

[TG58-1]

(58-1)I AM now to call your attention to an action of the  
(58-1)Scottish Government, which leaves a great stain  
(58-1)on the memory of King William, although  
(58-1)probably that Prince was not aware of the full extent  
(58-1)of the baseness, treachery, and cruelty, for which  
(58-1)his commission was made a cover.

(58-1)I have formerly mentioned that some disputes  
(58-1)arose concerning the distribution of a large sum  
(58-1)of money, with which the Earl of Breadalbane was  
(58-1)intrusted, to procure, or rather to purchase, a peace  
(58-1)in the Highlands. Lord Breadalbane and those  
(58-1)with whom he negotiated disagreed, and the  
(58-1)English Government, becoming suspicious of the  
(58-1)intentions of the Highland chiefs to play fast and

[TG58-2]

(58-2)loose on the occasion, sent forth a proclamation in  
(58-2)the month of August, 1691, requiring all, and each  
(58-2)of them, to submit to Government before the first  
(58-2)day of January, 1692. After this period, it was  
(58-2)announced in the same proclamation that those  
(58-2)who had not submitted themselves, should be  
(58-2)subjected to the extremities of fire and sword.

(58-2)This proclamation was framed by the Privy  
(58-2)Council, under the influence of Sir John  
(58-2)Dalrymple (Master of Stair, as he was called), whom  
(58-2)I have already mentioned as holding the place of  
(58-2)Lord Advocate, and who had in 1690 been raised  
(58-2)to be Secretary of State, in conjunction with Lord  
(58-2)Melville. The Master of Stair was at this time  
(58-2)an intimate friend of Breadalbane, and it seems  
(58-2)that he shared with that nobleman the warm hope  
(58-2)and expectation of carrying into execution a plan

(58-2)of retaining a Highland army in the pay of  
(58-2)Government, and accomplishing a complete transference  
(58-2)of the allegiance of the chiefs to the person  
(58-2)of King William, from that of King James. This  
(58-2)could not have failed to be a most acceptable piece  
(58-2)of service, upon which, if it could be accomplished,  
(58-2)the Secretary might justly reckon as a title to his  
(58-2)master's further confidence and favour.

(58-2)But when Breadalbane commenced his treaty,  
(58-2)he was mortified to find, that though the Highland  
(58-2)chiefs expressed no dislike to King William's  
(58-2)money, yet they retained their secret fidelity to  
(58-2)King James too strongly to make it safe to  
(58-2)assemble them in a military body, as had been  
(58-2)proposed. Many chiefs, especially those of the

[TG58-3]

(58-3)MacDonalds, stood out also for terms, which the  
(58-3)Earl of Breadalbane and the Master of Stair  
(58-3)considered as extravagant; and the result of the  
(58-3)whole was, the breaking off the treaty, and the  
(58-3)publishing of the severe proclamation already  
(58-3)mentioned.

(58-3)Breadalbane and Stair were greatly disappointed  
(58-3)and irritated against those chiefs and tribes, who,  
(58-3)being refractory on this occasion, had caused a  
(58-3)breach of their favourite scheme. Their thoughts  
(58-3)were now turned to revenge; and it appears from  
(58-3)Stair's correspondence, that he nourished and dwelt  
(58-3)upon the secret hope, that several of the most  
(58-3)stubborn chiefs would hold out beyond the term  
(58-3)appointed for submission, in which case it was  
(58-3)determined that the punishment inflicted should be  
(58-3)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

[TG58-4]

(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.

(58-4)This clan inhabited a valley formed by the river  
(58-4)Coe, or Cona, which falls into Lochleven, not far  
(58-4)from the head of Loch-Etive. It is distinguished,  
(58-4)even in that wild country, by the sublimity of the  
(58-4)mountains, rocks, and precipices, in which it lies  
(58-4)buried. The minds of men are formed by their

[TG58-5]

(58-5)habitations. The MacDonalds of the Glen were  
(58-5)not very numerous, seldom mustering above two  
(58-5)hundred armed men : but they were bold and  
(58-5)daring to a proverb, confident in the strength of their  
(58-5)country, and in the protection and support of their  
(58-5)kindred tribes, the MacDonalds of Clanranald,  
(58-5)Glengarry, Keppoch, Ardnamurchan, and others  
(58-5)of that powerful name. They also lay near the  
(58-5)possessions of the Campbells, to whom, owing to  
(58-5)the predatory habits to which they were especially  
(58-5)addicted, they were very bad neighbours, so that  
(58-5)blood had at different times been spilt between  
(58-5)them.

(58-5)Mac Inn of Glencoe (this was the patronymic title  
(58-5)of the chief of this clan) was a man of a stately and  
(58-5)venerable person and aspect. He possessed both  
(58-5)courage and sagacity, and was accustomed to be  
(58-5)listened to by the neighbouring chieftains, and to  
(58-5)take a lead in their deliberations. MacIan had  
(58-5)been deeply engaged both in the campaign of  
(58-5)Killiecrankie, and in that which followed under General  
(58-5)Buchan ; and when the insurgent Highland  
(58-5)chiefs held a meeting with the Earl of Breadalbane,  
(58-5)at a place called Auchallader, in the month of July  
(58-5)1691, for the purpose of arranging an armistice,  
(58-5)MacIan was present with the rest, and, it is said,  
(58-5)taxed Breadalbane with the design of retaining a

(58-5)part of the money lodged in his hands for the  
(58-5)pacification of the Highlands. The Earl retorted with  
(58-5)vehemence, and charged MacIan with a theft of  
(58-5)cattle, committed upon some of his lands by a party  
(58-5)from Glencoe. Other causes of offence took place,

[TG58-6]

(58-6)in which old feuds were called to recollection ; and  
(58-6)MacIan was repeatedly heard to say, he dreaded  
(58-6)mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of  
(58-6)Breadalbane. Yet this unhappy chief was rash  
(58-6)enough to stand out to the last moment, and  
(58-6)decline to take advantage of King William's indemnity,  
(58-6)till the time appointed by the proclamation  
(58-6)was wellnigh expired.

(58-6)The displeasure of the Earl of Breadalbane  
(58-6)seems speedily to have communicated itself to the  
(58-6)Master of Stair, who, in his correspondence with  
(58-6)Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, then commanding in  
(58-6)the Highlands, expresses the greatest resentment  
(58-6)against MacIan of Glencoe, for having, by his  
(58-6)interference, marred the bargain between Breadalbane  
(58-6)and the Highland chiefs. Accordingly, in a  
(58-6)letter of 3d December, the Secretary intimated that  
(58-6)Government was determined to destroy utterly  
(58-6)some of the clans, in order to terrify the others,  
(58-6)and he hoped that, by standing out and refusing  
(58-6)to submit under the indemnity, the MacDonalds of  
(58-6)Glencoe would fall into the net,-- which meant that  
(58-6)they would afford a pretext for their extirpation.  
(58-6)This letter is dated a month before the time limited  
(58-6)by the indemnity; so long did these bloody thoughts  
(58-6)occupy the mind of this unprincipled statesman.

(58-6)Ere the term of mercy expired, however,

(58-6)MacIlan's own apprehensions, or the advice of friends,  
(58-6)dictated to him the necessity of submitting to the  
(58-6)same conditions which others had embraced, and he  
(58-6)went with his principal followers to take the oath  
(58-6)of allegiance to King William. This was a very

[TG58-7]

(58-7)brief space before the 1st of January, when, by the  
(58-7)terms of the proclamation, the opportunity of chiming  
(58-7)the indemnity was to expire. MacIlan was,  
(58-7)therefore, much alarmed to find that Colonel Hill,  
(58-7)the governor of Fort William, to whom he tendered  
(58-7)his oath of allegiance, had no power to receive it,  
(58-7)being a military, and not a civil officer. Colonel  
(58-7)Hill, however, sympathized with the distress and  
(58-7)even tears of the old chieftain, and gave him a letter  
(58-7)to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlas, Sheriff of  
(58-7)Argyleshire, requesting him to receive the "lost  
(58-7)sheep," and administer the oath to him, that he  
(58-7)might have the advantage of the indemnity, though  
(58-7)so late in claiming it.

(58-7)MacIlan hastened from Fort "William to Inverary,  
(58-7)without even turning aside to his own house, though  
(58-7)he passed within a mile of it. But the roads,  
(58-7)always very bad, were now rendered almost  
(58-7)impassable by a storm of snow; so that, with all the  
(58-7)spend the unfortunate chieftain could exert, the  
(58-7)fatal 1st of January was past before he reached  
(58-7)Inverary.

(58-7)The Sheriff, however, seeing that MacIlan had  
(58-7)complied with the spirit of the statute, in tendering  
(58-7)his submission within the given period, under the  
(58-7)sincere, though mistaken belief, that he was applying  
(58-7)to the person ordered to receive it; and

(58-7)considering also, that, but for the tempestuous weather,  
(58-7)it would after all have been offered in presence of  
(58-7)the proper law-officer, did not hesitate to administer  
(58-7)the oath of allegiance, and sent off an express to  
(58-7)the Privy Council containing an attestation of

[TG58-8]

(58-8)MacIan's having taken the oaths, and a full  
(58-8)explanation of the circumstances which had delayed  
(58-8)his doing so until the lapse of the appointed  
(58-8)period. The Sheriff also wrote to Colonel Hill what  
(58-8)he had done, and requested that he would take care  
(58-8)that Glencoe should not be annoyed by any military  
(58-8)parties until the pleasure of the Council should  
(58-8)be known, which he could not doubt would be  
(58-8)favourable.

(58-8)MacIan, therefore, returned to his own house,  
(58-8)and resided there, as he supposed, in safety, under  
(58-8)the protection of the Government to which he had  
(58-8)sworn allegiance. That he might merit this  
(58-8)protection, he convoked his clan, acquainted them with  
(58-8)his submission, and commanded them to live peaceably,  
(58-8)and give no cause of offence, under pain of  
(58-8)his displeasure.

(58-8)In the mean time, the vindictive Secretary of  
(58-8)State had procured orders from his Sovereign  
(58-8)respecting the measures to be followed with such of  
(58-8)the chiefs as should not have taken the oaths within  
(58-8)the term prescribed. The first of these orders,  
(58-8)dated 11th January, contained peremptory directions  
(58-8)for military execution, by fire and sword,  
(58-8)against all who should not have made their  
(58-8)submission within the time appointed. It was,  
(58-8)however, provided, in order to avoid driving them to

(58-8)desperation, that there was still to remain a power  
(58-8)of granting mercy to those clans who, even after  
(58-8)the time was past, should still come in and submit  
(58-8)themselves. Such were the terms of the first  
(58-8)royal warrant, in which Glencoe was not expressly  
(58-8)named.

[TG58-9]

(58-9)It seems afterwards to have occurred to Stair,  
(58-9)that Glencoe and his tribe would be sheltered under  
(58-9)this mitigation of the intended severities, since he  
(58-9)had already come in and tendered his allegiance.  
(58-9)without waiting for the menace of military force.  
(58-9)A second set of instructions were therefore made  
(58-9)out on the 16th January. These held out the same  
(58-9)indulgence to other clans who should submit  
(58-9)themselves at the very last hour (a hypocritical  
(58-9)pretext, for there existed none which stood in such a  
(58-9)predicament), but they closed the gate of mercy  
(58-9)against the devoted MacIan, who had already done  
(58-9)all that was required of others. The words are  
(58-9)remarkable :-" As for MacIan of Glencoe and that  
(58-9)tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the  
(58-9)rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the  
(58-9)vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of  
(58-9)thieves."

(58-9)You will remark the hypocritical clemency and  
(58-9)real cruelty of these instructions, which profess a  
(58-9)readiness to extend mercy to those who needed it  
(58-9)not (for all the other Highlanders had submitted  
(58-9)within the limited time), and deny it to Glencoe,  
(58-9)the only man who had not been able literally to  
(58-9)comply with the proclamation, though in all fair  
(58-9)construction, he had done what it required.



(58-9)Under what pretence or colouring King  
(58-9)William's authority was obtained for such cruel  
(58-9)instructions, it would be in vain to enquire. The Sheriff  
(58-9)of Argyle's letter had never been produced before  
(58-9)the Council; and the certificate of MacIan's having  
(58-9)taken the oath was blotted out, and, in the Scottish

[TG58-10]

(58-10)phrase, deleted from the books of the Privy Council.  
(58-10)It seems probable therefore that the fact of that  
(58-10)chief's submission was altogether concealed from  
(58-10)the King, and that he was held out in the light of  
(58-10)a desperate and incorrigible leader of banditti, who  
(58-10)was the main obstacle to the peace of the  
(58-10)Highlands ; but if we admit that William acted under  
(58-10)such misrepresentations, deep blame will still attach  
(58-10)to him for rashly issuing orders of an import so  
(58-10)dreadful. It is remarkable that these fatal  
(58-10)instructions are both superscribed and subscribed by the  
(58-10)King himself, whereas, in most state papers the  
(58-10)Sovereign only superscribes, and they are  
(58-10)countersigned by the Secretary of State, who is answerable  
(58-10)for their tenor; a responsibility which Stair.  
(58-10)on that occasion, was not probably ambitious of  
(58-10)claiming.

(58-10)The Secretary's letters to the military officers,  
(58-10)directing the mode of executing the King's orders,  
(58-10)betray the deep and savage interest which he took  
(58-10)personally in their tenor, and his desire that the  
(58-10)bloody measure should be as general as possible.  
(58-10)He dwelt in these letters upon the proper time and  
(58-10)season for cutting off the devoted tribe. " The  
(58-10)winter," he said, " is the only season in which  
(58-10)the Highlanders cannot elude us, or carry their  
(58-10)wives, children, and cattle, to the mountains.

(58-10)They cannot escape you ; for what human constitution  
(58-10)can then endure to be long out of house?  
(58-10)This is the proper season to maul them, in the  
(58-10)long dark nights." He could not suppress his joy  
(58-10)that Glencoe had not come in within the term

[TG58-11]

(58-11)prescribed; and expresses his hearty wishes that  
(58-11)others had followed the same course. He assured  
(58-11)the soldiers that their powers should be ample ;  
(58-11)and he exacted from them proportional exertions.  
(58-11)He entreated that the thieving tribe of Glencoe  
(58-11)might be rooted out in earnest; and he was at  
(58-11)pains to explain a phrase which is in itself terribly  
(58-11)significant. He gave directions for securing every  
(58-11)pass by which the victims could escape, and warned  
(58-11)the soldiers that it were better to leave the thing  
(58-11)unattempted, than fail to do it to purpose. " To  
(58-11)plunder their lands, or drive off their cattle, would,"  
(58-11)say his letters, " be only to render them desperate ;  
(58-11)they must be all slaughtered, and the manner  
(58-11)of execution must be sure, secret, and  
(58-11)effectual."

(58-11)These instructions, such as have been rarely  
(58-11)penned in a Christian country, were sent to Colonel  
(58-11)Hill, the Governor of Fort William, who,  
(58-11)greatly surprised and grieved at their tenor,  
(58-11)endeavoured for some time to evade the execution of  
(58-11)them. At length, obliged by his situation to render  
(58-11)obedience to the King's commands, he transmitted  
(58-11)the orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton,  
(58-11)directing him to take four hundred men of a Highland  
(58-11)regiment belonging to the Earl of Argyle, and  
(58-11)fulfil the royal mandate. Thus, to make what was  
(58-11)intended yet worse, if possible, than it was in its

(58-11)whole tenor, the perpetration of this cruelty was  
(58-11)committed to soldiers, who were not only the  
(58-11)countrymen of the proscribed, but the near neighbours,  
(58-11)and some of them the close connexions, of the

[TG58-12]

(58-12)MacDonalds of Glencoe. This is the more necessary  
(58-12)to be remembered, because the massacre has  
(58-12)unjustly been said to have been committed by  
(58-12)English troops. The course of the bloody deed was as  
(58-12)follows.

(58-12)Before the end of January, a party of the Earl  
(58-12)of Argyle's regiment, commanded by Captain  
(58-12)Campbell of Glenlyon, approached Glencoe.  
(58-12)MacIlan's sons went out to meet them with a body of  
(58-12)men, to demand whether they came as friends or  
(58-12)foes. The officer replied, that they came as  
(58-12)friends, being sent to take up their quarters for a  
(58-12)short time in Glencoe, in order to relieve the  
(58-12)garrison of Fort William, which was crowded with  
(58-12)soldiers. On this they were welcomed with all the  
(58-12)hospitality which the chief and his followers had  
(58-12)the means of extending to them, and they resided  
(58-12)for fifteen days amongst the unsuspecting  
(58-12)MacDonalds, in the exchange of every species of  
(58-12)kindness and civility. That the laws of domestic  
(58-12)affection might be violated at the same time with  
(58-12)those of humanity and hospitality, you are to  
(58-12)understand that Alaster MacDonald, one of the sons  
(58-12)of MacIlan, was married to a niece of Glenlyon,  
(58-12)who commanded the party of soldiers. It appears  
(58-12)also, that the intended cruelty was to be exercised  
(58-12)upon defenceless men : for the Macdonalds, though  
(58-12)afraid of no other ill-treatment from their military  
(58-12)guests, had supposed it possible the soldiers might

(58-12)have a commission to disarm them, and therefore  
(58-12)had sent their weapons to a distance, where they  
(58-12)might be out of reach of seizure.

[TG58-13]

(58-13)Glenlyon's party had remained in Glencoe for  
(58-13)fourteen or fifteen days, when he received orders  
(58-13)from his commanding officer Major Duncanson,  
(58-13)expressed in a manner which shows him to have  
(58-13)been the worthy agent of the cruel Secretary.  
(58-13)They were sent in conformity with orders of the  
(58-13)same date, transmitted to Duncanson by Hamilton,  
(58-13)directing that all the MacDonalds, under seventy  
(58-13)years of age, were to be cut off, and that the  
(58-13)Government was not to be troubled with prisoners.  
(58-13)Duncanson's orders to Glenlyon were as follows:  
(58-13)" You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels,  
(58-13)and put all to the sword under seventy. You are  
(58-13)to have especial care that the old fox and his cubs  
(58-13)do on no account escape your hands ; you are to  
(58-13)secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This  
(58-13)you are to put in execution at four in the morning  
(58-13)precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after,  
(58-13)I will strive to be at you with a stronger party.  
(58-13)But if I do not come to you at four, you are not  
(58-13)to tarry for me, but fall on. This is by the King's  
(58-13)special command, for the good and safety of the  
(58-13)country, that these miscreants be cut off root and  
(58-13)branch. See that this be put into execution without  
(58-13)either fear or favour, else you may expect to  
(58-13)be treated as not true to the King or Government,  
(58-13)nor a man fit to carry a commission in the King's  
(58-13)service. Expecting that you will not fail in the  
(58-13)fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe  
(58-13)these with my hand,

(58-13)" ROBERT DUNCANSON"

[TG58-14]

(58-14)This order was dated 12th February, and  
(58-14)addressed, " For their Majesties' service, to Captain  
(58-14)Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

(58-14)This letter reached Glenlyon soon after it was  
(58-14)written ; and he lost no time in carrying the dreadful  
(58-14)mandate into execution. In the interval, he  
(58-14)did not abstain from any of those acts of familiarity  
(58-14)which had lulled asleep the suspicions of his  
(58-14)victims. He took his morning draught, as had been  
(58-14)his practice every day since he came to the glen,  
(58-14)at the house of Alaster Mac Donald, MacIan's  
(58-14)second son, who was married to his (Glenlyon's)  
(58-14)niece. He, and two of his officers named Lindsay,  
(58-14)accepted an invitation to dinner from MacIan  
(58-14)himself, for the following day, on which they had  
(58-14)determined he should never see the sun rise. To  
(58-14)complete the sum of treachery, Glenlyon played  
(58-14)at cards, in his own quarters, with the sons of  
(58-14)MacIan, John and Alaster, both of whom were  
(58-14)also destined for slaughter.

(58-14)About four o'clock, in the morning of 13th  
(58-14)February, the scene of blood began. A party,  
(58-14)commanded by one of the Lindsays, came to  
(58-14)MacIan's house and knocked for admittance, which  
(58-14)was at once given. Lindsay, one of the expected  
(58-14)guests at the family meal of the day, commanded  
(58-14)this party, who instantly shot MacIan dead by his  
(58-14)own bed-side, as he was in the act of dressing  
(58-14)himself, and giving orders for refreshments to be  
(58-14)provided for his fatal visitors. His aged wife was  
(58-14)stripped by the savage soldiery, who, at the same

(58-14)time, drew off the gold rings from her fingers with

[TG58-15]

(58-15)their teeth. She died the next day. distracted  
(58-15)with grief, and the brutal treatment she had  
(58-15)received. Several domestics and clansmen were  
(58-15)killed at the same place.

(58-15)The two sons of the aged chieftain had not been  
(58-15)altogether so confident as their father respecting  
(58-15)the peaceful and friendly purpose of their guests.  
(58-15)They observed, on the evening preceding the  
(58-15)massacre, that the sentinels were doubled, and the  
(58-15)mainguard strengthened. John, the elder brother,  
(58-15)had even overheard the soldiers muttering amongst  
(58-15)themselves, that they cared not about fighting the  
(58-15)men of the glen fairly, but did not like the nature  
(58-15)of the service they were engaged in ; while others  
(58-15)consoled themselves with the military logic, that  
(58-15)their officers must be answerable for the orders  
(58-15)given, they having no choice save to obey them.  
(58-15)Alarmed with what had been thus observed and  
(58-15)heard, the young men hastened to Glenlyon's quarters,  
(58-15)where they found that officer and his men  
(58-15)preparing their arms. On questioning him about  
(58-15)these suspicious appearances, Glenlyon accounted  
(58-15)for them by a story, that he was bound on an  
(58-15)expedition against some of Glengarry's men ; and  
(58-15)alluding to the circumstance of their alliance, which  
(58-15)made his own cruelty more detestable, he added,  
(58-15)" If anything evil had been intended, would I not  
(58-15)have told Alaster and my niece?"

(58-15)Reassured by this communication, the young  
(58-15)men retired to rest, but were speedily awakened  
(58-15)by an old domestic, who called on the two brothers

(58-15)to rise and fly for their lives. " Is it time for you,"

TG58-16]

(58-16)he said, " to be sleeping, when your father is  
(58-16)murdered on his own hearth?" Thus roused, they  
(58-16)hurried out in great terror, and heard throughout  
(58-16)the glen, wherever there was a place of human  
(58-16)habitation, the shouts of the murderers, the report  
(58-16)of the muskets, the screams of the wounded, and  
(58-16)the groans of the dying. By their perfect  
(58-16)knowledge of the scarce accessible cliffs amongst which  
(58-16)they dwelt, they were enabled to escape observation,  
(58-16)and fled to the southern access of the glen.

(58-16)Mean time, the work of death proceeded with  
(58-16)as little remorse as Stair himself could have  
(58-16)desired. Even the slight mitigation of their orders  
(58-16)respecting those above seventy years, was  
(58-16)disregarded by the soldiery in their indiscriminate thirst  
(58-16)for blood, and several very aged and bedridden  
(58-16)persons were slain amongst others. At the hamlet  
(58-16)where Glenlyon had his own quarters, nine men,  
(58-16)including his landlord, were bound and shot like  
(58-16)felons ; and one of them, MacDonald of Auchintriaten,  
(58-16)had General Hill's passport in his pocket  
(58-16)at the time. A fine lad of twenty had, by some  
(58-16)glimpse of compassion on the part of the soldiers,  
(58-16)been spared, when one Captain Drummond came  
(58-16)up, and demanding why the orders were transgressed  
(58-16)in that particular, caused him instantly to  
(58-16)be put to death. A boy, of five or six years old,  
(58-16)clung to Glenlyon's knees, entreating for mercy,  
(58-16)and offering to become his servant for life, if he  
(58-16)would spare him. Glenlyon was moved ; but the  
(58-16)same Drummond stabbed the child with his dirk,  
(58-16)while he was in this agony of supplication.

[TG58-17]

(58-17)At a place called Auchnaion, one Barber, a  
(58-17)sergeant, with a party of soldiers, fired on a group of  
(58-17)nine MacDonalds, as they were assembled round  
(58-17)their morning fire, and killed four of them. The  
(58-17)owner of the house, a brother of the slain  
(58-17)Auchintriaten, escaped unhurt, and expressed a wish to  
(58-17)be put to death rather in the open air than within  
(58-17)the house. " For your bread which I have eaten,"  
(58-17)answered Barber, " I will grant the request."  
(58-17)MacDonald was dragged to the door accordingly ; but  
(58-17)he was an active man, and when the soldiers were  
(58-17)presenting their firelocks to shoot him, he cast his  
(58-17)plaid over their faces, and taking advantage of  
(58-17)the confusion, broke from them, and escaped up the  
(58-17)glen.

(58-17)The alarm being now general, many other persons,  
(58-17)male and female, attempted their escape in  
(58-17)the same manner as the two sons of MacIlan and  
(58-17)the person last mentioned. Flying from their  
(58-17)burning huts, and from their murderous visitors,  
(58-17)the half-naked fugitives committed themselves to  
(58-17)a winter morning of darkness, snow, and storm,  
(58-17)amidst a wilderness the most savage in the West  
(58-17)Highlands, having a bloody death behind them,  
(58-17)and before them tempest, famine, and desolation.  
(58-17)Bewildered in the snow-wreaths, several sunk to  
(58-17)rise no more. But the severities of the storm were  
(58-17)tender mercies compared to the cruelty of their  
(58-17)persecutors. The great fall of snow, which proved

[TG58-18]

(58-18)fatal to several of the fugitives, was the means  
(58-18)of saving the remnant that escaped. Major



(58-18)Duncanson, agreeably to the plan expressed in his  
(58-18)orders to Glenlyon, had not failed to put himself  
(58-18)in motion, with four hundred men, on the evening  
(58-18)preceding the slaughter; and had he reached the  
(58-18)eastern passes out of Glencoe by four in the morning,  
(58-18)as he calculated, he must have intercepted and  
(58-18)destroyed all those who took that only way of  
(58-18)escape from Glenlyon and his followers. But as this  
(58-18)reinforcement arrived so late as eleven in the forenoon,  
(58-18)they found no MacDonald alive in Glencoe,  
(58-18)save an old man of eighty, whom they slew ; and  
(58-18)after burning such houses as were yet unconsumed,  
(58-18)they collected the property of the tribe, consisting  
(58-18)of twelve hundred head of cattle and horses,  
(58-18)besides goats and sheep, and drove them off to the  
(58-18)garrison of Fort William.

(58-18)Thus ended this horrible deed of massacre. The  
(58-18)number of persons murdered was thirty-eight ;  
(58-18)those who escaped might amount to a hundred and  
(58-18)fifty males, who, with the women and children of

[TG58-19]

(58-19)the tribe, had to fly more than twelve miles through  
(58-19)rocks and wildernesses, ere they could reach any  
(58-19)place of safety or shelter.

(58-19)This detestable butchery excited general horror  
(58-19)and disgust, not only throughout Scotland, but in  
(58-19)foreign countries, and did King William, whose  
(58-19)orders, signed and superscribed by himself, were  
(58-19)the warrant of the action, incredible evil both in  
(58-19)popularity and character.

(58-19)Stair, however, seemed undaunted, and had the  
(58-19)infamy to write to Colonel Hill, while public

(58-19)indignation was at the highest, that all that could  
(58-19)be said of the matter was, that the execution was  
(58-19)not so complete as it might have been. There  
(58-19)was, besides, a pamphlet published in his defence,  
(58-19)offering a bungled vindication of his conduct;  
(58-19)which, indeed, amounts only to this, that a man of  
(58-19)the Master of Stair's high place and eminent  
(58-19)accomplishments, who had performed such great

[TG58-20]

(58-20)services to the public, of which a laboured account  
(58-20)was given ; one also, who, it is particularly insisted  
(58-20)upon, performed the duty of family worship  
(58-20)regularly in his household, ought not to be over-  
(58-20)severely questioned for the death of a few Highland  
(58-20)Papists, whose morals were no better than  
(58-20)those of English highwaymen.

(58-20)No public notice was taken of this abominable  
(58-20)deed until 1695, three years after it had been  
(58-20)committed, when, late and reluctantly, a Royal  
(58-20)Commission, loudly demanded by the Scottish nation,  
(58-20)was granted, to enquire into the particulars of the  
(58-20)transaction, and to report the issue of their  
(58-20)investigations to Parliament.

(58-20)The members of the Commission, though  
(58-20)selected as favourable to King William, proved of a  
(58-20)different opinion from the apologist of the Secretary  
(58-20)of State, and reported, that the letters and  
(58-20)instructions of Stair to Colonel Hill and others,  
(58-20)were the sole cause of the murder. They slurred  
(58-20)over the King's share of the guilt by reporting,  
(58-20)that the Secretary's instructions went beyond the  
(58-20)warrant which William had signed and superscribed.  
(58-20)The royal mandate, they stated, only

(58-20)ordered the tribe of Glencoe to be subjected to  
(58-20)military execution, in case there could be any mode  
(58-20)found of separating them from the other Highlanders.  
(58-20)Having thus found a screen, though a very flimsy  
(58-20)one, for William's share in the transaction, the  
(58-20)report of the Commission let the whole weight of  
(58-20)the charge fall on Secretary the Master of Stair,  
(58-20)whose letters, they state, intimated no mode of

[TG58-21]

(58-21)separating the Glencoe men from the rest, as  
(58-21)directed by the warrant; but, on the contrary, did,  
(58-21)under a pretext of public duty, appoint them, without  
(58-21)enquiry or distinction, to be cut off and rooted  
(58-21)out in earnest and to purpose, and that " suddenly,  
(58-21)secretly, and quietly." They reported, that  
(58-21)these instructions of Stair had been the warrant  
(58-21)for the slaughter ; that it was unauthorized by his  
(58-21)Majesty's orders, and, in fact, deserved no name  
(58-21)save that of a most barbarous murder. Finally,  
(58-21)the report named the Master of Stair as the  
(58-21)deviser, and the various military officers employed  
(58-21)as the perpetrators, of the same, and suggested,  
(58-21)with great moderation, that Parliament should  
(58-21)address his Majesty to send home Glenlyon and the  
(58-21)other murderers to be tried, or should do otherwise  
(58-21)as his Majesty pleased.

(58-21)The Secretary, being by this unintelligible mode  
(58-21)of reasoning thus exposed to the whole severity of  
(58-21)the storm, and overwhelmed at the same time by  
(58-21)the King's displeasure, on account of the Darien  
(58-21)affair (to be presently mentioned), was deprived  
(58-21)of his office, and obliged to retire from public  
(58-21)affairs. General indignation banished him so entirely  
(58-21)from public life, that, having about this period

(58-21)succeeded to his father's title of Viscount Stair, he  
(58-21)dared not take his seat in Parliament as such, on  
(58-21)account of the threat of the Lord Justice-Clerk,  
(58-21)that if he did so, he would move that the address  
(58-21)and report upon the Glencoe Massacre should be  
(58-21)produced and enquired into. It was the year 1700

[TG58-22]

(58-22)before the Earl of Stair found the affair so much  
(58-22)forgotten, that he ventured to assume the place in  
(58-22)Parliament to which his rank entitled him ; and  
(58-22)he died in 1707, on the very day when the treaty  
(58-22)of Union was signed, not without suspicion of  
(58-22)suicide.

(58-22)Of the direct agents in the massacre, Hamilton  
(58-22)absconded, and afterwards joined King William's  
(58-22)army in Flanders, where Glenlyon, and the officers  
(58-22)and soldiers connected with the murder, were then  
(58-22)serving. The King, availing himself of the option  
(58-22)left to him in the address of the Scottish Parliament,  
(58-22)did not order them home for trial; nor does  
(58-22)it appear that any of them were dismissed the  
(58-22)service, or punished for their crime, otherwise than  
(58-22)by the general hatred of the age in which they  
(58-22)lived, and the universal execration of posterity.

[TG58-23]

(58-23)Although it is here a little misplaced, I cannot  
(58-23)refrain from telling you an anecdote connected  
(58-23)with the preceding events, which befell so late as  
(58-23)the year 1745-6, during the romantic attempt of  
(58-23)Charles Edward, grandson of James II., to regain  
(58-23)the throne of his fathers. He marched through the  
(58-23)Lowlands, at the head of an army consisting of the  
(58-23)Highland clans, and obtained for a time considerable

(58-23)advantages. Amongst other Highlanders, the  
(58-23)descendant of the murdered MacIan of Glencoe  
(58-23)Joined his standard with a hundred and fifty men.  
(58-23)The route of the Highland army brought them near  
(58-23)to a beautiful seat built by the Earl of Stair, so  
(58-23)often mentioned in the preceding narrative, and  
(58-23)the principal mansion of his family. An alarm  
(58-23)arose in the councils of Prince Charles, lest the  
(58-23)MacDonalds of Glencoe should seize this opportunity  
(58-23)of marking their recollection of the injustice

[TG58-24]

(58-24)done to their ancestors, by burning or plundering  
(58-24)the house of the descendant of their persecutor ;  
(58-24)and, as such an act of violence might have done  
(58-24)the Prince great prejudice in the eyes of the people.  
(58-24)of the Lowlands, it was agreed that a guard should  
(58-24)be posted to protect the house of Lord Stair.

(58-24)MacDonald of Glencoe heard the resolution, and  
(58-24)deemed his honour and that of his clan concerned.  
(58-24)He demanded an audience of Charles Edward, and  
(58-24)admitting the propriety of placing a guard on a  
(58-24)house so obnoxious to the feelings of the Highland  
(58-24)army, and to those of his own clan in particular,  
(58-24)he demanded, as a matter of right rather than favour,  
(58-24)that the protecting guard should be supplied by  
(58-24)the MacDonalds of Glencoe. If this request were  
(58-24)not granted, he announced his purpose to return  
(58-24)home with his people, and prosecute the enterprise  
(58-24)no further. " The MacDonalds of Glencoe," he  
(58-24)said, " would be dishonoured by remaining in a  
(58-24)service where others than their own men were  
(58-24)employed to restrain them, under whatsoever  
(58-24)circumstances of provocation, within the line of their  
(58-24)military duty." The royal Adventurer granted

(58-24)the request of the high- spirited chieftain, and the  
(58-24)MacDonalds of Glencoe guarded from the slightest  
(58-24)injury the house of the cruel and crafty statesman  
(58-24)who had devised and directed the massacre of their  
(58-24)ancestors. Considering how natural the thirst of  
(58-24)vengeance becomes to men in a primitive state of  
(58-24)society, and how closely it was interwoven with  
(58-24)the character of the Scottish Highlander, Glencoe's

[TG58-25]

(58-25)conduct on this occasion is a noble instance of a  
(58-25)high and heroic preference of duty to the  
(58-25)gratification of revenge.

(58-25)We must now turn from this terrible story to  
(58-25)one, which, though it does not seize on the  
(58-25)imagination with the same force in the narrative, yet  
(58-25)embraces a far wider and more extensive field of  
(58-25)death and disaster.

[TG59-26]

(59-26)HUMAN character, whether national or Individual,  
(59-26)presents often to our calm consideration the strangest  
(59-26)inconsistencies ; but there are few more striking  
(59-26)than that which the Scots exhibit in their private  
(59-26)conduct, contrasted with their views when united  
(59-26)together for any general or national purpose. In  
(59-26)his own personal affairs the Scotsman is remarked  
(59-26)as cautious, frugal, and prudent, in an extreme  
(59-26)degree, not generally aiming at enjoyment or relaxation  
(59-26)till he has realized the means of indulgence,  
(59-26)and studiously avoiding those temptations of pleasure,  
(59-26)to which men of other countries most readily  
(59-26)give way. But when a number of the natives of  
(59-26)Scotland associate for any speculative project, it  
(59-26)would seem that their natural caution becomes

(59-26)thawed and dissolved by the union of their joint  
(59-26)hopes, and that their imaginations are liable in a  
(59-26)peculiar degree to be heated and influenced by any  
(59-26)splendid prospect held out to them. They appear,  
(59-26)in particular, to lose the power of calculating and  
(59-26)adapting their means to the end which they desire  
(59-26)to accomplish, and are readily induced to aim at

[TG59-27]

(59-27)objects magnificent in themselves, but which they  
(59-27)have not, unhappily, the wealth or strength necessary  
(59-27)to attain. Thus the Scots are often found to  
(59-27)attempt splendid designs, which, shipwrecked for  
(59-27)want of the necessary expenditure, give foreigners  
(59-27)occasion to smile at the great error and equally  
(59-27)great misfortune of the nation,-I mean their pride  
(59-27)and their poverty. There is no greater instance of  
(59-27)this tendency to daring speculation, which rests at  
(59-27)the bottom of the coldness and caution of the Scottish  
(59-27)character, than the disastrous history of the  
(59-27)Darien colony.

(59-27)Paterson, a man of comprehensive views and  
(59-27)great sagacity, was the parent and inventor of this  
(59-27)memorable scheme. In youth he had been an  
(59-27)adventurer in the West Indies, and it was said a  
(59-27)*bucanier*, that is, one of a species of adventurers  
(59-27)nearly allied to pirates, who, consisting of different  
(59-27)nations, and divided into various bands, made war  
(59-27)on the Spanish commerce and settlements in the  
(59-27)South Seas, and among the West Indian islands.  
(59-27)In this roving course of life, Paterson had made  
(59-27)himself intimately acquainted with the geography  
(59-27)of South America, the produce of the country, the  
(59-27)nature of its commerce, and the manner in which  
(59-27)the Spaniards governed that extensive region.

[TG59-28]

(59-28)On his return to Europe, however, the schemes  
(59-28)which he had formed respecting the New World  
(59-28)were laid aside for another project, fraught with the  
(59-28)most mighty and important consequences. This was  
(59-28)the plan of that great national establishment the  
(59-28)Bank of England, of which he had the honour to  
(59-28)suggest the first idea. For a time he was admitted a  
(59-28)director of that institution ; but it befell Paterson  
(59-28)as often happens to the first projectors of great  
(59-28)schemes. Other persons, possessed of wealth and  
(59-28)influence, interposed, and, taking advantage of the  
(59-28)ideas of the obscure and unprotected stranger, made  
(59-28)them their own by alterations or improvements  
(59-28)more or less trivial, and finally elbowed the  
(59-28)inventor out of all concern in the institution, the  
(59-28)foundation of which he had laid.

(59-28)Thus expelled from the Bank of England,  
(59-28)Paterson turned his thoughts to the plan of settling a  
(59-28)colony in America, and in a part of that country so  
(59-28)favoured in point of situation, that it seemed to him  
(59-28)formed to be the site of the most nourishing  
(59-28)commercial capital in the universe.

(59-28)The two great continents of North and South  
(59-28)America are joined together by an isthmus, or narrow  
(59-28)tract of land, called Darien. This neck of  
(59-28)land is not above a day's journey in breadth, and

[TG59-29]

(59-29)as it is washed by the Atlantic ocean on the eastern  
(59-29)side, and the Great Pacific ocean on the west, the  
(59-29)isthmus seemed designed by nature as a common  
(59-29)centre for the commerce of the world. Paterson



(59-29)ascertained, or at least alleged that he had  
(59-29)ascertained, that the isthmus had never been the property  
(59-29)of Spain, but was still possessed by the original  
(59-29)natives, a tribe of fierce and warlike Indians, who  
(59-29)made war on the Spaniards. According to the law  
(59-29)of nations, therefore, any state had a right of forming  
(59-29)a settlement in Darien, providing the consent of  
(59-29)the Indians was first obtained; nor could their doing  
(59-29)so be justly made subject of challenge even by Spain,  
(59-29)so extravagantly jealous of all interference with her  
(59-29)South American provinces. This plan of a settlement,  
(59-29)with so many advantages to recommend it,  
(59-29)was proposed by Paterson to the merchants of  
(59-29)Hamburgh, to the Dutch, and even to the Elector of  
(59-29)Brandenburgh ; but it was coldly received by all  
(59-29)these states.

(59-29)The scheme was at length offered to the merchants  
(59-29)of London, the only traders probably in the  
(59-29)world who, their great wealth being seconded by  
(59-29)the protection of the British navy, had the means  
(59-29)of realizing the splendid visions of Paterson. But  
(59-29)when the projector was in London, endeavouring  
(59-29)to solicit attention to his plan, he became intimate  
(59-29)with the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun. This  
(59-29)gentleman, one of the most accomplished men, and  
(59-29)best patriots, whom Scotland has produced in any  
(59-29)age, had, nevertheless, some notions of her interests  
(59-29)which were more fanciful than real, and, in his

[TG59-30]

(59-30)anxiety to render his country service, did not  
(59-30)sufficiently consider the adequacy of the means by which  
(59-30)her welfare was to be obtained. He was dazzled  
(59-30)by the vision of opulence and grandeur which  
(59-30)Paterson unfolded, and thought of nothing less than

(59-30)securing, for the benefit of Scotland alone, a scheme  
(59-30)which promised to the state which should adopt it,  
(59-30)the keys, as it were, of the New World. The  
(59-30)projector was easily persuaded to give his own country  
(59-30)the benefit of his scheme of colonization, and went  
(59-30)to Scotland along with Fletcher. Here the plan  
(59-30)found general acceptance, and particularly with the  
(59-30)Scottish administration, who were greatly  
(59-30)embarrassed at the time by the warm prosecution of the  
(59-30)affair of Glencoe, and who easily persuaded King  
(59-30)William that some freedom and facilities of trade  
(59-30)granted to the Scots, would divert the public attention  
(59-30)from the investigation of a matter, not very  
(59-30)creditable to his Majesty's reputation any more than  
(59-30)to their own. Stair, in particular, a party deeply  
(59-30)interested, gave the Darien scheme the full support  
(59-30)of his eloquence and interest, in the hope to regain  
(59-30)a part of his lost popularity.

(59-30)The Scottish ministers obtained permission,  
(59-30)accordingly, to grant such privileges of trade to their  
(59-30)country as might not be prejudicial to that of  
(59-30)England. In June 1695, these influential persons  
(59-30)obtained a statute from Parliament, and afterwards a  
(59-30)charter from the crown, for creating a corporate  
(59-30)body, or stock company, by name of the Company  
(59-30)of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, with  
(59-30)power to plant colonies and build forts in places

[TG59-31]

(59-31)not possessed by other European nations, the  
(59-31)consent always of the inhabitants of the places where  
(59-31)they settled being obtained.

(59-31)The hopes entertained of the profits to arise from  
(59-31)this speculation were in the last degree sanguine;

(59-31)not even the Solemn League and Covenant was  
(59-31)signed with more eager enthusiasm. Almost every  
(59-31)one who had, or could command, any sum of ready  
(59-31)money embarked it in the Indian and African  
(59-31)Company ; many subscribed their all; maidens threw  
(59-31)in their portions, and widows whatever sums they  
(59-31)could raise upon their dower, to be repaid an  
(59-31)hundredfold by the golden shower which was to descend  
(59-31)upon the subscribers. Some sold estates to vest the  
(59-31)money in the Company's funds, and so eager was  
(59-31)the spirit of speculation, that, when eight hundred  
(59-31)thousand pounds formed the whole circulating capital  
(59-31)of Scotland, half of that sum was vested in the  
(59-31)Darien stock.

(59-31)That every thing might be ready for their extensive  
(59-31)operations, the Darien Company proceeded  
(59-31)to build a large tenement near Bristo-port,  
(59-31)Edinburgh, to serve as an office for transacting their  
(59-31)business, with a large range of buildings behind it,  
(59-31)designed as warehouses, to be filled with the richest  
(59-31)commodities of the eastern and western world.  
(59-31)But, sad event of human hopes and wishes ! the  
(59-31)office is now occupied as a receptacle for paupers,  
(59-31)and the extensive warehouses as a lunatic asylum.

(59-31)But it was not the Scots alone whose hopes were  
(59-31)excited by the rich prospects held out to them.  
(59-31)An offer being made by the managers of the Company,

[TG59-32]

(59-32)to share the expected advantages of the  
(59-32)scheme with English and foreign merchants, it was  
(59-32)so eagerly grasped at, that three hundred thousand  
(59-32)pounds of stock was subscribed for in London within  
(59-32)nine days after opening the books. The merchants

(59-32)of Hamburg and of Holland subscribed two  
(59-32)hundred thousand pounds.

