party factions often turn upon the most
frivolous badges of distinction. As the Tories had
affected a particular passion for ale, as a national
and truly English potation, their parliamentary
associations taking the title of the October and
the March Clubs; so, in the spirit of opposition, the

Whigs of the lower rank patronised beer (distinguished,
according to Dr Johnson, from ale, by
being either older or smaller), and mug-houses
were established, held by landlords of orthodox
Whig principles, where this protestant and
revolutionary liquor was distributed in liberal quantities,
and they speedily were thronged by a set of
customers, whose fists and sticks were as prompt to
assault the admirers of High Church and Ormond,
as the Tories were ready to defend them. It was
for the gratification of the frequenters of these mug-
houses, as they were called, That the entrance of the
Preston prisoners into London was graced with the
mock honours of a triumphal procession.

The prisoners, most of them men of birth and
education, were, on approaching the capital, all
pinioned with cords like the vilest criminals. This
ceremony they underwent at Barnet. At Highgate
they were met by a large detachment of horse
grenadiers and foot guards, preceded by a body of
citizens decently dressed, who shouted to give
example to the mob. Halters were put upon the
horses ridden by the prisoners, and each man's
horse was led by a private soldier. Forster, a man
of high family, and still Member of Parliament for Northumberland, was exposed in the same manner as the rest. A large mob of the patrons of the mug-houses attended upon the occasion, beating upon warming-pans (in allusion to the vulgar account of the birth of the Chevalier de St George), and the prisoners, with all sorts of scurrilous abuse and insult, were led through the streets of the city in this species of unworthy triumph, and deposited in the jails of Newgate, the Marshalsea, and other prisons in the metropolis.

In consequence of this sudden increase of tenants, a most extraordinary change took place in the discipline of these melancholy abodes. When the High Church party in London began to recover from the astonishment with which they had witnessed the suppression of the insurrection, they could not look back with much satisfaction on their own passive behaviour during the contest, if it could be called one, and now endeavoured to make up for it by liberally supplying the prisoners, whom they regarded as martyrs in their cause, with money and provisions, in which wine was not forgotten. The fair sex are always disposed to be compassionate, and certainly were not least so in this case, where the objects of pity were many of gallant young cavaliers, sufferers in a cause which they had been taught to consider as sacred. The consequence was, that the prisons overflowed with wine and good cheer, and the younger and more thoughtless part of the inmates turned to revelling and drowning in liquor all more serious thoughts of their situation; so that even Lord
Derwentwater himself said of his followers, that they were fitter inhabitants for Bridewell than a state prison. Money, it is said, circulated so plentifully among them, that when it was difficult to obtain silver for a guinea in the streets, nothing was so easy as to find change, whether of gold or silver, in the jail. A handsome, high spirited young Highland gentleman, whom the pamphlets of the day call Bottair (one of the family of Butter in Athole), made such an impression on the fair visitors who came to minister to the wants of the Jacobite captives, that some reputations were put in peril by the excess of their attentions to this favourite object of compassion.

When such a golden shower descends on a prison, the jailor generally secures to himself the largest share of it; and those prisoners who desired separate beds, or the slightest accommodation in point of lodging, had to purchase them at a rate which would have paid for many years the rent of the best houses in St James's Square or Piccadilly. Dungeons, the names of which indicate their gloomy character, as the Lion's Den, the Middle Dark, and the like, were rented at the same extravagant prices, and were not only filled with prisoners, but abounded with good cheer.

These riotous scenes went on the more gaily that almost all had nursed a hope, that their having surrendered at discretion would be admitted as a protection for their lives. But when numerous bills of high treason were found against them, escape from prison began to be thought of, which
the command of money, and the countenance of friends without doors, as well as the general structure of the jails, rendered more easy than could have been expected. Thus, on the 10th of April, 1716, Thomas Forster escaped from Newgate, by means of false keys, and having all things prepared, got safely to France. On the 10th of May, Brigadier MacIntosh, whom we have so often mentioned, with fourteen other gentlemen, chiefly Scottish, took an opportunity to escape in the following manner. The Brigadier having found means to rid himself of his irons, and coming down stairs about eleven at night, he placed himself close by the door of the jail; and as it was opened to admit a servant at that time of night (no favourable example of prison discipline), he knocked down the jailor, and made his escape with his companions, some of whom were retaken in the streets, from not knowing whither to fly.

Among the fugitives who broke prison with MacIntosh, was Robert Hepburn of Keith, the same person in whose family befell the lamentable occurrence mentioned in a former chapter of this volume (at pages 286-8).

This gentleman had pinioned the arms of the turnkey by an effort of strength, and effected his escape into the open street without pursuit. But he was at a loss whither to fly, or where to find a friendly place of refuge. His wife and family were, he knew, in London; but how, in that great city, was he to discover them, especially as they most probably were residing there under feigned names?
While he was agitated by this uncertainty, and fearful of making the least enquiry, even had he known in what words to express it, he saw at a window in the street an ancient piece of plate, called the Keith Tankard, which had long belonged to his family. He immediately conceived that his wife and children must be inhabitants of the lodging's, and entering, without asking questions, was received in their arms. They knew of his purpose of escape, and took lodgings as near the jail as they could, that they might afford him immediate refuge; but dared not give him any hint where they were, otherwise than by setting the well-known flagon where it might by good fortune catch his eye. He escaped to France.

The noblemen who had placed themselves at the head of the rebellion were now called to answer for their guilt; and articles of impeachment of high treason were exhibited by the House of Commons against the Earl of Derwentwater, and the Lords Widdrington, in England; and the Earls of Nithisdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairne, in Scotland. They severally pleaded Guilty to the articles, excepting the Earl of Winton, who pleaded Not Guilty.

Lord Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure suffered death on the 24th February, 1715-16. The Earl of Derwentwater, who was an amiable private character, Hospitable and generous, brave and humane, revoked on the scaffold his plea of guilty, and died firmly avowing the political creed for which he suffered. Lord Kenmure, a quiet, modest gentleman,
shared Derwentwater's fate; and he showed
the same firmness. There is a tradition that the
body of Lord Derwentwater was carried down to
Westmoreland in great pomp, the procession, however,
moving only by night, and resting by day in

chapels dedicated to the exercise of the Catholic
religion, where the funeral services of that church
were performed over the body during the day;
until the approach of night permitted them to
resume their progress northward; and that the
remains of this unfortunate nobleman were finally
deposited in his ancestors’ burial place at Dilston
hall. His large estates were confiscated to the
crown, and now form the valuable property of
Greenwich Hospital.