(59-32)Such was the hopeful state of the new company's  
(59-32)affairs, when the English jealousy of trade  
(59-32)interfered to crush an adventure which seemed so  
(59-32)promising. The idea which then and long afterwards  
(59-32)prevailed in England was, that all profit  
(59-32)was lost to the British empire which did not arise  
(59-32)out of commerce exclusively English. The  
(59-32)increase of trade in Scotland or Ireland they  
(59-32)considered, not as an addition to the general prosperity  
(59-32)of the united nations, but as a positive loss to  
(59-32)England. The commerce of Ireland they had long  
(59-32)laid under severe shackles, to secure their own

[TG59-33]

(59-33)predominance ; but it was not so easy to deal with  
(59-33)Scotland, which, totally unlike Ireland, was  
(59-33)governed by its own independent legislature, and  
(59-33)acknowledged no subordination or fealty to  
(59-33)England, being in all respects a separate and  
(59-33)independent country, though governed by the same  
(59-33)King.

(59-33)This new species of rivalry on the part of an  
(59-33)old enemy, was both irritating and alarming. The  
(59-33)English had hitherto thought of the Scots as a  
(59-33)proud and fierce nation, who, in spite of fewer  
(59-33)numbers and far inferior resources, was always ready  
(59-33)to engage in war with her powerful neighbour;  
(59-33)and now that these wars were over, it was  
(59-33)embarrassing and provoking to find the same nation  
(59-33)display, in spite of its proverbial caution, a hardy  
(59-33)and ambitious spirit of emulating them in the paths  
(59-33)of commerce.

(59-33)These narrow-minded, unjust, and ungenerous  
(59-33)apprehensions prevailed so widely throughout the  
(59-33)English nation, that both Houses of Parliament  
(59-33)joined in an address to the King, stating that the  
(59-33)advantages given to the newly-erected Scottish  
(59-33)Indian and African Company, would ensure that  
(59-33)kingdom so great a superiority over the English  
(59-33)East India Company, that a great part of the stock  
(59-33)and shipping of England would be transported to  
(59-33)the north, and Scotland would become a free port  
(59-33)for all East Indian commodities, which they would  
(59-33)be able to furnish at a much cheaper rate than the  
(59-33)English. By this means it was said England  
(59-33)would lose all the advantages of an exclusive trade

[TG59-34]

(59-34)in the Eastern commodities, which had always  
(59-34)been a great article in her foreign commerce, and  
(59-34)sustain infinite detriment in the sale of her domestic  
(59-34)manufactures. The King, in his gracious  
(59-34)reply to this address, acknowledged the justice of  
(59-34)its statements, though as void of just policy as of  
(59-34)grounds in public law. His royal answer bore,  
(59-34)that " the King had been ill served in Scotland,  
(59-34)but hoped some remedies might still be found to  
(59-34)prevent the evils apprehended." To show that his  
(59-34)resentment was serious against his Scottish ministers,  
(59-34)King William, as we have already mentioned,  
(59-34)deprived the Master of Stair of his office as secretary  
(59-34)of state. Thus a statesman, who had retained  
(59-34)his place in spite of the bloody deed of Glencoe,  
(59-34)was disgraced for attempting to serve his country,  
(59-34)in the most innocent and laudable manner, by  
(59-34)extending her trade and national importance.

(59-34)The English Parliament persisted in the attempt  
(59-34)to find remedies for the evils which they were  
(59-34)pleased to apprehend from the Darien scheme, by  
(59-34)appointing a committee of enquiry, with directions  
(59-34)to summon before them such persons as had, by  
(59-34)subscribing to the Company, given encouragement  
(59-34)to the progress of an undertaking, so fraught, as  
(59-34)they alleged, with danger to the trade of England.  
(59-34)These persons, being called before Parliament, and  
(59-34)menaced with impeachment, were compelled to  
(59-34)renounce their connexion with the undertaking,  
(59-34)which was thus deprived of the aid of English  
(59-34)subscriptions, to the amount, as already mentioned, of  
(59-34)three hundred thousand pounds. Nay, so eager

[TG59-35]

(59-35)did the English Parliament show themselves in  
(59-35)this matter, that they even extended their menace  
(59-35)of impeachment to some native-born Scotsmen,  
(59-35)who had offended the House by subscribing their  
(59-35)own money to a Company formed in their own  
(59-35)country, and according to their own laws.

(59-35)That this mode of destroying the funds of the  
(59-35)concern might be yet more effectual, the weight of  
(59-35)the King's influence with foreign states was  
(59-35)employed to diminish the credit of the undertaking,  
(59-35)and to intercept the subscriptions which had been  
(59-35)obtained for the Company abroad. For this purpose,  
(59-35)the English envoy at Hamburgh was directed  
(59-35)to transmit to the Senate of that commercial city  
(59-35)a remonstrance on the part of King William,  
(59-35)accusing them of having encouraged the  
(59-35)commissioners of the Darien Company; requesting them  
(59-35)to desist from doing so ; intimating that the plan,  
(59-35)said to be fraught with many evils, had not the

(59-35)support of his Majesty ; and protesting, that the  
(59-35)refusal of the Senate to withdraw their countenance  
(59-35)from the scheme, would threaten an interruption  
(59-35)to the friendship which his Majesty desired  
(59-35)to cultivate with the good city of Hamburgh.  
(59-35)The Senate returned to this application a spirited  
(59-35)answer-" The city of Hamburgh," they said,  
(59-35)" considered it as strange that the King of  
(59-35)England should dictate to them, a free people, with  
(59-35)whom they were to engage in commercial arrangements ;  
(59-35)and were yet more astonished to find  
(59-35)themselves blamed for having entered into such  
(59-35)engagements with a body of his own Scottish subjects,

[TG59-36]

(59-36)incorporated under a special act of Parliament."  
(59-36)But as the menace of the envoy showed  
(59-36)that the Darien Company must be thwarted in all  
(59-36)its proceedings by the superior power of England,  
(59-36)the prudent Hamburghers, ceasing to consider it  
(59-36)as a hopeful speculation, finally withdrew their  
(59-36)subscriptions. The Dutch, to whom William could  
(59-36)more decidedly dictate, from his authority as  
(59-36)Stadtholder, and who were jealous, besides, of the  
(59-36)interference of the Scots with their own East Indian  
(59-36)trade, adopted a similar course, without  
(59-36)remonstrance. Thus, the projected Company, deserted  
(59-36)both by foreign and English associates, were  
(59-36)crippled in their undertaking, and left to their  
(59-36)own limited resources.

(59-36)The managers of the scheme, supported by the  
(59-36)general sense of the people of Scotland, made warm  
(59-36)remonstrances to King William on the hostile  
(59-36)interference of his Hamburgh envoy, and demanded  
(59-36)redress for so gross a wrong. In William's answer,

(59-36)he was forced meanly to evade what he was  
(59-36)resolved not to grant, and yet could not in equity  
(59-36)refuse. " The King," it was promised, " would  
(59-36)send instructions to his envoy, not to make use of  
(59-36)his Majesty's name or authority for obstructing  
(59-36)their engagements with the city of Hamburg."  
(59-36)The Hamburgers, on the other hand, declared  
(59-36)themselves ready to make good their subscriptions,  
(59-36)if they should receive any distinct assurance from  
(59-36)the King of England, that in so doing they would  
(59-36)be safe from his threatened resentment. But, in  
(59-36)spite of repeated promises, the envoy received no

[TG59-37]

(59-37)power to make such declaration. Thus the Darien  
(59-37)Company lost the advantage of support, to the  
(59-37)extent of two hundred thousand pounds, subscribed  
(59-37)in Hamburg and Holland, and that by the  
(59-37)personal and hostile interference of their own  
(59-37)Monarch, under whose charter they were embodied.

(59-37)Scotland, left to her unassisted resources, would  
(59-37)have acted with less spirit but more wisdom, in  
(59-37)renouncing her ambitious plan of colonization, sure  
(59-37)as it now was to be thwarted by the hostile  
(59-37)interference of her unfriendly but powerful neighbour  
(59-37)and rival. But those engaged in the scheme,  
(59-37)comprising great part of the nation, could not be expected  
(59-37)easily to renounce hopes which had been so  
(59-37)highly excited, and enough remained of the proud  
(59-37)and obstinate spirit with which their ancestors had  
(59-37)maintained their independence, to induce the Scots,  
(59-37)even when thrown back on their own limited means,  
(59-37)to determine upon the establishment of their favourite  
(59-37)settlement at Darien, in spite of the desertion  
(59-37)of their English and foreign subscribers, and in



(59-37)defiance of the invidious opposition of their powerful  
(59-37)neighbours. They caught the spirit of their  
(59-37)ancestors, who, after losing so many dreadful battles,  
(59-37)were always found ready with sword in hand,  
(59-37)to dispute the next campaign.

(59-37)The contributors to the enterprise were encouraged  
(59-37)in this stubborn resolution, by the flattering  
(59-37)account which was given of the country to be  
(59-37)colonized, in which every class of Scotsmen found  
(59-37)something to flatter their hopes, and to captivate their  
(59-37)imagination. The description given of Darien by

[TG59-38]

(59-38)Paterson was partly derived from his own  
(59-38)knowledge, partly from the report of bucaniers and  
(59-38)adventurers, and the whole was exaggerated by  
(59-38)the eloquence of an able man, pleading in behalf of  
(59-38)a favourite project.

(59-38)The climate was represented as healthy and cool,  
(59-38)the tropical heats being, it was said, mitigated by  
(59-38)the height of the country, and by the shade of  
(59-38)extensive forests, which yet presented neither thicket  
(59-38)nor underwood, but would admit a horseman to  
(59-38)gallop through them unimpeded. Those acquainted  
(59-38)with trade were assured of the benefits of a safe  
(59-38)and beautiful harbour, where the advantage of free  
(59-38)commerce and universal toleration, would attract  
(59-38)traders from all the world; while the produce of  
(59-38)China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and Eastern  
(59-38)India, brought to the bay of Panama in the Pacific  
(59-38)ocean, might be transferred by a safe and easy  
(59-38)route across the isthmus to the new settlement,  
(59-38)and exchanged for all the commodities of Europe.  
(59-38)" Trade," said the commercial enthusiast, " will

(59-38)beget trade - money will beget money - the  
(59-38)commercial world will no longer want work for their  
(59-38)hands, but will rather want hands for their work.  
(59-38)This door of the seas, and key of the universe, will  
(59-38)enable its possessors to become the legislators of  
(59-38)both worlds, and the arbitrators of commerce. The  
(59-38)settlers at Darien will acquire a nobler empire than  
(59-38)Alexander or Caesar, without fatigue, expense, or  
(59-38)danger, as well as without incurring the guilt and  
(59-38)bloodshed of conquerors." To those more vulgar  
(59-38)minds who cannot separate the idea of wealth from

[TG59-39]

(59-39)the precious metals, the projector held out the  
(59-39)prospect of golden mines. The hardy Highlanders,  
(59-39)many of whom embarked in the undertaking,  
(59-39)were to exchange their barren moors for extensive  
(59-39)savannahs of the richest pasture, with some latent  
(59-39)hopes of a creagh (or foray) upon Spaniards or  
(59-39)Indians. The Lowland laird was to barter his  
(59-39)meagre heritage, and oppressive feudal tenure, for  
(59-39)the free possession of unlimited tracts of ground,  
(59-39)where the rich soil, three or four feet deep, would  
(59-39)return the richest produce for the slightest cultivation.  
(59-39)Allured by these hopes, many proprietors  
(59-39)actually abandoned their inheritances, and many  
(59-39)more sent their sons and near relations to realize  
(59-39)their golden hopes, while the poor labourers, who  
(59-39)desired no more than bread and freedom of  
(59-39)conscience, shouldered their mattocks, and followed  
(59-39)their masters in the path of emigration.

(59-39)Twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom  
(59-39)were youths of the best Scottish families, embarked  
(59-39)on board of five frigates, purchased at  
(59-39)Hamburgh for the service of the expedition ; for the

(59-39)King refused the Company even the trifling  
(59-39)accommodation of a ship of war, which lay idle at Burnt-  
(59-39)island. They sailed from Leith roads [26th July

[TG59-40]

(59-40)1698], reached their destination in safety, and  
(59-40)disembarked at a place called Acta, where, by  
(59-40)cutting through a peninsula, they obtained a  
(59-40)safe and insulated situation for a town, called New  
(59-40)Edinburgh, and a fort named Saint Andrew.  
(59-40)With the same fond remembrance of their native  
(59-40)land, the colony itself was called Caledonia. They  
(59-40)were favourably received by the native princes,  
(59-40)from whom they purchased the land they required.  
(59-40)The harbour, which was excellent, was proclaimed  
(59-40)a free port; and in the outset the happiest results  
(59-40)were expected from the settlement.

(59-40)The arrival of the colonists took place in winter,  
(59-40)when the air was cool and temperate ; but with the  
(59-40)summer returned the heat, and with the heat came  
(59-40)the diseases of a tropical climate. Those who had  
(59-40)reported so favourably of the climate of Darien,  
(59-40)Had probably been persons who had only visited the  
(59-40)coast during the healthy season, or mariners, who,  
(59-40)being chiefly on ship-board, find many situations  
(59-40)healthy, which prove pestilential to Europeans  
(59-40)residing on shore. The health of the settlers,  
(59-40)accustomed to a cold and mountainous country, gave  
(59-40)way fast under the constant exhalations of the

[TG59-41]

(59-41)sultry climate, and even a more pressing danger  
(59-41)than disease itself arose from the scarcity of food.  
(59-41)The provisions which the colonists had brought  
(59-41)from Scotland were expended, and the country

(59-41)afforded them only such supplies as could be  
(59-41)procured by the precarious success of fishing and the  
(59-41)chase.

(59-41)This must have been foreseen ; but it was never  
(59-41)doubted that ample supplies would be procured  
(59-41)from the English provinces in North America,  
(59-41)which afforded great superabundance of provisions,  
(59-41)and from the West India colonies, which  
(59-41)always possessed superfluities. It was here that  
(59-41)the enmity of the King and the English nation  
(59-41)met the unfortunate settlers most unexpectedly,  
(59-41)and most severely. In North America, and in  
(59-41)the West India islands, the most savage pirates  
(59-41)and bucaniers, men who might be termed enemies  
(59-41)to the human race, and had done deeds which seemed  
(59-41)to exclude them from intercourse with mankind,  
(59-41)had nevertheless found repeated refuge, - had been  
(59-41)permitted to refit their squadrons, and, supplied  
(59-41)with every means of keeping the sea, had set sail  
(59-41)in a condition to commit new murders and piracies.  
(59-41)But no such relief was extended to the Scottish  
(59-41)colonists at Darien, though acting under a charter  
(59-41)from their Sovereign, and establishing a peaceful  
(59-41)colony according to the law of nations, and for the  
(59-41)universal benefit of mankind.

(59-41)The governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New  
(59-41)York, published proclamations, setting forth, that  
(59-41)whereas it had been signified to them (the governors)

[TG59-42]

(59-42)by the English Secretary of State, that his  
(59-42)Majesty was unacquainted with the purpose and  
(59-42)design of the Scottish settlers at Darien (which  
(59-42)was a positive falsehood), and that it was contrary

(59-42)to the peace entered into with his Majesty's allies  
(59-42)(no European power having complained of it), and  
(59-42)that the governors of the said colonies had been  
(59-42)commanded not to afford them any assistance ;  
(59-42)therefore, they did strictly charge the colonists over  
(59-42)whom they presided, to hold no correspondence  
(59-42)with the said Scots, and to give them no assistance  
(59-42)of arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other  
(59-42)necessary whatsoever, either by themselves or any  
(59-42)others for them ; as those transgressing the tenor  
(59-42)of the proclamation would answer the breach of  
(59-42)his Majesty's commands at their highest peril.

(59-42)These proclamations were strictly obeyed ; and  
(59-42)every species of relief, not only that which  
(59-42)countrymen may claim of their fellow-subjects, and  
(59-42)Christians of their fellow-Christians, but such as  
(59-42)the vilest criminal has a right to demand, because  
(59-42)still holding the same human shape with the  
(59-42)community whose laws he has offended, - the mere  
(59-42)supply, namely, of sustenance, the meanest boon  
(59-42)granted to the meanest beggar, - was denied to  
(59-42)the colonists of Darien.

(59-42)Famine aided the diseases which swept them off  
(59-42)in large numbers ; and undoubtedly they, who  
(59-42)thus perished for want of the provisions for which  
(59-42)they were willing to pay, were as much murdered  
(59-42)by King William's government, as if they had been  
(59-42)shot in the snows of Glencoe. The various miseries

[TG59-43]

(59-43)of the colony became altogether intolerable, and,  
(59-43)after waiting for assistance eight months, by far the  
(59-43)greater part of the adventurers having died, the  
(59-43)miserable remainder abandoned the settlement.

(59-43)Shortly after the departure of the first colony,  
(59-43)another body of thirteen hundred men, who had  
(59-43)been sent out from Scotland, arrived at Darien,  
(59-43)under the hope of finding their friends in health,  
(59-43)and the settlement prosperous. This reinforcement  
(59-43)suffered by a bad passage, in which one of their  
(59-43)ships was lost, and several of their number died.  
(59-43)They took possession of the deserted settlement  
(59-43)with sad anticipations, and were not long in  
(59-43)experiencing the same miseries which had destroyed and  
(59-43)dispersed their predecessors. Two months after,  
(59-43)they were joined by Campbell of Finab, with a  
(59-43)third body of three hundred men, chiefly from his  
(59-43)own Highland estate, many of whom had served  
(59-43)under him in Flanders, where he had acquired an  
(59-43)honourable military reputation. It was time the  
(59-43)colony should receive such military support, for  
(59-43)in addition to their other difficulties, they were now  
(59-43)threatened by the Spaniards.

(59-43)Two years had elapsed since the colonization of  
(59-43)Darien had become matter of public discussion, and  
(59-43)notwithstanding their feverish jealousy of their  
(59-43)South American settlements, the Spaniards had not  
(59-43)made any remonstrance against it. Nay, so close

[TG59-44]

(59-44)and intimate was the King of Spain's friendship  
(59-44)with King William, that it seems possible he might  
(59-44)never have done so, unless the colonists had been  
(59-44)disowned by their Sovereign, as if they had been  
(59-44)vagabonds and outlaws. But finding the Scottish  
(59-44)colony so treated by their Prince, the Spaniards  
(59-44)felt themselves invited in a manner to attack it,  
(59-44)and not only lodged a remonstrance against the

(59-44)settlement with the English Cabinet, but seized one  
(59-44)of the vessels wrecked on the coast, confiscated the  
(59-44)ship, and made the crew prisoners. The Darien  
(59-44)Company sent an address to the King by the hands  
(59-44)of Lord Basil Hamilton, remonstrating against this  
(59-44)injury; but William, who studied every means to  
(59-44)discountenance the unfortunate scheme, refused,  
(59-44)under the most frivolous pretexts, to receive the  
(59-44)petition. This became so obvious, that the young  
(59-44)nobleman determined that the address should reach  
(59-44)the royal hands in season or out of season, and  
(59-44)taking a public opportunity to approach the King as  
(59-44)he was leaving the saloon of audience, he obtruded  
(59-44)himself and the petition upon his notice, with more  
(59-44)bluntness than ceremony. " That young man is  
(59-44)too bold," said William ; but, doing justice to Lord  
(59-44)Basil's motive, he presently added,-" if a man can  
(59-44)be too bold in the cause of his country."

(59-44)The fate of the colony now came to a crisis.  
(59-44)The Spaniards had brought from the Pacific a  
(59-44)force of sixteen hundred men, who were stationed  
(59-44)at a place called Tubucantee, waiting the arrival of  
(59-44)an armament of eleven ships, with troops on board,  
(59-44)destined to attack fort Saint Andrew. Captain

[TG59-45]

(59-45)Campbell, who, by the unanimous consent of the  
(59-45)settlers, was chosen to the supreme military  
(59-45)command, marched against them with two hundred  
(59-45)men, surprised and stormed their camp, and  
(59-45)dispersed their army, with considerable slaughter.  
(59-45)But in returning from his successful expedition,  
(59-45)he had the mortification to learn that the Spanish  
(59-45)ships had arrived before the harbour, disembarked  
(59-45)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.<sup>1</sup> 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



(59-47)vouch for the justice of the claim. For many  
(59-47)years, no such universal feeling had occupied the  
(59-47)Scottish nation.

(59-47)King William remained indifferent to all  
(59-47)complaints of hardship and petitions of redress, unless  
(59-47)when he showed himself irritated by the importunity  
(59-47)of the supplicants, and hurt at being obliged  
(59-47)to evade what it was impossible for him, with the  
(59-47)least semblance of justice, to refuse. The motives  
(59-47)of a Prince, naturally just and equitable, and who,  
(59-47)himself the President of a great trading nation,  
(59-47)knew well the injustice which he was committing,

[TG59-48]

(59-48)seem to have been, first, a reluctance to disoblige  
(59-48)the King of Spain, but, secondly, and in a much  
(59-48)greater degree, what William might esteem the  
(59-48)political necessity of sacrificing the interests of  
(59-48)Scotland to the jealousy of England, a jealousy  
(59-48)equally unworthy and impolitic. But what is  
(59-48)unjust can never be in a true sense necessary, and the  
(59-48)sacrifice of principle to circumstances will, in every  
(59-48)sense, and in all cases, be found as unwise as it is  
(59-48)unworthy.

(59-48)It is, however, only justice to William to state,  
(59-48)that though in the Darien affair he refused the Scots  
(59-48)the justice which was unquestionably their due, he  
(59-48)was nevertheless the only person in either kingdom  
(59-48)who proposed, and was anxious to have carried into  
(59-48)execution, an union between the kingdoms, as the  
(59-48)only effectual means of preventing in future such  
(59-48)subjects of jealousy and contention. But the  
(59-48)prejudices of England as well as Scotland, rendered  
(59-48)more inveterate by this unhappy quarrel,

(59-48)disappointed the King's wise and sagacious overture.

(59-48)Notwithstanding the interest in her welfare which  
(59-48)King William evinced, by desiring the accomplishment  
(59-48)of an union, the people of Scotland could not  
(59-48)forget the wrongs which they had received  
(59-48)concerning the Darien project; and their sullen  
(59-48)resentment showed itself in every manner, excepting  
(59-48)open rebellion, during the remainder of his reign.

(59-48)In this humour, Scotland became a useless  
(59-48)possession to the King. William could not wring  
(59-48)from that kingdom one penny for the public  
(59-48)service, or what he would have valued more, one

[TG59-49]

(59-49)recruit to carry on his continental campaigns. These  
(59-49)hostile feelings subsisted to a late period.

(59-49)William died in 1701, having for six years and  
(59-49)upwards survived his beloved consort Queen Mary.  
(59-49)This great King's memory was, and is, justly  
(59-49)honoured in England, as their deliverer from slavery,  
(59-49)civil and religious, and is almost canonized by the  
(59-49)Protestants of Ireland, whom he rescued from  
(59-49)subjugation, and elevated to supremacy. But in  
(59-49)Scotland, his services to church and state, though at  
(59-49)least equal to those which he rendered to the sister  
(59-49)countries, were in a considerable degree obliterated  
(59-49)by the infringement other national rights, on several  
(59-49)occasions. Many persons, as well as your grand-  
(59-49)father, may recollect, that on the 5th of November,  
(59-49)1788, when a full century had elapsed after the  
(59-49)Revolution, some friends to constitutional liberty  
(59-49)proposed that the return of the day should be  
(59-49)solemnized by an agreement to erect a monument to

(59-49)the memory of King William, and the services  
(59-49)which he had rendered to the British kingdoms.  
(59-49)At this period an anonymous letter appeared in one  
(59-49)of the Edinburgh newspapers, ironically applauding  
(59-49)the undertaking, and proposing as two subjects of  
(59-49)the entablature, for the base of the projected  
(59-49)column, the massacre of Glencoe, and the distresses  
(59-49)of the Scottish colonists at Darien. The proposal  
(59-49)was abandoned as soon as this insinuation was made  
(59-49)public. You may observe from this how cautious  
(59-49)a monarch should be of committing wrong or

[TG59-50]

(59-50)injustice, however strongly recommended by what  
(59-50)may seem political necessity; since the recollection  
(59-50)of such actions cancels the sense of the most  
(59-50)important national services, as in Scripture it is said,  
(59-50)"that a dead fly will pollute a rich and costly  
(59-50)unguent."

(59-50)James II. died only four months before his son-  
(59-50)in-law William. The King of France proclaimed  
(59-50)James's son, that unfortunate Prince of Wales, born  
(59-50)in the very storm of the Revolution, as William's  
(59-50)successor in the kingdoms of England, Scotland,  
(59-50)and Ireland ; a step which greatly irritated the  
(59-50)three nations, to whom Louis seemed by this act  
(59-50)disposed to nominate a sovereign. Anne, the sister  
(59-50)of the late Queen Mary, ascended the throne of  
(59-50)these kingdoms, according to the provision made  
(59-50)at the Revolution by the legislature of both  
(59-50)nations.

[TG60-51]

(60-51)AT the period of Queen Anne's accession, Scotland  
(60-51)was divided into three parties. These were,

(60-51)first, the Whigs, stanch favourers of the Revolution,  
(60-51)in the former reign called Williamites ;  
(60-51)secondly, the Tories, or Jacobites, attached to the  
(60-51)late King ; and thirdly, a party sprung up in  
(60-51)consequence of the general complaints arising out of  
(60-51)the Darien adventure, who associated themselves  
(60-51)for asserting the rights and independence of  
(60-51)Scotland.

(60-51)This latter association comprehended several men  
(60-51)of talent, among whom Fletcher of Saltoun, already  
(60-51)mentioned, was the most distinguished. They  
(60-51)professed, that providing the claims and rights of the  
(60-51)country were ascertained and secured against the  
(60-51)encroaching influence of England, they did not care  
(60-51)whether Anne or her brother, the titular Prince of  
(60-51)Wales, was called to the throne. These statesmen  
(60-51)called themselves the Country Party, as embracing

[TG60-52]

(60-52)exclusively for their object the interests of Scotland  
(60-52)alone. This party, formed upon a plan and  
(60-52)principle of political conduct hitherto unknown in the  
(60-52)Scottish Parliament, was numerous, bold, active,  
(60-52)and eloquent; and as a critical period had arrived  
(60-52)in which the measures to be taken in Scotland  
(60-52)must necessarily greatly affect the united empire,  
(60-52)her claims could no longer be treated with indifference  
(60-52)or neglect, and the voice of her patriots  
(60-52)disregarded.

(60-52)The conjuncture which gave Scotland new  
(60-52)consequence, was as follows :-When Queen Anne  
(60-52)was named to succeed to the English throne, on  
(60-52)the death of her sister Mary, and brother-in-law  
(60-52)William III., she had a family. But the young Duke

(60-52)of Gloucester, the last of her children, had died before  
(60-52)her accession to the crown, and there were no hopes  
(60-52)of her having more; it became, therefore, necessary  
(60-52)to make provision for the succession to the crown  
(60-52)when the new Queen should die. The titular  
(60-52)Prince of Wales, son of the abdicated James, was  
(60-52)undoubtedly the next heir; but he was a Catholic,  
(60-52)bred up in the court of France, inheriting all the  
(60-52)extravagant claims, and probably the arbitrary  
(60-52)sentiments, of his father ; and to call him to the  
(60-52)throne, would be in all likelihood to undo the  
(60-52)settlement between king and people which had  
(60-52)taken place at the Revolution. The English  
(60-52)legislature, therefore, turned their eyes to another  
(60-52)descendant of King James VI., namely, Sophia,  
(60-52)the Electress Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter  
(60-52)of James the First of England and Sixth of

[TG60-53]

(60-53)Scotland, by the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth,  
(60-53)with the Prince Palatine. This Princess  
(60-53)was the nearest Protestant heir in blood to Queen  
(60-53)Anne, supposing the claims of the son of James  
(60-53)II. were to be passed over. She was a Protestant,  
(60-53)and would necessarily, by accepting the crown,  
(60-53)become bound to maintain the civil and religious  
(60-53)rights of the nation, as settled at the Revolution,  
(60-53)upon which her own right would be dependent.  
(60-53)For these weighty reasons the English Parliament  
(60-53)passed an Act of Succession, settling the crown, on  
(60-53)the failure of Queen Anne and her issue, upon  
(60-53)the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover,  
(60-53)and her descendants. This act, most important  
(60-53)in its purport and consequences, was passed in  
(60-53)June, 1700.

(60-53)It became of the very last importance to Queen  
(60-53)Anne's administration, to induce, if possible, the  
(60-53)legislation of Scotland to settle the crown of that  
(60-53)kingdom on the same series of heirs to which that  
(60-53)of England was destined. If, after the death of  
(60-53)Queen Anne, the Scottish nation, instead of  
(60-53)uniting in choosing the Electress Sophia, should call  
(60-53)to the crown the titular Prince of Wales, the two  
(60-53)kingdoms would again be separated, after having  
(60-53)been under the same sway for a century, and all  
(60-53)the evils of mutual hostilities betwixt the two  
(60-53)extremities of the island, encouraged by the alliance  
(60-53)and assistance of France, must again distract Great  
(60-53)Britain. It became necessary, therefore, to try  
(60-53)every species of persuasion to prevent a  
(60-53)consequence fraught with so much mischief.

[TG60-54]

(60-54)But Scotland was not in a humour to be either  
(60-54)threatened or soothed into the views of England  
(60-54)on this important occasion. The whole party of  
(60-54)Anti-Revolutionists, Jacobites, or, as they called  
(60-54)themselves, Cavaliers, although they thought it  
(60-54)prudent for the present to submit to Queen Anne,  
(60-54)entertained strong hopes that she herself was  
(60-54)favourable to the succession of her brother after her  
(60-54)own death; while their principles dictated to them  
(60-54)that the wrong, as they termed it, done to James  
(60-54)II., ought as speedily as possible to be atoned for  
(60-54)by the restoration of his son. They were of course  
(60-54)directly and violently hostile to the proposed Act  
(60-54)of Settlement in favour of the Electress Sophia.

(60-54)The country party, headed by the Duke of  
(60-54)Hamilton, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, opposed  
(60-54)the Act of Succession for different reasons. They

(60-54)resolved to take this favourable opportunity to  
(60-54)diminish or destroy the ascendancy which had  
(60-54)been exercised by England respecting the affairs  
(60-54)of Scotland, and which, in the case of Darien, had  
(60-54)been so unjustly and unworthily employed to  
(60-54)thwart and disappoint a national scheme. They  
(60-54)determined to obtain for Scotland a share in the  
(60-54)plantation trade of England, and a freedom from  
(60-54)the restrictions imposed by the English Navigation  
(60-54)Act, and other regulations enacted to secure  
(60-54)a monopoly of trade to the English nation. Until  
(60-54)these points were determined in favour of Scotland,  
(60-54)they resolved they would not agree to pass  
(60-54)the Act of Succession, boldly alleging, that unless  
(60-54)the rights and privileges of Scotland were to be

[TG60-55]

(60-55)respected, it was of little consequence whether she  
(60-55)chose a king from Hanover or Saint Germain.

(60-55)The whole people of Scotland, excepting those  
(60-55)actually engaged in the administration, or expecting  
(60-55)favours from the court, resolutely adopted the  
(60-55)same sentiments, and seemed resolved to abide all  
(60-55)the consequences of a separation of the two kingdoms,  
(60-55)nay, of a war with England, rather than  
(60-55)name the Electress Sophia successor to the crown,  
(60-55)till the country was admitted to an equitable  
(60-55)portion of those commercial privileges which England  
(60-55)retained with a tenacious grasp. The crisis seemed  
(60-55)an opportunity of Heaven's sending, to give Scotland  
(60-55)consequence enough to insist on her rights.

(60-55)With this determined purpose, the country  
(60-55)party in the Scottish Parliament, instead of adopting,  
(60-55)as the English ministers eagerly desired, the

(60-55)Protestant Act of Succession, proposed a measure (60-55)called an Act of Security. By this it was provided, (60-55)that in case of Queen Anne's death without (60-55)children, the whole power of the crown should, (60-55)for the time, be lodged in the Scottish Parliament, (60-55)who were directed to choose a successor of the (60-55)royal line and Protestant religion. But the choice (60-55)was to be made with this special reservation, that (60-55)the person so chosen should take the throne only (60-55)under such conditions of government as should (60-55)secure, from English or foreign influence, the (60-55)honour and independence of the Scottish crown and (60-55)nation. It was further stipulated, that the same (60-55)person should be incapable of holding the crowns (60-55)of both kingdoms, unless the Scottish people were

[TG60-56]

(60-56)admitted to share with the English the full benefits (60-56)of trade and navigation. That the nation might (60-56)assume an appearance of strength necessary to (60-56)support such lofty pretensions, it was provided by (60-56)the same statute, that the whole men in Scotland (60-56)capable of bearing arms, should be trained to the (60-56)use of them by monthly drills ; and, that the (60-56)influence of England might expire at the same time (60-56)with the life of the Queen, it was provided that all (60-56)commissions of the officers of state, as well as those (60-56)of the military employed by them, should cease (60-56)and lose effect so soon as Anne's death took place.

(60-56)This formidable act, which in fact hurled the (60-56)gauntlet of defiance at the far stronger kingdom of (60-56)England, was debated in the Scottish Parliament, (60-56)clause by clause, and article by article, with the (60-56)utmost fierceness and tumult. " We were often," (60-56)says an eyewitness, " in the form of a Polish Diet,



(60-56)with our swords in our hands, or at least our hands  
(60-56)on our swords."

(60-56)The Act of Security was carried in Parliament  
(60-56)by a decided majority, but the Queen's commissioner  
(60-56)refused the royal assent to so violent a  
(60-56)statute. The Parliament, on their part, would grant  
(60-56)no supplies, and when such were requested by the  
(60-56)members of administration, the hall rung with the  
(60-56)shouts of " Liberty before subsidy ! " The  
(60-56)Parliament was adjourned amidst the mutual discontent  
(60-56)of both Ministers and Opposition.

(60-56)The dispute betwixt the two nations was  
(60-56)embroiled during the recess of Parliament by intrigues.  
(60-56)Simon Fraser of Beaufort, afterwards Lord Lovat,

[TG60-57]

(60-57)had undertaken to be the agent of France In a  
(60-57)Jacobite conspiracy, which he afterwards  
(60-57)discovered to Government, involving in his accusation  
(60-57)the Duke of Hamilton, and other noblemen. The  
(60-57)persons accused defended themselves by alleging  
(60-57)that the plot was a mere pretext, devised by the  
(60-57)Duke of Queensberry, to whom it had been  
(60-57)discovered by Fraser. The English House of Peers, in  
(60-57)allusion to this genuine or pretended discovery,  
(60-57)passed a vote, that a dangerous plot had existed in  
(60-57)Scotland, and that it had its origin in the desire to  
(60-57)overthrow the Protestant succession in that nation.  
(60-57)This resolution was highly resented by the Scots,  
(60-57)being considered as an unauthorized interference,  
(60-57)on the part of the English peers, with the concerns  
(60-57)of another kingdom. Every thing seemed tending  
(60-57)to a positive rupture between the sister kingdoms ;  
(60-57)and yet, my dear child, it was from this state of

(60-57)things that the healing measure of an incorporating  
(60-57)Union finally took its rise.

(60-57)In the very difficult and critical conduct which  
(60-57)the Queen had to observe betwixt two high-spirited  
(60-57)nations, whose true interest it was to enter into  
(60-57)the strictest friendship and alliance, but whose  
(60-57)irritated passions for the present breathed nothing  
(60-57)but animosity, Anne had the good fortune to be  
(60-57)assisted by the wise counsels of Godolphin, one of  
(60-57)the most sagacious and profound ministers who  
(60-57)ever advised a crowned head. By his  
(60-57)recommendation, the Queen proceeded upon a plan, which,  
(60-57)while at first sight it seemed to widen the breach  
(60-57)between the two nations, was in the end to prove

[TG60-58]

(60-58)the means of compelling both to lay aside their  
(60-58)mutual prejudices and animosities. The scheme  
(60-58)of a Union was to be proceeded upon, like that  
(60-58)of breaking two spirited horses to join in drawing  
(60-58)the same yoke, when it is of importance to teach  
(60-58)them, that by moving in unison, and at an equal  
(60-58)pace, the task will be easy to them both. Godolphin's  
(60-58)first advice to the Queen was, to suffer the  
(60-58)Scottish Act of Security to pass. The English,  
(60-58)in their superior wealth and importance, had for  
(60-58)many years looked with great contempt on the  
(60-58)Scottish nation, as compared with themselves, and  
(60-58)were prejudiced against the Union, as a man of  
(60-58)wealth and importance might be against a match  
(60-58)with a female in an inferior rank of society. It  
(60-58)was necessary to change this feeling, and to show  
(60-58)plainly to the English people, that, if the Scots  
(60-58)were not allied with them in intimate friendship,  
(60-58)they might prove dangerous enemies.

(60-58)The Act of Security finally passed in 1704,  
(60-58)having, according to Godolphin's advice, received  
(60-58)the Queen's assent; and the Scottish Parliament,  
(60-58)as the provisions of the statute bore, immediately  
(60-58)began to train their countrymen, who have always  
(60-58)been attached to the use of arms, and easily submit  
(60-58)to military discipline.

(60-58)The effect of these formidable preparations was,  
(60-58)to arouse the English from their indifference to  
(60-58)Scottish affairs. Scotland might be poor, but her  
(60-58)numerous levies, under sanction of the Act of  
(60-58)Security, were not the less formidable. A sudden  
(60-58)inroad on Newcastle, as in the great Civil War,

[TG60-59]

(60-59)would distress London, by interrupting the coal  
(60-59)trade; and whatever might be the event, the prospect  
(60-59)of a civil war, as it might be termed, after  
(60-59)so long a tract of peace, was doubtful and  
(60-59)dangerous.

(60-59)The English Parliament, therefore, showed a  
(60-59)mixture of resentment tempered with a desire of  
(60-59)conciliation. They enacted regulations against the  
(60-59)Scottish trade, and ordered the Border towns of  
(60-59)Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, to be fortified  
(60-59)and garrisoned ; but they declined, at the same  
(60-59)time, the proposed measure of enquiring concerning  
(60-59)the person who advised the Queen to consent  
(60-59)to the Act of Security. In abstaining from this,  
(60-59)they paid respect to Scottish independence, and at  
(60-59)the same time, by empowering the Queen to nominate  
(60-59)Commissioners for a Union, they seemed to  
(60-59)hold out the olive branch to the sister kingdom.

(60-59)While this lowering hurricane appeared to be  
(60-59)gathering darker and darker betwixt the two  
(60-59)nations, an incident took place which greatly inflamed  
(60-59)their mutual resentment.

(60-59)A Scottish ship, equipped for a voyage to  
(60-59)India, had been seized and detained in the Thames,  
(60-59)at the instance of the English East India  
(60-59)Company. The Scots were not. in a humour to endure  
(60-59)this; and by way of reprisal, they took possession  
(60-59)of a large English vessel trading to India, called  
(60-59)the Worcester, which had been forced into the frith  
(60-59)of Forth by unfavourable weather. There was  
(60-59)something suspicious about this vessel. Her men

[TG60-60]

(60-60)were numerous, and had the air of pirates. She  
(60-60)was better provided with guns and ammunition,  
(60-60)than is usual for vessels fitted out merely for  
(60-60)objects of trade. A cipher was found among her  
(60-60)papers, for corresponding with the owners, as if  
(60-60)upon secret and dangerous business. All these  
(60-60)mysterious circumstances seemed to intimate, that  
(60-60)the Worcester, as was not uncommon, under the  
(60-60)semblance of a trader, had been equipped for the  
(60-60)purpose of exercising, when in remote Indian  
(60-60)latitudes, the profession of a bucanier or pirate.

(60-60)One of the seamen belonging to this ship, named  
(60-60)Haines, having been ashore with some company,  
(60-60)and drinking rather freely, fell into a fit of melancholy,  
(60-60)an effect which liquor produces on some  
(60-60)constitutions, and in that humour told those who  
(60-60)were present, that it is a wonder his captain and  
(60-60)crew were not lost at sea, considering the wickedness

(60-60)which had been done aboard that ship which  
(60-60)was lying in the roadstead. Upon these and similar  
(60-60)hints of something doubtful or illegal, the  
(60-60)Scottish authorities imprisoned the officers and  
(60-60)sailors of the Worcester, and examined them

[TG60-61]

(60-61)rigorously, in order to discover what the expressions  
(60-61)of their shipmate referred to.

(60-61)Among other persons interrogated, a black slave  
(60-61)of the captain (surely a most suspicious witness)  
(60-61)told a story, that the Worcester, during their late  
(60-61)voyage, had, upon the Coromandel coast, near  
(60-61)Calicut, engaged, and finally boarded and captured  
(60-61)a vessel bearing a red nag, and manned with  
(60-61)English, or Scotch, or at least with people speaking the  
(60-61)English language ; that they had thrown the crew  
(60-61)overboard, and disposed of the vessel and the cargo  
(60-61)to a native merchant. This account was in  
(60-61)some degree countenanced by the surgeon of the  
(60-61)Worcester, who, in confirmation of the slave's  
(60-61)story, said, that being on shore in a harbour on the  
(60-61)coast of Malabar, he heard the discharge of great  
(60-61)guns at sea ; and saw the Worcester, which had  
(60-61)been out on a cruize, come in next morning with  
(60-61)another vessel under her stern, which he understood  
(60-61)was afterwards sold to a native merchant.  
(60-61)Four days afterwards he went on board the  
(60-61)Worcester, and finding her decks lumbered with goods,  
(60-61)made some enquiry of the crew how they had come  
(60-61)by them, but was checked for doing so by the mate,  
(60-61)and desired to confine himself to his own business.  
(60-61)Farther, the surgeon stated, that he was called to  
(60-61)dress the wounds of several of the men, but the  
(60-61)captain and mate forbade him to ask, or the

(60-61)patients to answer, how they came by their hurts.

(60-61)Another black servant, or slave, besides the one  
(60-61)before mentioned, had not himself seen the capture  
(60-61)of the supposed ship, or the death of the crew, but

[TG60-62]

(60-62)had been told of It by the first informer, shortly  
(60-62)after it happened. Lastly, a Scottish witness  
(60-62)declared that Green, the captain of the vessel, had  
(60-62)shown him a seal bearing the arms of the Scottish  
(60-62)African and Indian Company.

(60-62)This story was greatly too vague to have been  
(60-62)admitted to credit on any occasion when men's  
(60-62)minds were cool and their judgments unprejudiced.  
(60-62)But the Scottish nation was almost frantic with  
(60-62)resentment on the subject of Darien. One of the  
(60-62)vessels belonging to that unfortunate Company,  
(60-62)called the Rising Sun, and commanded by Captain  
(60-62)Robert Drummond, had been amissing for some  
(60-62)time; and it was received as indisputable truth,  
(60-62)that this must have been the vessel taken by the  
(60-62)Worcester, and that her master and men had been  
(60-62)murdered, according to the black slave's  
(60-62)declaration.

(60-62)Under this cloud of prejudice, Green, with his  
(60-62)mate and crew, fifteen men in all, were brought to  
(60-62)trial for their lives. Three of these unfortunate  
(60-62)men, Linstead, the supercargo's mate, Bruckley,  
(60-62)the cooper of the Worcester, and Haines, whose  
(60-62)gloomy hints gave the first suspicion, are said to  
(60-62)have uttered declarations before trial, confirming  
(60-62)the truth of the charge, and admitting that the  
(60-62)vessel so seized upon was the Rising Sun, and that

(60-62)Captain Robert Drummond and his crew were the  
(60-62)persons murdered in the course of that act of piracy.  
(60-62)But Haines seems to have laboured under attacks  
(60-62)of hypochondria, which sometimes induce men to  
(60-62)suppose themselves spectators and accomplices in

[TG60-63]

(60-63)crimes which have no real existence. Linstead,  
(60-63)like the surgeon May, only spoke to a hearsay story,  
(60-63)and that of Bruckley was far from being clear. It  
(60-63)will hereafter be shown, that if any ship was actually  
(60-63)taken by Green and his crew, it could not be that  
(60-63)of Captain Drummond, which met a different fate.  
(60-63)This makes it probable, that these confessions were  
(60-63)made by the prisoners only in the hope of saving  
(60-63)their own lives, endangered by the fury of the  
(60-63)Scottish people. And it is certain that none of  
(60-63)these declarations were read, or produced as  
(60-63)evidence, in court, nor were those stated to have made  
(60-63)them examined as witnesses.