Charles Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater,
and doomed to share his fate, after a long
interval of years, saved himself for the time by
breaking prison.

But what chiefly attracted the attention of the
public, was the escape of the Earl of Nithisdale,
who was destined to have shared the fate of
Derwentwater and Kenmure.

The utmost intercession had been made, in every
possible shape, to save the lives of these unfortunate
noblemen and their companions in misfortune,
but it had been found unavailing. Lady Nithisdale,
the bold and affectionate wife of the
condemned Earl, having in vain thrown herself at the
feet of the reigning monarch, to implore mercy for
her husband, devised a plan for his escape of the
same kind with that since practised by Madame Lavalette. She was admitted to see her husband in the Tower upon the last day which, according to his sentence, he had to live. She had with her two female confidants. One brought on her person a double suit of female clothes. This individual was instantly dismissed, when relieved of her second dress. The other person gave her own clothes to the Earl, attiring herself in those which had been provided. Muffled in a riding-hood and cloak, the Earl, in the character of lady's maid, holding a handkerchief to his eyes, as one overwhelmed with deep affliction, passed the sentinels, and being safely conveyed out of the Tower, made his escape to France. We are startled to find,

that, according to the rigour of the law, the life of the heroic Countess was considered as responsible for That of the husband whom she had saved; but she contrived to conceal herself.

Lord Winton received sentence of death after trial, but also made his escape from the Tower, 4th August, 1716. As Charles Ratcliff had already broke prison about the same time, we may conclude either That the jailors and marshals did not exhibit much vigilance on this occasion, or that the prisoners found means of lulling it to sleep. The Earl of Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were, after a long imprisonment, pardoned as far as their lives were concerned, in consequence of a general bill of indemnity.
Of inferior persons, about twenty of the most resolute of the Preston prisoners were executed at that place and at Manchester, and four or five suffered at Tyburn. Amongst these the execution of William Paul, a clergyman, a true friend, as he boasted himself, of the anti-revolutionary church of England, made a strong impression on those of his party.

Thus closed the Rebellion and its consequences, as far as England was concerned. We must now take a view of its last scenes as exhibited in Scotland.

WE left the insurgents when the melancholy news of the termination of the campaign of Forster, with his Highland auxiliaries, at the barricades of Preston, had not yet reached them; the moment it did, all hopes of a general insurrection in England, or any advantage being obtained there, were for ever ended.

The regular troops which had been detained in England to suppress the northern insurgents, were now set at liberty, and Mar could no longer rely upon Argyle's remaining inactive for want of men. Besides, the Estates of the United Provinces had now, upon the remonstrance of General Cadogan, despatched for Britain the auxiliary forces which

they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of invasion, and three thousand of them had landed at
Deptford. The other three thousand Dutch troops, designed for ports in the north, had been dispersed by a storm, and driven into Harwich, Yarmouth, and elsewhere, which induced the Government to order those at Deptford, as the most disposable part of this auxiliary force, to move instantly down to Scotland.

Events equally unfavourable to the rebels were taking place in the North of Scotland; and, in order to ascertain the progress of these, it is necessary to trace some passages of the life of Simon Fraser, one of the most remarkable characters of his time.

He was by birth the nearest male heir to the estate of Lovat, and to the dignity of Chief of the Frasers-no empty honour, since the clan contained a following of from seven hundred to a thousand men. The chief last deceased, however, had left a daughter, and Simon was desirous, by marriage with this young lady, to unite her pretensions to the chieftainship and estate with his own. As his character was bad, and his circumstances accounted desperate, the widowed mother of the young heiress, a lady of the house of Athole, was averse to this match, and her powerful family countenanced her repugnance.

Being a man of a daring character, deep powers of dissimulation, and master of the tempers of the lower class of Highlanders, Simon found it no difficult matter to obtain the assistance of a strong party of Frasers, chiefly desperate men, to assist in a scheme of seizing on the person of the young heiress. She escaped his grasp, but her mother, the widow of the late Lord Lovat, fell into his
power. Equally short-sighted as unprincipled, Fraser imagined that by marrying this lady, instead of her daughter, he would secure, through her large jointure, some legal interest in the estate. With this view he accomplished a forced marriage betwixt the Dowager Lady Lovat and himself, and enforced his rights as her pretended husband with the most brutal violence. For this abominable and atrocious outrage against a matron widow of his own near connexion, and a sister of the powerful Marquis of Athole, letters of fire and sword were granted against Fraser and his adherents, and being outlawed by the High Court of Justiciary, he was forced to fly to France. Here he endeavoured to recommend himself at the court of St Germains, by affecting much zeal for the Jacobite cause, and pretending to great interest with the Highland chiefs, and the power of rendering effectual service amongst them. The Chevalier de St George and the French King were aware of the infamy of the man's character, and distrusted the proposal which he laid before them, for raising an insurrection in the Highlands. Mary of Este, more credulous, was disposed to trust him; and he was detached on a Jacobite mission, which he instantly betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry, and which created much disturbance in the year 1703, as we have noticed in its place. His double treachery being discovered, Simon Fraser was, on his return to France, thrown into the Bastile, where he remained for a considerable time. Dismissed from this imprisonment, he waited for an opportunity where he might serve his own interest and advance his claims upon the chieftainship of the clan Fraser and the estate of
Lovat, by adopting the political side betwixt the contending parties which should bid fairest to serve his purpose.

The time seemed now arrived, when, by the insurrection of Mar, open war was declared betwixt the parties. His cousin, the heiress of Lovat, had been married to Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who, acting as chief of his wife's clan, had summoned the Frasers to arms, and led a body of five hundred clansmen to join the standard of the Chevalier de St George. They marched to Perth accordingly.

In the mean time, Simon Fraser arrived in Scotland, and made his appearance, like one of those portentous sea monsters whose gambols announce the storm. He was first seen at Dumfries, where he offered his personal services to join the citizens, who were in arms to repel an attack from Kenmure, Nithisdale, and their followers. The Dumfriesians, however, trusted him not, nay were disposed to detain him a prisoner; and only permitted him to march northward on the assurance of the Marquis of Annandale, that his presence there would be favourable to King George and his cause. It proved so accordingly.

Simon Fraser arrived in Inverness-shire, and hastened to form an intimate alliance with Duncan Forbes, brother of John Forbes of Culloden, and a determined friend to Government. Forbes was an excellent lawyer, and a just and religious man. At another time, he would probably have despised associating himself with a desperate outlaw to his country, black with the charges of rape, murder,
and double treachery. But the case was an extreme one, in which no assistance that promised to be available was to be rejected. 1 Simon Fraser obtained pardon and favour, and the influence of the patriarchal system was never more remarkably illustrated than in his person. His character was, as we have seen, completely infamous, and his state and condition that of an adventurer of the very worst description. But by far the greater number of the clan were disposed to think that the chiefship descended to the male heir, and therefore preferred Simon's title to that of Fraserdale, who only commanded them as husband of the heiress. The mandates of Fraser, now terming himself Lovat, reached the clan in the town of Perth. They were respected as those of the rightful chief; and the Erasers did not hesitate to withdraw from the cause of the Chevalier de St George, and march northwards, to place themselves under the command of their restored patriarch by male descent, who had embraced the other side. This change of sides was the more remarkable, as most of the Frasers were in personal opinion Jacobites. We have already noticed that the desertion of the Frasers took place the very morning when Mar broke up to march on Dumblane; and, as a bold and warlike clan, their absence, on the 12th November, was of no small disadvantage to the party from whom they had retired.

Shortly after this, the operations of this clan, under their new leader, became directly hostile to the Jacobite cause. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul had, at the period of the Earl of Seaforth's march
to Perth, been left with four hundred MacKenzies, to garrison Inverness, which may be termed the capital of the North Highlands. Hitherto his task had been an easy one, but it was now likely to become more difficult. Acting upon a plan concerted betwixt him and Duncan Forbes, Lovat assembled his clan, and with those of the Monroes, Rosses, and Grants, who had always maintained the Whig interest, attacked Inverness, with such success, that they made themselves masters of the place, which Sir John MacKenzie found himself compelled to evacuate without serious resistance. The Earl of Sutherland also, who was still in arms, now advanced across the Murray frith, and a considerable force was collecting in the rear of the rebels, and in a position which threatened the territories of Huntly, Seaforth, and several other chief leaders in Mar's army.

These various events tended more and more to depress the spirits of the noblemen and heads of clans who were in the Jacobite army. The indefinite, or rather unfavourable, issue of the affair of Sheriffmuir, had discouraged those who expected, by a decisive victory, if not to carry their principal and original purpose, at least to render themselves a foe to whom the Government might think it worth while to grant honourable terms of accommodation.

Most men of reflection, therefore, now foresaw the inevitable ruin of the undertaking; but the General, Mar, having formally invited the Chevalier de St George to come over and put himself at
the head of the insurrectionary army, was under
the necessity, for his own honour, and to secure the
chance which such an impulse might have given to

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his affairs, of keeping his troops together to
protect the person of the Prince, in case of his accepting
this perilous invitation, which, given before the
battle of Sheriffmuir, was likely to be complied
with. In this dilemma he became desirous, by
every species of engagement, to bind those who
had enrolled themselves under the fatal standard,
not to quit it.

For this purpose, a military oath was proposed,
in name of King James VIII.; an engagement,
which, however solemn, has been seldom found
stronger than the severe compulsion of necessity
operating against it. Many of the gentlemen
engaged, not willing to preclude themselves from
endeavouring to procure terms, in case of need,
refused to come under this additional obligation.
The expedient of an association was next resorted
to, and Mar summoned a general council of the
principal persons in the army. This was the fourth
time such a meeting had been convoked since the
commencement of the insurrection; the first had
taken place when MacIntosh's detachment was in
peril; the second for the purpose of subscribing an
invitation to the Chevalier de St George to join
them, and the third on the field of battle at
Sheriffmuir.

The Marquis of Huntly, who had already wellnigh
determined on taking separate measures, refused
to attend the meeting, but sent a draught of
an association to which he was willing to subscribe, and seemed to admit that the insurgents might make their peace separately. Mar flung it scornfully aside, and said it might be a very proper form, providing it had either sense or grammar. He then recommended his own draught, by which the subscribers agreed to continue in arms, and accept no conditions unless under the royal authority, and by the consent of the majority of the gentlemen then in arms. The proposed measure was opposed by the Master of Sinclair and many of the Lowland gentlemen. They complained, that by using the phrase "Royal authority," they might be considered as throwing the free power of deciding for themselves into the hands of Mar, as the royal General, with whose management hitherto they had little reason to be satisfied. The Master of Sinclair demanded to know what persons were to vote, as constituting the majority of gentlemen in arms, and whether voices must be allowed to all who went by that general name, or whether the decision was to be remitted to those whom the General might select. Sir John MacLean haughtily answered, that unless some such power of selection were lodged in the commander-in-chief, all his regiment of eight hundred men must be admitted to vote, since every MacLean was a gentleman. Mar endeavoured to soothe the disaffected. He admitted the King's affairs were not in such a state as he could have desired; but contended that they were far from desperate, intimated that he still entertained hopes, and in the same breath deprecated answering the questions put to him on the nature of his expectations. He was, however,
borne down with queries; and being reminded that

he could not propose remaining at Perth, when the
Duke of Argyle, reinforced by six thousand Dutch,
should move against him on one side, and Sutherland,
with all the northern clans in the Government
interest, should advance on the other, it was
demanded, where he proposed to make a stand.
Inverness was named; and the shire of Murray was
pointed out as sufficient to find subsistence for a
considerable army. But Inverness, if not already
fallen, was in imminent danger; Murray, though
a fertile country, was a narrow district, which
would be soon exhausted; and it seemed to be the
general opinion, that if pressed by the Government
forces, there would be no resource save falling
back into the barren regions of the Highlands.
The Master of Sinclair asked, at what season of
the year forage and oilier necessaries for cavalry
were to be found in the hills? Glengarry made a
bizarre but very intelligible reply, " that such
accommodations were to be found in the Highlands
at every season-by those who were provident
enough to bring them with them."

The main argument of Mar was, to press upon
the dissentients the dishonour of deserting the
King, when he was on the point of throwing himself
on their loyalty. They replied, he alone knew
the King's motions; of which they had no such
assurances as could induce them to refuse any
opportunity of saving themselves, their families, and
estates from perdition, merely to preserve some
punctilious scruples of loyalty, by which the King
could gain no real advantage. They complained
that they had been lured into the field, by promises of troops, arms, ammunition, treasure, and a general of military talent—all to be sent by France; and that, these reports proving totally false, they did not incline to be detained there upon rumours of the King's motions, which might be equally fallacious, as they came from the same quarter. In a word, the council of war broke up without coming to a resolution; and there was, from that time, established in the army a party who were opposed to Mar's conduct of affairs, who declared for opening a negotiation with the Duke of Argyle, and were distinguished at headquarters as grumblers and mutineers.