(60-63)The trial of Green and his crew took place  
(60-63)before the High Court of Admiralty ; and a jury, upon  
(60-63)the sole evidence of the black slave, - for the  
(60-63)rest was made up of suggestions, insinuations, and  
(60-63)reports, taken from hearsay;-brought in a verdict  
(60-63)of guilty against Green and all his crew. The  
(60-63)Government were disposed to have obtained a  
(60-63)reprieve from the crown for the prisoners, whose  
(60-63)guilt was so very doubtful; but the mob of  
(60-63)Edinburgh, at all times a fierce and intractable multitude,  
(60-63)arose in great numbers, and demanded their lives  
(60-63)with such an appearance of uncontrollable fury, that  
(60-63)the authorities became intimidated, and yielded.  
(60-63)Captain Green himself, Madder his first mate, and  
(60-63)Simpson the gunner, were dragged to Leith, loaded

(60-63)by the way with curses and execrations,(April, 1705)  
(60-63)and even struck at and pelted by the  
(60-63)furious populace ; and finally executed in  
(60-63)terms of their sentence, denying with their last  
(60-63)breath the crime which they were accused of.

[TG60-64]

(60-64)The ferment in Scotland was somewhat appeased  
(60-64)by this act of vengeance, for it has no title to be  
(60-64)called a deed of justice. The remainder of Green's  
(60-64)crew were dismissed after a long imprisonment,  
(60-64)during the course of which cooler reflection induced  
(60-64)doubts of the validity of the sentence. At a much  
(60-64)later period it appeared, that, if the Worcester had  
(60-64)committed an act of piracy upon any vessel, it could  
(60-64)not at least have been on the Rising Sun, which  
(60-64)ship had been cast away on the island of Madagascar,  
(60-64)when the crew were cut off by the natives,  
(60-64)excepting Captain Drummond himself, whom Drury,  
(60-64)an English seaman in similar circumstances, found  
(60-64)alive upon the island.

(60-64)This unhappy affair, in which the Scots, by their  
(60-64)precipitate and unjust procedure, gave the deepest  
(60-64)offence to the English nation, tended greatly to  
(60-64)increase the mutual prejudices and animosity of the  
(60-64)people of both countries against each other. But

[TG60-65]

(60-65)the very extremity of their mutual enmity inclined  
(60-65)wise men of both nations to be more disposed to  
(60-65)submit to a Union, with all the inconveniences and  
(60-65)difficulties which must attend the progress of such  
(60-65)a measure, rather than that the two divisions of the  
(60-65)same island should again engage in intestine war.



(60-65)The principal obstacle to a Union, so far as  
(60-65)England was concerned, lay in a narrow-minded  
(60-65)view of the commercial interests of the nation, and  
(60-65)a fear of the loss which might accrue by admitting  
(60-65)the Scots to a share of their plantation trade, and  
(60-65)other privileges. But it was not difficult to show,  
(60-65)even to the persons most interested, that public  
(60-65)credit and private property would suffer immeasurably  
(60-65)more by a war with Scotland, than by sacrificing  
(60-65)to peace and unity some share in the general  
(60-65)commerce. It is true, the opulence of England,  
(60-65)the command of men, the many victorious  
(60-65)troops which she then had in the field, under the  
(60-65)best commanders in Europe, seemed to ensure  
(60-65)final victory, if the two nations should come to  
(60-65)open war. But a war with Scotland was always  
(60-65)more easily begun than ended; and wise men saw  
(60-65)it would be better to secure the friendship of that  
(60-65)kingdom by an agreement on the basis of mutual  
(60-65)advantage, than to incur the risk of invading, and  
(60-65)the final necessity of securing it as a conquered  
(60-65)country, by means of forts and garrisons. In the  
(60-65)one case, Scotland would become an integral part

[TG60-66]

(60-66)of the empire ; and, improving in the arts of peaceful  
(60-66)industry, must necessarily contribute to the  
(60-66)prosperity of England. In the case supposed, she  
(60-66)must long remain a discontented and disaffected  
(60-66)province, in which the exiled family of James II.  
(60-66)and his allies the French would always find friends  
(60-66)and correspondents. English statesmen were therefore  
(60-66)desirous of a union. But they stipulated that  
(60-66)it should be of the most intimate kind ; such as  
(60-66)should free England from the great inconvenience  
(60-66)arising from the Scottish nation possessing a separate

(60-66)legislature and constitution of her own : and in  
(60-66)order to blend her interests Indelibly with those of  
(60-66)England, they demanded that the supreme power of  
(60-66)the state should be reposed in a Parliament of the  
(60-66)united countries, to which Scotland might send a  
(60-66)certain proportion of members, hut which should  
(60-66)meet in the English capital, and be of course more  
(60-66)immediately under the influence of English counsels  
(60-66)and interests.

(60-66)The Scottish nation, on the other hand, which  
(60-66)had of late become very sensible of the benefits of  
(60-66)foreign trade, were extremely desirous of a  
(60-66)federative union, which should admit them to the  
(60-66)commercial advantages which they coveted. But  
(60-66)while they grasped at a share in the English trade,  
(60-66)they desired that Scotland should retain her rights  
(60-66)as a separate kingdom, making as heretofore her  
(60-66)own laws, and adopting her own public measures,  
(60-66)uncontrolled by the domination of England. Here,  
(60-66)therefore, occurred a preliminary point of dispute,

[TG60-67]

(60-67)which was necessarily to be settled previous to the  
(60-67)farther progress of the treaty.

(60-67)In order to adjust the character of the proposed  
(60-67)Union-treaty in this and other particulars,  
(60-67)commissioners for both kingdoms were appointed to  
(60-67)make a preliminary enquiry, and report upon the  
(60-67)articles which ought to be adopted as the foundation  
(60-67)of the measure, and which report was afterwards  
(60-67)to be subjected to the Legislatures of both  
(60-67)kingdoms.

(60-67)The English and Scottish commissioners being

(60-67)both chosen by the Queen, that is, by Godolphin  
(60-67)and the Queen's ministers, were indeed taken from  
(60-67)different parties, but carefully selected, so as to  
(60-67)preserve a majority of those who could be reckoned  
(60-67)upon as friendly to the treaty, and who would be  
(60-67)sure to do their utmost to remove such obstacles  
(60-67)as might arise in the discussion.

(60-67)I will briefly tell you the result of these numerous  
(60-67)and anxious debates. The Scottish commissioners,  
(60-67)after a vain struggle, were compelled to  
(60-67)submit to an incorporating Union, as that which  
(60-67)alone would ensure the purposes of combining  
(60-67)England and Scotland into one single nation, to  
(60-67)be governed in its political measures by the same  
(60-67)Parliament. It was agreed, that in contributing  
(60-67)to the support of the general expenses of the kingdom,  
(60-67)Scotland should pay a certain proportion of  
(60-67)taxes, which were adjusted by calculation. But  
(60-67)in consideration that the Scots, whose revenue,  
(60-67)though small, was unencumbered, must thereafter  
(60-67)become liable for a share of the debt which

[TG60-68]

(60-68)England had incurred since the Revolution, a large  
(60-68)sum of ready money was to be advanced to Scotland  
(60-68)as an equivalent for that burden; which sum,  
(60-68)however, was to be repaid to England gradually  
(60-68)from the Scottish revenue. So far all went on  
(60-68)pretty well between the two sets of commissioners.  
(60-68)The English statesmen also consented, with  
(60-68)no great scruple, that Scotland should retain her  
(60-68)own national Presbyterian Church, her own system  
(60-68)or civil and municipal laws, which is in many  
(60-68)important respects totally different from that of  
(60-68)England, and her own courts for the administration

(60-68)of justice. The only addition to her judicial  
(60-68)establishment was the erection of the Court of  
(60-68)Exchequer in Scotland, to decide in fiscal matters,  
(60-68)and which follows the English forms.

(60-68)But the treaty was nearly broken off when the  
(60-68)English announced, that, in the Parliament of the  
(60-68)United Kingdoms, Scotland should only enjoy a  
(60-68)representation equal to one thirteenth of the whole  
(60-68)number. The proposal was received by the Scottish  
(60-68)commissioners with a burst of surprise and  
(60-68)indignation. It was loudly urged that a kingdom  
(60-68)resigning her ancient independence, should at least  
(60-68)obtain in the great national council a representation  
(60-68)bearing the same proportion the population of  
(60-68)Scotland did to that of England, which was one to  
(60-68)six. If this rule, which seems the fairest that  
(60-68)could be found, had been adopted, Scotland would  
(60-68)have sent sixty-six members to the united Parliament.  
(60-68)But the English refused peremptorily to  
(60-68)consent to the admission of more than forty-five at

[TG60-69]

(60-69)the very utmost; and the Scottish commissioners  
(60-69)were bluntly and decisively informed that they  
(60-69)must either acquiesce in this proposal, or declare  
(60-69)the treaty at an end. With more prudence,  
(60-69)perhaps, than spirit, the majority of the commissioners  
(60-69)chose to yield the point rather than run the risk of  
(60-69)frustrating the Union entirely.

(60-69)The Scottish Peerage were to preserve all the  
(60-69)other privileges of their rank; but their right of  
(60-69)sitting in Parliament, and acting as hereditary  
(60-69)legislators, was to be greatly limited. Only sixteen  
(60-69)of their number were to enjoy seats in the British

(60-69)House of Lords, and these were to be chosen by

(60-69)election from the whole body. Such peers as were  
(60-69)amongst the number of commissioners were induced  
(60-69)to consent to this degradation of their order,  
(60-69)by the assurance that they themselves should be  
(60-69)created British peers, so as to give them personally,  
(60-69)by charter, the right which the sixteen could  
(60-69)only acquire by election.

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

[TG60-70]

(60-70)dictated. But when they united with the degradation  
(60-70)of their country, the prospect of obtaining personal  
(60-70)wealth and private emoluments, we cannot  
(60-70)acquit them of the charge of having sold their own  
(60-70)honour and that of Scotland. This point of the  
(60-70)treaty was kept strictly secret; nor was it fixed  
(60-70)how the rest of the equivalent was to be disposed  
(60-70)of. There remained a disposable fund of about  
(60-70)three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which  
(60-70)was to be bestowed on Scotland in indemnification  
(60-70)for the losses of Darien, and other gratuities, upon  
(60-70)which all those members of the Scottish parliament

(60-70)who might be inclined to sell their votes, and whose  
(60-70)interest was worth purchasing, might fix their hopes  
(60-70)and expectations.

(60-70)When the articles, agreed upon by the  
(60-70)Commissioners as the basis of a Union, were made public  
(60-70)in Scotland, it became plain that few suffrages would  
(60-70)be obtained in favour of the measure, save by  
(60-70)menaces or bribery, unless perhaps from a very few,  
(60-70)who, casting their eyes far beyond the present time,  
(60-70)considered the uniting of the island of Britain as  
(60-70)an object which could not be purchased too dearly.  
(60-70)The people in general had awaited, in a state of  
(60-70)feverish anxiety, the nature of the propositions on  
(60-70)which this great national treaty was to rest; but  
(60-70)even those who had expected the least favourable  
(60-70)terms, were not prepared for the rigour of the  
(60-70)conditions which had been adopted, and the promulgation  
(60-70)of the articles gave rise to the most general  
(60-70)expressions, not only of discontent, but of rage and  
(60-70)fury against the proposed Union.

[TG60-71]

(60-71)There was indeed no party or body of men in  
(60-71)Scotland, who saw their hopes or wishes realized  
(60-71)in the plan adopted by the Commissioners. I will  
(60-71)show you, in a few words, their several causes of  
(60-71)dissatisfaction:

(60-71)The Jacobites saw in the proposed Union, an  
(60-71)effectual bar to the restoration of the Stewart family.  
(60-71)If the treaty was adopted, the two kingdoms must  
(60-71)necessarily be governed by the English act, settling  
(60-71)the succession of the crown on the Electress of  
(60-71)Hanover. They were therefore resolved to oppose  
(60-71)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

[TG60-72]

(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

(60-72)engagements of the Solemn League and Covenant,  
(60-72)which, forgotten by all other parties in the nation,  
(60-72)was still their professed rule of action.

(60-72)The nobility and barons of the kingdom were  
(60-72)alarmed, lest they should be deprived, after the  
(60-72)example of England, of those territorial jurisdictions  
(60-72)and privileges which preserved their feudal influence ;  
(60-72)while, at the same time, the transference of  
(60-72)the seat of government to London, must necessarily  
(60-72)be accompanied with the abolition of many posts  
(60-72)and places of honour and profit, connected with the  
(60-72)administration of Scotland as a separate kingdom,  
(60-72)and which were naturally bestowed on her nobility  
(60-72)and gentry. The Government, therefore, must have  
(60-72)so much less to give away, the men of influence so  
(60-72)much less to receive; and those who might have  
(60-72)expected to hold situations of power and authority  
(60-72)in their own country while independent, were likely  
(60-72)to lose by the Union both power and patronage.

[TG60-73]

(60-73)The persons who were interested in commerce  
(60-73)complained, that Scotland was only tantalized by a  
(60-73)treaty, which held out to the kingdom the prospect  
(60-73)of a free trade, when, at the same time, it subjected  
(60-73)them to all the English burdens and duties,  
(60-73)raising the expenses of commerce to a height which  
(60-73)Scotland afforded no capital to defray; so that the  
(60-73)apprehension became general, that the Scottish  
(60-73)merchants would lose the separate trade which they now  
(60-73)possessed, without obtaining any beneficial share in  
(60-73)that of England.

(60-73)Again, the whole body of Scottish trades-people,  
(60-73)artisans, and the like, particularly those of the



(60-73)metropolis, foresaw, that in consequence of the Union,  
(60-73)a large proportion of the nobility and gentry would  
(60-73)be withdrawn from their native country, some to  
(60-73)attend their duties in the British Parliament, others  
(60-73)from the various motives of ambition, pleasure, or  
(60-73)vanity, which induce persons of comparative wealth  
(60-73)to frequent courts, and reside in capitals. The  
(60-73)consequences to be apprehended were, that the  
(60-73)Scottish metropolis would be deserted by all that  
(60-73)were wealthy and noble, and deprived at once of  
(60-73)the consideration and advantages of a capital; and  
(60-73)that the country must suffer in proportion, by the  
(60-73)larger proprietors ceasing to reside on their estates,  
(60-73)and going to spend their rents in England.

(60-73)These were evils apprehended by particular  
(60-73)classes of men. But the loss and disgrace to be  
(60-73)sustained by the ancient kingdom, which had so  
(60-73)long defended her liberty and independence against  
(60-73)England, were common to all her children ; and

[TG60-74]

(60-74)should Scotland at this crisis voluntarily surrender  
(60-74)her rank among nations, for no immediate advantages  
(60-74)that could be anticipated, excepting such as  
(60-74)might be obtained by private individuals, who had  
(60-74)votes to sell, and consciences that permitted them  
(60-74)to traffic in such ware, each inhabitant of Scotland  
(60-74)must have his share in the apprehended dishonour.  
(60-74)Perhaps, too, those felt it most, who, having no  
(60-74)estates or wealth to lose, claimed yet a share, with  
(60-74)the greatest and the richest, in the honour of their  
(60-74)common country.

(60-74)The feelings of national pride were inflamed by  
(60-74)those of national prejudice and resentment. The

(60-74)Scottish people complained, that they were not  
(60-74)only required to surrender their public rights, but  
(60-74)to yield them up to the very nation who had been  
(60-74)most malevolent to them in all respects ; who had  
(60-74)been their constant enemies during a thousand  
(60-74)years of almost continual war; and who, even since  
(60-74)they were united under the same crown, had shown,  
(60-74)in the massacre of Glencoe, and the disasters of  
(60-74)Darien, at what a slight price they held the lives  
(60-74)and rights of their northern neighbours. The  
(60-74)hostile measures adopted by the English Parliament,  
(60-74)- their declarations against the Scottish trade, -  
(60-74)their preparations for war on the Border, - were  
(60-74)all circumstances which envenomed the animosity  
(60-74)of the people of Scotland ; while the general training  
(60-74)which had taken place under the Act of Security,  
(60-74)made them confident in their own military  
(60-74)strength, and disposed to stand their ground at all  
(60-74)hazards.

[TG60-75]

(60-75)Moved by anxiety, doubt, and apprehension, an  
(60-75)unprecedented confluence of people, of every rank,  
(60-75)sex, and age, thronged to Edinburgh from all  
(60-75)corners of Scotland, to attend the meeting of the  
(60-75)Union Parliament, which met 3d October, 1706.

(60-75)The Parliament was divided, generally speaking,  
(60-75)into three parties. The first was composed of the  
(60-75)courtiers or followers of Government determined  
(60-75)at all events to carry through the Union, on the  
(60-75)terms proposed by the Commissioners. This party  
(60-75)was led by the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High  
(60-75)Commissioner, a person of talents and accomplishments,  
(60-75)and great political address, who had filled  
(60-75)the highest situations during the last reigns. He

(60-75)was assisted by the Earl of Mar, Secretary of  
(60-75)State, who was suspected to be naturally much  
(60-75)disposed to favour the exiled family of Stewart,  
(60-75)but who, sacrificing his political principles to love  
(60-75)of power or of emolument, was deeply concerned  
(60-75)in the underhand and private management by which  
(60-75)the Union was carrying through. But the most  
(60-75)active agent in the treaty was the Viscount Stair,  
(60-75)long left out of administration on account of his  
(60-75)share in the scandalous massacre of Glencoe and  
(60-75)the affair of Darien. He was raised to an earldom  
(60-75)in 1703, and was highly trusted and employed by  
(60-75)Lord Godolphin, and the English administration.  
(60-75)This celebrated statesman, now trusted and  
(60-75)employed, by his address, eloquence, and talents,  
(60-75)contributed greatly to accomplish the Union, and gained  
(60-75)on that account, from a great majority of his

[TG60-76]

(60-76)displeased countrymen, the popular nickname of  
(60-76)the Curse of Scotland.

(60-76)The party opposing the Union consisted of those  
(60-76)who were attached to the Jacobite interest, joined  
(60-76)with the country party, who, like Fletcher of Saltoun,  
(60-76)resisted the treaty, not on the grounds of the  
(60-76)succession to the crown, but as destructive of the  
(60-76)national independence of the kingdom. They were  
(60-76)headed by the Duke of Hamilton, the premier peer  
(60-76)of Scotland, an excellent speaker, and admirably  
(60-76)qualified to act as the head of a party in ordinary  
(60-76)times, but possessed of such large estates as  
(60-76)rendered him unwilling to take any decisive steps by  
(60-76)which his property might be endangered. To this  
(60-76)it seems to have been owing", that the more decided  
(60-76)and effectual measures, by which alone the

(60-76)Union treaty might have been defeated, though  
(60-76)they often seemed to gain his approbation for a

[TG60-77]

(60-77)time, never had his hearty or effectual support in  
(60-77)the end.

(60-77)There was a third party, greatly smaller than  
(60-77)either of the others, but which secured to  
(60-77)themselves a degree of consequence by keeping  
(60-77)together, and affecting to act independently of the rest,  
(60-77)from which they were termed the Squadrone Volante.  
(60-77)They were headed by the Marquis of  
(60-77)Tweeddale, and consisted of the members of an  
(60-77)administration of which the Marquis had been the  
(60-77)head, but which were turned out of office to make  
(60-77)way for the Duke of Queensberry and the present  
(60-77)ruling party. These discontented politicians were  
(60-77)neither favourers of the Court which had dismissed  
(60-77)them, nor of the opposition party. To speak plainly,  
(60-77)in a case where their country demanded of them  
(60-77)a decisive opinion, the Squadrone seem to have  
(60-77)waited to see what course of conduct would best  
(60-77)serve their own interest. We shall presently see  
(60-77)that they were at last decided to support the treaty  
(60-77)by a reconciliation with the court.

(60-77)The unpopularity of the proposed measure  
(60-77)throughout Scotland in general, was soon made  
(60-77)evident by the temper of the people of Edinburgh.  
(60-77)The citizens of the better class exclaimed against  
(60-77)the favourers of the Union, as willing to surrender  
(60-77)the sovereignty of Scotland to her. ancient rival,  
(60-77)whilst the populace stated the same idea in a manner  
(60-77)more obvious to their gross capacities, and cried  
(60-77)out that the Scottish crown, sceptre, and sword,

(60-77)were about to be transferred to England, as they  
(60-77)had been in the time of the usurper, Edward  
(60-77)Longshanks.

[TG60-78]

(60-78)On the 23d October, the popular fury was at its  
(60-78)height. The people crowded together in the High  
(60-78)Street and Parliament Square, and greeted their  
(60-78)representatives as friends or enemies to their country,  
(60-78)according as they opposed or favoured the  
(60-78)Union. The Commissioner was bitterly reviled  
(60-78)and hooted at, while, in the evening of the day,  
(60-78)several hundred persons escorted the Duke of  
(60-78)Hamilton to his lodgings, encouraging him by loud  
(60-78)huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence.  
(60-78)The rabble next assailed the house of the  
(60-78)Lord Provost, destroyed the windows, and broke  
(60-78)open the doors, and threatened him with instant  
(60-78)death as a favourer of the obnoxious treaty.

(60-78)Other acts of riot were committed, which were  
(60-78)not ultimately for the advantage of the

[TG60-79]

(60-79)Anti-Unionists, since they were assigned as reasons for  
(60-79)introducing strong bodies of troops into the city.  
(60-79)These mounted guard in the principal streets ; and  
(60-79)the Commissioner dared only pass to his coach  
(60-79)through a lane of soldiers under arms, and was then  
(60-79)driven to his lodgings in the Canongate amidst  
(60-79)repeated volleys of stones and roars of execration.  
(60-79)The Duke of Hamilton continued to have his  
(60-79)escort of shouting apprentices, who attended him  
(60-79)home every evening.

(60-79)But the posting of the guards overawed opposition

(60-79)both within and without the Parliament; and,  
(60-79)notwithstanding the remonstrances of the opposition  
(60-79)party, that it was an encroachment both on the  
(60-79)privileges of the city of Edinburgh and of the  
(60-79)Parliament itself, the hall of meeting continued to be  
(60-79)surrounded by a military force.

(60-79)The temper of the kingdom of Scotland at large  
(60-79)was equally unfavourable to the treaty of Union  
(60-79)with that of the capital. Addresses against the  
(60-79)measure were poured into the House of Parliament  
(60-79)from the several shires, counties, burghs,  
(60-79)towns, and parishes. Men, otherwise the most  
(60-79)opposed to each other, Whig and Tory, Jacobite and  
(60-79)Williamite, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and  
(60-79)Cameronian, all agreed in expressing their detestation  
(60-79)of the treaty, and imploring the Estates of Parliament  
(60-79)to support and preserve entire the sovereignty  
(60-79)and independence of the Crown and kingdom, with  
(60-79)the rights and privileges of Parliament, valiantly  
(60-79)maintained through so many ages, so that the  
(60-79)succeeding generations might receive them unimpaired;

[TG60-80]

(60-80)in which good cause the petitioners offered to  
(60-80)concur with life and fortune. While addresses of  
(60-80)this description loaded the table of the Parliament,  
(60-80)the promoters of the Union could only procure  
(60-80)from a few persons in the town of Ayr a single  
(60-80)address in favour of the measure, which was more  
(60-80)than overbalanced by one of an opposite tendency,  
(60-80)signed by a very large majority of the inhabitants  
(60-80)of the same burgh.

(60-80)The Unionists, secure in their triumphant  
(60-80)majorities, treated these addresses with scorn.     The

(60-80)Duke of Argyle said, they were only fit to be made  
(60-80)kites of, while the Earl of Marchmont proposed to  
(60-80)reject them as seditious, and, as he alleged, got up  
(60-80)collusively, and expressing the sense of a party  
(60-80)rather than of the nation. To this it was boldly  
(60-80)answered by Sir James Foulis of Colington, that,  
(60-80)if the authenticity of the addresses were challenged,  
(60-80)he had no doubt that the parties subscribing would  
(60-80)attend the right honourable House in person, and  
(60-80)enforce their petitions by their presence. This was  
(60-80)an alarming suggestion, and ended the debate.

(60-80)Amongst these addresses against the Union,  
(60-80)there was one from the Commission of the General  
(60-80)Assembly, which was supposed to speak the sentiments  
(60-80)of most of the clergymen of the Church of  
(60-80)Scotland, who saw great danger to the Presbyterian  
(60-80)Church from the measure under deliberation.  
(60-80)But much of the heat of the clergy's opposition was  
(60-80)taken off by the Parliament's passing an act for the  
(60-80)Security of the Church of Scotland as by law  
(60-80)established at the Revolution, and making this

[TG60-81]

(60-81)declaration an integral part of the treaty of Union.  
(60-81)This cautionary measure seems to have been deemed  
(60-81)sufficient; and although some presbyteries sent  
(60-81)addresses against the Union, and many ministers  
(60-81)continued to preach violently on the subject, yet  
(60-81)the great body of the clergy ceased to vex  
(60-81)themselves and others with the alarming tendency of the  
(60-81)measure, so far as religion and church discipline  
(60-81)were concerned.

(60-81)The Cameronians, however, remained unsatisfied,  
(60-81)and not having forgotten the weight which

(60-81)their arms had produced at the time of the  
(60-81)Revolution, they conceived that a similar crisis of public  
(60-81)affairs had again arrived, and required their active  
(60-81)interference. Being actually embodied and  
(60-81)possessed of arms, they wanted nothing save hardy  
(60-81)and daring leaders to have engaged them in actual  
(60-81)hostilities. They were indeed so earnest in  
(60-81)opposing the Union, that several hundreds of them  
(60-81)appeared in formal array, marched into Dumfries,  
(60-81)and, drawing up in military order around the cross  
(60-81)of the town, solemnly burnt the articles of Union,  
(60-81)and published a testimony, declaring that the  
(60-81)Commissioners who adjusted them must have been either  
(60-81)silly, ignorant, or treacherous, if not all three, and  
(60-81)protesting, that if an attempt should be made to  
(60-81)impose the treaty on the nation by force, the  
(60-81)subscribers were determined that they and their  
(60-81)companions would not become tributaries and bond  
(60-81)slaves to their neighbours, without acquitting  
(60-81)themselves as became men and Christians. After

[TG60-82]

(60-82)publishing this threatening manifesto the assembly  
(60-82)dispersed.

(60-82)This conduct of the Cameronians led to a  
(60-82)formidable conspiracy. One Cunningham of Eckatt,  
(60-82)a leading man of that sect at the time of the  
(60-82)Revolution, afterwards a settler at Darien, offered his  
(60-82)services to the heads of the opposition party, to  
(60-82)lead to Edinburgh such an army of Cameronians  
(60-82)as should disperse the Parliament, and break off  
(60-82)the treaty of Union. He was rewarded with  
(60-82)money and promises, and encouraged to collect the  
(60-82)sense of the country on the subject of his proposal.



(60-82)This agent found the west country ripe for  
(60-82)revolt, and ready to join with any others who might  
(60-82)take arms against the Government on the footing  
(60-82)of resistance to the treaty of Union. Cunningham  
(60-82)required that a body of the Athole Highlanders  
(60-82)should secure the town of Stirling, in order to keep  
(60-82)the communication open between the Jacobite  
(60-82)chiefs and the army of western insurgents, whom  
(60-82)he himself was in the first instance to command.  
(60-82)And had this design taken effect, the party which  
(60-82)had suffered so much during the late reigns of the  
(60-82)Stewarts, and the mountaineers, who had been  
(60-82)found such ready agents in oppressing them, would  
(60-82)have been seen united in a common cause, so  
(60-82)strongly did the universal hatred to the Union  
(60-82)overpower all other party feelings at this time.

(60-82)A day was named for the proposed insurrection  
(60-82)in the west, on which Cunningham affirmed he  
(60-82)would be able to assemble at Hamilton, which was

[TG60-83]

(60-83)assigned as the place of rendezvous, seven or eight  
(60-83)thousand men, all having guns and swords, several  
(60-83)hundred with muskets and bayonets, and about a  
(60-83)thousand on horseback ; with which army he  
(60-83)proposed to march instantly to Edinburgh, and  
(60-83)disperse the Parliament. The Highlanders were to  
(60-83)rise at the same time ; and there can be little doubt  
(60-83)that the country in general would have taken arms.  
(60-83)Their first efforts would probably have been  
(60-83)successful, but the final event must have been a bloody  
(60-83)renewal of the wars between England and  
(60-83)Scotland.

(60-83)The Scottish Government were aware of the

(60-83)danger, and employed among the Cameronians two  
(60-83)or three agents of their own, particularly one Ker  
(60-83)of Kersland, who possessed some hereditary influence  
(60-83)among them. The persons so employed did  
(60-83)not venture to cross the humour of the people, or  
(60-83)argue in favour of the Union ; but they endeavoured  
(60-83)in various ways to turn the suspicion of the  
(60-83)Cameronians upon the Jacobite nobility and gentry,  
(60-83)to awaken hostile recollections of the persecutions  
(60-83)they had undergone, in which the Highlanders had  
(60-83)been willing actors, and to start other causes of  
(60-83)jealousy amongst people who were more influenced  
(60-83)by the humour of the moment than any reasoning  
(60-83)which could be addressed to them.

(60-83)Notwithstanding the underhand practices of  
(60-83)Kersland, and although Cunningham himself is said  
(60-83)to have been gained over by the Government, the  
(60-83)scheme of rising went forward, and the day of  
(60-83)rendezvous was appointed ; when the Duke of Hamilton,

[TG60-84]

(60-84)either reluctant to awaken the flames of civil  
(60-84)war, or doubting the strength of Eckatt's party, and  
(60-84)its leader's fidelity, sent messengers into the west  
(60-84)country to countermand and postpone the intended  
(60-84)insurrection ; in which he so far succeeded, that  
(60-84)only four hundred men appeared at the rendezvous,  
(60-84)instead of twice as many thousands; and these,  
(60-84)finding their purpose frustrated, dispersed  
(60-84)peaceably.

(60-84)Another danger which threatened the Government  
(60-84)passed as easily over. An address against  
(60-84)the Union had been proposed at Glasgow, where,  
(60-84)as in every place of importance in Scotland, the

(60-84)treaty was highly unpopular. The magistrates,  
(60-84)acting under the directions of the Lord Advocate,  
(60-84)endeavoured to obstruct the proposed petition, or at  
(60-84)least to resist its being expressed in the name of  
(60-84)the city. At this feverish time there was a  
(60-84)national fast appointed to be held, and a popular  
(60-84)preacher<sup>2</sup> made choice of a text from Ezra, ch. viii.  
(60-84)v. 21, "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river  
(60-84)of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our  
(60-84)God, to seek of him a right way for us and for our  
(60-84)little ones, and for all our substance." Addressing

[TG60-85]

(60-85)himself to the people, who were already sufficiently  
(60-85)irritated, the preacher told them that prayers  
(60-85)would not do, addresses would not do-prayer was  
(60-85)indeed a duty, but it must be seconded by exertions  
(60-85)of a very different nature ; " wherefore," he  
(60-85)concluded, "up, and be valiant for the city of our God."

(60-85)The populace of the city, taking this as a direct  
(60-85)encouragement to insurrection, assembled in a state  
(60-85)of uproar, attacked and dispersed the guards,  
(60-85)plundered the houses of the citizens, and seized what  
(60-85)arms they could find ; in short, took possession of  
(60-85)the town, and had every body's life and goods at  
(60-85)their mercy. No person of any consequence

[TG60-86]

(60-86)appeared at the head of these rioters ; and after  
(60-86)having put themselves under the command of a  
(60-86)mechanic named Finlay, who had formerly been a  
(60-86)sergeant, they sent small parties to the neighbouring  
(60-86)towns to invite them to follow their example.  
(60-86)In this they were unsuccessful; the proclamations  
(60-86)of Parliament, and the adjournment of the rendezvous

(60-86)appointed by the Cameronians, having  
(60-86)considerably checked the disposition to insurrection. In  
(60-86)short, the Glasgow riot died away, and the  
(60-86)insurgents prevented bloodshed by dispersing quietly;  
(60-86)Finlay and another of their leaders were seized by  
(60-86)a party of dragoons from Edinburgh, conveyed to  
(60-86)that city, and lodged in the castle. And thus was  
(60-86)extinguished a hasty fire, which might otherwise  
(60-86)have occasioned a great conflagration.

(60-86)To prevent the repetition of such dangerous  
(60-86)examples as the rendezvous at Hamilton and the  
(60-86)tumults at Glasgow, the Parliament came to the  
(60-86)resolution of suspending that clause of the Act of  
(60-86)Security which appointed general military musters  
(60-86)throughout Scotland; and enacted instead, that in  
(60-86)consideration of the tumults which had taken place,  
(60-86)all assembling in arms, without the Queen's special  
(60-86)order, should be punished as an act of high treason.  
(60-86)This being made public by proclamation, put a stop  
(60-86)to future attempts at rising.

(60-86)The project of breaking off the treaty by violence  
(60-86)being now wholly at an end, those who opposed  
(60-86)the measure determined upon a more safe and  
(60-86)moderate attempt to frustrate it. It was resolved,  
(60-86)that as many of the nobility, barons, and gentry of  
(60-86)the realm as were hostile to the Union, should

[TG60-87]

(60-87)assemble in Edinburgh, and join in a peaceful, but  
(60-87)firm and personal remonstrance to the Lord  
(60-87)Commissioner, praying that the obnoxious measure  
(60-87)might be postponed until the subscribers should  
(60-87)receive an answer to a national address which they  
(60-87)designed to present to the Queen at this interesting

(60-87)crisis. It was supposed that the intended  
(60-87)application to the Commissioner would be so strongly  
(60-87)supported, that either the Scottish Government  
(60-87)would not venture to favour a Union in the face of  
(60-87)such general opposition, or that the English ministers  
(60-87)themselves might take the alarm, and become  
(60-87)doubtful of the efficacy or durability of a treaty, to  
(60-87)which the bulk of Scotland seemed so totally averse.  
(60-87)About four hundred nobles and gentlemen of the  
(60-87)first distinction assembled in Edinburgh, for the  
(60-87)purpose of attending the Commissioner with the  
(60-87)proposed remonstrance ; and an address was drawn  
(60-87)up, praying her Majesty to withdraw her countenance  
(60-87)from the treaty, and to call a new  
(60-87)Parliament.

(60-87)When the day was appointed for executing the  
(60-87)intended plan, it was interrupted by the Duke of  
(60-87)Hamilton, who would on no terms agree to proceed  
(60-87)with it, unless a clause was inserted in the address  
(60-87)expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to  
(60-87)settle the succession on the House of Hanover.  
(60-87)This proposal was totally at variance with the  
(60-87)sentiments of the Jacobite part of those who supported  
(60-87)the address, and occasioned great and animated  
(60-87)discussions among them, and considerable delay.  
(60-87)In the mean while, the Commissioner, observing

[TG60-88]

(60-88)the city unusually crowded with persons of condition,  
(60-88)and obtaining information of the purpose for  
(60-88)which so many gentlemen had repaired to the  
(60-88)capital, made an application to Parliament, setting  
(60-88)forth that a convocation had been held in Edinburgh  
(60-88)of various persons, under pretence of requiring  
(60-88)personal answers to their addresses to Parliament,

(60-88)which was likely to endanger the public peace ;  
(60-88)and obtained a proclamation against any meetings  
(60-88)under such pretexts during the sitting of Parliament,  
(60-88)which he represented as both inexpedient and  
(60-88)contrary to law.

(60-88)While the Lord Commissioner was thus strengthening  
(60-88)his party, the Anti-Unionists were at discord  
(60-88)among themselves. The Dukes of Hamilton and  
(60-88)Athole quarrelled on account of the interruption  
(60-88)given by the former to the original plan of remonstrance ;  
(60-88)and the country gentlemen who had attended  
(60-88)on their summons, returned home mortified,  
(60-88)disappointed, and, as many of them thought,  
(60-88)deceived by their leaders.

(60-88)Time was mean while flying fast, and Parliament,  
(60-88)in discussing the separate articles of the Union, had  
(60-88)readied the twenty-second, being that designed to  
(60-88)fix the amount of the representation which Scotland  
(60-88)was to possess in the British Parliament, and, on  
(60-88)account of the inadequacy of such representation,  
(60-88)the most obnoxious of the whole.

(60-88)The Duke of Hamilton, who still was, or affected  
(60-88)to be, firmly opposed to the treaty, now assembled  
(60-88)the leaders of the opposition, and entreated them to  
(60-88)forget all former errors and mismanagement, and

[TG60-89]

(60-89)to concur in one common effort for the independence  
(60-89)of Scotland. He then proposed that the  
(60-89)Marquis of Annandale should open their proceedings,  
(60-89)by renewing a motion formerly made for the  
(60-89)succession of the crown in the House of Hanover,  
(60-89)which was sure to be rejected if coupled with any

(60-89)measure interrupting the treaty of Union. Upon  
(60-89)this the Duke proposed, that all the opposers of the  
(60-89)Union, after joining in a very strong protest, should  
(60-89)publicly secede from the Parliament; in which case  
(60-89)it was likely, either that the Government party  
(60-89)would hesitate to proceed farther in a matter which  
(60-89)was to effect such total changes in the constitution  
(60-89)of Scotland, or that the English might become of  
(60-89)opinion that they could not safely carry on a  
(60-89)national treaty of such consequence with a mere  
(60-89)faction, or party of the Parliament, when deserted by  
(60-89)so many persons of weight and influence.

(60-89)The Jacobites objected to this course of proceeding,  
(60-89)on account of the preliminary motion, which  
(60-89)implied a disposition to call the House of Hanover  
(60-89)to the succession, provided the Union were departed  
(60-89)from by the Government. The Duke of Hamilton  
(60-89)replied, that as the proposal was certain to be  
(60-89)rejected, it would draw with it no obligation on those  
(60-89)by whom it was made. He said, that such an offer  
(60-89)would destroy the argument for forcing on the  
(60-89)Union, which had so much weight in England,  
(60-89)where it was believed that if the treaty did not  
(60-89)take place, the kingdoms of England and Scotland  
(60-89)would pass to different monarchs. He then declared  
(60-89)frankly, that if the English should not discontinue

[TG60-90]

(60-90)pressing forward the Union after the formal  
(60-90)protestation and secession which he proposed, he would  
(60-90)join with the Jacobites for calling in the son of  
(60-90)James II., and was willing to venture as far as any  
(60-90)one for that measure.

(60-90)It is difficult to suppose that the Duke of Hamilton

(60-90)was not serious in this proposal ; and there  
(60-90)seems to be little doubt that if the whole body  
(60-90)opposing the Union had withdrawn in the manner  
(60-90)proposed, the Commissioner would have given up  
(60-90)the treaty, and prorogued the Parliament. But the  
(60-90)Duke lost courage, on its being intimated to him,  
(60-90)as the story goes, by the Lord High Commissioner,  
(60-90)in a private interview, that his Grace would be  
(60-90)held personally responsible, if the treaty of Union  
(60-90)was interrupted by adoption of the advice which he  
(60-90)had given, and that he should be made to suffer for  
(60-90)it in his English property. Such at least is the  
(60-90)general report ; and such an interview could be

[TG60-91]

(60-91)managed without difficulty, as both these distinguished  
(60-91)persons were lodged in the Palace of  
(60-91)Holyrood.

(60-91)Whether acting from natural instability, whether  
(60-91)intimidated by the threats of Queensberry, or dreading  
(60-91)to encounter the difficulties when at hand, which  
(60-91)he had despised when at a distance, it is certain  
(60-91)that Hamilton was the first to abandon the course  
(60-91)which he had himself recommended. On the morning  
(60-91)appointed for the execution of their plan, when  
(60-91)the members of opposition had mustered all their  
(60-91)forces, and were about to go to Parliament, attended  
(60-91)by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens,  
(60-91)prepared to assist them if there should be an  
(60-91)attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned  
(60-91)that the Duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted  
(60-91)with the toothache, that he could not attend the  
(60-91)House that morning. His friends hastened to his  
(60-91)chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly  
(60-91)on this conduct, that he at length came down to



(60-91)the House; but it was only to astonish them by  
(60-91)asking whom they had pitched upon to present  
(60-91)their protestation. They answered, with extreme  
(60-91)surprise, that they had reckoned on his Grace, as

[TG60-92]

(60-92)the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the  
(60-92)lead in the measure which he had himself proposed.  
(60-92)The Duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose  
(60-92)himself to the displeasure of the court by being  
(60-92)foremost in defeating their favourite measure, but  
(60-92)offered to second any one whom the party might  
(60-92)appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation  
(60-92)the business of the day was so far advanced,  
(60-92)that the vote was put and carried on the disputed  
(60-92)article respecting the representation, and the  
(60-92)opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was  
(60-92)totally lost.

(60-92)The members who had hitherto opposed the  
(60-92)Union, being thus three times disappointed in their  
(60-92)measures by the unexpected conduct of the Duke  
(60-92)of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and  
(60-92)betrayed. Shortly afterwards, most of them retired  
(60-92)altogether from their attendance on Parliament;  
(60-92)and those who favoured the treaty were suffered  
(60-92)to proceed in their own way, little encumbered  
(60-92)either by remonstrance or opposition.

(60-92)Almost the only remarkable change in the articles  
(60-92)of the Union, besides that relating to Church  
(60-92)government, was made to quiet the minds of the  
(60-92)common people, disturbed, as I have already  
(60-92)mentioned, by rumours that the Scottish regalia were  
(60-92)to be sent into England. A special article was  
(60-92)inserted into the treaty, declaring that they should

(60-92)on no occasion be removed from Scotland. At the  
(60-92)same time, lest the sight of these symbols of national  
(60-92)sovereignty should irritate the jealous feelings  
(60-92)of the Scottish people, they were removed

[TG60-93]

(60-93)from the public view, and secured in a strong  
(60-93)chamber, called the Crown-room, in the Castle of  
(60-93)Edinburgh, where they remained so long in  
(60-93)obscurity, that their very existence was generally  
(60-93)doubted. But his present Majesty [K. George I V.]  
(60-93)having directed that a commission should be issued  
(60-93)to search after these venerable relics, they were  
(60-93)found in safety in the place where they had been  
(60-93)deposited, and are now made visible to the public  
(60-93)under proper precautions.

(60-93)It had been expected that the treaty of Union  
(60-93)would have met with delays or alterations in the  
(60-93)English Parliament. But it was approved of  
(60-93)there, after very little debate by a large majority ;  
(60-93)and the exemplification or copy was sent down to  
(60-93)be registered by the Scottish Parliament. This  
(60-93)was done on the 25th March ; and on the 22d  
(60-93)April, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned for  
(60-93)ever. Seafield, the Chancellor, on an occasion  
(60-93)which every Scotsman ought to have considered  
(60-93)as a melancholy one, behaved himself with a brutal  
(60-93)levity, which in more patriotic times would have  
(60-93)cost him his life on the spot, and said that " there  
(60-93)was an end of an auld sang."

(60-93)On the 1st of May, 1707, the Union took place,  
(60-93)amid the dejection and despair which attend on  
(60-93)the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen  
(60-93)expression of discontent, that was far from

(60-93)promising the course of prosperity which the treaty  
(60-93)finally produced.

[TG60-94]

(60-94)And here I must point out to you at some  
(60-94)length, that, though there never could be a doubt  
(60-94)that the Union in itself was a most desirable event,  
(60-94)yet by the erroneous mode in which it was pushed  
(60-94)on and opposed by all parties concerned, such  
(60-94)obstacles were thrown in the way of the benefits it  
(60-94)was calculated to produce, as to interpose a longer  
(60-94)interval of years betwixt the date of the treaty  
(60-94)and the national advantages arising out of it, than  
(60-94)the term spent by the Jews in the wilderness ere  
(60-94)they attained the promised land. In both cases  
(60-94)the frowardness and passions of men rejected the  
(60-94) blessings which Providence held out to them.

(60-94)To understand this, you must know, that while  
(60-94)the various plans for interrupting the treaty were  
(60-94)agitated without doors, the debates in Parliament  
(60-94)were of the most violent kind. " It resembled,"  
(60-94)said an eyewitness, " not the strife of tongues, but  
(60-94)the clash of arms ; and the hatred, rage, and  
(60-94)reproach which we exhausted on each other, seemed  
(60-94)to be those of civil war rather than of political  
(60-94)discussion." Much talent was displayed on both sides.  
(60-94)The promoters of the Union founded their  
(60-94)arguments not merely on the advantage, but the  
(60-94)absolute necessity, of associating the independence of  
(60-94)the two nations for their mutual honour and  
(60-94)defence ; arguing, that otherwise they must renew  
(60-94)the scenes of past ages, rendered dreadful by the  
(60-94)recollection of three hundred and fourteen battles  
(60-94)fought between two kindred nations, and more  
(60-94)than a million of men slain on both sides. The

(60-94)imaginary sacrifice of independent sovereignty,

[TG60-95]

(60-95)was represented as being in reality an escape from  
(60-95)the petty tyranny of their own provincial aristocracy,  
(60-95)and a most desirable opportunity of having  
(60-95)the ill-defined, and worse administered, government  
(60-95)of Scotland, blended with that of a nation,  
(60-95)the most jealous of her rights and liberties which  
(60-95)the world ever saw.