These gentlemen held a meeting at the Master of Sinclair's quarters, and opened a communication with Mar, in which they urged the total inadequacy of any resistance which they could now offer—the exhaustion of their supplies of ammunition, provision, and money—the impossibility of their making a stand until they reached the Highland mountains—and the equal impossibility of subsisting their cavalry, if they plunged into these wilderesses. They declared, that they did not desire to separate themselves from the army; all they wished to know was, whether an honourable capitulation could be obtained for all who were engaged; and if dishonourable terms were offered, they expressed themselves determined to fight to the death rather than accept them.

While such were the sentiments of the Low-country gentlemen, dejected at their total want of
success, and the prospect of misery and ruin which they saw fast approaching, the Highland chiefs and clans were totally disinclined to any terms of accommodation. Their warlike disposition made the campaign an enjoyment to them; the pay, which Mar dispensed liberally, was, while it lasted, an object with people so poor; and, finally, they entertained the general opinion, founded upon the convention made with their ancestors after the war of 1688-9, that they might at worst retreat into their hills, where, rather than incur the loss of men and charges necessary for suppressing them, the Government would be glad to grant them peace upon their own terms, and, perhaps, not averse to pay them for accepting it. Another class of men having influence in such a singular camp, were the nobility, or men of quality, who had joined the cause. Most of these were men of high titles but broken fortunes, whose patrimony was overburdened with debt. They had been early treated by Mar with distinction and preference, for their rank gave credit to the cause which their personal influence could not greatly have advanced. They enjoyed posts of nominal rank in the insurrectionary army; and the pay conforming to these was not less acceptable to them than to the Highlanders. It may be also supposed, that they were more particularly acquainted than others with the reasons Mar had for actually expecting the King; and might, with spirit worthy of their birth, be willing to incur the worst extremities of war, rather than desert their monarch at the moment when, by their
own invitation, he came to throw himself on their fidelity. These noblemen, therefore, supported the measures and authority of the commander, and discountenanced any proposals to treat.

Notwithstanding the aid of the nobles and the Highland chiefs, Mar found himself compelled so far to listen to the representations of the discontented party, as to consent that application should be made to the Duke of Argyle to learn whether any capitulation could be allowed. There was so little faith betwixt the officers and their general, that the former insisted on naming one of the delegates who were to be sent to Stirling about the proposed negotiation. The offer of submission upon terms was finally intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the officer of highest rank who had been made prisoner at Sheriffmuir. The Colonel, agreeably to a previous engagement, returned with an answer to the proposal of submission, that the Duke of Argyle had no commission from Court to treat with the insurgents as a body, but only with such individuals as might submit themselves; but his Grace promised that he would send the Duke of Roxburgh to court, for the purpose of soliciting such powers for a general pacification. A more private negotiation, instituted by the Countess of Murray, whose second son, Francis Stewart, was engaged in the rebellion, received the same answer, with this addition, that the Duke of Argyle would not hear her pronounce the name of Mar, in whose favour she had attempted to make some intercession.

Upon this unfavourable reception of the proposal
of submission, it was not difficult to excite the
resentment of those who had declared for war, against
that smaller party which advocated peace. The
Highlanders, whose fierce temper was easily
awakened to fury, were encouraged to insult and
misuse several of the Low-country gentry, particularly
the followers of Huntly, tearing the cockades
out of their hats, and upbraiding them as cowards
and traitors. The Master of Sinclair was publicly
threatened by Farquharson of Inverey, a Highland
vassal of the Earl of Mar; but his well-known
ferocity of temper, with his habit of going continually
armed, seem to have protected him.

About this time, there were others among Mar's
principal associates who became desirous of leaving
his camp at Perth. Huntly, much disgusted with
the insults offered to his vassals, and the desperate
state of things at Perth, was now preparing to
withdraw to his own country, alleging that his
presence was necessary to defend it against the Earl
of Sutherland, whose march southward must be destructive
to the estates of his family. The movements
of the same Earl with the clans of Rosses,

MacKays, Frasers, Grants, and others, alarmed
Seaforth also for the security of his dominions in
Kintail; and he left Perth, to march northward,
for the defence of his property, and the wives,
families, and houses of his vassals in arms. Thus
were two great limbs lopped off from Mar's army,
at the time when it was about to be assailed by
Government with collected strength. Individuals also
became dispirited, and deserted the enterprise.
There was at least one man of consideration who
went home from the field of battle at Sheriffs muir—
sat down by his own hearth, and trusting to the
clemency of the Government, renounced the trade
of king-making. Others, in parties or separately,
had already adopted the same course; and those
who, better known, or more active, dared not remain
at home, were seeking passages to foreign
parts from the eastern ports of Scotland. The
Master of Sinclair, after exchanging mutual threats
and defiances with Mar and his friends, left the
camp at Perth, went north and visited the Marquis
of Huntly. He afterwards escaped abroad from
the Orkney islands.

Amidst this gradual but increasing defection,
Mar, by the course of his policy, saw himself at all
rates obliged to keep his ground at Perth, since he
knew, what others refused to take upon his authority,
that the Chevalier de St George was very
shortly to be expected in his camp.

This Prince, unfortunate from his very infancy,
found himself, at the time of this struggle in his
behalf, altogether unable to assist his partisans. He
had been expelled from France by the Regent
Duke of Orleans, and even the provision of arms
and ammunition, which he was able to collect from
his own slender funds, and those of his followers,
or by the munificence of his allies, was intercepted
in the ports of France. Having, therefore, no more
effectual mode of rendering them assistance, he
generously, or desperately, resolved to put his own
person in the hazard, and live and die along with
them. As a soldier, the Chevalier de St George
had shown courage upon several other occasions; that is, he had approached the verge of battle as near as persons of his importance are usually suffered to do. He was handsome in person, and courteous and pleasing in his manners; but his talents were not otherwise conspicuous, nor did he differ from the ordinary class of great persons, whose wishes, hopes, and feelings, are uniformly under the influence and management of some favourite minister, who relieves his master of the inconvenient trouble of thinking for himself upon subjects of importance. The arrival of a chief, graced with such showy qualities as James possessed, might have given general enthusiasm to the insurrection at its commencement, but could not redeem it when it was gone to ruin; any more than the unexpected presence of the captain on board a half-wrecked vessel can, of itself, restore the torn rigging which cannot resist the storm, or mend the shattered planks which are yawning to admit the waves.

The Chevalier thus performed his romantic adventure:-Having traversed Normandy, disguised in a mariner's habit, he embarked at Dunkirk aboard a small vessel, formerly a privateer, as well armed and manned as time would admit, and laden with a cargo of brandy. On the 22d December, 1715, he landed at Peterhead, having with him a retinue of only six gentlemen; the rest of his train and equipage being to follow him in two other small vessels. Of these, one reached Scotland, but the other was shipwrecked. The Earl of Mar, with the Earl Marischal, and a chosen train of persons of quality, to the number of thirty, went from
Perth to kiss the hands of the Prince for whose cause they were in arms. They found him at Fetteresso, discomposed with the ague, - a bad disorder to bring to a field of battle. The deputation was received with the courtesy and marks of favour which could not be refused, although their news scarce deserved a welcome. While the Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen congratulated themselves and James on the arrival of a Prince, trained like Moses, Joseph, and David, in the school of adversity, his general had to apprize his Sovereign of the cold tidings, that his education in that severe academy had not yet ended. The Chevalier de St George now for the first time received the melancholy intelligence, that for a month before his arrival it had been determined to abandon Perth, which had hitherto been their headquarters, and that, as soon as the enemy began to advance, they would be under the necessity of retreating into the wild Highlands.

This was a reception very different from what the Prince anticipated. Some hopes were still entertained, that the news of the Chevalier's actual arrival might put new life into their sinking cause, bring back the friends who had left their standard, and encourage new ones to repair thither, and the experiment was judged worth trying. For giving the greater effect to his presence, he appeared in royal state as he passed through Brechin and Dundee, and entered Perth itself with an affectation of Majesty.

James proceeded to name a privy council, to
whom he made a speech, which had little in it that was encouraging to his followers. In spite of a forced air of hope and confidence, it was too obvious that the language of the Prince was rather that of despair. There was no rational expectation of assistance in men, money, or arms, from abroad, nor did his speech hold out any such. He was come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who did not choose to discharge their own duty, might not have it in their power to make his absence an apology; and the ominous words escaped him, "that for him it was no new thing to be unfortunate, since his whole life, from his cradle, had been a constant series of misfortune, and he was prepared, if it so pleased God, to suffer the extent of the threats which his enemies threw out against him." These were not encouraging words, but they were the real sentiments of a spirit broken with disappointment. The Grand Council, to whom this royal speech was addressed, answered it by a declaration of their purpose of fighting the Duke of Argyle; and it is incredible how popular this determination was in the army, though reduced to one-fourth of their original numbers. The intelligence of the arrival of the Chevalier de St George was communicated to Seaforth, Lord Huntly, and other persons of consequence who had formerly joined his standard, but they took no notice of his summons to return thither. He continued, notwithstanding, to act the sovereign. Six proclamations were issued in the name of James the Eighth of Scotland, and Third of England: The first appointed a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival in the British kingdoms-a second, commanded
prayers to be offered up for him in all churches -
a third, enjoined the currency of foreign coins,- a
fourth, directed the summoning together the Scottish
Convention of Estates-a fifth, commanded all
the fencible men to join his standard-and a sixth,
appointed the 23d of January for the ceremony of
his coronation. A letter from the Earl of Mar
was also published respecting the King, as he is
called, in which, with no happy selection of phrase,
he is termed the finest gentleman in person and
manners, with the finest parts and capacity for
business, and the finest writer whom Lord Mar ever
saw; in a word, every way fitted to make the Scots
happy people, were his subjects worthy of him.

But with these flattering annunciations came
forth one of a different character. The village of
Auchterarder, and other hamlets lying between
Stirling and Perth, with the houses, corn, and
forage, were ordered by James's edict to be destroyed,
lest they should afford quarters to the
enemy in their advance. In consequence of this,
the town above named and several villages were
burned to the ground, while their inhabitants, with
old men and women, children and infirm persons,
were driven from their houses in the extremity of
one of the hardest winters which had for a long
time been experienced even in these cold regions.
There is every reason to believe, that the alarm
attending this violent measure greatly overbalanced
any hopes of better times, excited by the
flourishing proclamations of the newly-arrived candidate
for royalty.
While the insurgents at Perth were trying the effect of adulatory proclamations, active measures of a very different kind were in progress. The Duke of Argyle had been in Stirling since the battle of 12th November, collecting gradually the means of totally extinguishing the rebellion. His secret wish probably was, that it might be ended without farther bloodshed of his misguided countrymen, by dissolving of itself. But the want of a battering train, and the extreme severity of the weather, served as excuses for refraining from active operations. The Duke, however, seems to have been suspected by Government of being tardy in his operations; and perhaps of having entertained some idea of extending his own power and interest in Scotland, by treating the rebels with clemency, and allowing them time for submission. This was the rather believed, as Argyle had been the ardent opponent of Marlborough, now Captain-General, and could not hope that his measures would be favourably judged by a political and personal enemy. The intercession of a part of the English ministry, who declared against the impeachment of the rebel lords, had procured them punishment in the loss of their places; and, notwithstanding the services he had performed, in arresting with three thousand men the progress of four times that number, Argyle's slow and temporizing measures subjected him to a shade of malevolent suspicion, which his message to Government, through the Duke of Roxburghe, recommending an amnesty, perhaps tended to increase.

Yet he had not neglected any opportunity to
narrow the occupation of the country by the rebels, or to prepare for their final suppression. The English ships of war in the frith, acting under the Duke's orders, had driven Mar's forces from the castle of Burntisland, and the royal troops had established themselves throughout a great part of Fifeshire, formerly held exclusively by the rebel army.

The Dutch auxiliaries now, however, began to join the camp at Stirling; and as the artillery designed for the siege of Perth lay wind-bound in the Thames, a field-train was sent from Berwick to Stirling, that no farther time might be lost. General Cadogan also, the intimate friend of Marlborough, was despatched from London to press the most active operations; and Argyle, if he had hitherto used any delay, in pity to the insurgents, was now forced on the most energetic measures.

On the 24th of January, the advance from Stirling and the march on Perth were commenced, though the late hard frost, followed by a great fall of snow, rendered the operations of the army slow and difficult. On the last day of January the troops of Argyle crossed the Earne without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, within eight miles of Perth.

On the other hand, all was confusion at the headquarters of the rebels. The Chevalier de St George had expressed the greatest desire to see the little kings, as he called the Highland chiefs, and their clans; but, though professing to admire their singular dress and martial appearance,
he was astonished to perceive their number so
greatly inferior to what he had been led to
expect, and expressed an apprehension that he had
been deceived and betrayed. Nor did the
appearance of this Prince excite much enthusiasm on
the part of his followers. His person was tall and
thin; his look and eye dejected by his late bodily
illness; and his whole bearing lacking the
animation and fire which ought to characterise the leader
of an adventurous, or rather desperate cause. He
was slow of speech and difficult of access, and
seemed little interested in reviews of his men, or
martial displays of any kind. The Highlanders,
struck with his resemblance to an automaton, asked
if he could speak; and there was a general disappointment,
arising rather, perhaps, from the state
of anxiety and depression in which they saw him,
than from any natural want of courage in the
unhappy Prince himself. His extreme attachment to
the Catholic religion, also reminded such of his
adherents as acknowledged the reformed church, of
the family bigotry on account of which his father
had lost his kingdom; and they were much disappointed
at his refusal to join in their prayers and
acts of worship, and at the formal precision with
which he adhered to his Popish devotions.