(60-95)While the Unionists pointed out the general  
(60-95)utility of the amalgamation of the two nations into  
(60-95)one, the opposition dwelt on the immediate  
(60-95)disgrace and degradation which the measure must  
(60-95)instantly and certainly impose on Scotland, and the  
(60-95)distant and doubtful nature of the advantages which  
(60-95)she was to derive from it.

(60-95)Lord Belhaven, in a celebrated speech, which  
(60-95)made the strongest impression on the audience,  
(60-95)declared that he saw, in prophetic vision, the peers  
(60-95)of Scotland, whose ancestors had raised tribute in  
(60-95)England, now walking in the Court of Requests  
(60-95)like so many English attorneys, laying aside their  
(60-95)swords lest self-defence should be called murder  
? (60-95)he saw the Scottish barons with their lips  
? (60-95)pad-locked, to avoid the penalties of unknown laws -  
(60-95)he saw the Scottish lawyers struck mute and  
(60-95)confounded at being" subjected to the intricacies and  
(60-95)technical jargon of an unknown jurisprudence-  
(60-95)he saw the merchants excluded from trade by the  
(60-95)English monopolies-the artizans ruined for want  
(60-95)of custom-the gentry reduced to indigence-the  
(60-95)lower ranks to starvation and beggary. " But  
(60-95)above all, my lord," continued the orator, " I think

(60-95)I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Caesar,

[TG60-96]

(60-96)sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking  
(60-96)round her, covering herself with her royal mantle,  
(60-96)awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last  
(60-96)with the exclamation, ' And thou too, my son !'"

(60-96)These prophetic sounds made the deepest  
(60-96)impression on the House, until the effect was in some  
(60-96)degree dispelled by Lord Marchmont, who, rising to  
(60-96)reply, said, he too had been much struck by the noble  
(60-96)lord's vision, but that he conceived the exposition  
(60-96)of it might be given in a few words. " I awoke,  
(60-96)and behold it was a dream." But though Lord  
(60-96)Belhaven's prophetic harangue might be termed  
(60-96)in one sense a vision, it was one which continued  
(60-96)to exist for many years ; nor was it until half a  
(60-96)century had passed away, that the Union began to  
(60-96)produce those advantages to Scotland which its  
(60-96)promoters had fondly hoped, and the fruits of  
(60-96)which the present generation has so fully reaped.  
(60-96)We must seek in the temper of the various parties  
(60-96)interested in carrying on and concluding this great  
(60-96)treaty, the reasons which for so many years  
(60-96)prevented the incalculable benefits which it was  
(60-96)expected to bestow, and which have been since  
(60-96)realized.

(60-96)The first, and perhaps most fatal error, arose  
(60-96)out of the conduct and feelings of the English, who  
(60-96)were generally incensed at the conduct of the Scots  
(60-96)respecting the Act of Security, and in the precipitate  
(60-96)execution of Green and his companions, whom  
(60-96)their countrymen, with some reason, regarded as  
(60-96)men murdered on a vague accusation, merely

(60-96)because they were Englishmen. This, indeed, was

[TG60-97]

(60-97)partly true ; but though the Scots acted cruelly, it  
(60-97)should have been considered that they had received  
(60-97)much provocation, and were in fact only revenging,  
(60-97)though rashly and unjustly, the injuries of  
(60-97)Darien and Glencoe. But the times were  
(60-97)unfavourable to a temperate view of the subject in  
(60-97)either country. The cry was general throughout  
(60-97)England, that Scotland should be conquered by  
(60-97)force of arms, and secured by garrisons and forts,  
(60-97)as in the days of Cromwell. Or, if she was to be  
(60-97)admitted to a Union, there was a general desire on  
(60-97)the part of the English to compel her to receive  
(60-97)terms as indifferent as could be forced upon an  
(60-97)inferior and humbled people.

(60-97)These were not the sentiments of a profound  
(60-97)statesman, and could not be those of Godolphin  
(60-97)He must have known that the mere fact of  
(60-97)accomplishing a treaty could no more produce the cordial  
(60-97)and intimate state of unity which was the point he  
(60-97)aimed at, than the putting a pair of quarrelsome  
(60-97)hounds into the same couples could reconcile the  
(60-97)animals to each other. It may, therefore, be  
(60-97)supposed, that, left to himself, so great a politician  
(60-97)would have tried, by the most gentle means, to  
(60-97)reconcile Scotland to the projected measure ; that  
(60-97)he would have been studious to efface every thing  
(60-97)that appeared humiliating in the surrender of  
(60-97)national independence ; would have laboured to  
(60-97)smooth those difficulties which prevented the Scots  
(60-97)from engaging in the English trade; and have  
(60-97)allowed her a more adequate representation in the

[TG60-98]

(60-98)national Parliament, which, if arranged according  
(60-98)to her proportion of public expenses, would only  
(60-98)have made the inconsiderable addition of fifteen  
(60-98)members to the House of Commons. In fine, the  
(60-98)English minister would probably have endeavoured  
(60-98)to arrange the treaty on such terms of advantage  
(60-98)for the poorer country, as should, upon its being  
(60-98)adopted, immediately prove to the Scots, by its  
(60-98)effects, that it was a measure they ought for their  
(60-98)own sakes to have desired and concurred in. In this  
(60-98)manner, the work of many years would have been,  
(60-98)to a certain degree, anticipated, and the two  
(60-98)nations would have felt themselves united in interest  
(60-98)and in affection also, soon after they had become  
(60-98)nominally one people. Whatever England might  
(60-98)have sacrificed in this way, would have been gained  
(60-98)by Great Britain, of which England must necessarily  
(60-98)be the predominant part, and as such must  
(60-98)always receive the greatest share of benefit by  
(60-98)whatever promotes the good of the whole.

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

[TG60-99]

(60-99)The Scottish supporters of the Union might, on  
(60-99)their part, have made a stand for better terms on  
(60-99)behalf of their country. And it can scarcely be  
(60-99)supposed that the English would have broken off a  
(60-99)treaty of such importance, either for the addition  
(60-99)of a few members, or for such advantages of  
(60-99)commerce as Scotland might reasonably have demanded.  
(60-99)But these Scottish commissioners, or a large  
(60-99)part of them, had, unhappily, negotiated so well  
(60-99)for themselves, that they had lost all right of  
(60-99)interfering on the part of their country. We have  
(60-99)already explained the nature of the equivalent, by  
(60-99)which a sum of four hundred thousand pounds, or  
(60-99)thereabouts, advanced at this time by England, but  
(60-99)to be repaid out of the Scottish revenue within fifteen  
(60-99)years, was to be distributed in the country, partly  
(60-99)to repay the losses sustained by the Darien  
(60-99)Company, partly to pay arrears of public salaries in  
(60-99)Scotland, most of which were due to members of  
(60-99)the Scottish Parliament; and finally, to satisfy such  
(60-99)claims of damage arising out of the Union, as might  
(60-99)be brought forward by any one whose support was  
(60-99)worth having.

(60-99)The distribution of this money constituted the  
(60-99)charm by which refractory Scottish members were  
(60-99)reconciled to the Union. I have already mentioned  
(60-99)the sum of thirty thousand pounds, which was  
(60-99)peculiarly apportioned to the commissioners who  
(60-99)originally laid the basis of the treaty. I may add  
(60-99)there was another sum of twenty thousand pounds,  
(60-99)employed to secure to the measures of the court  
(60-99)the party called the Squadrone Volante. The

[TG60-100]

(60-100)account of the mode in which this last sum was



(60-100)distributed has been published ; and it may be doubted  
(60-100)whether the descendants of the noble lords and  
(60-100)honourable gentlemen who accepted this gratification,  
(60-100)would be more shocked at the general fact of  
(60-100)their ancestors being corrupted, or scandalized at  
(60-100)the paltry amount of the bribe.<sup>1</sup> One noble lord  
(60-100)accepted of so low a sum as eleven guineas; and  
(60-100)the bargain was the more hard, as he threw his  
(60-100)religion into the bargain, and from Catholic turned  
(60-100)Protestant, to make his vote a good one.

(60-100)Other disgraceful gratuities might be mentioned,  
(60-100)and there were many more which cannot be traced.  
(60-100)The treasure for making good the equivalent was  
(60-100)sent down in waggons from England, to be deposited

[TG60-101]

(60-101)in the castle of Edinburgh ; and never surely  
(60-101)was so valuable an importation received with such  
(60-101)marks of popular indignation. The dragoons who  
(60-101)guarded the wains were loaded with execrations,  
(60-101)and the carters, nay, even their poor horses, were  
(60-101)nearly pelted to death, for being accessory in  
(60-101)bringing to Edinburgh the price of the independence  
(60-101)of the kingdom.

(60-101)The public indignation was the more just, that  
(60-101)this large sum of money in fact belonged to the  
(60-101)Scottish nation, being the compensation to be paid  
(60-101)to them, for undertaking to pledge their revenue  
(60-101)for a part of the English national debt. So that,  
(60-101)in fact, the Parliament of Scotland was bribed with  
(60-101)the public money belonging to their own country.  
(60-101)In this way, Scotland herself was made to pay the  
(60-101)price given to her legislators for the sacrifice of her  
(60-101)independence.

(60-101)The statesmen who accepted of these gratuities,  
(60-101)under whatever name disguised, were marked by  
(60-101)the hatred of the country, and did not escape  
(60-101)reproach even in the bosom of their own families.  
(60-101)The advantage of their public services was lost by  
(60-101)the general contempt which they had personally  
(60-101)incurred. And here I may mention, that while  
(60-101)carrying on the intrigues which preceded the passing  
(60-101)of the Union, those who favoured that measure

[TG60-102]

(60-102)were obliged to hold their meetings in secret and  
(60-102)remote places of rendezvous, lest they should have  
(60-102)been assaulted by the rabble. There is a subterranean  
(60-102)apartment in the High Street (No. 177),  
(60-102)called the Union-Cellar,' from its being one of their  
(60-102)haunts; and the pavilion in the gardens belonging  
(60-102)to the Earl of Murray's Hotel in the Canongate  
(60-102)(No. 172), is distinguished by tradition, as having  
(60-102)been used for this purpose.

(60-102)Men, of whom a majority had thus been bought  
(60-102)and sold, forfeited every right to interfere in the  
(60-102)terms which England insisted upon ; and Scotland,  
(60-102)therefore, lost that support, which, had these statesmen  
(60-102)been as upright and respectable as some of  
(60-102)them were able and intelligent, could not have failed  
(60-102)to be efficacious. But, despised by the English,  
(60-102)and detested by their own country, fettered, as  
(60-102)Lord Belhaven expressed it, by the golden chain  
(60-102)of equivalents, the Unionists had lost all freedom of  
(60-102)remonstrance, and had no alternative left, save that  
(60-102)of fulfilling the unworthy bargain they had made.

(60-102)The Opposition party also had their share of

(60-102)error on this occasion. If they had employed a  
(60-102)part of that zeal with which they vindicated the  
(60-102)shadowy rights of Scotland's independence (which  
(60-102)after all, resolved itself into the title of being  
(60-102)governed like a province, by a viceroy, and by English  
(60-102)influence, not the less predominant that it was  
(60-102)indirect), in order to obtain some improvement in

[TG60-103]

(60-103)the more unfavourable clauses of the treaty ; if, in  
(60-103)other words, they had tried to make a more advantageous  
(60-103)agreement when the Union was under discussion,  
(60-103)instead of attempting to break it off entirely,  
(60-103)they might perhaps have gained considerable  
(60-103)advantages for Scotland. But the greater part of  
(60-103)the anti-Unionists were also Jacobites; and therefore,  
(60-103)far from desiring to render the treaty more  
(60-103)unexceptionable, it was their object that it should  
(60-103)be as odious to the people of Scotland as possible,  
(60-103)in order that the universal discontent excited by it  
(60-103)might turn to the advantage of the exiled family.

(60-103)Owing to all these adverse circumstances, the  
(60-103)interests of Scotland were considerably neglected  
(60-103)in the treaty of Union ; and in consequence the  
(60-103)nation, instead of regarding it as an identification  
(60-103)of the interests of both kingdoms, considered it as  
(60-103)a total surrender of their independence, by their  
(60-103>false and corrupted statesmen, into the hand of  
(60-103)their proud and powerful rival. The gentry of  
(60-103)Scotland looked on themselves as robbed of their  
(60-103)natural consequence, and disgraced in the eyes of  
(60-103)the country ; the merchants and tradesmen lost the  
(60-103)direct commerce between Scotland and foreign  
(60-103)countries, without being, for a length of time, able  
(60-103)to procure a share in a more profitable trade with

(60-103)the English colonies, although ostensibly laid open  
(60-103)to them. The populace in the towns, and the  
(60-103)peasants throughout the kingdom, conceived the most  
(60-103)implacable dislike to the treaty ; factions, hitherto  
(60-103)most bitterly opposed to each other, seemed ready  
(60-103)to rise on the first opportunity which might occur

[TG60-104]

(60-104)for breaking it; and the cause of the Stewart family  
(60-104)gained a host of new adherents, more from dislike  
(60-104)to the Union than any partiality to the exiled  
(60-104)prince.

(60-104)A long train of dangers and difficulties was the  
(60-104)consequence, which tore Scotland to pieces with  
(60-104)civil discord, and exposed England also to much  
(60-104)suffering. Three rebellions, two of which assumed  
(60-104)a very alarming character, may, in a great measure,  
(60-104)be set down to the unpopularity of this great  
(60-104)national act ; and the words, " Prosperity to Scotland,  
(60-104)and no Union," is the favourite inscription to be  
(60-104)found on Scottish sword-blades, betwixt 1707 and  
(60-104)1746.

(60-104)But although the passions and prejudices of  
(60-104)mankind could for a time delay and interrupt the  
(60-104)advantages to be derived from this most important  
(60-104)national measure, it was not the gracious will of  
(60-104)Providence that, being thus deferred, they should  
(60-104)be ultimately lost.

(60-104)The unfortunate insurrection of 1745-6 entirely  
(60-104)destroyed the hopes of the Scottish Jacobites, and  
(60-104)occasioned the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions  
(60-104)and military tenures, which had been at once  
(60-104)dangerous to the Government, and a great source

(60-104)of oppression to the subject. This, though attended  
(60-104)with much individual suffering, was the final  
(60-104)means of at once removing the badges of feudal  
(60-104)tyranny, extinguishing civil war, and assimilating  
(60-104)Scotland to the sister-country. After this period,  
(60-104)the advantages of the Union were gradually  
(60-104)perceived and fully experienced.

[TG60-105]

(60-105) It was not, however, till the accession of his late  
(60-105)Majesty, that the beneficial effects of this great  
(60-105)National treaty were generally felt and recognised.  
(60-105)From that period there was awakened a spirit of  
(60-105)Industry formerly unknown in Scotland; and ever  
(60-105)Since, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland,  
(60-105)Incalculably to their mutual benefit, have been  
(60-105)Uniting cordially, as one people, in the improvement  
(60-105)And defence of the island which they inhabit.  
(60-105) The happy change from discord to friendship, --  
(60-105)From war to peace, and from poverty and distress  
(60-105)To national prosperity, was not attained without  
(60-105)Much peril and hazard; and should I continue these  
(60-105)Volumes, from the period of the Union to that of the  
(60-105)Accession of George the Third, I can promise you,  
(60-105)The addition will be neither the least interesting  
(60-105)Nor the least useful, of your Grandfather's labours  
(60-105)In your behalf.

[TG61-115]

(61-115)WE are now, my dear child, approaching a  
(61-115)period more resembling our own than those through  
(61-115)which I have hitherto conducted you. In England,  
(61-115)and in the Lowlands of Scotland, men used the  
(61-115)same language, possessed in a considerable degree  
(61-115)the same habits of society, and lived under the same  
(61-115)forms of government, which have existed in Britain

(61-115)down to the present day. The Highlanders, indeed,  
(61-115)retained their ancient manners; and although, from  
(61-115)the establishment of forts and garrisons in their  
(61-115)country, the laws had much more power over them  
(61-115)than formerly, so that they could no longer break  
(61-115)out into the same excesses, they still remained, in

[TG61-116]

(61-116)their dress; customs, manners, and language, much  
(61-116)more like the original Scots in the reign of  
(61-116)Malcolm Canmore, than the Lowlanders of the same  
(61-116)period resembled their ancestors of the seventeenth  
(61-116)century.

(61-116)But though the English and Lowland Scots  
(61-116)exhibited little distinction in their manners and habits,  
(61-116)excepting that those of the latter people indicated  
(61-116)less wealth or refinement of luxury, there was no  
(61-116)sympathy of feeling between them, and the recent  
(61-116)measure of the Union had only an effect resembling  
(61-116)that of putting two quarrelsome dogs into the same  
(61-116)couples, or two sullen horses into the same yoke.  
(61-116)Habit may in course of time teach them to accommodate  
(61-116)themselves to each other; but the first  
(61-116)consequence of the compulsory tie which unites them  
(61-116)is the feeling of aggravated hostility.

(61-116)The predominant prejudices of the English represented  
(61-116)the Scots, in the language of the celebrated  
(61-116)Dean Swift, 'as a poor, ferocious, and haughty  
(61-116)people, detesting their English neighbours, and  
(61-116)looking upon them as a species of Egyptians, whom  
(61-116)it was not only lawful but commendable to plunder,

[TG61-117]CHAP. LXI.]

(61-117)whether by open robbery or secret address. The

(61-117)poverty of the North Britons, and the humble and  
(61-117)patient labour by which individuals were frequently  
(61-117)observed to emerge from it, made them the objects  
(61-117)of contempt to the English; while, on the other  
(61-117)hand, the irascible and turbulent spirit of the  
(61-117)nation, and a habitual use of arms, exposed them to  
(61-117)aversion and hatred. This peculiar characteristic  
(61-117)was, at the time of the Union, very general in Scotland.  
(61-117)The Highlanders, you must remember, always  
(61-117)carried weapons, and if thought of at all by their  
(61-117)southern neighbours, they must have been  
(61-117)considered as absolute and irreclaimable savages. The  
(61-117)Lowlanders were also used to arms at this period,  
(61-117)for almost the whole Scottish nation had been  
(61-117)trained under the Act of Security; the population  
(61-117)was distributed into regiments, and kept ready for  
(61-117)action; and in the gloomy and irritated state of  
(61-117)mind in which the Scots had been placed by the  
(61-117)management of the Union treaty, they spoke of  
(61-117)nothing more loudly and willingly than of war with  
(61-117)England. The English had their especial reasons  
(61-117)for disliking the Union. They did not, in general,  
(61-117)feel nattered by the intimate confederacy and  
(61-117)identification of their own rich country and civilized  
(61-117)inhabitants with the boreal region of the North,  
(61-117)and its rude and savage tribes. They were afraid  
(61-117)that the craft, and patient endurance of labour of  
(61-117)the Scots, would give them more than their share  
(61-117)of the colonial trade which they had hitherto  
(61-117)monopolized to themselves.

[TG61-118]

(61-118)Yet, though such was the opinion held by the  
(61-118)English in general, the more enlightened part of  
(61-118)the nation, remembering the bloody wars which had  
(61-118)so long desolated Britain in its divided state, dated

(61-118)from the Union an era of peace and happiness to  
(61-118)both countries; and, looking far into futurity, foresaw  
(61-118)a time when the national prejudices, which for  
(61-118)the present ran so high, would die out or be eradicated  
(61-118)like the weeds which deface the labours of  
(61-118)the agriculturist, and give place to plenty and to  
(61-118)peace. It was owing to the prevalence of such  
(61-118)feelings, that the Duke of Queensberry, the  
(61-118)principal negotiator of the treaty of Union, when he  
(61-118)left Scotland for London after the measure was  
(61-118)perfected, was received with the greatest distinction  
(61-118)in the English towns through which he passed.  
(61-118)And when he approached the neighbourhood of  
(61-118)London, many of the members of the two Houses  
(61-118)came to meet and congratulate a statesman, who, but  
(61-118)for the guards that surrounded him, would, during  
(61-118)the progress of the treaty, have been destroyed by  
(61-118)his countrymen in the streets of Edinburgh!

(61-118)In England, therefore, the Union had its friends  
(61-118)and partisans. In Scotland it was regarded with  
(61-118)an almost universal feeling of discontent and dishonour.  
(61-118)The Jacobite party, who had entertained

[TG61-119]

(61-119)great hopes of eluding the act for settling the kingdom  
(61-119)upon the family of Hanover, beheld them entirely  
(61-119)blighted; the Whigs, or Presbyterians, found  
(61-119)themselves forming part of a nation in which Prelacy  
(61-119)was an institution of the state; the Country  
(61-119)Party, who had nourished a vain but honourable idea  
(61-119)of maintaining the independence of Scotland, now  
(61-119)saw it, with all its symbols of ancient sovereignty,  
(61-119)sunk and merged under the government of England.  
(61-119)All the different professions and classes of  
(61-119)men saw each something in the obnoxious treaty,



(61-119)which affected their own interest.

(61-119)The nobles of an ancient and proud land, which  
(61-119)they were wont to manage at their pleasure, were  
(61-119)now stripped of their legislative privilege, unless  
(61-119)in as far as exercised, like the rights of a petty  
(61-119)corporation, by a handful of delegates; the smaller  
(61-119)barons and gentry shared their humiliation, their  
(61-119)little band of representatives being too few, and  
(61-119)their voices too feeble, to produce any weight in  
(61-119)the British House of Commons, to which a small  
(61-119)portion was admitted.

(61-119)The clergy's apprehension for their own system  
(61-119)of church discipline was sensitively awakened, and  
(61-119)their frequent warnings from the pulpit kept the  
(61-119)terror of innovation before their congregations.

(61-119)The Scottish lawyers had equal reason for alarm.  
(61-119)They witnessed what they considered as the degradation

[TG61-120]

(61-120)of their profession, and of the laws, to the  
(61-120)exposition of which they had been bred up. They saw  
(61-120)their supreme civil court, which had spurned at the  
(61-120)idea of having their decrees reviewed even in the  
(61-120)Parliament, now subjected to appeal to the British  
(61-120)House of Peers; a body who could be expected  
(61-120)to know little of law at all, and in which the Chancellor,  
(61-120)who presided, was trained in the jurisprudence  
(61-120)of another country. Besides, when the  
(61-120)sceptre departed from Scotland, and the lawgiver  
(61-120)no longer sate at her feet, it was likely that her  
(61-120)municipal regulations should be gradually  
(61-120)assimilated to those of England, and that her lawyers  
(61-120)should by degrees be laid aside and rendered useless,

(61-120)by the introduction of the institutions of a  
(61-120)foreign country which were strange to their  
(61-120)studies.

(61-120)The merchants and trading portion of Scotland  
(61-120)also found grievances in the Union peculiar to  
(61-120)themselves. The privileges which admitted the  
(61-120)Scots into the colonial trade of England, only re-  
(61-120)presented the apples of Tantalus, so long as local  
(61-120)prejudices, want of stock, and all the difficulties  
(61-120)incident to forcing capital into a new channel, or  
(61-120)line of business, obstructed their benefiting by them.  
(61-120)On the other hand, they lost all the advantage of  
(61-120)their foreign trade whenever their traffic became  
(61-120)obstructed by the imposition of English duties.  
(61-120)They lost, at the same time, a beneficial, though  
(61-120)illicit trade, with England itself, which took place  
(61-120)in consequence of foreign commodities being so  
(61-120)much cheaper in Scotland. Lastly, the establishment

[TG61-121]

(61-121)of two Boards of Customs and Excise, with  
(61-121)the introduction of a shoal of officers, all Englishmen,  
(61-121)and, it was said, frequently men of indifferent  
(61-121)and loose character,<sup>1</sup> was severely felt by the  
(61-121)commercial part of a nation, whose poverty had hitherto  
(61-121)kept them tolerably free from taxation.

(61-121)The tradesmen and citizens were injured in the  
(61-121)tenderest point, by the general emigration of  
(61-121)families of rank and condition, who naturally went  
(61-121)to reside in London, not only to attend their duties  
(61-121)in Parliament, but to watch for those opportunities  
(61-121)of receiving favours which are only to be obtained  
(61-121)by being constantly near the source of preferment;  
(61-121)not to mention numerous families of consequence,

(61-121)who went to the metropolis merely for fashion's  
(61-121)sake. This general emigration naturally drained  
(61-121)Scotland of the income of the non-residents, who  
(61-121)expended their fortunes among strangers, to the  
(61-121)prejudice of those of their country folk, who had  
(61-121)formerly lived by supplying them with necessities  
(61-121)or luxuries.

(61-121)The agricultural interest was equally affected by  
(61-121)the scarcity of money, which the new laws, the

[TG61-122]

(61-122)money drawn by emigrants from their Scottish  
(61-122)estates, to meet the unwonted expenses of London,  
(61-122)the decay of external commerce, and of internal  
(61-122)trade, all contributed to produce.

(61-122)Besides these peculiar grievances which affected  
(61-122)certain classes or professions, the Scots felt  
(61-122)generally the degradation, as they conceived it, of their  
(61-122)country being rendered the subservient ally of the  
(61-122)state, of which, though infinitely more powerful,  
(61-122)they had resisted the efforts for the space of two  
(61-122)thousand years. The poorest and meanest, as well  
(61-122)as the richest and most noble, felt that he shared  
(61-122)the national honour; and the former was even  
(61-122)more deeply interested in preserving it untarnished  
(61-122)than the latter, because he had no dignity or  
(61-122)consideration due to him personally or individually,  
(61-122)beyond that which belonged to him as a native of  
(61-122)Scotland.

(61-122)There was, therefore, nothing save discontent  
(61-122)and lamentation to be heard throughout Scotland,  
(61-122)and men of every class vented their complaints  
(61-122)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  
(61-122)succeeding that treaty, these benefits were only the  
(61-122)subject of distant and doubtful speculation, while

[TG61-123]

(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 manse,  
(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

(61-123)favoured the Union, and went in crowds to wait  
(61-123)upon the doctrines of those who preached against  
(61-123)the treaty with the same zeal with which they had  
(61-123)formerly magnified the Covenant. Almost all the  
(61-123)dissenting and Cameronian ministers were anti-  
(61-123)unionists, and some of the more enthusiastic were  
(61-123)so peculiarly vehement, that long after the

[TG61-124]

(61-124)controversy had fallen asleep, I have heard my  
(61-124)grandfather say (for your grandfather, Mr Hugh Little-  
(61-124)John, had a grandfather in his time), that he had  
(61-124)heard an old clergyman confess he could never  
(61-124)bring his sermon, upon whatever subject, to a  
(61-124)conclusion, without having what he called a blaud, that  
(61-124)is a slap, at the Union.

(61-124)If the mouths of the clergymen who advocated  
(61-124)the treaty were stopped by reproaches of personal  
(61-124)interest, with far more justice were those reproaches  
(61-124)applied to the greater part of the civil statesmen,  
(61-124)by whom the measure had been carried  
(61-124)through and completed. The people of Scotland  
(61-124)would not hear these gentlemen so much as speak  
(61-124)upon the great incorporating alliance, for the  
(61-124)accomplishment of which they had laboured so  
(61-124)effectually. Be the event of the Union what it would,  
(61-124)the objection was personal to many of those statesmen  
(61-124)by whom it was carried through, that they had  
(61-124)pressed the destruction of Scottish independence,  
(61-124)which it necessarily involved, for private and  
(61-124)selfish reasons, resolving into the gratification of their  
(61-124)own ambition or avarice. They were twitted with  
(61-124)the meanness of their conduct even in the Parliament  
(61-124)of Britain. A tax upon linen cloth, the staple  
(61-124)commodity of Scotland, having been proposed in

(61-124)the House of Commons, was resisted by Mr Baillie  
(61-124)of Jerviswood, and other Scottish members, favourers  
(61-124)of the Union, until Mr Harley, who had been  
(61-124)Secretary of State during the treaty, stood up, and  
(61-124)cut short the debate, by saying, " Have we not  
(61-124)bought the Scots, and did we not acquire a right

[TG61-125]

(61-125)to tax them? or for what other purpose did we  
(61-125)give the equivalent?" Lockhart of Carnwath arose  
(61-125)in reply, and said, he was glad to hear it plainly  
(61-125)acknowledged that the Union had been a matter of  
(61-125)bargain, and that Scotland had been bought and  
(61-125)sold on that memorable occasion; but he was  
(61-125)surprised to hear so great a manager in the traffic  
(61-125)name the equivalents as the price, since the revenue  
(61-125)of Scotland itself being burdened in relief of  
(61-125)that sum, no price had been in fact paid, but what  
(61-125)must ultimately be discharged by Scotland from  
(61-125)her own funds.

(61-125)The detestation of the treaty being for the  
(61-125)present the ruling passion of the times, all other  
(61-125)distinctions of party, and even of religious opinions in  
(61-125)Scotland, were laid aside, and a singular coalition  
(61-125)took place, in which Episcopalians, Presbyterians,  
(61-125)Cavaliers, and many friends of the Revolution,  
(61-125)drowned all former hostility in the predominant  
(61-125)aversion to the Union. Even the Cameronians,  
(61-125)who now formed a powerful body in the state,  
(61-125)retained the same zeal against the Union when  
(61-125)established, which had induced them to rise in arms  
(61-125)against it while it was in progress.

(61-125)It was evident, that the treaty of Union could  
(61-125)not be abolished without a counter-revolution; and

(61-125)for a time almost all the inhabitants of Scotland

[TG61-126]

(61-126)were disposed to join unanimously in the Restoration,  
(61-126)as it was called, of James the Second's son,  
(61-126)to the throne of his fathers; and had his ally, the  
(61-126)King of France, been hearty in his cause, or his  
(61-126)Scottish partisans more united among themselves,  
(61-126)or any leader amongst them possessed of distinguished  
(61-126)talent, the Stewart family might have  
(61-126)repossessed themselves of their ancient domain of  
(61-126)Scotland, and perhaps of England also. To  
(61-126)understand the circumstances by which that hope was  
(61-126)disappointed, it is necessary to look back on the  
(61-126)history of James II., and to take some notice of  
(61-126)the character and situation of his son.

(61-126)The Chevalier de Saint George, as he was called  
(61-126)by a conventional name, which neither gave nor  
(61-126)denied his royal pretensions, was that unfortunate  
(61-126)child of James II., whose birth, which ought in  
(61-126)ordinary cases to have been the support of his  
(61-126)father's throne, became by perverse chance the  
(61-126)strongest incentive for pressing forward the  
(61-126)Revolution. He lost his hopes of a kingdom, therefore,  
(61-126)and was exiled from his native country, ere  
(61-126)he knew what the words country or kingdom  
(61-126)signified, and lived at the court of Saint Germain's,  
(61-126)where Louis XIV. permitted his father to maintain  
(61-126)a hollow pageant of royalty. Thus the son  
(61-126)of James II. was brought up in what is generally  
(61-126)admitted to be the very worst way in which a  
(61-126)prince can be educated; that is, he was surrounded  
(61-126)by all the pomp and external ceremony of imaginary  
(61-126)royalty, without learning by experience any  
(61-126)part of its real duties or actual business. Idle and

[TG61-127]

(61-127)discontented men, who formed the mimicry of a  
(61-127)council, and played the part of ministers, were as  
(61-127)deeply engaged in political intrigues for ideal offices  
(61-127)and dignities at the court of Saint Germain's,  
(61-127)as if actual rank or emolument had attended them,  
(61-127)- as reduced gamblers have been known to spend  
(61-127)days and nights in play, although too poor to stake  
(61-127)any thing on the issue of the game.

(61-127)It is no doubt true, that the versatility of the  
(61-127)statesmen of England, including some great names,  
(61-127)offers a certain degree of apology for the cabinet  
(61-127)of the dethroned prince, to an extent even to justify  
(61-127)the hopes that a counter-revolution would soon take  
(61-127)place, and realize the expectations of the St Germain's  
(61-127)courtiers. It is a misfortune necessarily  
(61-127)attending the success of any of those momentous  
(61-127)changes of government, which, innovating upon the  
(61-127)constitution of a country, are termed revolutions,  
(61-127)that the new establishment of things cannot for  
(61-127)some time attain that degree of respect and  
(61-127)veneration which antiquity can alone impress. Evils  
(61-127)are felt under the new government, as they must  
(61-127)under every human institution, and men readily  
(61-127)reconcile their minds to correct them, either by  
(61-127)adopting further alterations, or by returning to that  
(61-127)order of things which they have so lately seen in  
(61-127)existence. That which is new itself, may, it is  
(61-127)supposed, be subjected to further innovations without  
(61-127)inconvenience, and if these are deemed essential  
(61-127)and necessary, or even advantageous, there  
(61-127)seems to ardent and turbulent spirits little reason

[TG61-128]



(61-128)to doubt, that the force which has succeeded so  
(61-128)lately in destroying the institutions which had the  
(61-128)venerable sanction of antiquity, may be equally  
(61-128)successful in altering or remodelling that which has  
(61-128)been the work of the present generation, perhaps  
(61-128)of the very statesmen who are now desirous of  
(61-128)innovating upon it. With this disposition to change  
(61-128)still further what has been recently the subject of  
(61-128)alteration, mingle other passions. There must  
(61-128)always be many of those that have been active in  
(61-128)a recent revolution, who have not derived the  
(61-128)personal advantages which they were entitled, or,  
(61-128)which is the same thing, thought themselves  
(61-128)entitled, to expect. Such disappointed men are apt,  
(61-128)in their resentment, to think that it depends only  
(61-128)upon themselves to pull down what they have  
(61-128)assisted to build, and to rebuild the structure in the  
(61-128)destruction of which they have been so lately assistants.  
(61-128)This was in the utmost extent evinced after  
(61-128)the English Revolution. Not only subordinate  
(61-128)agents, who had been active in the Revolution, but  
(61-128)some men of the highest and most distinguished  
(61-128)talents, were induced to enter into plots for the  
(61-128)restoration of the Stewarts. Marlborough,  
(61-128)Carmarthen, and Lord Russell, were implicated in a  
(61-128)correspondence with France in 1692; and indeed,  
(61-128)throughout the reigns of William III. and Queen  
(61-128)Anne, many men of consequence, not willing  
(61-128)explicitly to lend themselves to counter-revolutionary  
(61-128)plots, were yet not reluctant to receive projects,  
(61-128)letters, and promises from the ex-king, and return

[TG61-129]

(61-129)in exchange vague expressions of good-will for the  
(61-129)cause of their old monarch, and respect for his  
(61-129)person.

(61-129)It is no wonder, therefore, that the Jacobite  
(61-129)ministers at St Germain were by such negotiations  
(61-129)rendered confident that a counter-revolution was  
(61-129)approaching, or that they intrigued for their share  
(61-129)in the honours and power which they conceived  
(61-129)would be very soon at their master's disposal. In  
(61-129)this they might, indeed, have resembled the hunters  
(61-129)in the fable, who sold the bear's hide before they  
(61-129)had killed him; but, on the other hand, they were  
(61-129)less like simpletons who spend their time in  
(61-129)gambling for nothing, than eager gamblers who play  
(61-129)for a stake, which, though they do not yet possess,  
(61-129)they soon expect to have at their disposal.

(61-129)Amid such petty and empty feuds, it was not  
(61-129)likely that the son of James II. should greatly  
(61-129)augment the strength of mind of which nature had  
(61-129)given him but a small share, especially as his father  
(61-129)had laid aside those habits of business with which  
(61-129)he was once familiar, and, resigning all hopes of his  
(61-129)restoration, had abandoned himself entirely to the  
(61-129)severities of ascetic devotion. From his advice and  
(61-129)example, therefore, the Chevalier de St George  
(61-129)could derive no advantage; and Heaven had not  
(61-129)granted him the talents which supply the place of  
(61-129)instruction.

(61-129)The heir of this ancient line was not, however,  
(61-129)deficient in the external qualities, which associate  
(61-129)well with such distinguished claims. He was of  
(61-129)tall stature, and possessed a nobly formed

[TG61-130]

(61-130)countenance, and courteous manners. He had made one  
(61-130)or two campaigns with applause, and showed no

(61-130)deficiency of courage, if he did not display much  
(61-130)energy. He appears to have been good-humoured,  
(61-130)kind, and tractable. In short, born on a throne,  
(61-130)and with judicious ministers, he might have been a  
(61-130)popular prince; but he had not the qualities necessary  
(61-130)either to win or to regain a kingdom.

(61-130)Immediately before the death of his unfortunate  
(61-130)father, the Chevalier de St George was  
(61-130)consigned to the protection of Louis  
(61-130)XIV., in an affecting manner.(16th Sept. 1701) The  
(61-130)French monarch came for the last time to bid  
(61-130)adieu to his unfortunate ally when stretched on his  
(61-130)deathbed. Affected by the pathos of the scene,  
(61-130)and possessing in reality a portion of that royal  
(61-130)magnanimity by which he was so ambitious of  
(61-130)being distinguished, Louis declared publicly his  
(61-130)purpose to recognise the title of his friend's son, as  
(61-130)heir to the throne of Britain, and take his family  
(61-130)under his protection. The dying prince half raised  
(61-130)himself from his bed, and endeavoured to speak his  
(61-130)gratitude; but his failing accents were drowned in  
(61-130)a murmur of mingled grief and joy, which broke  
(61-130)from his faithful followers. They were melted  
(61-130)into tears, in which Louis himself joined. And  
(61-130)thus was given, in a moment of enthusiasm, a  
(61-130)promise of support which the French King had afterwards  
(61-130)reason to repent of, as he could not gracefully  
(61-130)shake off an engagement contracted under  
(61-130)such circumstances of affecting solemnity;  
(61-130)although in after periods of his reign, he was little

[TG61-131]

(61-131)able to supply the Chevalier de St George with  
(61-131)such succours as his promise had entitled that  
(61-131)prince to expect.

(61-131)Louis was particularly embarrassed by the  
(61-131)numerous plans and schemes for the invasion of  
(61-131)Scotland and England, proposed either by real  
(61-131)Jacobites eager to distinguish themselves by their zeal,  
(61-131)or by adventurers, who, like the noted Captain  
(61-131)Simon Fraser, assumed that character, so as to be  
(61-131)enabled either to forward the Chevalier de St  
(61-131)George's interest, or betray his purpose to the  
(61-131)English Ministry, whichever might best advance  
(61-131)the interest of the emissary. This Captain Fraser  
(61-131)(afterwards the celebrated Lord Lovat) was looked  
(61-131)upon with coldness by the Chevalier and Lord  
(61-131) Middleton, his secretary, but he gained the confidence  
(61-131)of Mary of Este, the widow of James II.  
(61-131)Being at length, through her influence, despatched  
(61-131)to Scotland, Fraser trafficked openly with both  
(61-131)parties; and although, whilst travelling through  
(61-131)the Highlands, he held the character and language  
(61-131)of a highflying Jacobite, and privately betrayed  
(61-131)whatever he could worm out of them to the Duke  
(61-131)of Queensberry, then the royal commissioner and  
(61-131)representative of Queen Anne, he had nevertheless  
(61-131)the audacity to return to France, and use the  
(61-131)language of an injured and innocent man, till he  
(61-131)was thrown into the Bastille for his double dealing.  
(61-131)It is probable that this interlude of Captain Fraser,  
(61-131)which happened in 1703, contributed to give Louis  
(61-131)a distrust of Scottish Jacobite agents, and inclined  
(61-131)him, notwithstanding the general reports of

[TG61-132]

(61-132)disaffection to Queen Anne's government, to try the  
(61-132)temper of the country by an agent of his own,  
(61-132)before resolving to give any considerable assistance  
(61-132)towards an invasion, which his wars in Flanders,

(61-132)and the victories of Marlborough, rendered him ill  
(61-132)able to undertake.

[TG62-133]

(62-133)THERE are two reflections which arise from what  
(62-133)we have stated in the former chapter, too natural  
(62-133)to escape observation.

(62-133)In the first place, we are led to conclude that all  
(62-133)leagues or treaties between nations, which are de-  
(62-133)signed to be permanent, should be grounded not  
(62-133)only on equitable, but on liberal principles. Whatever  
(62-133)advantages are assumed from the superior  
(62-133)strength, or more insidiously attained by the superior  
(62-133)cunning, of one party or the other, operate as

[TG62-134]

(62-134)so many principles of decay, by which the security  
(62-134)of the league is greatly endangered, if not actually  
(62-134)destroyed. There can be no doubt that the open  
(62-134)corruption and precipitate violence with which the  
(62-134)Union was forced on, retarded for two generations  
(62-134)the benefits which would otherwise have arisen  
(62-134)from it; and that resentment, not so much against  
(62-134)the measure itself, as against the disadvantageous  
(62-134)terms granted to Scotland, gave rise to two, or,  
(62-134)taking into account the battle of Glenshiel, to three  
(62-134)civil wars, with all the peculiar miseries which  
(62-134)attended them. The personal adherence of many  
(62-134)individuals to the Stewart family might have  
(62-134)preserved Jacobite sentiments for a generation, but  
(62-134)would scarce have had intensity sufficient to kindle  
(62-134)a general flame in the country, had not the sense  
(62-134)of the unjust and illiberal manner in which the  
(62-134)Union was concluded, come in aid of the zeal of  
(62-134)the Jacobites, to create a general or formidable

(62-134)attack on the existing Government. As the case  
(62-134)actually stood, we shall presently see how narrowly  
(62-134)the Union itself escaped destruction, and the nation  
(62-134)a counter-revolution.

(62-134)This conducts us to the second remark, which I  
(62-134)wish you to attend to, namely, how that, with all  
(62-134)the facilities of intercourse afforded by the manners  
(62-134)of modern nations, it nevertheless is extremely  
(62-134)difficult for one government to obtain what they  
(62-134)may consider as trustworthy information concerning  
(62-134)the internal affairs and actual condition of  
(62-134)another, either from the statements of partisans, who  
(62-134)profess themselves in league with the state which

[TG62-135]

(62-135)makes the enquiry, or from agents of their own,  
(62-135)sent on purpose to pursue the investigation. The  
(62-135)first class of Informants deceive their correspondents  
(62-135)and themselves, by the warm and sanguine  
(62-135)view which they take of the strength and importance  
(62-135)of their own party; the last are Incapable of  
(62-135)forming a correct judgment of what they see and  
(62-135)hear, for want of that habitual and familiar knowledge  
(62-135)of the manners of a country which is necessary  
(62-135)to enable them to judge what peculiar allowances  
(62-135)ought to be made, and what special restrictions  
(62-135)may be necessary, in interpreting the language  
(62-135)of those with whom they communicate on the subject  
(62-135)of their mission.

(62-135)This was exemplified in the enquiries instituted  
(62-135)by Louis XIV. for ascertaining the exact disposition  
(62-135)of the people of Scotland towards the Chevalier  
(62-135)de St George. The agent employed by the  
(62-135)French monarch was Lieutenant-colonel Hooke,

(62-135)an Englishman of good family. This gentleman  
(62-135)followed King James II. to France, and was there  
(62-135)received into the service of Louis XIV. to which  
(62-135)he seems to have become so much attached as to  
(62-135)have been comparatively indifferent to that of the  
(62-135)son of his former master. His instructions from  
(62-135)the French King were, to engage the Scots who  
(62-135)might be disposed for an insurrection as deeply as  
(62-135)possible to France, but to avoid precise promises,  
(62-135)by which he might compromise France in any  
(62-135)corresponding obligation respecting assistance or  
(62-135)supplies. In a word, the Jacobite or anti-unionist  
(62-135)party were to have leave from Louis to attempt a

[TG62-136]

(62-136)rebellion against Queen Anne, at their own proper  
(62-136)risk, providing the Grand Monarque, as he was  
(62-136)generally termed, should be no further bound to  
(62-136)aid them in the enterprise, or protect them in case  
(62-136)of its failure, than he should think consistent with  
(62-136)his magnanimity, and convenient for his affairs.  
(62-136)This was no doubt a bargain by which nothing  
(62-136)could be lost by France, but it had been made with  
(62-136)too great anxiety to avoid hazard, to be attended  
(62-136)with much chance of gaining by it.