Yet the Highlanders, though few in numbers,
still looked forward with the utmost spirit, and
something approaching to delight, to the desperate
conflict which they conceived to be just approaching;
and when, on the 28th January, they learned
that Argyle was actually on his march towards
Perth, it seemed rather to announce a jubilee than
a battle with fearful odds. The chiefs embraced,
drank to each other, and to the good day which was drawing near; the pipes played, and the men prepared for action with that air of alacrity which a warlike people express at the approach of battle.

When, however, a rumour, first slowly whispered, then rapidly spreading among the clans, informed them, that notwithstanding all the preparations in which they had been engaged, it was the general's purpose to retire before the enemy without fighting, the grief and indignation of these men, taught to think so highly of their ancestors' prowess, and feeling no inferiority in themselves, rose to a formidable pitch of fury, and they assailed their principal officers in the streets with every species of reproach. "What can we do?" was the helpless answer of one of these gentlemen, a confident of Mar. "Do?" answered an indignant Highlander; "Let us do that which we were called to arms for, which certainly was not to run away.

Why did the King come hither?—was it to see his subjects butchered like dogs, without striking a blow for their lives and honour?" When the safety of the King's person was urged as a reason for retreat, they answered—"Trust his safety to us; and if he is willing to die like a prince, he shall see there are ten thousand men in Scotland willing to die with him."

Such were the general exclamations without doors, and those in the councils of the Chevalier were equally violent. Many military men of skill gave it as their opinion, that though Perth was an open town, yet it was so far a safe post, that an
army could not, by a coup-de-main, take it out of the hands of a garrison determined on its defence. The severity of the snow-storm and of the frost, precluded the opening of breaches; the country around Perth was laid desolate; the Duke of Argyle's army consisted in a great measure of Englishmen and foreigners, unaccustomed to the severe climate of Scotland; and vague hopes were expressed, that, if the general of Government should press an attack upon the town, he might receive such a check as would restore the balance between the parties. To this it was replied, that not only the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of discipline, were on the side of the royal army, but that the garrison at Perth was destitute of the necessary provisions and ammunition; and that the Duke of Argyle had men enough at once to form the blockade of that town, and take possession of Dundee, Aberdeen, and all the counties to the northward of the Tay, which they lately occupied; while the Chevalier, cooped up in Perth, might be permitted for some time to see all the surrounding country in his enemy's possession, until it would finally become impossible for him to escape. In the end it was resolved in the councils of the Chevalier de St George, that to attempt the defence of Perth would be an act of desperate chivalry.

To reconcile the body of the army to the retreat, reports were spread that they were to make a halt at Aberdeen, there to be joined by a considerable body of troops which were expected to arrive from abroad, and advance again southwards under better auspices. But it was secretly understood that the purpose was to desert the enterprise, to which the
contrivers might apply the lines of the poet --

"In an ill hour did we these arms commence,
Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence."

Whatever reports were spread among the soldiers, the principal leaders had determined to commence a retreat, at the head of a discontented army, degraded in their own opinion, distrustful of their officers, and capable, should these suspicions ripen into a fit of fury, of carrying off both king and general into the Highlands, and there waging an irregular war after their own manner.

On the 28th of January, an alarm was given in Perth of the Duke of Argyle's approach; and it is remarkable, that, although in the confusion, the general officers had issued no orders what measures were to be taken in case of this probable event, yet the clans themselves, with intuitive sagacity, took the strongest posts for checking any attack; and, notwithstanding a momentary disorder, were heard to cheer each other with the expression, "they should do well enough." The unhappy Prince himself was far from displaying the spirit of his partisans. He was observed to look dejected, and to shed tears, and heard to say, that instead of bringing him to a crown, they had led him to his grave. "Weeping," said Prince Eugene, when he heard this incident, "is not the way to conquer kingdoms."

The retreat commenced under all these various
feelings. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of Charles the First's decapitation, and ominous therefore to his grandson, the Highland army filed off upon the ice which then covered the Tay, though a rapid and deep stream. The town was shortly afterwards taken possession of by a body of the Duke of Argyle's dragoons; but the weather was so severe, and the march of the rebels so regular, that it was impossible to push forward any vanguard of strength sufficient to annoy their retreat.

On the arrival of the rebels at the seaport of Montrose, a rumour arose among the Highlanders, that the King, as he was termed, the Earl of Mar, and some of their other principal leaders, were about to abandon them, and take their flight by sea. To pacify the troops, orders were given to continue the route towards Aberdeen; the equipage and horses of the Chevalier de St George were brought out before the gate of his lodgings, and his guards were mounted as if to proceed on the journey. But before the hour appointed for the march, James left his apartments privately for those of the Earl of Mar, and both took a by-road to the water's edge, (4th February) where a boat waited to carry them in safety on board a small vessel prepared for their reception. The safety of these two personages being assured, boats were sent to bring off Lord Drummond, and a few other gentlemen, most of them belonging to the Chevalier's household; and thus the son of James II. once more retreated from the shores of his native country, which, on this last occasion, he seemed to have
visited for no other purpose than to bring away his general in safety.

General Gordon performed the melancholy and irksome duty of leading to Aberdeen the disheartened remains of the Highland army, in which the Lord Marischal lent him assistance, and brought up the rear. It is probable, that the rage of the men, on finding themselves deserted, might have shown itself in some acts of violence and insubordination; but the approach of the Duke of Argyle's forces, which menaced them in different columns, prevented this catastrophe. A sealed letter, to be opened at Aberdeen, contained the secret orders of the Chevalier for General Gordon and his army. When opened, it was found to contain thanks for their faithful services; an intimation, that disappointments had obliged him to retire abroad; and

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a full permission to his adherents either to remain in a body and treat with the enemy, or disperse, as should best appear to suit the exigency of the time. The soldiers were at the same time apprised that they would cease to receive pay.