(62-136)With these instructions Colonel Hooke departed  
(62-136)for Scotland in the end of February or beginning  
(62-136)of March 1707, where he found, as had been  
(62-136)described by the correspondence kept up with the  
(62-136)Scots, different classes of people eager to join in an  
(62-136)insurrection, with the purpose of breaking the Union,  
(62-136)and restoring the Stewart family to the throne.  
(62-136)We must first mention the state in which he found  
(62-136)the Jacobite party, with whom principally he came  
(62-136)to communicate.

(62-136)This party, which, as it now included the Country  
(62-136)faction, and all others who favoured the dissolution  
(62-136)of the Union, was much more universally extended  
(62-136)than at any other period in Scottish history, either  
(62-136)before or afterwards, was divided into two parties,  
(62-136)having for their heads the Dukes of Hamilton and  
(62-136)Athole, noblemen who stood in opposition to each  
(62-136)other in claiming the title of the leader of the  
(62-136)Jacobite interests. If these two great men were  
(62-136)to be estimated according to their fidelity to the  
(62-136)cause which they had espoused, their pretensions  
(62-136)were tolerably equal, for neither of them could lay

[TG62-137]

(62-137)much claim to the honour due to political consistency.  
(62-137)The conduct of Athole during the Revolution  
(62-137)had been totally adverse to the royal interest;  
(62-137)and that of the Duke of Hamilton, on his part,  
(62-137)though affecting to act as head of the opposition to  
(62-137)the Union, was such as to induce some suspicion  
(62-137)that he was in league with the Government; since,  
(62-137)whenever a decisive stand was to be made, Hamilton  
(62-137)was sure to find some reason, better or worse,  
(62-137)to avoid coming to extremities with the opposite  
(62-137)party. Notwithstanding such repeated acts or  
(62-137)defection on the part of these great dukes, their rank,  
(62-137)talents, and the reliance on their general sincerity  
(62-137)in the Jacobite cause, occasioned men of that party  
(62-137)to attach themselves as partisans to one or other of  
(62-137)them. It was natural that, generally speaking, men  
(62-137)should choose for their leader the most influential  
(62-137)person in whose neighbourhood they themselves  
(62-137)resided or had their property; and thus the Highland  
(62-137)Jacobites beyond the Tay rallied under the  
(62-137)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

[TG62-138]

(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

(62-138)of Kilmaronock, and other leaders among the  
(62-138)Jacobites of the west, had a conference with Colonel  
(62-138)Hooke, their answers were of a different tenor.  
(62-138)They thought that to render the plan of insurrection  
(62-138)at all feasible, there should be a distinct  
(62-138)engagement on the part of the King of France, to  
(62-138)send over the Chevalier de St George to Scotland,  
(62-138)with an auxiliary army of ten, or, at the very least,  
(62-138)of eight thousand men. Colonel Hooke used very  
(62-138)haughty language in answer to this demand, which  
(62-138)he termed a " presuming to give advice to Louis  
(62-138)XIV. how to manage his own affairs; " as if it had

[TG62-139]

(62-139)not been the business of the Jacobites themselves  
(62-139)to learn to what extent they were to expect  
(62-139)support, before staking their lands and lives in so  
(62-139)dangerous an enterprise.

(62-139)The extent of Colonel Hooke's success was  
(62-139)obtaining a memorial, signed by ten lords and chiefs,  
(62-139)acting in the name, as they state, of the bulk of  
(62-139)the nation, but particularly of thirty persons of  
(62-139)distinction, from whom they had special mandates,  
(62-139)in which paper they agreed that upon the arrival  
(62-139)of the Chevalier de St George, they would make  
(62-139)him master of Scotland, which was entirely in his  
(62-139)interest, and immediately thereafter proceed to  
(62-139)raise an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five  
(62-139)thousand horse. With this force they proposed  
(62-139)to march into England, seize upon Newcastle, and  
(62-139)distress the City of London by interrupting the

[TG62-140]

(62-140)coal trade. They stated their hope that the King  
(62-140)would send with the Chevalier an auxiliary army

(62-140)of at least five thousand men, some officers, and a  
(62-140)general of high rank, such as the Scottish nobles  
(62-140)would not scruple to obey. The Duke of Berwick,  
(62-140)a natural son of the late king, and a general  
(62-140)of first-rate talent, was particularly fixed upon.  
(62-140)They also complained of a want of field-pieces,  
(62-140)battering-cannon, and arms of every kind, and  
(62-140)stated their desire of a supply. And lastly, they  
(62-140)dwelt upon the need they had of a subsidy of six  
(62-140)hundred thousand livres, to enable them to begin  
(62-140)the war. But they stated these in the shape of  
(62-140)humble requests, rather than demands or conditions,  
(62-140)and submitted themselves in the same memorial to  
(62-140)any modification or alteration of the terms, which  
(62-140)might render them more acceptable to King Louis.  
(62-140)Thus Hooke made good the important point in his  
(62-140)instructions, which enjoined him to take the Scottish  
(62-140)Jacobites bound as far as possible to the King  
(62-140)of France, while he should on no account enter  
(62-140)into any negotiations which might bind his  
(62-140)Majesty to any counter-stipulations. Louis showed  
(62-140)considerable address in playing this game, as  
(62-140)it is vulgarly called, of Fast and Loose, giving  
(62-140)every reason to conclude that his ministers, if not  
(62-140)the sovereign himself, looked less upon the invasion  
(62-140)of Scotland as the means of effecting a  
(62-140)counter-revolution, than in the light of a diversion,  
(62-140)which would oblige the British to withdraw a large  
(62-140)proportion of the troops which they employed in  
(62-140)Flanders, and thus obtain a superiority for France

[TG62-141]

(62-141)on the general theatre of war. With this purpose,  
(62-141)and to take the chance, doubtless, of fortunate  
(62-141)events, and the generally discontented state of  
(62-141)Scotland, the French court received and discussed

(62-141)at their leisure the prodigal offer of the Scottish  
(62-141)Jacobites.

(62-141)At length, after many delays, the French monarch  
(62-141)actually determined upon making an effort. It was  
(62-141)resolved to send to Scotland the heir of the ancient  
(62-141)kings of that country, with a body of about five or  
(62-141)six thousand men, being the force thought necessary  
(62-141)by the faction of Athole - that of Hamilton  
(62-141)having demanded eight thousand men at the very  
(62-141)least. It was agreed that the Chevalier de St  
(62-141)George should embark at Dunkirk with this little  
(62-141)army, and that the fleet should be placed under the  
(62-141)command of the Comte de Forbin, who had  
(62-141)distinguished himself by several naval exploits.

(62-141)When the plan was communicated by Monsieur  
(62-141)de Chamillard, then minister for naval affairs, the  
(62-141)commodore stated numerous objections to throwing  
(62-141)so large a force ashore on the naked beach,  
(62-141)without being assured of possessing a single  
(62-141)harbour, or fortified place, which might serve them for  
(62-141)a defence against the troops which the English  
(62-141)Government would presently despatch against them.  
(62-141)" If," pursued Forbin, " you have five thousand  
(62-141)troops to throw away on a desperate expedition,  
(62-141)give me the command of them; I will embark  
(62-141)them in shallops and light vessels, and I will  
(62-141)surprise Amsterdam, and, by destroying the  
(62-141)commerce of the Dutch capital, take away all means

[TG62-142]

(62-142)and desire on the part of the United Provinces to  
(62-142)continue the war."-" Let us have no inure of  
(62-142)this," replied the Minister; " you are called upon  
(62-142)to execute the King's commands, not to discuss

(62-142)them. His Majesty has promised to the King and  
(62-142)Queen Dowager of England (the Chevalier de St  
(62-142)George and Mary d'Este) that he is to give them  
(62-142)the stipulated assistance, and you are honoured  
(62-142)with the task of fulfilling his royal word." To  
(62-142)hear was to obey, and the Comte de Forbin set  
(62-142)himself about the execution of the design intrusted  
(62-142)to him; but with a secret reluctance, which boded  
(62-142)ill for the expedition, since, in bold undertakings,  
(62-142)success is chiefly insured by the zeal, confidence,  
(62-142)and hearty co-operation of those to whom the  
(62-142)execution is committed. Forbin was so far from being  
(62-142)satisfied with the commission assigned him, that  
(62-142)he started a thousand difficulties and obstacles, all  
(62-142)of which he was about to repeat to the Monarch  
(62-142)himself in a private interview, when Louis,  
(62-142)observing the turn of his conversation, cut his  
(62-142)restive admiral short by telling him, that he was  
(62-142)busy at that moment, and wished him a good  
(62-142)voyage.

(62-142)The commander of the land forces was the  
(62-142)Comte de Gasse who afterwards bore the title of  
(62-142)Marechal de Matignon. Twelve battalions were  
(62-142)embarked on board of eight ships of the line and  
(62-142)twenty-four frigates, besides transports and  
(62-142)shallops for disembarkation. The King of France  
(62-142)displayed his magnificence, by supplying the  
(62-142)Chevalier de St George with a royal wardrobe, services

[TG62-143]

(62-143)of gold and silver plate, rich liveries for his  
(62-143)attendants, splendid uniforms for his guards, and all  
(62-143)external appurtenances befitting the rank of a  
(62-143)sovereign prince. At parting, Louis bestowed on his  
(62-143)guest a sword, having its hilt set with diamonds,

(62-143)and, with that felicity of compliment which was  
(62-143)natural to him above all other princes, expressed, as  
(62-143)the best wish he could bestow upon his departing  
(62-143)friend, his hope that they might never meet again.  
(62-143)It was ominous that Louis used the same turn of  
(62-143)courtesy in bidding adieu to the Chevalier's father,  
(62-143)previous to the battle of La Hogue.

(62-143)The Chevalier departed for Dunkirk, and embarked  
(62-143)the troops; and thus far all had been conducted  
(62-143)with such perfect secrecy, that England was  
(62-143)totally unaware of the attempt which was meditated.  
(62-143)But an accident at the same time retarded  
(62-143)the enterprise, and made it public. This was the  
(62-143)illness of the Chevalier de St George, who was  
(62-143)seized with the measles. It could then no longer  
(62-143)remain a secret that he was lying sick in Dunkirk,  
(62-143)with the purpose of heading an expedition, for  
(62-143)which the troops were already embarked,

(62-143)It was scarcely possible to imagine a country

[TG62-144]

(62-144)more unprepared for such an attack than England,  
(62-144)unless it were Scotland. The great majority of  
(62-144)the English army were then in Flanders. There  
(62-144)only remained within the kingdom five thousand  
(62-144)men, and these chiefly new levies. The situation  
(62-144)of Scotland was still more defenceless. Edinburgh  
(62-144)castle was alike unfurnished with garrison, artillery,  
(62-144)ammunition, and stores. There were not in the  
(62-144)country above two thousand regular soldiers, and  
(62-144)these were Scottish regiments, whose fidelity was  
(62-144)very little to be reckoned upon, if there should,  
(62-144)as was probable, be a general insurrection of their  
(62-144)countrymen. The panic in London was great, at

(62-144)court, in camp, and in city: there was also an  
(62-144)unprecedented run on the Bank, which, unless that  
(62-144)great national institution had been supported by an  
(62-144)association of wealthy British and foreign  
(62-144)merchants, must have given a severe shock to public  
(62-144)credit. The consternation was the more overwhelming,  
(62-144)that the great men in England were  
(62-144)jealous of each other, and, not believing that the  
(62-144)Chevalier would have ventured over upon the

[TG62-145]

(62-145)encouragement of the Scottish nation only, suspected  
(62-145)the existence of some general conspiracy, the  
(62-145)explosion of which would take place in England.

(62-145)Amid the wide-spreading alarm, active measures  
(62-145)were taken to avert the danger. The few  
(62-145)regiments which were in South Britain were directed  
(62-145)to march for Scotland in all haste. Advices were  
(62-145)sent to Flanders, to recall some of the British troops  
(62-145)there for the more pressing service at home.  
(62-145)General Cadogan, with ten battalions, took shipping  
(62-145)in Holland, and actually sailed for Tynemouth.  
(62-145)But even amongst these there were troops which  
(62-145)could not be trusted. The Earl of Orkney's  
(62-145)Highland regiment, and that which is called the  
(62-145)Scotch fusileers, are said to have declared they  
(62-145)would never use their swords against their country  
(62-145)in an English quarrel. It must be added, that the  
(62-145)arrival of this succour was remote and precarious.  
(62-145)But England had a readier and more certain  
(62-145)resource in the superiority of her navy.

(62-145)With the most active exertions a fleet of forty  
(62-145)sail of the line was assembled and put to sea, and,  
(62-145)ere the French squadron commanded by Forbin

(62-145)had sailed, they beheld this mighty fleet before  
(62-145)Dunkirk, on the 28th of February, 1708. The  
(62-145)Comte de Forbin, upon this formidable apparition,  
(62-145)despatched letters to Paris for instructions, having  
(62-145)no doubt of receiving orders, in consequence, to  
(62-145)disembark the troops, and postpone the expedition.  
(62-145)Such an answer arrived accordingly; but while  
(62-145)Forbin was preparing, on the 14th March, to carry  
(62-145)it into execution, the English fleet was driven off

[TG62-146]

(62-146)the blockade by stress of weather; which news  
(62-146)having soon reached the court, positive orders came,  
(62-146)that at all risks the invading squadron should  
(62-146)proceed to sea.

(62-146)They sailed accordingly on 17th March from the  
(62-146)roads of Dunkirk; and now not a little depended  
(62-146)on the accidental circumstance of wind and tide, as  
(62-146)these should be favourable to the French or  
(62-146)English fleets. The elements were adverse to the  
(62-146)French. They had no sooner left Dunkirk roads  
(62-146)than the wind became contrary, and the squadron  
(62-146)was driven into the roadstead called Newport-pits,  
(62-146)from which place they could not stir for the space  
(62-146)of two days, when, the wind again changing, they  
(62-146)set sail for Scotland with a favourable breeze. The  
(62-146)Comte de Forbin and his squadron arrived in the  
(62-146)entrance of the frith of Forth, sailed as high up  
(62-146)as the point of Crail, on the coast of Fife, and  
(62-146)dropped anchor there, with the purpose of running  
(62-146)up the frith as far as the vicinity of Edinburgh on  
(62-146)the next day, and there disembarking the Chevalier  
(62-146)de St George, Marechal Matignon, and his troops.  
(62-146)In the mean time, they showed signals, fired guns,  
(62-146)and endeavoured to call the attention of their



(62-146)friends, whom they expected to welcome them  
(62-146)ashore.

(62-146)None of these signals were returned from the  
(62-146)land; but they were answered from the sea in a  
(62-146)manner as unexpected as it was unpleasing. The  
(62-146)report of five cannon, heard in the direction of the  
(62-146)mouth of the frith, gave notice of the approach  
(62-146)of Sir George Byng and the English fleet, which

[TG62-147]

(62-147)had sailed the instant their admiral learned that the  
(62-147)Comte de Forbin had put to sea; and though the  
(62-147)French had considerably the start of them, the  
(62-147)British admiral contrived to enter the frith  
(62-147)immediately after the French squadron.

(62-147)The dawn of morning showed the far superior  
(62-147)force of the English fleet advancing up the frith,  
(62-147)and threatening to intercept the French squadron  
(62-147)in the narrow inlet of the sea into which they had  
(62-147)ventured. The Chevalier de St George and his  
(62-147)attendants demanded to be put on board a smaller  
(62-147)vessel than that commanded by Monsieur de Forbin,  
(62-147)with the purpose of disembarking at the  
(62-147)ancient castle of Wemyss, on the Fife coast,  
(62-147)belonging to the earl of the same name, a constant  
(62-147)adherent of the Stewart family. This was at once  
(62-147)the wisest and most manly course which he could  
(62-147)have followed. But the son of James II. was  
(62-147)doomed to learn how little freewill can be exercised  
(62-147)by the prince who has placed himself under  
(62-147)the protection of a powerful auxiliary. Monsieur  
(62-147)de Forbin, after evading his request for some time,  
(62-147)at length decidedly said to him - " Sire, by the orders  
(62-147)of my royal master, I am directed to take the same

(62-147)precautions for the safety of your august person as  
(62-147)for his Majesty's own. This must be my chief  
(62-147)care. You are at present in safety, and I will  
(62-147)never consent to your being exposed in a ruinous  
(62-147)chateau, in an open country, where a few hours  
(62-147)might put you in the hands of your enemies. I  
(62-147)am intrusted with your person; I am answerable  
(62-147)for your safety with my head; I beseech you,

[TG62-148]

(62-148)therefore, to repose your confidence in me  
(62-148)entirely, and to listen to no one else. All those who  
(62-148)dare give you advice different from mine, are either  
(62-148)traitors or cowards." Having thus settled the  
(62-148)Chevalier's doubts in a manner savouring something  
(62-148)of the roughness of his profession, the Comte  
(62-148)de Forbin bore down on the English admiral, as if  
(62-148)determined to fight his way through the fleet. But  
(62-148)as Sir George Byng made signal for collecting his  
(62-148)ships to meet the enemy, the Frenchman went off  
(62-148)on another tack, and, taking advantage of the manoeuvre  
(62-148)to avoid the English admiral, steered for  
(62-148)the mouth of the frith. The English ships having  
(62-148)been long at sea, were rather heavy sailers, while  
(62-148)those of Forbin had been carefully selected and  
(62-148)careened for this particular service. The pursuit  
(62-148)of Byng was therefore in vain, excepting that the  
(62-148)Elizabeth, a slow-sailing vessel of the French fleet,  
(62-148)fell into his hands.

(62-148)Admiral Byng, when the French escaped him,  
(62-148)proceeded to Edinburgh to assist in the defence of  
(62-148)the capital, in case of any movement of the  
(62-148)Jacobites which might have endangered it. The  
(62-148)Comte de Forbin, with his expedition, had, on the  
(62-148)other hand, the power of choosing among all the

(62-148)ports on the north-east coast of Scotland, from  
(62-148)Dundee to Inverness, the one which circumstances  
(62-148)might render most eligible for the purpose of  
(62-148)disembarking the Chevalier de St George and the  
(62-148)French troops. But whether from his own want  
(62-148)of cordiality in the object of the expedition, or  
(62-148)whether, as was generally suspected by the Scottish

[TG62-149]

(62-149)Jacobites at the time, he had secret orders  
(62-149)from his court which regulated his conduct, Forbin  
(62-149)positively refused to put the disinherited prince,  
(62-149)and the soldiers destined for his service, on shore  
(62-149)at any part of the north of Scotland, although the  
(62-149)Chevalier repeatedly required him to do so. The  
(62-149)expedition returned to Dunkirk, from which it  
(62-149)had been four weeks absent; the troops were put  
(62-149)ashore and distributed in garrison, and the  
(62-149)commanders hastened to court, each to excuse himself,  
(62-149)and throw the blame of the failure upon the other.

(62-149)On the miscarriage of this intended invasion,  
(62-149)the malecontents of Scotland felt that an opportunity  
(62-149)was lost, which never might, and in fact never  
(62-149)did, again present itself. The unanimity with which  
(62-149)almost all the numerous sects and parties in Scotland  
(62-149)were disposed to unite in any measure which  
(62-149)could rid them of the Union, was so unusual, that  
(62-149)it could not be expected to be of long duration in  
(62-149)so factious a nation. Neither was it likely that  
(62-149)the kingdom of Scotland would, after such a lesson,  
(62-149)be again left by the English Government so  
(62-149)ill provided for defence. Above all, it seemed  
(62-149)probable that the vengeance of the Ministry would

[TG62-150]

(62-150)descend so heavily on the heads of those who had  
(62-150)been foremost in expressing their good wishes to  
(62-150)the cause of the Chevalier de St George, as might  
(62-150)induce others to beware of following their example  
(62-150)on future occasions.

(62-150)During the brief period when the French fleet  
(62-150)was known to be at sea, and the landing of the  
(62-150)army on some part of the coast of Scotland was  
(62-150)expected almost hourly, the depression of the few  
(62-150)who adhered to the existing government was  
(62-150)extreme. The Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief  
(62-150)of the Scottish forces, hurried down from England  
(62-150)to take the command of two or three regiments,  
(62-150)which were all that could be mustered for the  
(62-150)defence of the capital, and, on his arrival, wrote to  
(62-150)the Secretary of State that the Jacobites were in  
(62-150)such numbers, and showed themselves so elated,  
(62-150)that he scarce dared look them in the face as he  
(62-150)walked the streets. On the approach of a fleet, the  
(62-150)Earl drew up his army in hostile array on Leith  
(62-150)Sands, as if he meant to withstand any attempt to  
(62-150)land. But great was his relief, when the approaching  
(62-150)vessels of war showed the flag of England,  
(62-150)instead of France, and proved to be those of Sir  
(62-150)George Byng, instead of the Comte de Forbin's.

(62-150)When this important intelligence was publicly  
(62-150)known, it was for the Jacobites in their turn to  
(62-150)abate the haughty looks before which their enemies  
(62-150)had quailed, and resume those which they wore as  
(62-150)a suffering but submissive faction. The Jacobite  
(62-150)gentlemen of Stirlingshire, in particular, had almost  
(62-150)gone the length of rising in arms, or, to speak more

(62-151)properly, they had actually done so, though no  
(62-151)opportunity had occurred of coming to blows. They  
(62-151)had now, therefore, reason to expect the utmost  
(62-151)vengeance of Government.

(62-151)This little band consisted of several men of  
(62-151)wealth, influence, and property. Stirling of Keir,  
(62-151)Seaton of Touch, Edmondstoun of Newton, Stirling  
(62-151)of Carden, and others, assembled a gallant  
(62-151)body of horse, and advanced towards Edinburgh,  
(62-151)to be the first who should offer themselves for the  
(62-151)service of the Chevalier de St George. Learning  
(62-151)by the way the failure of the expedition, they  
(62-151)dispersed themselves, and returned to their own  
(62-151)homes. They were seized, however, thrown into  
(62-151)prison, and threatened to be tried for high treason.

(62-151)The Duke of Hamilton, with that want of decision  
(62-151)which gave his conduct an air of mysterious  
(62-151)inconsistency, had left his seat of Kinniel to visit  
(62-151)his estates in Lancashire, while the treaty concerning  
(62-151)the French invasion was in dependence. He  
(62-151)was overtaken on his journey by a friend, who  
(62-151)came to apprise him, that all obstructions to the  
(62-151)expedition being overcome, it might be with  
(62-151)certainty expected on the coast in the middle of March.  
(62-151)The Duke seemed much embarrassed, and declared  
(62-151)to Lockhart or Carnwath, that he would joyfully  
(62-151)return, were it not that he foresaw that his giving  
(62-151)such a mark of the interest he took in the arrival  
(62-151)of the Chevalier, as that which stopping short on a  
(62-151)journey, and returning to Scotland on the first  
(62-151)news that he was expected, must necessarily imply,  
(62-151)would certainly determine the Government to arrest

(62-152)him on suspicion. But his Grace pledged himself,  
(62-152)that when he should learn by express that the  
(62-152)French were actually arrived, he would return to  
(62-152)Scotland in spite of all opposition, and rendezvous  
(62-152)at Dumfries, where Mr Lockhart should meet him  
(62-152)with the insurgents of Lanarkshire, the district in  
(62-152)which both their interests lay.

(62-152)The Duke had scarcely arrived at his house of  
(62-152)Ashton, in Lancashire, when he was arrested as a  
(62-152)auspicious person, and was still in the custody of  
(62-152)the messenger when he received the intelligence

(62-152)that the French armament had actually set sail.  
(62-152)Even this he did not conceive a fit time to declare  
(62-152)himself, but solemnly protested, that so soon as he  
(62-152)should learn that the Chevalier had actually landed,  
(62-152)he would rid himself of the officer in whose custody  
(62-152)he was, and set off for Scotland at the head of  
(62-152)forty horse, to live or die in his service. As the  
(62-152)Chevalier never set foot ashore, we have no means  
(62-152)of knowing whether the Duke of Hamilton would  
(62-152)have fulfilled his promise, which Mr Lockhart  
(62-152)seems to have considered as candidly and sincerely  
(62-152)given, or have had recourse to some evasion, as  
(62-152)upon other critical occasions.

[TG62-153]

(62-153)The Government, as is usual in such cases, were  
(62-153)strict in investigating the cause of the conspiracy,  
(62-153)and menacing those who had encouraged it, in a  
(62-153)proportion corresponding to the alarm into which  
(62-153)they had been thrown. A great many of the Scottish  
(62-153)nobility and gentry were arrested on suspicion,  
(62-153)secured in prisons and strong fortresses in  
(62-153)Scotland, or sent to London in a kind of triumph,

(62-153)on account of the encouragement they were supposed  
(62-153)to have given to the invasion.

(62-153)The Stirlingshire gentlemen, who had actually  
(62-153)taken arms and embodied themselves, were marked  
(62-153)out as the first victims, and were accordingly sent  
(62-153)back to Scotland, to be tried in the country where  
(62-153)they had committed the crime. They met more  
(62-153)favourable judges than was perhaps to have been  
(62-153)expected.

(62-153)Being brought to trial before the High Court or  
(62-153)Justiciary, several witnesses were examined, who  
(62-153)had seen the gentlemen assembled together in a  
(62-153)body, but no one had remarked any circumstance  
(62-153)which gave them the character of a military force.

[TG62-154]

(62-154)They bad arms, Indeed, but few gentlemen of that  
(62-154)day stirred abroad without sword and pistol. No one  
(62-154)had heard any treasonable conversation, or avowal  
(62-154)of a treasonable purpose. The jury, therefore,  
(62-154)found the crime was Not Proved against them -  
(62-154)a verdict which, by the Scottish law, is equivalent  
(62-154)in its effects to one of Not Guilty, but which is  
(62-154)applied to those cases in which the accused persons  
(62-154)are clouded with such a shade of suspicion as renders  
(62-154)their guilt probable in the eyes of the jury,  
(62-154)though the accuser has failed to make it good by  
(62-154)proof. Their trial took place on the 22d  
(62-154)November, 1708.

(62-154)A short traditional story will serve to explain  
(62-154)the cause of their acquittal. It is said, the Laird  
(62-154)of Keir was riding joyfully home, with his butler  
(62-154)in attendance, who had been one of the evidence

(62-154)produced against him on the trial, but who had,  
(62-154)upon examination, forgot every word concerning  
(62-154)the matter which could possibly prejudice his master.  
(62-154)Keir could not help expressing some surprise  
(62-154)to the man at the extraordinary shortness of  
(62-154)memory which he had shown on particular questions  
(62-154)being put to him. " I understand what your honour  
(62-154)means very well," said the domestic coolly,  
(62-154)" but my mind was made up rather to trust my  
(62-154)own soul to the mercy of Heaven than your honour's  
(62-154)body to the tender compassion of the Whigs."  
(62-154)This tale carries its own commentary.

(62-154)Having failed to convict conspirators who had  
(62-154)acted so openly, the Government found it would  
(62-154)be hopeless to proceed against those who had been

[TG62-155]

(62-155)arrested on suspicion only. This body included  
(62-155)many noblemen; and gentry of the first rank, believed  
(62-155)to entertain Jacobite sentiments. The Duke  
(62-155)of Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls  
(62-155)Seaforth, Errol, Nithsdale, Marischal, and Murray;  
(62-155)Lords Stormont, Kilsythe, Drummond, Nairne,  
(62-155)Belhaven, and Sinclair, besides many gentlemen  
(62-155)of fortune and influence, were all confined in the  
(62-155)Tower, or other state prisons. The Duke of  
(62-155)Hamilton is supposed to have been successful in making  
(62-155)interest with the Whigs for their release, his  
(62-155)Grace proposing, in return, to give the Ministers  
(62-155)the advantage of his interest, and that of his friends,  
(62-155)upon future elections. The prisoners were accordingly  
(62-155)dismissed on finding bail.

(62-155)The government, however, conceived that the  
(62-155)failure to convict the Stirlingshire gentlemen



(62-155)accused of high treason (of which they were certainly  
(62-155)guilty), arose less from the reluctance of  
(62-155)witnesses to bear testimony against them, than in  
(62-155)advantages afforded to them by the uncertain and  
(62-155)general provisions of the Scottish statutes in cases  
(62-155)of treason. They proposed to remedy this by  
(62-155)abrogating the Scottish law, and introducing that

[TG62-156]

(62-156)of England in its stead, and ordaining that treasons  
(62-156)committed in Scotland should be tried and  
(62-156)decided in what is technically called a Commission  
(62-156)of Oyer and Terminer, i.e. a Court of Commissioners  
(62-156)appointed for hearing and deciding a particular  
(62-156)cause, or set of causes. This, it must be  
(62-156)noticed, contained an important advantage to the  
(62-156)Government, since the case was taken from under  
(62-156)the cognizance of the ordinary courts of justice,  
(62-156)and intrusted to commissioners named for the special  
(62-156)occasion, who must, of course, be chosen from  
(62-156)men friendly to Government, awake to the alarm  
(62-156)arising from any attack upon it, and, consequently,  
(62-156)likely to be somewhat prejudiced against the  
(62-156)parties brought before them, as accomplices in such  
(62-156)an enterprise. On the other hand, the new law,  
(62-156)with the precision required by the English system,  
(62-156)was decided and distinct in settling certain forms  
(62-156)of procedure, which, in Scotland, being left to the  
(62-156)arbitrary pleasure of the judges, gave them an  
(62-156)opportunity of favouring or distressing the parties  
(62-156)brought before them. This was a dangerous latitude  
(62-156)upon political trials, where every man, whatever  
(62-156)might be his rank, or general character for  
(62-156)impartiality, was led to take a strong part on one  
(62-156)side or other of the question out of which the  
(62-156)criminal interest had arisen.

(62-156)Another part of the proposed act was, however,  
(62-156)a noble boon to Scotland. It freed the country  
(62-156)for ever from the atrocious powers of examination  
(62-156)under torture. This, as we have seen, was currently  
(62-156)practised during the reigns of Charles II.

[TG62-157]

(62-157)and his brother James; and it had been put in  
(62-157)force, though unfrequently, after the Revolution.  
(62-157)A greater injustice cannot be imagined, than the  
(62-157)practice of torture to extort confession, although  
(62-157)it once made a part of judicial procedure in every  
(62-157)country of Europe, and is still resorted to in some  
(62-157)continental nations. It is easy to conceive, that a  
(62-157)timid man, or one peculiarly sensible to pain, will  
(62-157)confess crimes of which he is innocent, to avoid or  
(62-157)escape from the infliction of extreme torture;  
(62-157)while a villain, of a hardy disposition of mind and  
(62-157)body, will endure the worst torment that can be  
(62-157)imposed on him, rather than avow offences of which  
(62-157)he is actually guilty.

(62-157)The laws of both countries conformed but too  
(62-157)well in adding to the punishment of high treason  
(62-157)certain aggravations, which, while they must  
(62-157)disgust and terrify the humane and civilized, tend only  
(62-157)to brutalize the vulgar and unthinking part of the  
(62-157)spectators, and to familiarize them with acts of  
(62-157)cruelty. On this the laws of England were painfully  
(62-157)minute. They enjoined that the traitor should  
(62-157)be cut down from the gibbet before life and sensibility  
(62-157)to pain were extinguished - that while half-strangled,  
(62-157)his heart should be torn from his breast  
(62-157)and thrown into the fire-his body opened and  
(62-157)embowelled, and,-omitting other more shamefully

(62-157)savage injunctions,-that his corpse should be quartered,  
(62-157)and exposed upon bridges and city towers,  
(62-157)and abandoned to the carrion crow and the eagle.  
(62-157)Admitting that high treason, as it implies the  
(62-157)destruction of the government under which we live,

[TG62-158]

(62-158)is the highest of all possible crimes, still the  
(62-158)forfeiture of life, which it does, and ought to infer,  
(62-158)is the highest punishment which our mortal state  
(62-158)affords. All the butchery, therefore, which the  
(62-158)former laws of England prescribed, only disgusts  
(62-158)or hardens the heart of the spectator; while the  
(62-158)apparatus of terror seldom affects the criminal, who  
(62-158)has been generally led to commit the crime by some  
(62-158)strong enthusiastic feeling, either implanted in him  
(62-158)by education, or caught up from sympathy with  
(62-158)others; and which, as it leads him to hazard life  
(62-158)itself, is not subdued or daunted by the additional  
(62-158)or protracted tortures, which can be added to the  
(62-158)manner in which death is inflicted.

(62-158)Another penalty annexed to the crime of high  
(62-158)treason, was the forfeiture of the estates of the  
(62-158)criminal to the crown, to the disinheriting of his  
(62-158)children, or natural heirs. There is something in this  
(62-158)difficult to reconcile to moral feeling, since it may,  
(62-158)in some degree, be termed visiting the crimes of  
(62-158)the parents upon the children. It may be also  
(62-158)alleged, that it is hard to forfeit and take away from  
(62-158)the lawful line of succession property which may  
(62-158)have been acquired by the talents and industry of  
(62-158)the criminal's forefathers, or, perhaps, by their  
(62-158)meritorious services to the state. But, on the other  
(62-158)hand, it must be considered, that there is something  
(62-158)not unappropriate in the punishment of reducing

(62-158)to poverty the family of him, who by his attack on  
(62-158)the state, might have wrought the ruin of thousands  
(62-158)of families. Nor is it less to be admitted, that this  
(62-158)branch of the punishment has a quality always

[TG62-159]

(62-159)Desirable - namely, a strong tendency to deter men  
(62-159)from the crime. High treason is usually the  
(62-159)offence of men of rank and wealth; at least such  
(62-159)being the leaders in civil war, are usually selected  
(62-159)for punishment. It is natural that such individuals,  
(62-159)however willingly they may venture their own persons,  
(62-159)should be apt to hesitate when the enterprise  
(62-159)involves all the fortunes of their house, name, rank,  
(62-159)and other advantages, which, having received perhaps  
(62-159)from a long train of ancestors, they are naturally  
(62-159)and laudably desirous to transmit to their  
(62-159)posterity.

(62-159)The proposal for extending the treason law of  
(62-159)England into North Britain, was introduced under  
(62-159)the title of a bill for further completing and  
(62-159)perfecting the Union. Many of the Scottish members  
(62-159)alleged, on the contrary, that the proposed  
(62-159)enactments were rather a violation of the national treaty,  
(62-159)since the bill was directly calculated to encroach on  
(62-159)the powers of the Court of Justiciary, which had  
(62-159)been guaranteed by the Union. This objection  
(62-159)was lessened at least by an amendment on the bill,  
(62-159)which declared, that three of the Judges of Justiciary  
(62-159)(so the Criminal Court of Scotland is termed)  
(62-159)should be always included in any Commission of  
(62-159)Oyer and Terminer. The bill passed into a statute,  
(62-159)and has been ever since the law of the land.

(62-159)Thus was the Union completed. We shall next

(62-159)endeavour to show, in the phrase of mechanics, how  
(62-159)this new machine worked; or, in other words, how  
(62-159)this great alteration on the internal Constitution of  
(62-159)Great Britain answered the expectations of those  
(62-159)by whom the changes were introduced.

[TG63-160]

(63-160)IN order to give you a distinct idea of the situation  
(63-160)in which Great Britain was placed at this  
(63-160)eventful period, I shall first sketch the character of  
(63-160)three or four of the principal persons of Scotland  
(63-160)whose influence had most effect in producing the  
(63-160)course of events which followed. I shall then  
(63-160)explain the course pursued by the Scottish  
(63-160)representatives in the national Parliament; and these  
(63-160)preliminaries being discussed, I shall, thirdly,  
(63-160)endeavour to trace the general measures of Britain  
(63-160)respecting her foreign relations, and to explain the  
(63-160)effect which these produced upon the public  
(63-160)tranquillity of the United Kingdom.

[TG63-161]

(63-161)The Duke of Hamilton you are already somewhat  
(63-161)acquainted with, as a distinguished character  
(63-161)during the last Parliament of Scotland, when he  
(63-161)headed the opposition to the treaty of Union; and  
(63-161)also during the plot for invading Scotland and  
(63-161)restoring the Stewart family, when he seems to have  
(63-161)been regarded as the leader of the Lowland  
(63-161)Jacobites, those of the Highlands rather inclining to the  
(63-161)Duke of Athole. He was the peer of the highest  
(63-161)rank in Scotland, and nearly connected with the  
(63-161)royal family; which made some accuse him of looking  
(63-161)towards the crown, a folly of which his acknowledged  
(63-161)good sense might be allowed to acquit him.  
(63-161)He was handsome in person, courtly and amiable

(63-161)in manners, generally popular with all classes, and  
(63-161)the natural head of the gentry of Lanarkshire,  
(63-161)many of whom are descended from his family.  
(63-161)Through the influence of his mother, the Duchess,  
(63-161)he had always preserved a strong interest among  
(63-161)the Hillmen, or Cameronians, who had since the  
(63-161)Revolution shown themselves in arms more than  
(63-161)once; and, in case of a civil war or invasion, must  
(63-161)have been of material avail. With all these  
(63-161)advantages of birth, character, and influence, the Duke  
(63-161)of Hamilton had a defect which prevented his  
(63-161)attaining eminence as a political leader. He  
(63-161)possessed personal valour, as he showed in his last and  
(63-161)tragic scene, but he was destitute of political courage  
(63-161)and decision. Dangers which he had braved  
(63-161)at a distance, appalled him when they approached  
(63-161)near; he was apt to disappoint his friends, as the  
(63-161)horse who baulks the leap to which he has come

[TG63-162]

(63-162)gallantly up, endangers, or perhaps altogether unseats  
(63-162)his rider. Even with This defect, Hamilton  
(63-162)was beloved and esteemed by Lockhart, and other  
(63-162)leaders of the Tory party, who appear rather to  
(63-162)have regretted his unsteadiness as a weakness, than  
(63-162)condemned it as a fault.

(63-162)The next Scottish nobleman, whose talents made  
(63-162)him pre-eminent on the scene during this eventful  
(63-162)period, was John, Duke of Argyle, a person whose  
(63-162)greatness did not consist in the accidents of rank,  
(63-162)influence, and fortune, though possessed of all these  
(63-162)in the highest order which his country permitted,  
(63-162)since his talents were such as must have forced him  
(63-162)into distinction and eminence, in what humble state  
(63-162)soever he might have been born. This great man

(63-162)was heir of the ancient house of Argyle, which  
(63-162)makes so distinguished a figure in Scottish history,  
(63-162)and whose name occurs so often in the former  
(63-162)volumes of these tales. The Duke of whom we  
(63-162)now speak was the great-grandson of the Marquis  
(63-162)of Argyle who was beheaded after the Restoration,  
(63-162)and grandson of the earl who suffered the same  
(63-162)fate under James IT. The family had been reduced  
(63-162)to very narrow circumstances, by those repeated  
(63-162)acts of persecution.

(63-162)The house of Argyle was indemnified at the  
(63-162)Revolution, when the father of Duke John was  
(63-162)restored to his paternal property, and in compensation  
(63-162)for the injuries and injustice sustained by  
(63-162)his father and grandfather, was raised to the rank  
(63-162)of Duke. A remarkable circumstance which befell  
(63-162)Duke John in his infancy, would, by the pagans,

[TG63-163]

(63-163)have been supposed to augur, that he was under  
(63-163)the special care of Providence, and reserved for  
(63-163)some great purposes. About the time (tradition  
(63-163)says on the very day, 30th June, 1685) that his  
(63-163)grandfather, the Earl Archibald, was about to be  
(63-163)executed, the heir of the family, then about seven  
(63-163)years old, fell from a window of the ancient tower  
(63-163)of Lethington, near Haddington, the residence at  
(63-163)that time of his grandmother, the Duchess of  
(63-163)Lauderdale. The height is so great, that the child  
(63-163)escaping unhurt, might be accounted a kind of  
(63-163)miracle.

(63-163)Having entered early on a military life, to which  
(63-163)his family had been long partial, he distinguished  
(63-163)himself at the siege of Keyzerswart, under the eye

(63-163)of King William. Showing a rare capacity for  
(63-163)business, he was appointed Lord High Commissioner  
(63-163)to the Scottish Parliament in 1705, on which  
(63-163)occasion he managed so well, as to set on foot the  
(63-163)treaty of Union, by carrying through the Act for  
(63-163)the appointment of Commissioners, to adjust that  
(63-163)great national measure. The Duke, therefore, laid  
(63-163)the first stone of an edifice, which, though carried  
(63-163)on upon an erroneous and narrow system, was  
(63-163)nevertheless, ultimately calculated to be, and did  
(63-163)in fact prove, the basis of universal prosperity to  
(63-163)the United Kingdoms. In the last Scottish  
(63-163)Parliament, his powerful eloquence was a principal  
(63-163)means of supporting that great treaty. Argyle's  
(63-163)name does not appear in any list of the sharers of  
(63-163)the equivalent money: and his countrymen, amid  
(63-163)the unpopularity which attached to the measure,

[TG63-164]

(63-164)distinguished him as having favoured it from real  
(63-164)principle. Indeed, it is an honourable part of this  
(63-164)great man's character, that, though bent on the  
(63-164)restoration of the fortunes of his family, sorely  
(63-164)abridged by the mischances of his grandfather and  
(63-164)great-grandfather, and by the extravagances of his  
(63-164)father, he had too much sense and too much honour  
(63-164)ever to stoop to any indirect mode of gaining  
(63-164)personal advantage, and was able, in a venal age, to  
(63-164)set all imputations of corruption at defiance;  
(63-164)whereas the statesman who is once detected  
(63-164)bartering his opinions for lucre, is like a woman who  
(63-164)has lost her reputation, and can never afterwards  
(63-164)regain the public trust and good opinion which he  
(63-164)has forfeited. Argyle was rewarded, however,  
(63-164)by being created an English Peer, by the title of  
(63-164)Earl of Greenwich, and Baron Chatham.



(63-164)Argyle, after the Union was carried, returned  
(63-164)to the army, and served under Marlborough with  
(63-164)distinguished reputation, of which it was thought  
(63-164)that great general even condescended to be jealous.  
(63-164)At least it is certain that there was no cordiality  
(63-164)between them, it being understood that when there  
(63-164)was a rumour that the Whig administration of  
(63-164)Godolphin would make a push to have the Duke  
(63-164)created general for life, in spite of the Queen's  
(63-164)pleasure to the contrary, Argyle offered, if such  
(63-164)an attempt should be made, to make Marlborough  
(63-164)prisoner even in the midst of the victorious army  
(63-164)which he commanded. At this time, therefore,  
(63-164)he was a steady and zealous friend of Harley and  
(63-164)Bolingbroke, who were then beginning their Tory

[TG63-165]

(63-165)administration. To recompense his valuable sup-  
(63-165)port, he was named by the Tory Ministry  
(63-165)commander-in-chief in Spain, and assured of all the  
(63-165)supplies in troops and money which might enable  
(63-165)him to carry on the war with success in that kingdom,  
(63-165)where the Tories had all along insisted it  
(63-165)should be maintained. With this pledge, Argyle  
(63-165)accepted the appointment, in the ambitious hope  
(63-165)of acquiring that military renown which he  
(63-165)principally coveted.

(63-165)But the Duke's mortification was extreme in  
(63-165)finding, on his arrival in Spain, the British army  
(63-165)in a state too wretched to undertake any enterprise  
(63-165)of moment, and indeed unfit even to defend  
(63-165)its positions. The British Ministers broke the  
(63-165)word they had pledged for his support, and sent  
(63-165)him neither money, supplies, nor reinforcements;

(63-165)so that instead of rivalling Marlborough, as had  
(63-165)been his ambition, in conquering territories and  
(63-165)gaining battles, Argyle saw himself reduced to the  
(63-165)melancholy necessity of retiring to Minorca to save  
(63-165)the wreck of the army. The reason given by the  
(63-165)Ministers for this breach of faith was, that having  
(63-165)determined on that accommodation with France  
(63-165)which was afterwards termed the peace of Utrecht,  
(63-165)they did not desire to prosecute the war with  
(63-165)vigour either in Spain or any other quarter. Argyle  
(63-165)fell sick with mortified pride and resentment. He  
(63-165)struggled for life in a violent fever, and returned  
(63-165)to Britain with vindictive intentions towards the  
(63-165)Ministers, who had, he thought, disappointed him,

[TG63-166]

(63-166)by their breach of promise, of an ample harvest of  
(63-166)glory.

(63-166)On his return to England, the Ministers, Harley,  
(63-166)now Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Bolingbroke,  
(63-166)endeavoured to soothe the Duke's resentment by  
(63-166)appointing him commander-in-chief in Scotland,  
(63-166)and governor of the castle of Edinburgh; but  
(63-166)notwithstanding, he remained a bitter and dangerous  
(63-166)opponent of their Administration, formidable  
(63-166)by his high talents, both civil and military, his  
(63-166)ready eloquence, and the fearless energy with  
(63-166)which he spoke and acted. Such was the  
(63-166)distinguished John Duke of Argyle, whom we shall often  
(63-166)have to mention in these pages.