A general burst of grief and indignation attended these communications. Many of the insurgents threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that they had been deserted and betrayed, and were now left without either king or general. The clans broke up into different bodies, and marched to the mountains, where they dispersed, each to its own hereditary glen. The gentlemen and Lowlanders who had been engaged, either skulked among the mountains, or gained the more northerly shires of
the country, where vessels sent from France to receive them, carried a great part of them to the continent.

Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, without even the usual sad eclat of a defeat. It proved fatal to many ancient and illustrious families in Scotland, and appears to have been an undertaking too weighty for the talents of the person whom chance, or his own presumption, placed at the head of it.

It would be unjust to the memory of the unfortunate Mar, not to acquit him of cowardice or treachery, but his genius lay for the intrigues of a court, not the labours of a campaign. He seems to have fully shared the chimerical hopes which he inspired amongst his followers, and to have relied upon the foreign assistance which the Regent Duke of Orleans wanted both power and inclination to afford.

He believed, also, the kingdom was so ripe for rebellion, that nothing was necessary save to kindle a spark in order to produce a general conflagration. In a word, his trust was reposed in what is called the chapter of accidents. Before the battle of Sheriffmuir, his inactivity seems to have been unpardonable, since he suffered the Duke of Argyle, by assuming a firm attitude, to neutralize and control a force of four times his numbers; but after that event, to continue the enterprise was insanity, since each moment he lingered brought him nearer the edge of the precipice. Yet even the Chevalier was invited over to share the dangers and disgrace of an inevitable retreat. In short, the whole history of the insurrection shows that no combination can be more unfortunate than that of a bold
undertaking with an irresolute leader.

The Earl of Mar for several years afterwards managed the state affairs of the Chevalier de St George, the mock minister of a mock cabinet, until the beginning of the year 1721, when he became deprived of his master's confidence. He spent the rest of his life abroad, and in retirement. This unfortunate Earl was a man of fine taste; and in devising modes of improving Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, was more fortunate than he had been in schemes for the alteration of her government. He gave the first hints for several of the modern improvements of the city.

The Duke of Argyle having taken the most active measures for extinguishing the embers of the rebellion, by dispersing the bodies of men who were still in arms, directed movable columns to traverse the Highlands in every direction, for receiving the submission of such as were humbled, or exercising force on those who might resist. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th of February, when the magistrates, who had not forgot his bold march to rescue the city, when menaced by Brigadier MacIntosh, entertained him with magnificence. From thence he proceeded to London, where he was received with distinction by George I.

And now you are doubtless desirous of knowing with what new honours, augmented power, or increased wealth, the King of England rewarded the man, whose genius had supplied the place of four-fold numbers, and who had secured to his Majesty
the crown of one at least of his kingdoms, at a moment when it was tottering on his head. I will answer you in a word. In a very short while after the conclusion of the war, the Duke of Argyle was deprived of all his employments. The cause of this extraordinary act of court ingratitude must be sought in the personal hatred of the Duke of Marlborough, in the high spirit of the Duke of Argyle, which rendered him a troublesome and unmanageable member of a ministerial cabinet, and probably in some apprehension of this great man's increasing personal influence in his native country of Scotland, where he was universally respected, and beloved by many even of the party which he had opposed in the field.

It is imagined, moreover, that the Duke's disgrace at Court was, in some degree, connected with a legislative enactment of a very doubtful tendency, which was used for the trial of the rebel prisoners. We have already mentioned the criminal proceedings under which the Preston prisoners suffered. Those who had been taken in arms at Sheriffmuir and elsewhere in Scotland, ought, according to the laws, both of Scotland and England, to have been tried in the country where the treason was committed. But the English lawyers had in recollection the proceedings in the year 1707, when it was impossible to obtain from Grand Juries in Scotland the verdict of a true bill, on which the prisoners could be sent to trial. The close connexion, by friendship and alliance, even of those families which were most opposed as Whigs and Tories, made the victorious party in Scotland unwilling to be the
means of distressing the vanquished, and disposed
them to afford a loop-hole for escape, even at the
expense of strict justice. To obviate the difficulties
of conviction, which might have been an encouragement
to future acts of high treason, it was resolved,
that the Scottish offenders against the treason-laws
should be tried in England, though the offence had
been committed in their own country. This was
no doubt extremely convenient for the prosecution,
but it remains a question, where such innovations
are to stop, when a government takes on itself to
alter the formal proceedings of law, in order to
render the conviction of criminals more easy. The
Court of Oyer and Terminer sat, notwithstanding,
at Carlisle, and might have been held by the same
parity of reason at the Land's End in Cornwall, or
in the isles of Scilly. But there was a studied
moderation towards the accused, which seemed to
intimate, that if the prisoners abstained from
challenging the irregularity of the court, they would
be favourably dealt with. Many were set at liberty,
and though twenty-four were tried and condemned,
not one was ever brought to execution. It is
asserted, that the Duke of Argyle, as a Scottish man,
and one of the framers of the Union, had in his
Majesty's councils declared against an innovation
which seemed to infringe upon that measure, and
that the offence thus given contributed to the fall
of his power at Court.

Free pardons were liberally distributed to all
who had seceded from the Rebellion, before its final
close. The Highland chiefs and clans were in
general forgiven, upon submission, and a surrender
of the arms of their people. This was with the
disaffected chiefs a simulated transaction, no arms
being given up but such as were of no value, while
all that were serviceable were concealed and carefully
preserved. The loyal clans, on the other
hand, made an absolute surrender, and were
afterwards found unarmed when the Government desired
their assistance.

Mean time the principles of Jacobitism continued
to ferment in the interior of the country, and were
inflamed by the numerous exiles, men of rank and
influence, who were fugitives from Britain in
consequence of attainder. To check these, and to
intimidate others, the estates of the attainted
persons were declared forfeited to the crown, and
vested in trustees, to be sold for the benefit of the
public. The revenue of the whole, though
comprising that of about forty families of rank and
consideration, did not amount to L.30,000 yearly.
These forfeited estates were afterwards purchased
from Government by a great mercantile company
in London, originally instituted for supplying the
city with water by raising it from the Thames, but
which having fallen under the management of
speculative persons, its funds, and the facilities vested
in it by charter, had been applied to very different
purposes. Among others, that of purchasing the
forfeited estates, was one of the boldest, and, could
the company have maintained their credit, would
have been one of the most lucrative transactions
ever entered into. But the immediate return
arising from this immense extent of wood and
wilderness, inhabited by tenants who were disposed
to acknowledge no landlords but the heirs of the ancient families, and lying in remote districts, where law was trammelled by feudal privileges, and affording little protection to the intruders, was quite unequal to meet the interest of the debt which that company had incurred. The purchasers were, therefore, obliged to let the land in many cases to friends and connexions of the forfeited proprietors, through whom the exiled owners usually derived the means of subsisting in the foreign land to which their errors and misfortunes had driven them.