(63-166)John, eleventh Earl of Mar, of the name of  
(63-166)Erskine, was also a remarkable person at this  
(63-166)period. He was a man of quick parts and prompt  
(63-166)eloquence, an adept in state intrigues, and a successful

(63-166)courtier. His paternal estate had been greatly  
(63-166)embarrassed by the mismanagement of his father,  
(63-166)but in a great measure redeemed by his own prudent  
(63-166)economy. He obtained the command of a regiment  
(63-166)of foot, but though we are about to see  
(63-166)him at the head of an army, it does not appear that  
(63-166)Mar had given his mind to military affairs, or  
(63-166)acquired experience by going on actual service. His

[TG63-167]

(63-167)father had been a Whig,; and professed Revolution  
(63-167)principles, and the present Earl entered life bearing  
(63-167)the same colours. He brought forward in the  
(63-167)Parliament of Scotland the proposal for the treaty  
(63-167)of Union, and was one of the Scottish commissioners  
(63-167)for settling the preliminary articles. Being  
(63-167)secretary of state for Scotland during the last  
(63-167)Scottish Parliament, he supported the treaty both with  
(63-167)eloquence and address. Mar does not appear  
(63-167)amongst those who received any portion of the  
(63-167)equivalents; but as he lost his secretaryship by the  
(63-167)Union, he was created keeper of the signet, with a  
(63-167)pension, and was admitted into the English Privy  
(63-167)Council. Upon the celebrated change of the  
(63-167)Administration in 1710, the Earl of Mar, then one of  
(63-167)the fifteen peers who represented the nobility of  
(63-167)Scotland, passed over to the new Ministers, and was  
(63-167)created one of the British secretaries of state. In  
(63-167)this capacity he was much employed in the affairs  
(63-167)of Scotland, and in managing such matters as they  
(63-167)had to do in the Highlands. His large estate upon  
(63-167)the river Dee in Aberdeenshire, called the forest  
(63-167)of Braemar, placed him at the head of a considerable  
(63-167)Highland following of his own, which rendered  
(63-167)it more easy for him, as dispenser of the bounties  
(63-167)of Government, to establish an interest among the

(63-167)chiefs, which ultimately had fatal consequences to  
(63-167)them and to himself.

(63-167)Such were the three principal Scottish nobles on  
(63-167)whom the affairs of Scotland, at that uncertain  
(63-167)period, very much depended. We are next to give  
(63-167)some account of the manner in which the forty-five

[TG63-168]

(63-168)members, whom the Union had settled to be  
(63-168)the proportion indulged to Scotland as her share  
(63-168)of the Legislature, were received in the English  
(63-168)senate.

(63-168)And here it must be noticed, that although  
(63-168)individually the Scottish members were cordially  
(63-168)received in London, and in society saw or felt no  
(63-168)prejudice whatever existing against them on  
(63-168)account of their birth-place, and though there was no  
(63-168)dislike exhibited against them individually, yet  
(63-168)they were soon made sensible that their presence  
(63-168)in the senate was as unacceptable to the English  
(63-168)members, as the arrival of a body of strange rams  
(63-168)in a pasture, where a flock of the same animals  
(63-168)have been feeding for some time. The contentions  
(63-168)between those who are in possession and the  
(63-168)new comers, are in that case carried to a great  
(63-168)height, and occasion much noise and many encounters;  
(63-168)and for a long time the smaller band of  
(63-168)strangers are observed to herd together, and to  
(63-168)avoid intermingling with the original possessors,  
(63-168)nor, if they attempt to do so, are they cordially  
(63-168)received.

(63-168)This same species of discord was visible between  
(63-168)the great body of the English House of Commons

(63-168)and the handful of Scottish members introduced  
(63-168)among them by the Union. It was so much the  
(63-168)case, that the national prejudices of English and  
(63-168)Scots pitted against each other, even interfered  
(63-168)with and overcame the political differences, by  
(63-168)which the conduct and votes of the representatives  
(63-168)of both nations would have been otherwise regulated.

[TG63-169]

(63-169)The Scottish members, fur example, found  
(63-169)themselves neglected, thwarted, and overborne by  
(63-169)numbers, on many occasions where they conceived  
(63-169)the immediate interests of their country were  
(63-169)concerned, and where they thought that, in courtesy and  
(63-169)common fairness, they, as the peculiar representatives  
(63-169)of Scotland, ought to have been allowed something  
(63-169)more than their small proportion of five-and-  
(63-169)forty votes. The opinion even of a single member  
(63-169)of Parliament is listened to with some deference,  
(63-169)when the matter discussed intimately concerns the  
(63-169)shire or burgh which he represents, because he  
(63-169)obtains credit for having made himself more master  
(63-169)of the case than others who are less interested.  
(63-169)And it was surely natural for the Scots to claim  
(63-169)similar deference when speaking in behalf of a  
(63-169)whole kingdom, whose wants and whose advantages  
(63-169)could be known to none in the House so  
(63-169)thoroughly as to themselves. But they were far from  
(63-169)experiencing the courtesy which they expected.  
(63-169)It was expressly refused to them in the following  
(63-169)instances.

(63-169)1. The alteration of the law of high treason,  
(63-169)already mentioned, was a subject of discord. The  
(63-169)Scottish members were sufficiently desirous that  
(63-169)their law, in this particular, should be modelled

(63-169)anew, by selecting the best parts of the system of  
(63-169)both countries, and this would certainly have been  
(63-169)the most equitable course. But the English law,  
(63-169)in this particular, was imposed on Scotland with  
(63-169)little exception or modification.

(63-169)2. Another struggle for national advantage

[TG63-170]

(63-170)occurred respecting the drawbacks of duty allowed  
(63-170)upon fish cured in Scotland. This advantage the  
(63-170)Scottish merchants had a right to by the letter of  
(63-170)the treaty, which expressly declared, that there  
(63-170)should be a free communication of trade and  
(63-170)commercial privileges between the kingdoms, so that  
(63-170)the Scottish as well as the English merchant was  
(63-170)entitled to these drawbacks. To this the English  
(63-170)answered, that the salt with which the Scottish  
(63-170)fish were cured before the Union, had not paid the  
(63-170)high English duty, and that to grant drawbacks  
(63-170)upon goods so prepared, would be to return to the  
(63-170)Scottish trader sums which he had never advanced.  
(63-170)There was some reason, no doubt, in the  
(63-170)objection; but in so great a transaction as the Union  
(63-170)of two kingdoms, there must have occurred  
(63-170)circumstances which, for one cause or another, must  
(63-170)necessarily create an advantage to individuals of  
(63-170)the one country or the other; and it seemed  
(63-170)ungracious in the wealthy kingdom of England to  
(63-170)grudge to the poorer people of Scotland so trifling  
(63-170)a benefit attendant on so important a measure.  
(63-170)The English Parliament did accordingly at last  
(63-170)agree to this drawback; but the action lost its  
(63-170)grace from the obvious unwillingness with which  
(63-170)the advantage was conceded, and, as frequently  
(63-170)happens, the giving up the point in question did

(63-170)not consign to oblivion the acrimony of the  
(63-170)discussions which it had occasioned. The debates on  
(63-170)the several questions we have just noticed, all  
(63-170)occurred in the sessions of the British Parliament  
(63-170)during which the Union was completed.

[TG63-171]

(63-171)In 1710, Queen Anne, becoming weary of her  
(63-171)Whig ministers, as I will tell you more at length,  
(63-171)took an opportunity to dismiss them, upon finding  
(63-171)the voice of the country unfavourable to them, in  
(63-171)the foolish affair of Sacheverel; and, as is the usual  
(63-171)course in such cases, she dissolved the Parliament  
(63-171)in which the Administration had a majority, and  
(63-171)assembled a new one.

(63-171)The Tory Ministry, like all Ministers entering on  
(63-171)office, endeavoured, by civility or promises, to gain  
(63-171)the support of every description of men; and the  
(63-171)Scottish members, who, after all, made up forty-  
(63-171)five votes, were not altogether neglected. The  
(63-171)new Ministry boasted to the representatives of  
(63-171)North Britain, that the present Parliament  
(63-171)consisted chiefly of independent country gentlemen,  
(63-171)who would do impartial justice to all parts of  
(63-171)Britain, and that Scotland should have nothing to  
(63-171)complain of.

(63-171)An opportunity speedily occurred of proving

[TG63-172]

(63-172)the sincerity of these promises. It must first be  
(63-172)remarked, that the opposition made to the measures  
(63-172)of Government had hitherto been almost  
(63-172)entirely on the side of the Scottish members in the  
(63-172)Lower House, who had pursued the policy of

(63-172)threatening to leave the Administration in a minority  
(63-172)in trying questions, by passing in a body to  
(63-172)the Opposition; a line of political tactics which  
(63-172)will always give to a small but united band a certain  
(63-172)weight in the House of Commons, where  
(63-172)nicely balanced questions frequently occur, and  
(63-172)forty-five votes may turn the scale one way or  
(63-172)other. By this policy the Scottish commoners  
(63-172)had sometimes produced a favourable issue on  
(63-172)points in which their country was concerned. But  
(63-172)such was not the practice of the representatives of  
(63-172)the peerage, who, having some of them high rank,  
(63-172)with but small fortunes to sustain it, were for a  
(63-172)time tolerably tractable, voting regularly along  
(63-172)with the Ministers in power. A question, however,  
(63-172)arose of which we shall speak presently,  
(63-172)concerning the privileges of their own order, which  
(63-172)disturbed this interested and self-seeking course of  
(63-172)policy.

(63-172)Another reason for the lukewarmness of the  
(63-172)Scottish peers was, that the commoners of Scotland  
(63-172)had been active on two occasions, in which  
(63-172)they had interposed barriers against the exorbitant  
(63-172)power of the aristocracy. The first was, an  
(63-172)enactment passed rendering the eldest sons of  
(63-172)Scottish peers incapable of sitting as members in  
(63-172)the House of Commons. This incapacity was imposed,

[TG63-173]

(63-173)because, being of the same rank or status as  
(63-173)the nobility, it was considered that the eldest sons  
(63-173)of the nobles were, like their fathers, virtually  
(63-173)represented by the sixteen Scottish peers sent to  
(63-173)the Upper House. The second regulation  
(63-173)displeasing to the peerage was that which rendered



(63-173)illegal the votes of such electors in Scotland, as,  
(63-173)not being possessed in their own right of the  
(63-173)qualification necessary by law, had obtained a  
(63-173)temporary conveyance of a freehold qualification of the  
(63-173)necessary amount, which they bound themselves to  
(63-173)restore to the person by whom it was lent, for the  
(63-173)purpose of voting at elections. The effect of this  
(63-173)law was to destroy an indirect mode by which the  
(63-173)peers had attempted to interfere in the election of  
(63-173)the commoners. For before this provision,  
(63-173)although a peer could not himself appear or vote for  
(63-173)the election of a commoner, he might, by cutting  
(63-173)his crown-holding into qualifications of the necessary  
(63-173)amount, and distributing them among confidential  
(63-173)persons, place so many factitious voters on  
(63-173)the roll, as might outvote those real proprietors in  
(63-173)whom the constitution vested the right of election.

(63-173)These two laws show that the Scottish members  
(63-173)of the House of Commons were alive to the value  
(63-173)of their constitutional rights, and the danger to  
(63-173)their freedom from the interference of the peers in  
(63-173)elections to the Lower House. These differences  
(63-173)occasioned some coldness between the Sixteen

[TG63-174]

(63-174)Peers and the Scottish Members of Parliament,  
(63-174)and prevented for a time a co-operation between  
(63-174)them in cases where the interests of their common  
(63-174)country seemed to require it. The following  
(63-174)incident, to which I have already alluded, put an end  
(63-174)to this coldness.

(63-174)Queen Anne, in the course other administration,  
(63-174)had begun to withdraw her favours from the Whigs  
(63-174)and confer them upon the Tories, even upon such

(63-174)as were supposed to have embraced the Jacobite  
(63-174)interest. Among these, the Duke of Hamilton  
(63-174)being conspicuous, he was, in addition to his other  
(63-174)titles, created a peer of Great Britain, by the title  
(63-174)of the Duke of Brandon. A similar exertion of  
(63-174)the Queen's prerogative had already been made in  
(63-174)the case of the Duke of Queensberry, who had  
(63-174)been called to the British peerage, by the title of  
(63-174)Duke of Dover. But notwithstanding this precedent,  
(63-174)there was violent opposition to the Duke of  
(63-174)Hamilton taking his seat as a British peer. It was  
(63-174)said no Scottish noble could sit in that House by  
(63-174)any other title than as one of the sixteen Peers, to  
(63-174)which number the peerage of that kingdom had  
(63-174)been restricted as an adequate representation; and  
(63-174)the Opposition pretended to see great danger in  
(63-174)opening any other way to their getting into the  
(63-174)Upper House, even through the grant of the  
(63-174)Sovereign, than the election of their own number. The  
(63-174)fallacy of this reasoning is obvious, seeing it was  
(63-174)allowed on all hands that the Queen could have  
(63-174)made any Scotsman a British peer, providing he  
(63-174)was not a peer in his own country. Thus the

[TG63-175]

(63-175)Scottish peerage were likely to be placed in a very  
(63-175)awkward situation. They were peers already, as  
(63-175)far as the question of all personal privileges went;  
(63-175)but because they were such, it was argued that they  
(63-175)were not capable of holding the additional privilege  
(63-175)of sitting as legislators, which it was admitted the  
(63-175)Queen could confer, with all other immunities, upon  
(63-175)any Scottish commoner. Their case was that  
(63-175)of the bat in the fable, who was rejected both by  
(63-175)birds and mice, because she had some alliance with  
(63-175)each of them. A Scottish peer, not being one of

(63-175)the elected sixteen, could not be a legislator in his  
(63-175)own country, for the Scottish Parliament was  
(63-175)abolished; and according to this doctrine, he had  
(63-175)become, for no reason that can be conjectured,  
(63-175)incapable of being called to the British House of  
(63-175)Peers, to which the King could summon by his will  
(63-175)any one save himself and his co-peers of Scotland.  
(63-175)Nevertheless, the House of Peers, after a long  
(63-175)debate, and by a narrow majority, decided, that no  
(63-175)Scottish peer being created a peer of Great Britain  
(63-175)since the Union, had a right to sit in that house.  
(63-175)The Scottish peers, highly offended at the decision,  
(63-175)drew up a remonstrance to the Queen, in which  
(63-175)they complained of it as an infringement of the  
(63-175)Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole  
(63-175)peerage of Scotland. The resolution of the House  
(63-175)of Peers was afterwards altered, and many of the  
(63-175)Scottish nobility have, at various periods, been  
(63-175)created peers of Great Britain.

(63-175)But during the time while it remained binding,  
(63-175)it produced a considerable change in the temper of

[TG63-176]

(63-176)the Scottish peers, and brought them to form a  
(63-176)closer union among themselves and with the  
(63-176)commons. Influenced by these feelings of resentment,  
(63-176)and by the energy of the Duke of Argyle, they  
(63-176)bestirred themselves to resist the extension of the  
(63-176)malt tax to Scotland.

(63-176)This tax, which the Scots dreaded peculiarly,  
(63-176)because it imposed upon their malt a duty equal to  
(63-176)that levied in England, had been specially canvassed  
(63-176)in the course of the treaty of Union; and it  
(63-176)had finally been agreed that Scotland should not pay

(63-176)the tax during the continuance of the war. In point  
(63-176)of strict right, the Scots had little to say, excepting  
(63-176)that the peace with Spain was not yet proclaimed,  
(63-176)which might have enabled them to claim a delay,  
(63-176)but not an exemption from the imposition. In point  
(63-176)of equity, there was more to be pleaded. The barley  
(63-176)grown in Scotland, being raised on an inferior soil,  
(63-176)is not, at least was not at the time of the Union,  
(63-176)worth more than one-third or one-half of the  
(63-176)intrinsic value of that raised on the fertile soil, and  
(63-176)under the fine climate, of England. If, therefore,  
(63-176)the same duty was to be laid on the same quantity  
(63-176)as in South Britain, the poorer country would be  
(63-176)taxed in a double or triple proportion to that which  
(63-176)was better able to bear the burden. Two Scottish  
(63-176)peers, the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar,  
(63-176)and two commoners, Cockburn, younger of Ormiston,  
(63-176)and Lockhart of Carnwath, a Whig and Tory  
(63-176)of each house, were deputed to wait upon Queen  
(63-176)Anne, and represent particularly, besides some  
(63-176)other grievances, the dangerous discontents which

[TG63-177]

(63-177)the imposition of a tax so unequal as that upon malt  
(63-177)was likely to occasion in so poor a country as Scotland.  
(63-177)This was stated to her majesty personally,  
(63-177)who returned the answer ministers had put into her  
(63-177)mouth-" She was sorry," she said, " that her  
(63-177)people of Scotland thought they had reason to  
(63-177)complain; but she thought they drove their resentment  
(63-177)too far, and wished they did not repent it."

(63-177)The war, however, being ended by the peace of  
(63-177)Utrecht, the English proposed to extend the  
(63-177)obnoxious tax to Scotland. The debates in both  
(63-177)Houses became very animated. The English

(63-177) testified some contempt for the poverty of Scotland, (63-177) while the Scottish members, on the other hand, (63-177) retorted fiercely, that the English took advantage of (63-177) their great majority of numbers and privilege of (63-177) place, to say more than, man to man, they would (63-177) dare to answer. The Scottish peers in the Upper (63-177) House maintained the cause of the country with (63-177) equal vehemence. But the issue was, the duty was (63-177) imposed, with a secret assurance on the part of (63-177) Ministers that it was not to be exacted. This last (63-177) indulgence was what Scotland, strictly speaking, (63-177) was not entitled to look for, since her own Estates (63-177) had previously conceded the question; and they (63-177) had no right to expect from the British Parliament

[TG63-178]

(63-178) a boon, which their own, while making the bargain, (63-178) had neglected to stipulate. But they felt they had (63-178) been treated with haughtiness and want of courtesy (63-178) in the course of the debate; and so great was their (63-178) resentment, that in a general meeting of the forty- (63-178) five Scottish members, they came to the resolution (63-178) to move for the dissolution of the Union, as an (63-178) experiment which had failed in the good effects it was (63-178) expected to produce-which resolution was also (63-178) adopted by the Scottish peers. It was supported (63-178) by Scottish members of all parties, Whigs and (63-178) Revolutionists, as well as Tories and Jacobites; (63-178) and as all the English Whigs who, being in office, (63-178) were so eager for the establishment of the Union, (63-178) were now, when in opposition, as eager for its (63-178) dissolution, its defence rested with the English Tories, (63-178) by whom it had been originally opposed at every (63-178) stage of its progress. This important treaty, which (63-178) involved so much of national happiness, stood in (63-178) danger of sharing the fate of a young fruit-tree, cut

(63-178)down by an ignorant gardener, because it bears no  
(63-178)fruit in the season after it has been planted.

(63-178)The motion for the dissolution of the Union was  
(63-178)brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord  
(63-178)Findlater and Seafield (1st June, 1713)- that very Lord  
(63-178)Findlater and Seafield, who, being Chancellor  
(63-178)of the Scottish Parliament by which  
(63-178)the treaty was adjusted. signed the last adjournment

[TG63-179]

(63-179)of his country's representatives with the jeering  
(63-179)observation, that " there was an end of an old  
(63-179)song" His lordship, with a considerable degree of  
(63-179)embarrassment, arising from the recollection of his  
(63-179)own inconsistency, had the assurance to move that  
(63-179)this "old song" should be resumed, and the Union  
(63-179)abolished, on account of the four following alleged  
(63-179)grievances:-1. The abolition of the Privy Council  
(63-179)of Scotland; 2. The introduction of the English  
(63-179)law of High Treason; 3. The incapacity of Scottish  
(63-179)peers to be called to Parliament as peers of  
(63-179)Britain; 4. The imposition of the malt tax. None  
(63-179)of these reasons of complaint vindicated Lord  
(63-179)Findlater's proposition. 1. The abolition of the Privy  
(63-179)Council was a boon rather than a grievance to  
(63-179)Scotland, which that oppressive body had ruled  
(63-179)with a rod of iron. 2. The English treason law was  
(63-179)probably more severe in some particulars than that  
(63-179)of Scotland, but it had the undeniable advantage  
(63-179)of superior certainty and precision. 3. The incapacity  
(63-179)of the Scottish peers was indeed an encroachment  
(63-179)upon their privileges, but it was capable of  
(63-179)being reversed, and has been reversed accordingly,  
(63-179)without the necessity of destroying the Union.  
(63-179)4. If the malt tax was a grievance, it was one

(63-179)which the Scottish commissioners, and his lordship  
(63-179)amongst others, had under their view during the  
(63-179)progress of the treaty, and to which they had

[TG63-180]

(63-180)formally subjected their country, and were not,  
(63-180)therefore, entitled to complain, as if something new or  
(63-180)unexpected had happened, when the English availed  
(63-180)themselves of a stipulation to which they themselves  
(63-180)had consented.

(63-180)The Duke of Argyle supported the motion for  
(63-180)abrogating the Union, with far more energy than  
(63-180)had been displayed by Lord Findlater. He declared,  
(63-180)that when he advocated the treaty of Union,  
(63-180)it was for the sole reason that he saw no other mode  
(63-180)of securing the Protestant succession to the throne;  
(63-180)he had changed his mind on that subject, and  
(63-180)thought other remedies as capable of securing that  
(63-180)great point. On the insults and injuries which had  
(63-180)been unsparingly flung upon Scotland and Scotsmen,  
(63-180)he spoke like a high-minded and high-spirited  
(63-180)man; and to those who had hinted reproaches  
(63-180)against him, as having deserted his party, he replied,  
(63-180)that he scorned the imputations they threw out, as  
(63-180)much as he despised their understanding.

(63-180)This bold orator came nearest to speaking out  
(63-180)the real cause of the universal discontent of the  
(63-180)Scottish members, which was less the pressure of  
(63-180)any actual grievance, than the sense of the habitually  
(63-180)insulting and injurious manner in which they  
(63-180)were treated by the English members, as if the  
(63-180)representatives of some inferior and subjugated  
(63-180)province. But personal resentment, or offended

[TG63-181]

(63-181)national pride, however powerful, ought not to have  
(63-181)been admitted as reasons for altering a national  
(63-181)enactment, which had been deliberately and seriously  
(63-181)entered into; for the welfare of posterity is not  
(63-181)to be sacrificed to the vindictive feelings of the  
(63-181)present generation.

(63-181)The debate on Lord Findlater's motion was very  
(63-181)animated, and it was wonderful to see the energy  
(63-181)with which the Tories defended that Union which  
(63-181)they had opposed in every stage, while the Whigs,  
(63-181)equally inconsistent, attempted to pull down the  
(63-181)fabric which their own hands had been so active in  
(63-181)rearing. The former, indeed, could plead, that,  
(63-181)though they had not desired to have a treaty of  
(63-181)Union, yet, such having been once made, and the  
(63-181)ancient constitutions of both countries altered and  
(63-181)accommodated to it, there was no inconsistency in  
(63-181)their being more willing it should remain, than that  
(63-181)the principles of the constitution should be rendered  
(63-181)the subject of such frequent changes and tamperings.  
(63-181)The inconsistency of the Whigs hardly  
(63-181)admits of equal apology.

(63-181)The division upon the question was so close, that

[TG63-182]

(63-182)it was rejected by a majority of four only; so nearly  
(63-182)had that important treaty received its death-blow  
(63-182)within six years after it was entered into.

(63-182)Shortly after this hairbreadth escape, for such  
(63-182)we may surely term it, another circumstance  
(63-182)occurred, tending strongly to show with what  
(63-182)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."1 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

(63-183)instance mistaken. Less sharp-sighted than this  
(63-183)celebrated author, and blinded by their own exasperated  
(63-183)pride, the Scots were desirous of wreaking  
(63-183)their revenge at the expense of a treaty which  
(63-183)contained so many latent advantages, in the same  
(63-183)manner as an intoxicated man vents his rage at the  
(63-183)expense of valuable furniture or important papers.  
(63-183)In the pamphlet which gave so much offence, Swift  
(63-183)denounced the Union " as a project for which there  
(63-183)could not possibly be assigned the least reason;"  
(63-183)and he defied " any mortal to name one single  
(63-183)advantage that England could ever expect from  
(63-183)such a Union.'(63-160) The necessity, he justly, but  
(63-183)offensively, imputes to the Scots refusing to settle the  
(63-183)Crown on the line of Hanover, when, according to  
(63-183)the satirist, it was thought " highly dangerous to  
(63-183)leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor

[TG63-184]

(63-184)fierce, northern people, at liberty to put themselves  
(63-184)under a different king." He censures Godolphin  
(63-184)highly for suffering the Act of Security to pass, by  
(63-184)which the Scots assumed the privilege of universally  
(63-184)arming themselves. " The Union, he allows,  
(63-184)became necessary, because it might have cost England  
(63-184)a year or two of war to reduce the Scots."  
(63-184)In This admission, Swift pronounces the highest  
(63-184)panegyric on the treaty, since the one or two years  
(63-184)of hostilities might have only been the recommencement  
(63-184)of that war, which had blazed inextinguishably  
(63-184)for more than a thousand years.

(63-184)The Duke of Argyle had been a friend, even a  
(63-184)patron, of the satirist, but that was when he acted  
(63-184)with Oxford and Bolingbroke, in the earlier part  
(63-184)of the administration, at which time he gratified at

(63-184)once their party spirit and his own animosity, by  
(63-184)attacking the Duke of Marlborough, and declining  
(63-184)to join in the vote of thanks to that great general.  
(63-184)While Argyle was in Spain, Swift had addressed  
(63-184)a letter to him in that delicate style of flattery, of  
(63-184)which he was as great a master as of every power  
(63-184)of satirical sarcasm. But when the Duke returned  
(63-184)to Britain, embittered against Ministers by their  
(63-184)breach of promise to supply him with money and  
(63-184)reinforcements, and declared himself the unrelenting  
(63-184)opponent of them, their party, and their measures,  
(63-184)Swift, their intimate confidant and partisan,  
(63-184)espoused their new quarrel, and exchanged the  
(63-184)panegyrics of which the Duke had been the object  
(63-184)for poignant satire. Of the number of the Scottish  
(63-184)nobility, he talks as one of the great evils of

[TG63-185]

(63-185)the Union, and asks if it were ever reckoned as an  
(63-185)advantage to a man who was about to marry a  
(63-185)woman much his inferior, and without a groat to  
(63-185)her fortune, that she brought in her train a  
(63-185)numerous retinue of retainers and dependents. He is  
(63-185)supposed to have aimed particularly at the Duke  
(63-185)of Argyle, and his brother, Lord Islay, in these  
(63-185)words:-" I could point out some with great titles,  
(63-185)who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving  
(63-185)the Union, although their whole revenue, before  
(63-185)that period, would have ill maintained a  
(63-185)Welsh justice of peace, and have since gathered  
(63-185)more money than ever any Scotsman who had not  
(63-185)travelled could form an idea of."

(63-185)These shafts of satire against a body of men so  
(63-185)sensitive and vindictive as the Scots had lately  
(63-185)shown themselves, and directed also against a

(63-185)person of the Duke of Argyle's talents and  
(63-185)consequence, were not likely, as the Ministers well  
(63-185)knew, to be passed over lightly, either by those who  
(63-185)felt aggrieved, or the numerous opposition party,  
(63-185)who were sure to avail themselves of such an  
(63-185)opportunity for pressing home a charge against Swift,  
(63-185)whom all men believed to be the author of the  
(63-185)tract, and under whose shafts they had suffered  
(63-185)both as a party and as individuals. The Ministry  
(63-185)therefore formed a plan to elude an attack,  
(63-185)which might have been attended with evil  
(63-185)consequences to so valued and valuable a partisan.

(63-185)They were in the right to have premeditated a  
(63-185)scheme of defence, or rather of evasion, for the  
(63-185)accusation was taken up in the House of Lords by

[TG63-186]

(63-186)the Earl of Wharton, a nobleman of high talent,  
(63-186)and not less eager in the task, that the satirist had  
(63-186)published a character of the Earl himself, drawn  
(63-186)when Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which he was  
(63-186)painted in the most detestable colours. Wharton  
(63-186)made a motion, concluding that the honour of the  
(63-186)House was concerned in discovering the villanous  
(63-186)author of so false and scandalous a libel, that  
(63-186)justice might be done to the Scottish nation. The  
(63-186)Lord Treasurer Oxford disclaimed all knowledge  
(63-186)of the author, and readily concurred in an order  
(63-186)for taking into custody the publisher and printer  
(63-186)of the pamphlet complained of. On the next day,  
(63-186)the Earl of Mar informed the House, that he, as  
(63-186)Secretary of State, had raised a prosecution in his  
(63-186)Majesty's name against John Barber. This course  
(63-186)was intended, and had the effect, to screen Swift;  
(63-186)for, when the printer was himself made the object

(63-186)of a prosecution, he could not be used as an evidence  
(63-186)against the author, whom, and not the printer or  
(63-186)publisher, it was the purpose of the Whigs to  
(63-186)prosecute. Enraged at being deprived of their prey,  
(63-186)the House of Peers addressed the Queen, stating  
(63-186)the atrocity of the libel, and beseeching her Majesty  
(63-186)to issue a proclamation offering a reward for  
(63-186)the discovery of the author. The Duke of Argyle

[TG63-187]

(63-187)and the Scottish Lords, who would have perhaps  
(63-187)acted with a truer sense of dignity, had they passed  
(63-187)over such calumnies with contempt, pressed their  
(63-187)address on the Queen by personal remonstrance,  
(63-187)and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered  
(63-187)for the discovery of the writer.

(63-187)Every one knew Swift to be the person aimed  
(63-187)at as the author of the offensive tract. But he  
(63-187)remained, nevertheless, safe from legal detection.

(63-187)Thus I have given you an account of some,  
(63-187)though not of the whole debates, which the Union  
(63-187)was, in its operation, the means of exciting in the  
(63-187)first British Parliament. The narrative affords a  
(63-187)melancholy proof of the errors into which the wisest  
(63-187)and best statesmen are hurried, when, instead of  
(63-187)considering important public measures calmly and  
(63-187)dispassionately, they regard them in the erroneous  
(63-187)light in which they are presented by personal feeling

[TG63-188]

(63-188)and party prejudices. Men do not in the latter  
(63-188)case ask, whether the public will be benefited or  
(63-188)injured by the enactment under consideration, but  
(63-188)whether their own party will reap most advantage

(63-188)by defending or opposing it.

[TG64-189]

(64-189)IN my last Chapter I detailed to you the  
(64-189)consequences of the Union, and told you how the unfair,  
(64-189)unkind, and disparaging- reception which the English  
(64-189)afforded to the Scottish members in the Houses  
(64-189)of Lords and Commons, although treating them in  
(64-189)their private capacities with every species of  
(64-189)kindness, had very nearly occasioned the breach of the  
(64-189)treaty. I must now retrace the same ground, to  
(64-189)give you a more distinct idea how Britain stood in  
(64-189)general politics, independent of the frequent and  
(64-189)fretful bickerings between England and Scotland  
(64-189)in the British Parliament.

[TG64-190]

(64-190)King William, as I have already told you, died  
(64-190)in 1701, little lamented by his subjects, for though  
(64-190)a man of great ability, he was too cold and phlegmatic  
(64-190)to inspire affection, and besides he was a  
(64-190)foreigner. In Scotland his memory was little  
(64-190)reverenced by any party. The Highlanders remembered  
(64-190)Glencoe, the Lowlanders could not forget  
(64-190)Darien; the Episcopalians resented the destruction  
(64-190)of their hierarchy, the Presbyterians discovered  
(64-190)in his measures something of Erastianism,  
(64-190)that is, a purpose of subjecting the Church to the  
(64-190)State.

(64-190)Queen Anne, therefore, succeeded to her brother-  
(64-190)in-law, to the general satisfaction of her  
(64-190)subjects. Her qualities, too, were such as gained for  
(64-190)her attachment and esteem. She was a good wife,  
(64-190)a most affectionate mother, a kind mistress, and,  
(64-190)to add to her domestic virtues, a most confiding

(64-190)and faithful friend.

(64-190)The object of her attachment in this latter capacity  
(64-190)was Lady Churchill, who had been about her  
(64-190)person from a very early period. This woman was  
(64-190)so high-spirited, haughty, and assuming, that even  
(64-190)her husband (afterwards the celebrated Duke of  
(64-190)Marlborough), the conqueror in so many battles,  
(64-190)frequently came off less than victorious in any  
(64-190)domestic dispute with her. To this lady, Anne, for  
(64-190)several years before her succession to the crown,  
(64-190)had been accustomed in a great measure to yield  
(64-190)up her own opinions. She left the house of her  
(64-190)father, James II., and mingled in the Revolution  
(64-190)at the instance of Lady Churchill. At her accession

[TG64-191]

(64-191)Queen Anne was rather partial to the Tories.  
(64-191)both from regarding their principles as more  
(64-191)favourable to monarchy, and because, though the  
(64-191)love of power, superior to most other feelings,  
(64-191)might induce her to take possession of the throne,  
(64-191)which by hereditary descent ought to have been  
(64-191)that of her father or brother, yet she still felt the  
(64-191)ties of family affection, and was attached to that  
(64-191)class of politicians who regarded the exiled family  
(64-191)with compassion, at least, if not with favour. All  
(64-191)these, Queen Anne's own natural wishes and  
(64-191)predilections, were overborne by her deference to her  
(64-191)favourite's desires and interest. Their intimacy  
(64-191)had assumed so close and confidential a character,  
(64-191)that she insisted that her friend should lay aside  
(64-191)all the distinctions of royalty in addressing her,  
(64-191)and they corresponded together in terms of the  
(64-191)utmost equality, the sovereign assuming the name  
(64-191)of Morley, the servant that of Freeman, which

(64-191)Lady Churchill, now Countess of Marlborough,  
(64-191)chose as expressive of the frankness of her own  
(64-191)temper. Sunderland and Godolphin were ministers  
(64-191)of unquestionable talent, who carried on with  
(64-191)perseverance and skill the scheme formed by King  
(64-191)William for defending the liberties of Europe  
(64-191)against the encroachments of France. But Queen  
(64-191)Anne reposed her confidence in them chiefly  
(64-191)because they were closely connected with Mrs Freeman  
(64-191)and her husband. Now, this species of  
(64-191)arrangement, my dear boy, was just such a childish  
(64-191)whim as when you and your little brother get into  
(64-191)a basket, and play at sailing down to A--, to

[TG64-192]

(64-192)see grandpapa. A sovereign cannot enjoy the sort  
(64-192)of friendship which subsists between equals, for he  
(64-192)cannot have equals with whom to form such a  
(64-192)union; and every attempt to play at make-believe  
(64-192)intimacy commonly ends in the royal person's being  
(64-192)secretly guided and influenced by the flattery and  
(64-192)assentation of an artful and smooth-tongued  
(64-192)parasite, or tyrannized over by the ascendance of a  
(64-192)haughtier and higher mind than his own. The  
(64-192)husband of Queen Anne, Prince George of  
(64-192)Denmark, might have broken off this extreme  
(64-192)familiarity between his wife and her haughty favourite;  
(64-192)but he was a quiet, good, humane man, meddling  
(64-192)with nothing, and apparently considering himself  
(64-192)as unfit for public affairs, which agreed with the  
(64-192)opinion entertained of him by others.

(64-192)The death of Queen Anne's son and heir, the  
(64-192)Duke of Gloucester, the sole survivor of a numerous  
(64-192)family, by depriving her of the last object of  
(64-192)domestic affection, seemed to render the Queen's



(64-192)extreme attachment to her friend more direct, and  
(64-192)Lady- Marlborough's influence became universal.  
(64-192)The war which was continued against the French,  
(64-192)had the most brilliant success, and the general was  
(64-192)loaded with honours; but the Queen favoured

[TG64-193]

(64-193)Marlborough less because he was the most accomplished  
(64-193)and successful general at that time in the  
(64-193)world, than as the husband of her affectionate Mrs  
(64-193)Freeman. In short, the affairs of England, at all  
(64-193)times so influential in Europe, turned altogether  
(64-193)upon the private friendship between Mrs Freeman  
(64-193)and Mrs Morley.

(64-193)At the moment when it seemed most completely  
(64-193)secure, this intimacy was overthrown by the  
(64-193)influence of a petty intrigue in the Queen's family.  
(64-193)The Duchess of Marlborough, otherwise Mrs  
(64-193)Freeman, had used the power with which her  
(64-193)mistress's partiality had invested her, far too roughly  
(64-193)She was avaricious and imperious in her demands,  
(64-193)careless, and even insolent in her conduct towards  
(64-193)the Queen herself. For some time this was  
(64-193)endured as an exercise of that frank privilege of  
(64-193)equality with which her Majesty's friendship had  
(64-193)invested her. For a much longer space it may be  
(64-193)supposed, the Queen tolerated her caprice and insolence,  
(64-193)partly because she was afraid other violent  
(64-193)temper, partly because she was ashamed to break  
(64-193)off the romantic engagement which she had herself  
(64-193)formed. She was not, however, the less impatient  
(64-193)of the Duchess of Marlborough's yoke, or less  
(64-193)watchful of an opportunity to cast it off.

(64-193)The Duchess had introduced among the Queen's

(64-193)attendants, in the capacity of what was called a dresser,  
(64-193)a young lady of good birth, named Abigail Hill,

[TG64-194]

(64-194)a kinswoman of her own. She was the reverse of  
(64-194)the Duchess in her temper, being good-humoured,  
(64-194)lively, and, from disposition and policy, willing to  
(64-194)please her mistress in every manner possible. She  
(64-194)attracted by degrees first the Queen's favour, and  
(64-194)at length her confidence; so that Anne sought, in  
(64-194)the solicitous attentions and counsels of her new  
(64-194)friend, consolation from the rudeness with which  
(64-194)the Duchess treated her both in private and public  
(64-194)life. The progress of this intimacy was closely  
(64-194)watched by Harley, a statesman of talents, and  
(64-194)hitherto professing the principles of the Whigs.  
(64-194)He had been repeatedly Speaker of the House of  
(64-194)Commons, and was Secretary of State in the existing  
(64-194)Whig administration. But he was ambitious  
(64-194)of higher rank in the cabinet, being conscious of  
(64-194)superior talents, and he caballed against the Duchess  
(64-194)of Marlborough, in consequence of her  
(64-194)having repulsed his civilities towards her with her  
(64-194)usual insolence of manner. The partner of Harley's  
(64-194)counsels was Mr Henry St John (afterwards  
(64-194)Lord Bolingbroke), a young man of the most  
(64-194)distinguished abilities, and who subsequently made a  
(64-194)great figure both in politics and in literature.

(64-194)Harley lost no time in making advances to intimacy  
(64-194)with the new favourite; and as he claimed  
(64-194)some kindred with Miss Hill's family, this was  
(64-194)easily accomplished. This lady's interest with the  
(64-194)Queen was now so great, that she was able to procure  
(64-194)her cousin private audiences with the Queen,  
(64-194)who, accustomed to the harshness of the Duchess

(64-194)of Marlborough, whose tone of authority had been

[TG64-195]

(64-195)adopted by the Whig Ministers of the higher  
(64-195)class, was soothed by the more respectful deportment  
(64-195)of these new counsellors. Harley was more  
(64-195)submissive and deferential in his manners, and  
(64-195)conducted himself with an attention to the Queen's  
(64-195)wishes and opinions, to which she had been hitherto  
(64-195)little accustomed. It was undoubtedly his purpose  
(64-195)to use the influence thus acquired, to the  
(64-195)destruction of Godolphin's authority, and to  
(64-195)accomplish his own rise to the office of first Minister.  
(64-195)But his attempt did not succeed in the first  
(64-195)instance. His secret intrigues and private interviews  
(64-195)with the Sovereign were prematurely discovered,  
(64-195)and Harley and his friends were compelled  
(64-195)to resign their offices; so that the Whig  
(64-195)administration seemed more deeply rooted than ever.

(64-195)About the same time, Miss Hill was secretly  
(64-195)married to Mr Masham; a match which gave great  
(64-195)offence to the Duchess of Marlborough, who was  
(64-195)beginning to feel that her relation had superseded  
(64-195)her in her mistress's affections. As this high-  
(64-195)tempered lady found the Queen's confidence was  
(64-195)transferred from her, she endeavoured to maintain her  
(64-195)ascendency by threats and intimidation, and was  
(64-195)for a time successful in ruling the mind of her late  
(64-195)friend by means of fear, as she did formerly by  
(64-195)affection. But a false step of the Whig administration  
(64-195)enabled Queen Anne at last to shake off  
(64-195)this intolerable bondage.

(64-195)A silly and hot-headed clergyman, named Sacheverel,  
(64-195)had preached and printed a political sermon,

[TG64-196]

(64-196)in winch he maintained high Tory principles,  
(64-196)and railed at Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer,  
(64-196)and head of Queen Anne's Administration, whom he  
(64-196)termed Volpone, after an odious character so named  
(64-196)in one of Ben Jonson's Plays. The great  
(64-196)majority of the landed gentlemen of England were  
(64-196)then addicted to Tory principles, and those of the  
(64-196)High Church. So bold and daring a sermon,  
(64-196)though it had no merit but its audacity to recommend  
(64-196)it, procured immense popularity amongst  
(64-196)them. The Ministers were incensed beyond  
(64-196)becoming moderation. The House of Commons  
(64-196)impeached the preacher before the tribunal of the  
(64-196)House of Lords, and his trial came before the Peers  
(64-196)on 27th February, 1710. The utmost degree of  
(64-196)publicity was given to it, by the efforts of the  
(64-196)Whigs to obtain Doctor Sacheverel's conviction  
(64-196)and a severe sentence, and by the corresponding  
(64-196)exertions of the Tories to screen him from  
(64-196)punishment. The multitude took up the cry of High  
(64-196)Church and Sacheverel, with which they beset the  
(64-196)different members of both Houses as they went  
(64-196)down to Parliament. The trial, which lasted three  
(64-196)weeks, excited public attention, in a degree hitherto  
(64-196)almost unknown. The Queen herself attended  
(64-196)almost every day, and her sedan chair was  
(64-196)surrounded by crowds, shouting, " God bless the Queen  
(64-196)and Doctor Sacheverel I we hope your Majesty is  
(64-196)for High Church and Sacheverel." The mob arose,

[TG64-197]

(64-197)and exhibited their furious zeal for the church by  
(64-197)destroying' the chapels and meeting-houses of  
(64-197)dissenters, and committing similar acts of violence.

(64-197)The consequence was, that the Doctor was found  
(64-197)guilty indeed by the House of Peers, but escaped  
(64-197)with being suspended from preaching for three  
(64-197)years; a sentence so slight,<sup>1</sup> that it was regarded  
(64-197)by the accused and his friends as an acquittal, and  
(64-197)they triumphed accordingly. Bonfires, illuminations,  
(64-197)and other marks of rejoicing appeared in  
(64-197)celebrating of the victory.

(64-197)As these manifestations of the public sentiment  
(64-197)were not confined to the capital, but extended over  
(64-197)all England, they made evident the unpopularity  
(64-197)of the Whig government, and encouraged the  
(64-197)Queen to put in execution the plan she had long  
(64-197)proposed to herself, of changing her Ministry, and  
(64-197)endeavouring to negotiate a peace, and terminate  
(64-197)the war, which seemed to be protracted without  
(64-197)end. Anne, by this change of government and  
(64-197)system, desired also to secure the church, which  
(64-197)her old prejudices taught her to believe was in  
(64-197)danger - and, above all, to get rid of the tyranny  
(64-197)of her former friend, Mrs Freeman. A new

[TG64-198]

(64-198)Administration, therefore, was formed under Harley  
(64-198)and St John, who, being supported by the Tory  
(64-198)interest, were chiefly, if not exclusively, governed  
(64-198)by Tory principles. At the same time, the Duchess  
(64-198)of Marlborough was deprived of all her offices  
(64-198)about the Queen's person, and disgraced, as it is  
(64-198)termed, at court, that is, dismissed from favour and  
(64-198)employment. Her husband's services could not  
(64-198)be dispensed with so easily; for while the British  
(64-198)army were employed, no general could supply the  
(64-198)place of Marlborough, who had so often led them

(64-198)to victory. But the Tory Ministers endeavoured  
(64-198)to lower him in the eyes of the public, by an  
(64-198)investigation into certain indirect emoluments taken in  
(64-198)his character as general-in-chief, and to get rid of  
(64-198)the indispensable necessity of his military services,  
(64-198)by entering into negotiations for peace.

[TG64-199]

(64-199)The French Government saw and availed themselves  
(64-199)of the situation in which that of Britain was  
(64-199)placed. They perceived that peace was absolutely  
(64-199)necessary to Oxford and Bolingbroke's existence  
(64-199)as ministers, even more so than it was to France as  
(64-199)a nation, though her frontiers had been invaded,  
(64-199)her armies repeatedly defeated, and even her  
(64-199)capital to a certain degree exposed to insult. The  
(64-199)consequence was, that the French rose in their  
(64-199)terms, and the peace of Utrecht, after much  
(64-199)negotiation, was at length concluded, on conditions  
(64-199)which, as they respected the allies, and the British  
(64-199)nation in particular, were very much disproportioned  
(64-199)to the brilliant successes of the war.

(64-199)That article of the treaty, which was supposed  
(64-199)by all friends of Revolution principles to be most  
(64-199)essential to the independence and internal peace of  
(64-199)Great Britain, seemed indeed to have been adjusted  
(64-199)with some care. The King of France acknowledged,  
(64-199)with all formality, the right of Queen  
(64-199)Anne to the throne, guaranteed the Act of Succession  
(64-199)settling it upon the House of Hanover, and  
(64-199)agreed to expel from his territories the unfortunate  
(64-199)son of James II. . This was done accordingly.  
(64-199)Yet notwithstanding that the Chevalier de St  
(64-199)George was compelled to remove from the territories  
(64-199)of his father's ally, who, on James's death, had

(64-199)formally proclaimed him King of England, the  
(64-199)unhappy Prince had perhaps at the moment of his  
(64-199)expulsion more solid hopes of being restored to his  
(64-199)father's throne, than any which the favour of Louis

[TG64-200]

(64-200)could have afforded him. This will appear from  
(64-200)the following considerations.

(64-200)Queen Anne, as we have already stated, was  
(64-200)attached to the High Church establishment and  
(64-200)clergy; and the principles with which these were  
(64-200)embued, if not universally Jacobitical, were at least  
(64-200)strongly tinctured with .1 respect for hereditary  
(64-200)right. These doctrines could not be supposed to  
(64-200)be very displeasing to the Queen herself, as a  
(64-200)woman or as a sovereign, and there were  
(64-200)circumstances in her life which made her more ready to  
(64-200)admit them. We have already said, that the part  
(64-200)which Anne had taken at the Revolution, by  
(64-200)withdrawing from her father's house, had been  
(64-200)determined by the influence of Lady Churchill, who  
(64-200)was now, as Duchess of Marlborough, the object  
(64-200)of the Queen's hatred, as much as ever she had  
(64-200)been that of her affection in the character of Mrs  
(64-200)Freeman, and her opinions and the steps which  
(64-200)they had led to, were not probably recollected with  
(64-200)much complacency. The desertion of a father, also,  
(64-200)however coloured over with political argument, is  
(64-200)likely to become towards the close of life a subject  
(64-200)of anxious reflection. There is little doubt that  
(64-200)the Queen entertained remorse on account of her  
(64-200)filial disobedience; more especially, when the early  
(64-200)death of her children, and finally that of a hopeful  
(64-200)young prince, the Duke of Gloucester, deprived her  
(64-200)of all chance of leaving" the kingdom to an heir of

(64-200)her own. These deprivations seemed an appropriate  
(64-200)punishment to the disobedient daughter, who

[TG64-201]

(64-201)had been permitted to assume for a time her father's  
(64-201)crown, but not to transmit it to her heirs. As the  
(64-201)Queen's health became broken and infirm, it was  
(64-201)natural that these compunctious thoughts should  
(64-201)become still more engrossing, and that she should  
(64-201)feel no pleasure in contemplating the prospect  
(64-201)which called the Prince of Hanover, a distant  
(64-201)relation, to reign over England at her decease; or  
(64-201)that she should regard with aversion, almost  
(64-201)approaching to horror, a proposal of the Whig party,  
(64-201)to invite the Electoral Prince to visit Britain, the  
(64-201)crown of which was to devolve upon him after the  
(64-201)decease of its present possessor. On the other  
(64-201)hand, the condition of the Chevalier de St George,  
(64-201)the Queen's brother, the only surviving male of her  
(64-201)family, a person whose restoration to the crown of  
(64-201)his father's might be the work of her own hand, was  
(64-201)likely to affect the Queen with compassionate interest,  
(64-201)and seemed to afford her at the same time an  
(64-201)opportunity of redressing such wrongs as she might  
(64-201)conceive were done to her father, by making large  
(64-201)though late amends to his son.

(64-201)Actuated by motives so natural, there is little  
(64-201)doubt that Queen Anne, so soon as she had freed  
(64-201)herself from the control of the Duchess of  
(64-201)Marlborough, began to turn her mind towards fixing  
(64-201)the succession of the crown on her brother, the  
(64-201)Chevalier de St George, after her own death, to  
(64-201)the prejudice of the act which settled it on the  
(64-201)Electoral Prince of Hanover. And she might be  
(64-201)the more encouraged to nourish some hopes of



(64-201)success, since a great portion of her subjects of the

[TG64-202]

(64-202)Three Kingdoms were Jacobites upon principle,  
(64-202)and others had but a short step to make from the  
(64-202)extremity of Tory sentiments to those which were  
(64-202)directly favourable to the House of Stewart. Ireland,  
(64-202)the last portion of the British dominions  
(64-202)which adhered to King James the Second, could  
(64-202)not be supposed indifferent to the restoration of  
(64-202)his son. In England, a very great proportion of  
(64-202)the High Church clergy, the Universities, and the  
(64-202)Tory interest, which prevailed among the country  
(64-202)gentlemen, entertained the same bias, and were at  
(64-202)little pains to conceal it. In Scotland men were  
(64-202)still bolder in avowing their opinions, of which  
(64-202)there occurred the following instance.

(64-202)The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, that is  
(64-202)to say, the incorporated society of lawyers entitled  
(64-202)to practise at the bar, are a body even of more  
(64-202)weight and consequence than is attached to them  
(64-202)in most countries from the nature of their  
(64-202)profession. In the beginning of the 18th century,  
(64-202)especially, the Faculty comprehended almost all the  
(64-202)sons of good family who did not embrace the army  
(64-202)as their choice; for the sword or gown, according  
(64-202)to the ideas of that time, were the only occupations  
(64-202)which could be adopted by a gentleman. The  
(64-202)Advocates are possessed of a noble library, and a  
(64-202)valuable collection of medals. To this learned  
(64-202)body, Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon (by birth, a  
(64-202)daughter of the noble house of Howard, and a keen  
(64-202)Jacobite), sent the present of a medal for their  
(64-202)cabinet. It bore on the one side the head of the  
(64-202)Chevalier de St George, with the motto, Cujus est?

[TG64-203]

(64-203)(Whom does it represent?) and on the reverse the  
(64-203)British Isles, with the legend, Reddite (Restore  
(64-203)them). The Dean of Faculty having presented  
(64-203)this very intelligible emblem to his brethren, a  
(64-203)debate arose, whether or not it should be received  
(64-203)into their collection, which was carried on in very  
(64-203)warm language,<sup>1</sup> and terminated in a vote, which,  
(64-203)by a majority of sixty-three to twelve, resolved on  
(64-203)the acceptance of the medal. Two advocates were  
(64-203)deputed to express, in the name of the learned  
(64-203)body, their thanks to the Duchess; and they failed  
(64-203)not to do it in a manner expressing pointedly their

[TG64-204]

(64-204)full comprehension of the import of her Grace's  
(64-204)compliment. They concluded, by stating their  
(64-204)hope, that her Grace would soon have a farther  
(64-204)opportunity to oblige the Faculty, by presenting  
(64-204)them with a second medal on the subject of a  
(64-204)restoration. But when the proceeding became public,  
(64-204)the Advocates seem to have been alarmed for the  
(64-204)consequences, and at a general meeting of the  
(64-204)Faculty (27th July, 1711), the medal was formally  
(64-204)refused, and placed in the hands of the Lord  
(64-204)Advocate, to be restored to the Duchess of Gordon.  
(64-204)The retractation, however, could not efface the  
(64-204)evidence, that this learned and important public  
(64-204)body, the commentators on the laws of Scotland,  
(64-204)from whom the guardians of her jurisprudence are  
(64-204)selected, had shown such boldness as to give a  
(64-204)public mark of adherence to the Chevalier de St  
(64-204)George. It was also remarked, that the Jacobite  
(64-204)interest predominated in many of the Scottish  
(64-204)elections.

(64-204)While the Queen saw a large party among her  
(64-204)subjects in each kingdom well disposed to her  
(64-204)brother's succession, one at least of her ministers  
(64-204)was found audacious enough to contemplate the  
(64-204)same measure, though in doing so, he might be  
(64-204)construed into impeaching his mistress's own right  
(64-204)to the sovereign authority. This was Henry St  
(64-204)John, created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. He  
(64-204)was a person of lively genius and brilliant parts -  
(64-204)a scholar, an orator, and a philosopher. There was  
(64-204)a reverse to the fair side of the picture.  
(64-204)Bolingbroke was dissipated in private life, daringly

[TG64-205]

(64-205)sceptical in theological speculation, and when his quick  
(64-205)perception showed him a chance of rising, he does  
(64-205)not appear to have been extremely scrupulous  
(64-205)concerning the path which he trode, so that it led to  
(64-205)power. In the beginning of his career as a public  
(64-205)man he attached himself to Harley; and when that  
(64-205)statesman retired from the Whig Administration,  
(64-205)in 1708, St John shared his disgrace, and lost the  
(64-205)situation of Secretary at War. On the triumph of  
(64-205)the Tories, in 1710, when Harley was made Prime  
(64-205)Minister, St John was named Secretary of State.  
(64-205)Prosperity, however, dissolved the friendship which  
(64-205)had withstood the attacks of adversity; and it was  
(64-205)soon observed that there was a difference of  
(64-205)opinion as well as character between the Premier and  
(64-205)his colleague.

(64-205)Harley, afterwards created Earl of Oxford, was  
(64-205)a man of a dark and reserved character - slow,  
(64-205)timid, and doubtful, both in counsel and action, and  
(64-205)apparently one of those statesmen who affect to

(64-205)govern by balancing the scales betwixt two contending  
(64-205)factions, until at length they finally become the  
(64-205)objects of suspicion and animosity to both. He had  
(64-205)been bred a Whig, and although circumstances had  
(64-205)disposed him to join, and even to head, the Tories,  
(64-205)he was reluctantly induced to take any of the violent  
(64-205)party measures which they expected at his  
(64-205)hand, and seems, in return, never to have possessed  
(64-205)their full confidence or unhesitating support.  
(64-205)However far Oxford adopted the principles of  
(64-205)Toryism, he stopped short of their utmost extent,  
(64-205)and was one of the political sect then called

[TG64-206]

(64-206)Whimsicals, who were supposed not to know their own  
(64-206)minds, because they avowed principles of hereditary  
(64-206)right, and at the same time desired the succession  
(64-206)of the line of Hanover. In evidence of  
(64-206)his belonging to this class of politicians, it was  
(64-206)remarked that he sent his brother, Mr Harley, to the  
(64-206)court of Hanover, and through him affected to  
(64-206)maintain a close intercourse with the Elector, and  
(64-206)expressed much zeal for the Protestant line of  
(64-206)succession.

(64-206)All this mystery and indecision was contrary to  
(64-206)the rapid and fiery genius of St John, who felt that  
(64-206)he was not admitted into the private and ultimate  
(64-206)views of the colleague with whom he had suffered  
(64-206)adversity. He was disgusted, too, that Harley  
(64-206)should be advanced to the rank of an earl, while he  
(64-206)himself was only created a viscount. His former  
(64-206)friendship and respect for Oxford was gradually  
(64-206)changed to coldness, enmity, and hatred, and he  
(64-206)began, with much art, and a temporary degree of  
(64-206)success, to prepare a revolution in the state, which

(64-206)he designed should end in Oxford's disgrace, and  
(64-206)his own elevation to the supreme authority. He  
(64-206)entered with zeal into the ulterior designs of the  
(64-206)most extravagant Tories, and, in order to recommend  
(64-206)himself to the Queen, did not, it is believed,  
(64-206)spare to mingle in intrigues for the benefit of her  
(64-206)exiled brother.

(64-206)It was remarked, that the Chevalier de St George,  
(64-206)when obliged to leave France, found refuge in the  
(64-206)territories of the Duke of Lorraine; and that petty  
(64-206)German Prince had the boldness to refuse an application

[TG64-207]

(64-207)of the British Government, for the removal  
(64-207)of his guest from his dominions. It was believed  
(64-207)that the Duke dared not have acted thus unless he  
(64-207)had had some private assurance that the application  
(64-207)was only made for an ostensible purpose, and that  
(64-207)the Queen did not, in reality, desire to deprive her  
(64-207)brother of this place of refuge. Other circumstances  
(64-207)led to the same conclusion, that Anne and  
(64-207)her new ministers favoured the Jacobite interest.

(64-207)It is more than probable that the Duke of Hamilton,  
(64-207)whom we have so often mentioned, was to  
(64-207)have been deeply engaged in some transactions  
(64-207)with the French court, of the most delicate nature,  
(64-207)when, in 1713, he was named ambassador extraordinary  
(64-207)to Paris; and there can be little doubt  
(64-207)that they regarded the restoration of the line of  
(64-207)Stewart. The unfortunate nobleman hinted this  
(64-207)to his friend, Lockhart of Carnwath, when, parting  
(64-207)with him for the last time, he turned back to  
(64-207)embrace him again and again, as one who was impressed  
(64-207)with the consciousness of some weighty trust,

(64-207)perhaps with a prescient sense of approaching calamity.  
(64-207)Misfortune, indeed, was hovering over him, and of  
(64-207)a strange and bloody character. Having a lawsuit  
(64-207)with Lord Mohun,<sup>1</sup> a nobleman of debauched and  
(64-207)profligate manners, whose greatest achievement was

[TG64-208]

(64-208)having, a few years before, stabbed a poor play-  
(64-208)actor, in a drunken frolic, the Duke of Hamilton  
(64-208)held a meeting with his adversary, in the hope of  
(64-208)adjusting their dispute. In this conference, the  
(64-208)Duke, speaking of an agent in the case, said the  
(64-208)person in question had neither truth nor honour,  
(64-208)to which Lord Mohun replied he had as much of  
(64-208)both qualities as his Grace. They parted on the  
(64-208)exchange of these words. One would have  
(64-208)thought that the offence received lay on the Duke's  
(64-208)side, and that it was he who was called upon to  
(64-208)resent what had passed, in case he should think it  
(64-208)worth his while. Lord Mohun, however, who gave  
(64-208)the affront, contrary to the practice in such cases,  
(64-208)also gave the challenge. They met at the Ring in  
(64-208)Hyde Park, where they fought with swords, and  
(64-208)in a few minutes Lord Mohun was killed on the  
(64-208)spot; and the Duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded,  
(64-208)did not survive him for a longer space. Mohun,  
(64-208)who was an odious and contemptible libertine, was  
(64-208)regretted by no one; but it was far different with  
(64-208)the Duke of Hamilton, who, notwithstanding a degree  
(64-208)of irresolution which he displayed in politics,  
(64-208)his understanding, perhaps, not approving the  
(64-208)lengths to which his feelings might have carried  
(64-208)him, had many amiable, and even noble qualities,  
(64-208)which made him generally lamented. The Tories  
(64-208)considered the death of the Duke of Hamilton as  
(64-208)so peculiar, and the period when it happened as so

(64-208)critical, that they did not hesitate to avow a  
(64-208)confident belief that Lord Mohun had been pushed to

[TG64-209]

(64-209)sending the challenge by some zealots of the Whig  
(64-209)party, and even to add, that the Duke fell, not by  
(64-209)the sword of his antagonist, but by that of General  
(64-209)Macartney, Lord Mohun's second. The evidence  
(64-209)of Colonel Hamilton, second to the Duke, went far  
(64-209)to establish the last proposition; and General  
(64-209)Macartney, seeing, perhaps, that the public prejudice  
(64-209)was extreme against him, absconded, and a reward  
(64-209)was offered for his discovery. In the subsequent  
(64-209)reign, he was brought to trial, and acquitted, on  
(64-209)evidence which leaves the case far from a clear one.

(64-209)The death of the Duke of Hamilton, however,  
(64-209)whether caused by political resentment or private  
(64-209)hatred, did not interrupt the schemes formed for  
(64-209)the restoration of the Stewart family. Lord  
(64-209)Bolingbroke himself went on a mission to Paris, and  
(64-209)it appears highly probable he then settled secret  
(64-209)articles explanatory of those points of the Utrecht  
(64-209)treaty, which had relation to the expulsion of the  
(64-209)Pretender from the dominions of France, and the  
(64-209)disclamation of his right of succession to the crown  
(64-209)of Britain. It is probable, also, that these remained  
(64-209)concealed from the Premier Oxford, to whose views  
(64-209)in favour of the Hanoverian succession they were  
(64-209)distinctly opposed.

(64-209)Such being the temper of the Government of

[TG64-210]

(64-210)England, divided, as it was, betwixt the dubious  
(64-210)conduct of Lord Oxford, and the more secret, but

(64-210)bolder and decided intrigues of Bolingbroke, the  
(64-210)general measures which were adopted with respect to  
(64-210)Scotland indicated a decided bias to the Jacobite  
(64-210)interest, and those by whom it was supported.

[TG65-211]

(65-211)THE Presbyterians of Scotland had been placed  
(65-211)by the Revolution in exclusive possession of the  
(65-211)Church government of that kingdom. But a  
(65-211)considerable proportion of the country, particularly in  
(65-211)the more northern shires, remained attached to the  
(65-211)Episcopal establishment and its forms of worship.  
(65-211)These, however, were objects of enmity and fear  
(65-211)to the Church of Scotland, whose representatives  
(65-211)and adherents exerted themselves to suppress, by  
(65-211)every means in their power, the exercise of the  
(65-211)Episcopal mode of worship, forgetful of the  
(65-211)complaints which, they themselves had so justly made  
(65-211)concerning the violation of the liberty of conscience  
(65-211)during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.  
(65-211)We must here remark, that the Episcopal Church  
(65-211)of Scotland had, in its ancient and triumphant state,

[TG65-212]

(65-212)retained some very slight and formal differences,  
(65-212)which distinguished their book of Common Prayer  
(65-212)from that which is used in the Church of England.  
(65-212)But in their present distressed and disconsolate  
(65-212)condition, many of them had become content to  
(65-212)resign these points of distinction, and, by conforming  
(65-212)exactly to the English ritual, endeavoured to obtain  
(65-212)a freedom of worship as Episcopalians in Scotland,  
(65-212)similar to the indulgence which was granted to those  
(65-212)professing Presbyterian principles, and other  
(65-212)Protestant dissenters in England. The Presbyterian  
(65-212)Church Courts, however, summoned such Episcopal



(65-212)preachers before them, and prohibited them from  
(65-212)exercising their ministry, under the penalty of fine  
(65-212)and imprisonment, which, in the case of one person  
(65-212)(the Rev. Mr Greenshields), was inflicted with no  
(65-212)sparing hand. Others were insulted and ill-used  
(65-212)by the multitude, in any attempt which they made  
(65-212)to exercise their form of worship. This was the  
(65-212)more indefensible, as some of these reverend  
(65-212)persons joined in prayer for the Revolution establishment;  
(65-212)and whatever conjecture might be formed  
(65-212)concerning the probability of their attachment to  
(65-212)the exiled family, they had laid aside every  
(65-212)peculiarity on which their present mode of worship could,  
(65-212)be objected to as inferring Jacobitism.

(65-212)An Act of Toleration was therefore most justly  
(65-212)and rightfully passed (February, 1712) by Parliament,  
(65-212)for the toleration of all such Episcopal clergymen

[TG65-213]

(65-213)men using the Church of England service, as should  
(65-213)be disposed to take the Oath of Abjuration,  
(65-213)renouncing all adherence to the cause of James II.  
(65-213)or his descendant, the existing Pretender. This  
(65-213)toleration gave great offence to the Presbyterian  
(65-213)clergy, since it was taking out of their hands a means,  
(65-213)as they alleged, of enforcing uniformity of worship,  
(65-213)which, they pretended, had been insured to them at  
(65-213)the Revolution. Every allowance is justly to be  
(65-213)made for jealousies and apprehensions, which severe  
(65-213)persecution had taught the ministers of the Scottish  
(65-213)Church to entertain; but impartial history shows us  
(65-213)how dangerous a matter it is to intrust the judicatures  
(65-213)of any church with the power of tyrannizing  
(65-213)over the consciences of those who have adopted  
(65-213)different forms of worship, and how wise as well

(65-213)as just it is to restrict their authority to the  
(65-213)regulation of their own establishment.

(65-213)The Presbyterian Church was still more offended  
(65-213)by the introduction of a clause into this Act of  
(65-213)Toleration, obliging the members of their own  
(65-213)church, as well as dissenters from their mode of  
(65-213)worship, to take the Oath of Abjuration. This  
(65-213)clause has been inserted into the Act as it passed  
(65-213)the House of Commons, on the motion of the Tories,  
(65-213)who alleged that the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland  
(65-213)ought to give the same security for their fidelity  
(65-213)to the Queen and Protestant succession, which  
(65-213)was to be exacted from the Episcopalians. The  
(65-213)Scottish Presbyterians complained bitterly of this  
(65-213)application of the Oath of Abjuration to themselves.  
(65-213)They contended that it was unnecessary, as no one

[TG65-214]

(65-214)could suspect the Church of Scotland of the least  
(65-214)tendency towards Jacobitism, and that it was an  
(65-214)usurpation of the State over the Church, to impose  
(65-214)by statute law an oath on the ministers of the Church,  
(65-214)whom, in religious matters, they considered as bound  
(65-214)only by the Acts of their General Assembly.  
(65-214)Notwithstanding their angry remonstrances, the Oath  
(65-214)of Abjuration was imposed on them by the same  
(65-214)act which decreed the tolerance of the Episcopal  
(65-214)form of worship on a similar condition.

(65-214)The greater number of the Presbyterian ministers  
(65-214)did at length take the oath, but many continued  
(65-214)to be recusants, and suffered nothing in  
(65-214)consequence, as the Government overlooked their  
(65-214)non-compliance. There can be little doubt that  
(65-214)this clause, which seems otherwise a useless

(65-214)tampering with the rooted opinions of the  
(65-214)Presbyterians, was intended for a double purpose. First,  
(65-214)it was likely to create a schism in the Scottish  
(65-214)Church, between those who might take, and those  
(65-214)who might refuse the oath, which, as dividing the  
(65-214)opinions, was likely to diminish the authority, and  
(65-214)affect the respectability, of a body zealous for the  
(65-214)Protestant succession. Secondly, it was foreseen  
(65-214)that the great majority of the Episcopal clergy in  
(65-214)Scotland avowedly attached to the exiled family,"  
(65-214)would not take the Oath of Abjuration, and were  
(65-214)likely on that account to be interrupted by the  
(65-214)Presbyterians of the country where they exercised  
(65-214)their functions. But if a number of the Presbyterian  
(65-214)clergy themselves were rendered liable to the  
(65-214)same charge for the same omission, and only indebted

[TG65-215]

(65-215)for their impunity to the connivance of the  
(65-215)Government, it was not likely they would disturb  
(65-215)others upon grounds which might be objected to  
(65-215)themselves. The expedient was successful; for  
(65-215)though it was said that only one Episcopal minister  
(65-215)in Scotland, Mr Cockburn of Glasgow, took  
(65-215)the Oath of Abjuration, yet no prosecutions followed  
(65-215)their recusancy, because a large portion of  
(65-215)the ministers of the Kirk would have been liable  
(65-215)to vexation on the same account.

(65-215)Another act of the same session of Parliament,  
(65-215)which restored to patrons, as they were called, the  
(65-215)right of presenting clergymen to vacant churches  
(65-215)in Scotland, seemed calculated, and was probably  
(65-215)designed, to render the churchmen more dependent  
(65-215)on the aristocracy, and to separate them in  
(65-215)some degree from their congregations, who could

(65-215)not be supposed to be equally attached to, or  
(65-215)influenced by a minister who held his living by the  
(65-215)gift of a great man, as by one who was chosen by  
(65-215)their own free voice. Each mode of election is  
(65-215)subject to its own particular disadvantages. The  
(65-215)necessity imposed on the clergyman who is  
(65-215)desirous of preferment, of suiting his style of preaching  
(65-215)to the popular taste, together with the indecent  
(65-215)heats and intrigues which attend popular elections,  
(65-215)are serious objections to permitting the flock to  
(65-215)have the choice of their shepherd. At the same  
(65-215)time, the right of patronage is apt to be abused in  
(65-215)particular instances, where persons of loose morals,  
(65-215)slender abilities, or depraved doctrine, may be  
(65-215)imposed, by the fiat of an unconscientious individual.

[TG65-216]

(65-216)upon a congregation who are unwilling to receive  
(65-216)him. But as the Presbyterian clergy possess the  
(65-216)power of examination and rejection, subject to an  
(65-216)appeal to the superior church courts, whatever may  
(65-216)be thought of the law of patronage in theory, it  
(65-216)has not, during the lapse of more than a century,  
(65-216)had any effect in practice detrimental to the  
(65-216)respectability of the Church of Scotland. There is  
(65-216)no doubt, however, that the restoration of the right  
(65-216)of lay patrons in Queen Anne's time was designed  
(65-216)to separate the ministers of the Kirk from the  
(65-216)people, and to render them more dependent on the  
(65-216)nobility and gentry, amongst whom, much more  
(65-216)than the common people, the sentiments of  
(65-216)Jacobitism predominated.

(65-216)These measures, though all of them indirectly  
(65-216)tending to favour the Tory party, which might, in  
(65-216)Scotland, be generally termed that of the Stewart

(65-216)family, had yet other motives which might be  
(65-216)plausibly alleged for their adoption.

(65-216)Whatever might be the number and importance  
(65-216)of the Lowland gentry in Scotland, who were  
(65-216)attached to the cause of the Chevalier de St George,  
(65-216)and that number was certainly very considerable,  
(65-216)the altered circumstances of the country had so  
(65-216)much restricted their authority over the inferior  
(65-216)classes, that they could no longer reckon upon  
(65-216)raising any considerable number of men by their own  
(65-216)influence, nor had they, since the repeal of the Act  
(65-216)of Security, the power of mustering or disciplining  
(65-216)their followers, so as to render them fit for military  
(65-216)service. It was not to be expected that, with the

[TG65-217]

(65-217)aid of such members of their family, domestics, or  
(65-217)dependents, as might join them in any insurrection,  
(65-217)they could do more than equip a few squadrons of  
(65-217)horse, and even if they could have found men, they  
(65-217)were generally deficient in arms, horses, and the  
(65-217)means of taking the field.

(65-217)The Highland clans were in a different state;  
(65-217)they were as much under the command of their  
(65-217)superior chiefs and chieftains as ever they had been  
(65-217)during the earlier part of their history; and,  
(65-217)separated from civilisation by the wildernesses in which  
(65-217)they lived, they spoke the language, wore the  
(65-217)dress, submitted to the government, and wielded  
(65-217)the arms of their fathers. It is true, that clan  
(65-217)wars were not now practised on the former great  
(65-217)scale, and that two or three small garrisons of  
(65-217)soldiers quartered amongst them put some stop to  
(65-217)their predatory incursions. The superior

(65-217)chieftains and tacksmen, more especially the duinhe  
(65-217)wassals, or dependent gentlemen of the tribe, were  
(65-217)in no degree superior in knowledge to the common  
(65-217)clansmen. The high chiefs, or heads of the considerable  
(65-217)clans, were in a very different situation.

(65-217)They were almost all men of good education, and  
(65-217)polite manners, and when in Lowland dress and  
(65-217)Lowland society, were scarce to be distinguished  
(65-217)from other gentlemen, excepting by an assumption  
(65-217)of consequence, the natural companion of conscious  
(65-217)authority. They often travelled abroad, and sometimes  
(65-217)entered the military service, looking always  
(65-217)forward to the time when their swords should be  
(65-217)required in the cause of the Stewarts, to whom

[TG65-218]

(65-218)they were in general extremely attached; though.  
(65-218)in the West Highlands the great influence of the  
(65-218)Duke of Argyle, and in the North that of the Earl  
(65-218)of Sutherland and Lord Reay, together with the  
(65-218)Chiefs of Grant, Ross, Munro, and other northern  
(65-218)tribes, fixed their clans in the Whig interest.

(65-218)These chiefs were poor; for the produce of their  
(65-218)extensive but barren domains was entirely consumed  
(65-218)in supporting the military force of the clan,  
(65-218)from whom no industry was to be expected, as it  
(65-218)would have degraded them in their own eyes, and  
(65-218)in those of their leaders, and rendered them unfit  
(65-218)for the discharge of their warlike duties. The  
(65-218)chiefs, at the same time, when out of the Highlands,  
(65-218)were expensive as well as needy. The  
(65-218)sense of self-importance, which we have already  
(65-218)noticed, induced them to imitate the expenses of a  
(65-218)richer country, and many, by this inconsistent  
(65-218)conduct, exposed themselves to pecuniary distress. To

(65-218)such men money was particularly acceptable, and  
(65-218)it was distributed among them annually by Queen  
(65-218)Anne's Government, during the latter years of her  
(65-218)reign, to the amount of betwixt three and four  
(65-218)thousand pounds. The particular sum allotted to  
(65-218)each chief was about L.360 Sterling, for which a  
(65-218)receipt was taken, as for a complete year's  
(65-218)payment of the bounty-money which her Majesty had  
(65-218)been pleased to bestow on the receiver.

(65-218)These supplies were received the more willingly,  
(65-218)because the Highland chiefs had no hesitation in  
(65-218)regarding the money as the earnest of pay to be  
(65-218)issued for their exertions in the cause of the House

[TG65-219]

(65-219)of Stewart, to which they conceived themselves to  
(65-219)be attached by duty, and certainly were so by  
(65-219)inclination. And there can be no doubt, as the  
(65-219)pensions were sure to be expended in maintaining and  
(65-219)increasing their patriarchal followers, and keeping  
(65-219)them in readiness for action, it seems to have been  
(65-219)considered by the chiefs, that the largesses were  
(65-219)designed by Government for that, and no other  
(65-219)purpose. The money was placed at the disposal  
(65-219)of the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State, and his  
(65-219)being the agent of this bounty, gave him the  
(65-219)opportunity of improving and extending his influence  
(65-219)among the Highland chiefs, afterwards so fatally  
(65-219)employed for them and for himself.

(65-219)The construction which the chiefs put upon the  
(65-219)bounty bestowed on them was clearly shown by  
(65-219)their joining in a supplication to the Queen, about  
(65-219)the end of the year 1713, which got the name of  
(65-219)the Sword-in-hand Address. In one paragraph,

(65-219)they applaud the measures taken for repressing the  
(65-219)license of the press, and trust that they should no  
(65-219)longer be scandalized by hearing the Deity blasphemed,  
(65-219)and the sacred race of Stewart traduced,  
(65-219)with equal malice and impunity. In another, they  
(65-219)expressed their hopes, that, after her Majesty's  
(65-219)demise, " the hereditary and parliamentary sanction  
(65-219)might possibly meet in the person of a lineal  
(65-219)successor." These intimations are sufficiently plain,  
(65-219)to testify the sense in which they understood the  
(65-219)Queen's bounty-money.

(65-219)The Duke of Argyle, whose own influence in  
(65-219)the Highlands was cramped and interfered with

[TG65-220]

(65-220)by the encouragement given to the Jacobite clans,  
(65-220)brought the system of their pensions before  
(65-220)Parliament, as a severe charge against the Ministers,  
(65-220)whom he denounced as rendering the Highlands  
(65-220)a seminary for rebellion. The charge led to a  
(65-220)debate of importance.

(65-220)The Duke of Argyle represented that " the  
(65-220)Scots Highlanders, being for the most part either  
(65-220)rank Papists, or declared Jacobites, the giving them  
(65-220)pecuniary assistance was, in fact, keeping up Popish  
(65-220)seminaries and fomenting rebellion." In answer  
(65-220)to this the Treasurer Oxford alleged, " That in  
(65-220)this particular he had but followed the example of,  
(65-220)King William, who, after he had reduced the Highlanders,  
(65-220)thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the  
(65-220)heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet; and  
(65-220)if the present Ministry could be charged with any  
(65-220)mismanagement on that head, it was only for  
(65-220)re-trenching part of these gratuities." This reference;



(65-220)to the example of King William, seemed to shut  
(65-220)the door against all cavil on the subject, and the  
(65-220)escape from censure was regarded as a triumph by  
(65-220)the Ministers. Yet as it was well understood, that  
(65-220)the pensions were made under the guise of military  
(65-220)pay, it might have been safely doubted, whether  
(65-220)encouraging the chiefs to increase the numbers and  
(65-220)military strength of their clans was likely to render  
(65-220)them more orderly or peaceable subjects; and the  
(65-220)scheme of Ministers seemed, on the whole, to  
(65-220)resemble greatly the expedient of the child's keeper  
(65-220)who should give her squalling charge a knife in  
(65-220)order to keep it quiet.

[TG65-221]

(65-221)These various indications manifested that the  
(65-221)Ministry, at least a strong party of them, were  
(65-221)favourable to the Pretender, and meant to call him  
(65-221)to the throne on the Queen's decease. This event  
(65-221)could not now be far distant, since, with every  
(65-221)symptom of declining health, Anne was harassed  
(65-221)at once with factions among her subjects and  
(65-221)divisions in her councils, and, always of a timid temper,  
(65-221)had now become, from finding her confidence  
(65-221)betrayed, as jealous and suspicious as she had been  
(65-221)originally docile in suffering herself to be guided  
(65-221)without doubt or hesitation. She had many subjects  
(65-221)of apprehension pressing upon a mind which,  
(65-221)never of peculiar strength, was now enfeebled by  
(65-221)disease. She desired, probably, the succession of  
(65-221)her brother, but she was jealous lest the hour of  
(65-221)that succession might be anticipated by the zeal of  
(65-221)his followers; nor did she less dread, lest the  
(65-221)effects of that enthusiasm for the house of Hanover,  
(65-221)which animated the Whigs, might bring the Electoral  
(65-221)Prince over to England, which she compared

(65-221)to digging her grave while she was yet alive. The  
(65-221)disputes betwixt Oxford and Bolingbroke divided  
(65-221)her councils, and filled them with mutual  
(65-221)upbraidings, which sometimes took place before the Queen;  
(65-221)who, naturally very sensitive to the neglect of the  
(65-221)personal etiquette due to her rank, was at once  
(65-221)alarmed by their violence, and offended by the  
(65-221)loose which they gave to their passions in her very  
(65-221)presence.

(65-221)The Whigs, alarmed at the near prospect of a  
(65-221)crisis which the death of the Queen could not fail

[TG65-222]

(65-222)to bring on, made the most energetic and simultaneous  
(65-222)preparations to support the Hanoverian succession  
(65-222)to the crown, by arms, if necessary. They  
(65-222)took special care to represent, at the court of  
(65-222)Hanover, their dangers and sufferings on account of  
(65-222)their attachment to the Protestant line; and such  
(65-222)of them as lost places of honour or profit, were, it  
(65-222)may be believed, neither moderate in their  
(65-222)complaints, nor sparing in the odious portraits which  
(65-222)they drew of their Tory opponents. The Duke  
(65-222)of Argyle, and Generals Stanhope and Cadogan,  
(65-222)were actively engaged in preparing such officers of  
(65-222)the British army as they dared trust, to induce the  
(65-222)soldiers, in case of need, to declare themselves  
(65-222)against the party who had disgraced Marlborough  
(65-222)their victorious general - had undervalued the  
(65-222)achievements which they had performed under his  
(65-222)command, and put a stop to the career of British  
(65-222)conquest by so doing. The Elector of Hanover  
(65-222)was induced to negotiate with Holland and other  
(65-222)powers, to supply him with troops and shipping, in  
(65-222)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

[TG65-223]

(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

(65-223)hostility in the month of July, 1714, when an extremely  
(65-223)bitter dialogue, abounding in mutual recriminations,

[TG65-224]

(65-224)passed in the Queen's presence betwixt Lord  
(65-224)Treasurer Oxford on the one part, and Bolingbroke  
(65-224)and Lady Masham on the other. It ended in the  
(65-224)Lord Treasurer's being deprived of his office.

(65-224)The road was now open to the full career of  
(65-224)Bolingbroke's ambition. The hour he had wished  
(65-224)and lived for was arrived; and neither he himself,  
(65-224)nor any other person, entertained a doubt that he  
(65-224)would be raised to the rank of lord treasurer and  
(65-224)first minister. But vain are human hopes and  
(65-224)expectations! The unfortunate Queen had suffered  
(65-224)so much from the fatigue and agitation which she  
(65-224)had undergone during the scene of discord which  
(65-224)she had witnessed, that she declared she could not  
(65-224)survive it. Her apprehensions proved prophetic.  
(65-224)The stormy consultation, or rather debate, to which  
(65-224)we have alluded, was held on the 27th July, 1714.  
(65-224)On the 28th, the Queen was seized with a lethargic  
(65-224)disorder. On the 30th her life was despaired  
(65-224)of.

(65-224)Upon that day, the Dukes of Somerset and  
(65-224)Argyle, both hostile to the present, or, as it might,  
(65-224)rather now be called, the late, Administration, took  
(65-224)the determined step of repairing to the Council-  
(65-224)board where the other members, humbled, perplexed,  
(65-224)and terrified, were well contented to accept  
(65-224)their assistance. On their suggestion, the treasurer's

[TG65-225]

(65-225)staff was conferred on the Duke of Shrewsbury,

(65-225)a step with which the dying Queen declared her  
(65-225)satisfaction; and thus fell the towering hopes of  
(65-225)Bolingbroke.

(65-225)On the 1st of August Queen Anne expired, the  
(65-225)Last of the lineal Stewart race who sat on the throne  
(65-225)Of Britain. She was only fifty years old, having  
(65-225)Reigned for twelve years; and her death took place  
(65-225)At the most critical period which the empire had  
(65-225)Experienced since the Revolution.

[TG66-226]

(66-226)THE period of Queen Anne's demise found the  
(66-226)Jacobites, for a party who were both numerous and  
(66-226)zealous, uncommonly ill prepared and irresolute.  
(66-226)They had nursed themselves in the hope that the  
(66-226)dark and mysterious conduct of Oxford was  
(66-226)designed to favour his purpose of a counter-revolution;  
(66-226)and the more open professions of Bolingbroke,  
(66-226)which reached the Jacobites of Scotland through  
(66-226)the medium of the Earl of Mar, were considered  
(66-226)as pointing- more explicitly to the same important  
(66-226)end.

(66-226)But they were mistaken in Oxford's purpose,

[TG66-227]

(66-227)who only acted towards them as it was in his nature  
(66-227)to do towards all mankind; and so regulated his  
(66-227)conduct as to cause the Jacobites to believe he was  
(66-227)upon their side, while, in fact, his only purpose was  
(66-227)to keep factions from breaking into extremities,  
(66-227)and to rule all parties, by affording hopes to each  
(66-227)in their turn, which were all to be ultimately found  
(66-227)delusive.

(66-227)Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was more sanguine  
(66-227)and decided, both in opinion and action; and  
(66-227)he would probably have been sufficiently active in  
(66-227)his measures in behalf of King James, had he  
(66-227)possessed the power of maturing them. But being  
(66-227)thus mocked by the cross fate which showed him  
(66-227)the place of his ambition at one moment empty, and  
(66-227)in the next all access to it closed against him, he  
(66-227)was taken totally unprepared; and the Duke of  
(66-227)Ormond, Sir William Windham, and other leaders  
(66-227)of the Jacobite party, shared the same

[TG66-228]

(66-228)disadvantage. They might, indeed, have proclaimed  
(66-228)King James the Third in the person of the Chevalier  
(66-228)de St George, and trusted to their influence  
(66-228)with the Tory landed gentlemen, and with the  
(66-228)populace, to effect an universal insurrection. Some  
(66-228)of them even inclined to this desperate measure;  
(66-228)and the celebrated Dr Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester,  
(66-228)offered to go to Westminster in his rochet  
(66-228)and lawn sleeves, and himself to perform the  
(66-228)ceremony. This, however, would have been commencing  
(66-228)a civil war, in which, the succession of the house  
(66-228)of Hanover being determined by the existing law,  
(66-228)the insurrectionists must have begun by incurring  
(66-228)the guilt of high treason, without being assured of  
(66-228)any force by which they might be protected. Upon  
(66-228)the whole, therefore, the Jacobites, and those who  
(66-228)wished them well, remained, after the Queen's  
(66-228)death, dejected, confused, and anxiously watchful  
(66-228)of circumstances, which they did not pretend to  
(66-228)regulate or control.

(66-228)On the contrary, the Whigs, acting with uncommon  
(66-228)firmness and unanimity, took hold of the power

(66-228)which had so lately been possessed by their opponents,  
(66-228)like troops who seize in action the artillery of  
(66-228)their enemy, and turn it instantly against them.  
(66-228)The privy counsellors who were of that party,  
(66-228)imitating the determined conduct of the Dukes of  
(66-228)Somerset and Argyle, repaired to the Council,  
(66-228)without waiting for a summons, and issued instant  
(66-228)orders for the proclamation of King George, which  
(66-228)were generally obeyed without resistance. The  
(66-228)assembled Parliament recognised King George I.

[TG66-229]

(66-229)as the sovereign entitled to succeed, in terms of the  
(66-229)act regulating the destination of the crown. The  
(66-229)same proclamation took place in Ireland and Scotland  
(66-229)without opposition; and thus the King took  
(66-229)legal and peaceable possession of his kingdom. It  
(66-229)appeared, also, that England's most powerful, and,  
(66-229)it might seem, most hostile neighbour, Louis XIV.,  
(66-229)was nowise disposed to encourage any machinations  
(66-229)which could disturb the Elector of Hanover's  
(66-229)accession to the crown. The Chevalier de St George  
(66-229)had made a hasty journey to Paris, upon learning  
(66-229)the tidings of Queen Anne's death; but far from  
(66-229)experiencing a reception favourable to his views on  
(66-229)the British crown, he was obliged to return to  
(66-229)Lorraine, with the sad assurance that the monarch  
(66-229)of France was determined to adhere to the Treaty  
(66-229)of Utrecht, by an important article of which he had  
(66-229)recognized the succession of the House of Hanover  
(66-229)to the Crown of Great Britain. It is more than  
(66-229)probable, as before hinted, that there had been,  
(66-229)during the dependence of the treaty, some private  
(66-229)understanding, or perhaps secret agreement with  
(66-229)Bolingbroke, which might disarm the rigour of this  
(66-229)article. But it was evident that the power of the

(66-229)minister with whom such an engagement had been  
(66-229)made, if indeed it existed in any formal shape, was  
(66-229)now utterly fallen; and the affairs of Britain were,  
(66-229)soon after King George's accession, intrusted to a  
(66-229)ministry, who had the sagacity to keep the French  
(66-229)King firm to his engagement, by sending to Paris  
(66-229)an ambassador, equally distinguished for talents in

[TG66-230]

(66-230)war and in diplomacy, and for warm adherence to  
(66-230)the Protestant line.

(66-230)This eminent person was John Dalrymple, the  
(66-230)second Earl of Stair, whose character demands  
(66-230)particular notice amongst the celebrated Scotsmen  
(66-230)of this period. He was eldest surviving son of the  
(66-230)first Earl, distinguished more for his talents than  
(66-230)his principles, in the reigns of King William and  
(66-230)Queen Anne, infamous for his accession to the  
(66-230)massacre of Glencoe, and unpopular from the skill  
(66-230)and political talent which he displayed in favour of  
(66-230)the Union, in carrying which through the Scottish  
(66-230)Parliament he was a most useful agent. According  
(66-230)to the prejudiced observations of the common  
(66-230)people, ill fortune seemed to attend his house. He  
(66-230)died suddenly during the dependence of the Union  
(66-230)treaty, and vulgar report attributed his death to  
(66-230)suicide, for which, however, there is no evidence  
(66-230)but that of common fame.