The affairs of the York Building Company, who had in this singular manner become Scottish proprietors to an immense extent, afterwards became totally deranged, owing to the infidelity and extravagance of their managers. Attempts were, from time to time, made to sell their Scottish estates, but very inefficiently, and at great disadvantage. Men of capital showed an unwillingness to purchase the forfeited property; and in two or three instances the dispossessed families were able to repurchase them at low rates. But after the middle of the eighteenth century, when the value of this species of property began to be better understood, rival purchasers came forward, without being deterred by the scruples which, in earlier days, prevented men from bidding against the heirs of the original possessor. Every new property as exposed to sale brought a higher price, sometimes in a tenfold proportion, than those which had been at first disposed of, and after more than a century of insolvency, the debts of the bankrupt company were completely discharged. Could they have retained their landed property, or, as was once
attempted, could any other persons have been placed in the company's right to it, the emolument would have been immense.

Before proceeding to less interesting matter, I must here notice two plans originating abroad, which were founded upon an expectation of again reviving in Scotland the intestine war of 1715. Two years after that busy period, Baron Gorz, minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, a man whose politics were as chimerical as his master's schemes of conquest, devised a confederacy for dethroning George I. and replacing on the throne the heir of the House of Stewart. His fiery master was burning with indignation at George for having possessed himself of the towns of Bremen and Verden. Charles's ancient enemy, the Czar Peter, was also disposed to countenance the scheme, and Cardinal Alberoni, then the all-powerful minister of the King of Spain, afforded it his warm support. The plan was, that a descent of ten thousand troops should be effected in Scotland, under the command of Charles XII. himself, to whose redoubted character for courage and determination the success of the enterprise was to be intrusted. It might be amusing to consider the probable consequences which might have arisen from the iron-headed Swede placing himself at the head of an army of Highland enthusiasts, with courage as romantic as his own. In following the speculation, it might be doubted whether this leader and his troops would be more endeared to each other by a congenial audacity of mind, or alienated by Charles's habits of despotic authority, which the mountaineers would
probably have found themselves unable to endure. But such a speculation would lead us far from our

proper path. The conspiracy was discovered by the spies of the French Government, then in strict alliance with England, and all possibility of the proposed scheme being put into execution was destroyed by the death of Charles XII. before Frederick shall, in 1718.

But although this undertaking had failed, the enterprising Alberoni continued to nourish hopes of being able to effect a counter-revolution in Great Britain, by the aid of the Spanish forces. The Chevalier de St George was, in 1719, invited to Madrid, and received there with the honours due to the King of England. Six thousand troops, with twelve thousand stand of arms, were put on board of ten ships of war, and the whole armada was placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond. But all efforts to assist the unlucky House of Stewart were frowned on by fortune and the elements. The fleet was encountered by a severe tempest off Cape Finisterre, which lasted two days, drove them back to Spain, and disconcerted their whole enterprise. An inconsiderable part of the expedition, being two frigates from St Sebastian, arrived with three hundred men, some arms, ammunition, and money, at their place of destination in the island of Lewis. (16th April) The exiled leaders on board were the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth.

We have not had occasion to mention Seaforth since he separated from the army of Mar at the
same time with the Marquis of Huntly, in order to oppose the Earl of Sutherland, whom the success of Lovat at Inverness had again brought into the field on the part of the Government. When the two Jacobite leaders reached their own territories, they found the Earl of Sutherland so strong, and the prospects of their own party had assumed so desperate an aspect, that they were induced to enter into an engagement with Sutherland to submit themselves to Government. Huntly kept his promise, and never again joined the rebels, for which submission he received a free pardon. But the Earl of Seaforth again assumed arms in his island of Lewis, about the end of February, 1715-16. A detachment of regular troops was sent against the refractory chief, commanded by Colonel Cholmondeley, who reduced those who were in arms. Seaforth had escaped to France, and from thence to Spain, where he had resided for some time, and was now, in 1719, despatched to his native country, with a view to the assistance so powerful a chief could give to the projected invasion.

On his arrival at his own island of Lewis, Seaforth speedily raised a few hundred Highlanders, and crossed over to Kintail, with the purpose of giving a new impulse to the insurrection. Here he made some additions to his clan levies; but, ere he could gather any considerable force, General Wightman marched against him with a body of regular troops from Inverness, aided by the Monros, Rosses, and other loyal or whig clans of the northern Highlands.
They found Seaforth in possession of a pass called Strachells, near the great valley of Glenshiel. A desultory combat took place, in which there was much skirmishing and sharp-shooting, the Spaniards and Seaforth's men keeping the pass. George Monro, younger of Culcairn, engaged on the side of Government, received during this action a severe wound, by which he was disabled for the time. As the enemy continued to fire on him, the wounded chief commanded his servant, who had waited by him, to retire, and, leaving him to his fate, to acquaint his father and friends that he had died honourably. The poor fellow burst into tears, and, asking his master how he could suppose he would forsake him in that condition, he spread himself over his body, so as to intercept the balls of the enemy, and actually received several wounds designed for his master. They were both rescued from the most imminent peril by a sergeant of Culcairn's company, who had sworn an oath on his dirk that he would accomplish his chief's deliverance.

The battle was but slightly contested; but the advantage was on the side of the MacKenzies, who lost only one man, while the Government troops had several killed and wounded. They were compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy, and to leave their own wounded on the field, many of whom the victors are said to have despatched with their dirks. But though the MacKenzies obtained a partial success, it was not such as to encourage perseverance in the undertaking, especially as their chief, Lord Seaforth, being badly wounded, could no longer direct their enterprise. They determined,
therefore, to disperse as soon as night fell, the

rather that several of their allies were not disposed
to renew the contest. One clan, for example, had
been lent to Seaforth for the service of the day,
under the special paction on the part of the chief,
that however the battle went, they should return
before next morning; this occasional assistance
being only regarded in the light of a neighbourly
accommodation to Lord Seaforth.

The wounded Earl, with Tullibardine and
Marischal, escaped to the continent. The three
hundred Spaniards next day laid down their arms, and
surrendered themselves prisoners. The affair of
Glenshiel might be called the last faint sparkle of
the great Rebellion of 1715, which was fortunately
extinguished for want of fuel. A vague rumour
of Earl Marischal's having re-landed had, however,
wellnigh excited a number of the most zealous
Jacobites once more to take the field, but it was
contradicted before they adopted so rash a step.