(66-230)A previous calamity of a cruel nature had  
(66-230)occurred, in which John, his second son, was the  
(66-230)unfortunate agent. While yet a mere boy, and  
(66-230)while playing with fire-arms, he had the great  
(66-230)misfortune to shoot his elder brother, and kill him on  
(66-230)the spot. The unhappy agent in this melancholy



(66-230)affair was sent off by the ill-fated parents, who  
(66-230)could not bear to look upon him, to reside with a  
(66-230)clergyman in Ayrshire, as one who was for ever  
(66-230)banished from his family. The person to whose  
(66-230)care he was committed was fortunately a man of  
(66-230)sound sense, and a keen discriminator of character.

[TG66-231]

(66-231)The idea he formed of the young exile's powers of  
(66-231)mind induced him, by a succession of favourable  
(66-231)reports, mixed with intercession, warmly to solicit  
(66-231)his pupil's restoration to the family, of which he  
(66-231)afterwards became the principal ornament. It was  
(66-231)long before he could effect a reconciliation; and  
(66-231)the youth, when this was accomplished, entered  
(66-231)into the army with the advantages of his rank, and  
(66-231)those arising out of early misfortune, which had  
(66-231)compelled him to severe study. He was repeatedly  
(66-231)distinguished in the wars of Marlborough, and  
(66-231)particularly at Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet.  
(66-231)Lord Stair rose in rank in proportion to his  
(66-231)military reputation, but was deprived of his command  
(66-231)when the Tory ministers, in the latter end  
(66-231)of Queen Anne's reign, new modelled the army,  
(66-231)to the exclusion of the Whig officers. Upon the  
(66-231)accession of George I. he was appointed a lord of  
(66-231)the bed-chamber, a privy counsellor, and commander  
(66-231)of the Scottish forces in the absence of the  
(66-231)Duke of Argyle. Shortly after that great event,  
(66-231)the Earl of Stair was, as we have already  
(66-231)mentioned, sent to Paris, where he held for several  
(66-231)years the situation of ambassador extraordinary,  
(66-231)and where his almost miraculous power of acquiring  
(66-231)information enabled him to detect the most  
(66-231)secret intrigues of the Jacobites, and to watch, and  
(66-231)even overawe, the conduct of the court of France,

(66-231)who, well disposed as they were to encourage  
(66-231)privately the undertakings of the Chevalier St George,  
(66-231)which public faith prevented them from countenancing  
(66-231)openly, found themselves under the eye of

[TG66-232]

(66-232)the most active and acute of statesmen, from whom  
(66-232)nothing seemed to remain concealed; while his  
(66-232)character for courage, talent, and integrity, made  
(66-232)it equally impossible to intimidate, deceive, or  
(66-232)influence him. It may be added, that his perfect  
(66-232)knowledge of good breeding, in a nation where  
(66-232)manners are reduced almost to a science,<sup>1</sup> enabled  
(66-232)Lord Stair to preserve the good-will and favour  
(66-232)of those with whom he treated, even while he  
(66-232)insisted upon topics the most unpalatable to the  
(66-232)French Monarch and his ministers, and that in a  
(66-232)manner the most courteous in style, though most  
(66-232)unyielding in purpose. It may be believed that  
(66-232)large sums in secret service money were lavished  
(66-232)in this species of diplomacy. Lord Stair was  
(66-232)always able, by his superior information, to  
(66-232)counteract the plots of the Jacobites, and, satisfied with  
(66-232)doing so, was often desirous of screening from the  
(66-232)vengeance of his own court the misguided individuals  
(66-232)who had rashly engaged in them. It was  
(66-232)owing to the activity of this vigilant diplomatist  
(66-232)that George I. owed, in a great measure, the  
(66-232)neutrality of France, which was a very important  
(66-232)addition to the security of his new throne.

(66-232)To return to our history:-George I., in the  
(66-232)fifty-fifth year of his age, thus quietly installed in  
(66-232)his British dominions, landed at Greenwich on the  
(66-232)17th of September, six weeks after the death of his

[TG66-233]

(66-233)predecessor, Queen Anne. The two great parties  
(66-233)of the kingdom seemed in appearance equally disposed  
(66-233)to receive him as their rightful monarch; and  
(66-233)both submitted to his sway, though with very  
(66-233)different hopes and feelings.

(66-233)The triumphant Whigs were naturally assured  
(66-233)of King George's favour towards those who had  
(66-233)always shown themselves friendly to his title to the  
(66-233)throne; and confident of the merit they might  
(66-233)claim, were desirous of exerting their influence, to  
(66-233)the utter disgrace, discomfiture, and total  
(66-233)suppression, of their political opponents.

(66-233)The Tories, on the other hand, thought it still  
(66-233)possible, while renouncing every plan of opposing  
(66-233)the accession of King George, to present themselves  
(66-233)before him in such a manner as might command  
(66-233)regard; for the number, quality, and importance  
(66-233)of a party, which comprised a great majority  
(66-233)of the established clergy, the greater part of both  
(66-233)the universities, many, if not the largest portion of  
(66-233)the lawyers, and the bulk of the proprietors of the  
(66-233)soil, or what is called the landed interest, rendered  
(66-233)their appearance imposing. Though dejected and  
(66-233)humbled, therefore, by their fall from power, they  
(66-233)consoled themselves with the idea, that they were  
(66-233)too numerous and too important to be ill received  
(66-233)by a Sovereign whose accession they had not opposed,  
(66-233)and whom, on the contrary, they had shown  
(66-233)themselves willing to acknowledge in the capacity  
(66-233)of their monarch, disproving, as they might be  
(66-233)disposed to think, by their dutiful demonstrations,  
(66-233)any rumours which might have reached his Majesty

[TG66-234]

(66-234)of the disaffection of many among them to his  
(66-234)person.

(66-234)It would certainly have been the best policy of  
(66-234)the newly enthroned monarch, to have received  
(66-234)and rewarded the services of the Whigs, without  
(66-234)lending himself to the gratification of their political  
(66-234)enmities. There was little policy in taking measures  
(66-234)which were likely to drive into despair, and  
(66-234)probably into rebellion, a large party among his  
(66-234)subjects; and there might have been more wisdom,  
(66-234)perhaps, as well as magnanimity, in overlooking  
(66-234)circumstances which had occurred before his accession-  
(66-234)in receiving the allegiance and dutiful professions  
(66-234)of the Tories, without attaching any visible  
(66-234)doubts to their sincerity-in becoming thus the  
(66-234)King of Great Britain, instead of the chief of a  
(66-234)party-and by stifling the remembrance of old  
(66-234)feuds, and showing himself indifferently the  
(66-234)paternal ruler of all his subjects, to have convinced  
(66-234)any who remained disaffected, that if they desired  
(66-234)to have another prince, they had at least no  
(66-234)personal reason for doing so.

(66-234)We cannot, however, be surprised that George  
(66-234)I., a foreign prince, totally unacquainted with the

[TG66-235]

(66-235)character of the British nation, their peculiar  
(66-235)constitution, and the spirit of their parties,-which  
(66-235)usually appear, when in the act of collision, much  
(66-235)more violent and extravagant than they prove to  
(66-235)be when a cessation of hostilities takes place,-  
(66-235)should have been disposed to throw himself into  
(66-235)the arms of the Whigs, who could plead their

(66-235)sufferings for having steadily adhered to his interest;  
(66-235)or that those who had been his steady adherents  
(66-235)should have found him willingly inclined to aid  
(66-235)them in measures of vindictive retaliation upon  
(66-235)their opponents, whom he had some reason to regard  
(66-235)as his personal enemies. It was a case, in which  
(66-235)to forgive would have been politic as well as  
(66-235)magnanimous; but to resent injuries, and revenge them,  
(66-235)was a course natural to human feeling.

(66-235)The late Ministers seemed for a time disposed  
(66-235)to abide the shock of the enmity of their political  
(66-235)rivals. Lord Oxford waited on the King at his

[TG66-236]

(66-236)landing, and, though coldly received, remained in  
(66-236)London till impeached of high treason by the House  
(66-236)of Commons, and committed to the Tower. Lord  
(66-236)Bolingbroke continued to exercise his office of  
(66-236)Secretary of State until he was almost forcibly  
(66-236)deprived of it. An impeachment was also brought  
(66-236)against him. His conscience probably pleaded  
(66-236)guilty, for he retired to France, and soon after  
(66-236)became Secretary to the Chevalier de St George.  
(66-236)The Duke of Ormond, a nobleman of popular qualities,  
(66-236)brave, generous, and liberal, was in like manner  
(66-236)impeached, and in like manner made his escape  
(66-236)to France. His fate was peculiarly regretted, for  
(66-236)the general voice exculpated him from taking any  
(66-236)step with a view to selfish aggrandisement. Several  
(66-236)of the Whigs themselves, who were disposed to  
(66-236)prosecute to the uttermost the mysterious Oxford  
(66-236)and the intriguing Bolingbroke, were inclined to  
(66-236)sympathise with the gallant and generous cavalier,  
(66-236)who had always professed openly the principles on  
(66-236)which he acted. Many other distinguished persons

(66-236)of the Tory party were threatened with prosecutions,  
(66-236)or actually subjected to them; which  
(66-236)filled the whole body with fear and alarm, and  
(66-236)inclined some of the leaders amongst them to listen  
(66-236)to the desperate counsels of the more zealous  
(66-236)Jacobites, who exhorted them to try their strength  
(66-236)with an enemy who showed themselves implacable,  
(66-236)and not to submit to their ruin without an effort  
(66-236)to defend themselves. A large party of the  
(66-236)populace all through the country, and in London itself,  
(66-236)renewed the cry of " High Church for ever," with

[TG66-237]

(66-237)which were mingled the names of Ormond and  
(66-237)Oxford, the principal persons under prosecution.  
(66-237)Among the clergy, there were found many who,  
(66-237)out of zeal for their order, encouraged the lower  
(66-237)classes in their disorderly proceedings; in which  
(66-237)they burnt and destroyed the meeting-houses of  
(66-237)dissenters, pillaged the houses of their ministers,  
(66-237)and committed all those irregularities by which an  
(66-237)English mob is distinguished, but whose vehemence  
(66-237)of sentiment generally evaporates in such acts of  
(66-237)clamour and violence.

(66-237)There were, however, deeper symptoms of disaffection  
(66-237)than those displayed in the empty roar

[TG66-238]

(66-238)and senseless ravage of the populace. Bolingbroke  
(66-238)and Ormond, who had both found refuge at the  
(66-238)court of the Pretender to the crown, and acknowledged  
(66-238)his title, carried on a secret correspondence  
(66-238)with the Tories of influence and rank in England,  
(66-238)and encouraged them to seek, in a general insurrection  
(66-238)for the cause of James III., a remedy for

(66-238)the evils with which they were threatened, both  
(66-238)personally and as a political party. But England  
(66-238)had been long a peaceful country. The gentry  
(66-238)were opulent, and little disposed to risk, in the  
(66-238)event of war, their fortunes and the comforts which  
(66-238)they procured them. Strong assistance from France  
(66-238)might have rendered the proposal of an insurrection  
(66-238)more acceptable; but the successful diplomacy of  
(66-238)Lord Stair at the Court of Louis destroyed all  
(66-238)hopes of this, unless on a pitifully small scale.  
(66-238)Another resource occurred to the Jacobite leaders,  
(66-238)which might be attained by instigating Scotland  
(66-238)to set the example of insurrection. The gentry  
(66-238)in that country were ready for war, which had been  
(66-238)familiar to them on many occasions during the lives  
(66-238)of their fathers and their own. They might be  
(66-238)easily induced to take arms - the Highlanders, to  
(66-238)whom war was a state preferable to peace, were  
(66-238)sure to take the field with them - the Border counties  
(66-238)of England were most likely to catch the  
(66-238)flame, from the disposition of many of the gentry  
(66-238)there,-and the conflagration, it was expected,  
(66-238)might, in the present humour of the nation, be  
(66-238)extended all over England. To effect a rising,  
(66-238)therefore, in Scotland, with a view to a general

[TG66-239]

(66-239)insurrection throughout Great Britain, became the  
(66-239)principal object of those who were affected by, or who  
(66-239)resented, the prosecutions directed with so much  
(66-239)rigour against the members of Queen Anne's last  
(66-239)ministry.

(66-239)John, eighteenth Lord Erskine, and eleventh  
(66-239)Earl of Mar, whom we have repeatedly mentioned  
(66-239)as Secretary of State during the last years

(66-239)of Queen Anne, and as the person to whom the  
(66-239)distribution of money among the Highland clans,  
(66-239)and the general management of Scottish affairs,  
(66-239)was intrusted by her Ministry, was naturally  
(66-239)considered as the person best qualified to bring his  
(66-239)countrymen to the desired point. Mar had not  
(66-239)felt any difficulty in changing from the Whig  
(66-239)principles which he professed at the time of the  
(66-239)Union, - on which occasion he was one of the  
(66-239)Scottish Secretaries of State,-to the Tory  
(66-239)principles of Bolingbroke, which he now professed.  
(66-239)We do him, therefore, no wrong in supposing, that  
(66-239)he would not have sturdily rejected any proposal  
(66-239)from the court of George I. to return to the party  
(66-239)of Whig and Low Church. At least it is certain,  
(66-239)that when the heads of the Tory party had determined  
(66-239)to submit themselves to George I., Lord  
(66-239)Mar, in following the general example, endeavoured  
(66-239)to distinguish himself by a display of influence  
(66-239)and consequence, which might mark him  
(66-239)as a man whose adherence was worth securing, and  
(66-239)who was, at the same time, willing to attach himself  
(66-239)to the new Sovereign. In a letter addressed  
(66-239)to King George while in Holland, and dated 30th

[TG66-240]

(66-240)August, 1714, the Earl expresses great apprehension  
(66-240)that his loyalty or zeal for the King's interests  
(66-240)may have been misrepresented to his Majesty, because  
(66-240)he found himself the only one of Queen  
(66-240)Anne's servants whom the Hanoverian ministers  
(66-240)at the court of London did not visit. His lordship  
(66-240)then pleads the loyalty of his ancestors, his own  
(66-240)services at the Union, and in passing the Act of  
(66-240)Succession; and, assuring the King that he will  
(66-240)find him as faithful a subject and servant as ever



(66-240)any of his family had been to the preceding royal  
(66-240)race, or as he himself had been to the late Queen;  
(66-240)he conjures him not to believe any misrepresentations  
(66-240)of his conduct, and concludes with a devout  
(66-240)prayer for the quiet and peaceful reign of the Monarch,  
(66-240)in disturbing which he himself was destined  
(66-240)to be the prime instrument.

(66-240)But it was not only on his individual application  
(66-240)that the Earl of Mar expected indemnity, and perhaps  
(66-240)favour, at the court of George I. He desired  
(66-240)also to display his influence over the Highlanders,  
(66-240)and for that purpose procured a letter, subscribed  
(66-240)by a number of the most influential chiefs of the  
(66-240)clans, addressed to himself, as having an estate and  
(66-240)interest in the Highlands, conjuring him to assure  
(66-240)the Government of their loyalty to his Sacred  
(66-240)Majesty, King George, and to protect them, and the  
(66-240)heads of other clans who, from distance, could not  
(66-240)attend at the signing of the letter, against the  
(66-240)misrepresentations to which they might be exposed;  
(66-240)protesting, that as they had been ready to follow  
(66-240)Lord Mar's directions in obeying Queen Anne, so

[TG66-241]

(66-241)they would be equally forward to concur with him  
(66-241)in faithfully serving King George. At the same  
(66-241)time, a loyal address of the clans to the same  
(66-241)effect, drawn up by Lord Grange, brother to Mar,  
(66-241)was forwarded to and placed in the hands of the  
(66-241)Earl, to be delivered to the King at his landing.  
(66-241)Lord Mar attended at Greenwich accordingly, and  
(66-241)doubtless expected a favourable reception, when  
(66-241)delivering to the new Monarch a recognition of  
(66-241)his authority on the part of a class of his subjects  
(66-241)who were supposed to be inimical to his

(66-241)accession, and were certainly best prepared to  
(66-241)disturb his new reign. Lord Mar was, however,  
(66-241)informed that the King would not receive the  
(66-241)address of the clans, alleging it had been concocted  
(66-241)at the court of the Pretender; and he was at the  
(66-241)same time commanded to deliver up the seals, and  
(66-241)informed that the King had no farther occasion for  
(66-241)his services.

(66-241)On the policy of this repulse it is almost  
(66-241)unnecessary to make observations. Although it  
(66-241)might be very true that the address was made up  
(66-241)with the sanction of the Chevalier de St George  
(66-241)and his advisers, it was not less the interest of  
(66-241)George I. to have received, with the usual civility,  
(66-241)the expressions of homage and allegiance which it  
(66-241)contained. In a similar situation, King William

[TG66-242]

(66-242)did not hesitate to receive, with apparent confidence,  
(66-242)the submission of the Highland clans, though  
(66-242)it was well understood that it was made under the  
(66-242)express authority of King James II. A monarch  
(66-242)whose claim to obedience is yet young, ought in  
(66-242)policy to avoid an immediate quarrel with any part  
(66-242)of his subjects who are ready to profess allegiance  
(66-242)as such. His authority is, like a transplanted tree,  
(66-242)subject to injury from each sudden blast, and ought,  
(66-242)therefore, to be secured f corn such, until it is  
(66-242)gradually connected by the ramification of its roots  
(66-242)incorporating themselves with the soil in which it  
(66-242)is planted. A sudden gust may in the one case  
(66-242)overturn, what in the other can defy the rage of a  
(66-242)continued tempest. It seems at least certain, that  
(66-242)in bluntly, and in a disparaging manner, refusing  
(66-242)an address expressing allegiance and loyalty, and

(66-242)affronting the haughty courtier by whom it was  
(66-242)presented, King George exposed his government  
(66-242)to the desperate alternative of civil war, and the  
(66-242)melancholy expedient of closing it by bringing  
(66-242)many noble victims to the scaffold, which during  
(66-242)the reign of his predecessor had never been stained  
(66-242)with British blood shed for political causes. The  
(66-242)impolicy, however, cannot justly be imputed to a  
(66-242)foreign Prince, who, looking at the list of Celtic  
(66-242)names, and barbarously unpronounceable designations  
(66-242)which were attached to the address, could  
(66-242)not be supposed to infer from thence, that the  
(66-242)subscribers were collectively capable of bringing into  
(66-242)the field, on the shortest notice, ten thousand men,  
(66-242)who, if not regular soldiers, were accustomed to a

[TG66-243]

(66-243)sort of discipline which rendered them equal to  
(66-243)such. There were many around the King who  
(66-243)could have informed him on this subject; and, to  
(66-243)their falling to do so, the bloodshed, and  
(66-243)concomitant misfortunes of the future civil war, must justly  
(66-243)be attributed.

(66-243)The Earl of Mar, thus repulsed in his advances  
(66-243)to the new Monarch, necessarily concluded that his  
(66-243)ruin was determined on; and, with the desire of  
(66-243)revenge, which was natural at least, if not justifiable,  
(66-243)he resolved to place himself at the head of the  
(66-243)disaffected party in Scotland, encouraging them to  
(66-243)instant insurrection, and paying back the contumely  
(66-243)with which his offer of service had been rejected,  
(66-243)by endangering the government of the Prince at  
(66-243)whose hands he had experienced such an insult.

(66-243)It was early in August, 1715, that the Earl of

(66-243)Mar embarked at Gravesend, in the strictest  
(66-243)incognito, having for his companions Major-general  
(66-243)Hamilton and Colonel Hay, men of some military  
(66-243)experience. They sailed in a coal-sloop, working,  
(66-243)it was said, their passage, the better to maintain  
(66-243)their disguise, landed at Newcastle, hired a vessel  
(66-243)there, and then proceeded to the small port of  
(66-243)Elie, on the eastern shore of Fife, a county which  
(66-243)then abounded with friends to the Jacobite cause.  
(66-243)The state of this province in other respects offered  
(66-243)facilities to Mar. It is a peninsula, separated from  
(66-243)Lothian by the frith of Forth, and from the shire  
(66-243)of Angus by that of Tay; and as it did not, until  
(66-243)a very late period, hold much intercourse with the  
(66-243)metropolis, though so near it in point of distance,

[TG66-244]

(66-244)it seemed like a district separated from the rest of  
(66-244)Scotland, and was sometimes jocosely termed the  
(66-244)" Kingdom of Fife." The commonalty were, in the  
(66-244)beginning of the 18th century, almost exclusively  
(66-244)attached to the Presbyterian persuasion; but it was  
(66-244)otherwise with the gentry, who were numerous in  
(66-244)this province to a degree little known in other parts  
(66-244)of Scotland. Its security, during the long wars of  
(66-244)former centuries, had made it early acquainted with  
(66-244)civilisation. The value of the soil, on the sea-coasts  
(66-244)at least, had admitted of great subdivision of  
(66-244)property; and there is no county of Scotland which  
(66-244)displays so many country-seats within so short a  
(66-244)distance of each other. These gentlemen were, as  
(66-244)we have said, chiefly of the Tory persuasion, or, in  
(66-244)other words, Jacobites; for the subdivision of  
(66-244)politicians termed Whimsicals, or Tories attached to  
(66-244)the House of Hanover, could hardly be said to exist  
(66-244)in Scotland, though well known in South Britain.

(66-244)Besides their tenants, the Fife lairds were most of  
(66-244)them men who had not much to lose in civil broils,  
(66-244)having to support an establishment considerably  
(66-244)above the actual rents of their estates, which were,  
(66-244)of course, impaired by increasing debts: they were,  
(66-244)therefore, the less unwilling to engage in dangerous  
(66-244)enterprises. As a party affecting the manners of the  
(66-244)ancient Cavaliers, they were jovial in their habits,  
(66-244)and cautious to omit no opportunity of drinking the  
(66-244)King's health; a point of loyalty which, like virtue  
(66-244)of other kinds, had its own immediate reward. Loud  
(66-244)and bold talkers, the Jacobites had accustomed,  
(66-244)themselves to think they were the prevailing party;

[TG66-245]

(66-245)an idea which those of any particular faction, who  
(66-245)converse exclusively with each other, are usually  
(66-245)found to entertain. Their want of knowledge of  
(66-245)the world, and the total absence of newspapers, save  
(66-245)those of a strong party leaning, whose doctrines or  
(66-245)facts they took care never to correct by consulting  
(66-245)any of an opposite tendency, rendered them at once  
(66-245)curious and credulous. This slight sketch of the  
(66-245)Fife lairds may be applied, with equal justice, to the  
(66-245)Jacobite country gentlemen of that period in most  
(66-245)counties of Scotland. They had virtues to balance  
(66-245)their faults and follies. The political principles they  
(66-245)followed had been handed down to them from their  
(66-245)fathers; they were connected, in their ideas, with  
(66-245)the honour of their country; and they were prepared  
(66-245)to defend them with a degree of zeal, which  
(66-245)valued not the personal risks in which the doing so  
(66-245)might place life and property. There were also  
(66-245)individuals among them who had natural talents  
(66-245)improved by education. But, in general, the persons  
(66-245)whom the Earl of Mar was now desirous to

(66-245)stir up to some sudden act of mutiny, were of that  
(66-245)frank and fearless class who are not guilty of seeing  
(66-245)far before them. They had already partaken in  
(66-245)the general excitation caused by Queen Anne's  
(66-245)death, and the approaching crisis which was expected  
(66-245)to follow that important event. They had  
(66-245)struggled with the Whig gentry, inferior in number,  
(66-245)but generally more alert and sagacious in counsel  
(66-245)and action, concerning the addresses of head-courts  
(66-245)and the seats on the bench of justices. Many of them  
(66-245)had commissioned swords, carabines, and pistols,

[TG66-246]

(66-246)from abroad. They had bought up horses fit for  
(66-246)military service; and some had taken into their  
(66-246)service additional domestics, selecting in preference  
(66-246)men who had served in some of the dragoon regiments,  
(66-246)which had been reduced in consequence of  
(66-246)the peace of Utrecht. Still, notwithstanding these  
(66-246)preparations for a rising, some of the leading men  
(66-246)in Fife, as elsewhere, were disposed to hesitate  
(66-246)before engaging in the irretrievable step of rebellion  
(66-246)against the established government. Their reluctance  
(66-246)was overcome by the impatience of the majority,  
(66-246)excited by the flattering though premature  
(66-246)rumours which were actively circulated by a set of  
(66-246)men, who might be termed the Intelligencers of the  
(66-246)faction.

(66-246)It is well known, that in every great political  
(66-246)body there are persons, usually neither the wisest,  
(66-246)the most important, or most estimable, who endeavour  
(66-246)to gain personal consequence by pretending  
(66-246)peculiar access to information concerning its most  
(66-246)intimate concerns, and who are equally credulous  
(66-246)in believing, and indefatigable in communicating,

(66-246)whatever rumours are afloat concerning the affairs  
(66-246)of the party, whom they encumber by adhering to.  
(66-246)With several of these Lord Mar communicated,  
(66-246)and exalted their hopes to the highest pitch, by the  
(66-246)advantageous light in which he placed the political  
(66-246)matters which he wished them to support, trusting  
(66-246)to the exaggerations and amplifications with which  
(66-246)they were sure to retail what he had said.

(66-246)Such agents, changing what had been stated as  
(66-246)probabilities into certainties, furnished an answer

[TG66-247]

(66-247)to every objection which could be offered by the  
(66-247)more prudent of their party. If any cautious person  
(66-247)objected to stir before the English Jacobites  
(66-247)had shown themselves serious-some one of these  
(66-247)active vouchers was ready to affirm, that every  
(66-247)thing was on the point of a general rising in England,  
(66-247)and only waited the appearance of a French  
(66-247)fleet with ten thousand men, headed by the Duke  
(66-247)of Ormond. Did the listener prefer an invasion of  
(66-247)Scotland,-the same number of men, with the  
(66-247)Duke of Berwick at their head, were as readily  
(66-247)promised. Supplies of every kind were measured  
(66-247)out, according to the desire of the auditors; and  
(66-247)if any was moderate enough to restrain his wish to  
(66-247)a pair of pistols for his own use, he was assured  
(66-247)of twenty brace to accommodate his friends and  
(66-247)neighbours. This kind of mutual delusion was  
(66-247)every day increasing; for as those who engaged  
(66-247)in the conspiracy were interested in obtaining as  
(66-247)many proselytes as possible, they became active  
(66-247)circulators of the sanguine hopes and expectations  
(66-247)by which they, perhaps, began already to suspect  
(66-247)that they had been themselves deceived.

(66-247)It is true, that looking abroad at the condition  
(66-247)of Europe, these unfortunate gentlemen ought to  
(66-247)have seen, that the state of France at that time was  
(66-247)far from being such, as to authorize any expectations  
(66-247)of the prodigal supplies which she was represented  
(66-247)as being ready to furnish, or, rather, as being  
(66-247)in the act of furnishing. Nothing was less  
(66-247)likely, than that that kingdom, just extricated from  
(66-247)a war in which it had been nearly ruined, by a peace

[TG66-248]

(66-248)so much more advantageous than they had reason to  
(66-248)expect, should have been disposed to afford a pretext  
(66-248)for breaking the treaty which had pacified Europe,  
(66-248)and for renewing against France the confederacy  
(66-248)under whose pressure she had nearly sunk. This

(66-248)was more especially the case, when, by the  
(66-248)death of Louis XIV.,(1st August,1715) whose ambition and  
(66-248)senseless vanity had cost so much blood,  
(66-248)the government devolved on the Regent Duke of  
(66-248)Orleans. Had Louis survived, it is probable that,  
(66-248)although he neither did nor dared to have publicly  
(66-248)adopted the cause of the Chevalier de St George,  
(66-248)as was indeed evident by his refusing to receive  
(66-248)him at his court; yet, the recollection of his  
(66-248)promise to the dying James IL, as well as the wish  
(66-248)to embarrass England, might have induced him to  
(66-248)advance money, or give some underhand assistance  
(66-248)to the unhappy exile. But, upon Louis's death,  
(66-248)the policy of the Duke of Orleans, who had no  
(66-248)personal ties whatever with the Chevalier de St  
(66-248)George, induced him to keep entire good faith  
(66-248)with Britain-to comply with the requisitions of  
(66-248)the Earl of Stair-and to put a stop to all such



(66-248)preparations in the French ports, as the vigilance  
(66-248)of that minister had detected, and denounced as  
(66-248)being made for the purpose of favouring the Jacobite  
(66-248)insurrection. Thus, while the Chevalier de  
(66-248)St George was represented as obtaining succours  
(66-248)in arms, money, and troops, from France, to an  
(66-248)amount which that kingdom could hardly have  
(66-248)supplied, and from her inferiority in naval force,  
(66-248)certainly must have found it difficult to have

[TG66-249]

(66-249)transported into Britain, even in Louis's most palmy  
(66-249)days, the ports of that country were even closed  
(66-249)against such exertions as the Chevalier might make  
(66-249)upon a small scale by means of his private  
(66-249)resources.

(66-249)But the death of Louis XIV. was represented  
(66-249)in Scotland as rather favourable, than otherwise, to  
(66-249)the cause of James the Pretender. The power of  
(66-249)France was now wielded, it was said, by a courageous  
(66-249)and active, young prince, to whose character  
(66-249)enterprise was more natural than to that of an aged  
(66-249)and heart-broken old man, and who would, of  
(66-249)course, be ready to hazard as much, or more, in the  
(66-249)cause of the Jacobites, than the late monarch had  
(66-249)so often promised. In short, the death of Louis  
(66-249)the Great, long the hope and prop of the Jacobite  
(66-249)cause, was boldly represented as a favourable event  
(66-249)during the present crisis.

(66-249)Although a little dispassionate enquiry would  
(66-249)have dispelled the fantastic hopes, founded on the  
(66-249)baseless rumour of foreign assistance, yet such  
(66-249)fictions as I have here alluded to, tending to exalt  
(66-249)the zeal and spirits of the party, were circulated

(66-249)because they were believed, and believed because  
(66-249)they were circulated; and the gentlemen of  
(66-249)Stirlingshire, Perth, Angus, and Fifeshire, began to  
(66-249)leave their homes, and assemble in arms, though in  
(66-249)small parties, at the foot of the Grampian hills,  
(66-249)expecting the issue of Lord Mar's negotiations in  
(66-249)the Highlands.

(66-249)Upon leaving Fifeshire, having communicated  
(66-249)with such gentlemen as were most likely to serve

[TG66-250]

(66-250)his purpose, Mar proceeded instantly to his own  
(66-250)estates of Braemar, lying along the side of the river  
(66-250)Dee, and took up his residence with Farquharson  
(66-250)of Invercauld. This gentleman was chief of the  
(66-250)clan Farquharson, and could command a very  
(66-250)considerable body of men. But he was vassal to Lord  
(66-250)Mar for a small part of his estate, which gave the  
(66-250)Earl considerable influence with him ; not, however,  
(66-250)sufficient to induce him to place himself and  
(66-250)followers in such hazard as would have been  
(66-250)occasioned by an instant rising. He went to Aberdeen,  
(66-250)to avoid importunity on the subject, having previously  
(66-250)declared to Mar, that he would not take  
(66-250)arms until the Chevalier de St George had actually  
(66-250)landed. At a later period he joined the insurgents.

(66-250)Disappointed in this instance, Mar conceived,  
(66-250)that as desperate resolutions are usually most  
(66-250)readily adopted in large assemblies, where men are  
(66-250)hurried forward by example, and prevented from  
(66-250)retreating, or dissenting, by shame, he should best  
(66-250)attain his purpose in a large convocation of the  
(66-250)chiefs and men of rank, who professed attachment  
(66-250)to the exiled family. The assembly was made

(66-250)under pretext of a grand hunting match, which, as  
(66-250)maintained in the Highlands, was an occasion of  
(66-250)general rendezvous of a peculiar nature. The lords  
(66-250)attended at the head of their vassals, all, even  
(66-250)Lowland guests, attired in the Highland garb, and  
(66-250)the sport was carried on upon a scale of rude  
(66-250)magnificence. A circuit of many miles was formed  
(66-250)around the wild desolate forests and wildernesses,

[TG66-251]

(66-251)which are inhabited by the red deer, and is called  
(66-251)the tinchel. Upon a signal given, the hunters who  
(66-251)compose the tinchel begin to move inwards, closing  
(66-251)the circle, and driving the terrified deer before  
(66-251)them, with whatever else the forest contains of  
(66-251)wild animals who cannot elude the surrounding  
(66-251)sportsmen. Being in this manner concentrated  
(66-251)and crowded together, they are driven down a  
(66-251)defile, where the principal hunters lie in wait for  
(66-251)them, and show their dexterity by marking out and  
(66-251)shooting those bucks which are in season. As it  
(66-251)required many men to form the tinchel, the attendance  
(66-251)of vassals on these occasions was strictly insisted  
(66-251)upon. Indeed, it was one of the feudal services  
(66-251)required by the law, attendance on the superior at  
(66-251)hunting being as regularly required as at hosting,  
(66-251)that is, joining his banner in war ; or watching and  
(66-251)warding, garrisoning, namely, his castle in times  
(66-251)of danger.

(66-251)An occasion such as this was highly favourable ;  
(66-251)and the general love of sport, and well-known  
(66-251)fame of the forest of Braemar for game of every  
(66-251)kind, assembled many of the men of rank and influence  
(66-251)who resided within reach of the rendezvous,  
(66-251)and a great number of persons besides, who,

(66-251)though of less consequence, served to give the  
(66-251)meeting the appearance of numbers. This great  
(66-251)council was held about the 26th of August, and it  
(66-251)may be supposed, they did not amuse themselves  
(66-251)much with hunting, though it was the pretence  
(66-251)and watchword of their meeting.

(66-251)Among the noblemen of distinction, there

[TG66-252]

(66-252)appeared in person, or by representation, the Marquis  
(66-252)of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon ,  
(66-252)the Marquis of Tulliebardine, eldest son of the  
(66-252)Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal,  
(66-252)Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth  
(66-252)and Linlithgow; the Viscounts of Kilsythe,  
(66-252)Kenmuir, Kingston, and Stormount; the Lords  
(66-252)Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy,  
(66-252)and Nairne. Of the chiefs of clans, there attended  
(66-252)Glengarry, Camp bell of Glendarule, on the part of  
(66-252)the powerful Earl of Breadalbane, with others of  
(66-252)various degrees of importance in the Highlands.

(66-252)When this council was assembled, the Earl of  
(66-252)Mar addressed them in a species of eloquence which  
(66-252)was his principal accomplishment, and which was  
(66-252)particularly qualified to succeed with the high-  
(66-252)spirited and zealous men by whom he was surrounded.  
(66-252)He confessed, with tears in his eyes,  
(66-252)that he had himself been but too instrumental in  
(66-252)forwarding the Union between England and Scotland,  
(66-252)which had given the English the power,  
(66-252)as they had the disposition, to enslave the latter  
(66-252)kingdom. He urged that the Prince of Hanover  
(66-252)was an usurping intruder, governing by means of  
(66-252)an encroaching and innovating faction; and that

(66-252)the only mode to escape his tyranny was to rise  
(66-252)boldly in defence of their lives and property, and  
(66-252)to establish on the throne the lawful heir of these  
(66-252)realms. He declared that he himself was determined  
(66-252)to set up the standard of James III., and  
(66-252)summon around it all those over whom he had  
(66-252)influence, and to hazard his fortune and life in the

[TG66-253]

(66-253)cause. He invited all who heard him to unite in  
(66-253)the same generous resolution. He was large in  
(66-253)his promises of assistance from France in troops  
(66-253)and money, and persisted in the story that two  
(66-253)descents were to take place, one in England, under  
(66-253)the command of Ormond, the other in Scotland,  
(66-253)under that of the Duke of Berwick. He also  
(66-253)strongly assured his hearers of the certainty of a  
(66-253)general insurrection in England, but alleged the  
(66-253)absolute necessity of showing them an example in  
(66-253)the north, for which the present time was most  
(66-253)appropriate, as there were few regular troops in  
(66-253)Scotland to restrain their operations, and as they  
(66-253)might look for assistance to Sweden as well as to  
(66-253)France.

(66-253)It has been said that Mar, on this memorable  
(66-253)occasion, showed letters from the Chevalier de St  
(66-253)George, with a commission nominating the Earl his  
(66-253)lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of his  
(66-253)armies in Scotland. Other accounts say, more  
(66-253)probably, that Mar did not produce any other  
(66-253)credentials than a picture of the Chevalier, which he  
(66-253)repeatedly kissed, in testimony of zeal for the cause  
(66-253)of the original, and that he did not at the time  
(66-253)pretend to the supreme command of the enterprise.  
(66-253)This is also the account given in the statement of

(66-253)the transaction drawn up by Mar himself, or under  
(66-253)his eye, where it is plainly said, that it was nearly  
(66-253)a month after the standard was set up ere the Earl  
(66-253)of Mar could procure a commission.

(66-253)The number of persons of rank who were  
(66-253)assembled, the eloquence with which topics were

[TG66-254]

(66-254)publicly urged which had been long the secret inmates  
(66-254)of every bosom, had their effect on the assembled  
(66-254)guests ; and every one felt, that to oppose  
(66-254)the current of the Earl's discourse by remonstrance  
(66-254)or objection, would be to expose himself to the  
(66-254)charge of cowardice, or of disaffection to the  
(66-254)common cause. It was agreed that all of them should  
(66-254)return home, and raise, under various pretexts,  
(66-254)whatever forces they could individually command  
(66-254)against a day, fixed for the 3d of September, on  
(66-254)which they were to hold a second meeting at  
(66-254)Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, in order to settle how  
(66-254)they were to take the field. The Marquis of  
(66-254)Huntly alone declined to be bound to any limited  
(66-254)time ; and in consequence of his high rank and  
(66-254)importance, he was allowed to regulate his own  
(66-254)motions at his own pleasure.

(66-254)Thus ended that celebrated hunting in Braemar,  
(66-254)which, as the old bard says of that of Chevy Chace,  
(66-254)might, from its consequences, be wept by a  
(66-254)generation which was yet unborn.<sup>1</sup> There was a  
(66-254)circumstance mentioned at the time, which tended to  
(66-254)show that all men had not forgotten that the Earl  
(66-254)of Mar, on whose warrant this rash enterprise was  
(66-254)undertaken, was considered by some as rather too  
(66-254)versatile to be fully trusted. As the castle of

(66-254)Braemar was overflowing with guests, it chanced  
(66-254)that, as was not unusual on such occasions, many  
(66-254)of the gentlemen of the secondary class could not

[TG66-255]

(66-255)obtain beds, but were obliged to spend the night  
(66-255)around the kitchen fire, which was then accounted  
(66-255)no great grievance. An English footman, a  
(66-255)domestic of the Earl, was of a very different opinion.  
(66-255)Accustomed to the accommodations of the south,  
(66-255)he came bustling in among the gentlemen, and  
(66-255)complained bitterly of being obliged to sit up all  
(66-255)night, notwithstanding he shared the hardship  
(66-255)with his betters, saying, that rather than again  
(66-255)expose himself to such a strait, he would return  
(66-255)to his own country and turn Whig. However, he  
(66-255)soon after comforted himself by resolving to trust  
(66-255)to his master's dexterity for escaping every great  
(66-255)danger. " Let my lord alone," he said ; " if he  
(66-255)finds it necessary, he can turn cat-in-pan with any  
(66-255)man in England."

(66-255)While the Lowland gentlemen were assembling  
(66-255)their squadrons, and the Highland chief's levying  
(66-255)their men, an incident took place in the metropolis  
(66-255)of Scotland, which showed that the spirit of  
(66-255)enterprise which animated the Jacobites, had  
(66-255)extended to the capital itself.

(66-255)James Lord Drummond, son of that unfortunate  
(66-255)Earl of Perth, who, having served James VII. as  
(66-255)Chancellor of Scotland, had shared the exile of his  
(66-255)still more unfortunate master, and been rewarded  
(66-255)with the barren title of Duke of Perth, was at present  
(66-255)in Edinburgh; and by means of one Mr Arthur,  
(66-255)who had been formerly an ensign in the Scots

(66-255)Guards, and quartered in the Castle, had formed  
(66-255)a plan of surprising that inaccessible fortress, which  
(66-255)resembled an exploit of Thomas Randolph, or the

[TG66-256]

(66-256)Black Lord James of Douglas, rather than a feat  
(66-256)of modern war. This Ensign Arthur found means  
(66-256)of seducing, by money and promises, a sergeant  
(66-256)named Ainslie, and two privates, who engaged,  
(66-256)that, when it was their duty to watch on the walls  
(66-256)which rise from the precipice looking northward,  
(66-256)near the Sally-port, they would be prepared to  
(66-256)pull up from the bottom certain rope-ladders  
(66-256)prepared for the purpose, and furnished with iron  
(66-256)grapplings to make them fast to the battlements.  
(66-256)By means of these, it was concluded that a select  
(66-256)party of Jacobites might easily scale the walls, and  
(66-256)make themselves masters of the place. By a beacon  
(66-256)placed on a particular part of the Castle, three  
(66-256)rounds of artillery, and a succession of fires made  
(66-256)from hill to hill through Fife and Angus shires,  
(66-256)the signal of success was to be communicated to  
(66-256)the Earl of Mar, who was to hasten forward with  
(66-256)such forces as he had collected, and take possession  
(66-256)of the capital city and chief strength of Scotland.

(66-256)There was no difficulty in finding agents in this  
(66-256)perilous and important enterprise. Fifty  
(66-256)Highlanders, picked men, were summoned up from  
(66-256)Lord Drummond's estates in Perthshire, and fifty  
(66-256)more were selected among the Jacobites of the  
(66-256)metropolis. These last were disbanded officers,  
(66-256)writers' clerks and apprentices, and other youths of  
(66-256)a class considerably above the mere vulgar. Drummond,  
(66-256)otherwise called MacGregor, of Bahaldie, a  
(66-256)Highland gentleman of great courage, was named



(66-256)to command the enterprise. If successful, this

[TG66-257]

(66-257)achievement must have given the Earl of Mar and  
(66-257)his forces the command of the greater part of Scotland,  
(66-257)and afforded them a safe and ready means of  
(66-257)communication with the English malecontents, the  
(66-257)want of which was afterwards so severely felt.  
(66-257)He would also have obtained a large supply of  
(66-257)money, arms, and ammunition deposited in the  
(66-257)fortress, all of which were most needful for his  
(66-257)enterprise. And the apathy of Lieutenant-Colonel  
(66-257)Stewart, then deputy-governor of the castle, was  
(66-257)so great that, in spite of numerous blunders on the  
(66-257)part of the conspirators, and an absolute revelation  
(66-257)on the subject made to Government, the surprise  
(66-257)had very nearly taken place.

(66-257)The younger conspirators who were to go on  
(66-257)this forlorn hope, had not discretion in proportion  
(66-257)to their courage. Eighteen of them, on the  
(66-257)night appointed, were engaged drinking in a tippling  
(66-257)house, and were so careless in their communications,  
(66-257)that the hostess was able to tell some  
(66-257)person who enquired what the meeting was about,  
(66-257)that it consisted of young gentlemen who were in  
(66-257)the act of having their hair powdered, in order to  
(66-257)go to the attack of the castle. At last the full

[TG66-258]

(66-258)secret was intrusted to a woman. Arthur, their  
(66-258)guide, had communicated the plot to his brother, a  
(66-258)medical man, and engaged him in the enterprise.  
(66-258)But when the time for executing it drew nigh, the  
(66-258)doctor's extreme melancholy was observed by his  
(66-258)wife, who, like a second Belvidera or Portia,

(66-258)suffered him not to rest until she extorted the secret  
(66-258)from him, which she communicated in an anonymous  
(66-258)letter to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston,  
(66-258)then Lord Justice-Clerk, who instantly despatched  
(66-258)the intelligence to the castle. The news arrived  
(66-258)so critically, that it was with difficulty the messenger  
(66-258)obtained entrance to the castle; and even then the  
(66-258)deputy-governor, disbelieving the intelligence, or  
(66-258)secretly well affected to the cause of the Pretender,  
(66-258)contented himself with directing the rounds and  
(66-258)patrols to be made with peculiar care, and retired  
(66-258)to rest.

(66-258)In the mean time, the Jacobite storming party had  
(66-258)rendezvoused at the church yard of the West  
(66-258)Kirk,(8th Sept.) and proceeded to post themselves  
(66-258)beneath the castle wall. They had a part of their rope  
(66-258)ladders in readiness, but the artificer, one Charles  
(66-258)Forbes, a merchant in Edinburgh, who ought to  
(66-258)have been there with the remainder, which had  
(66-258)been made under his direction, was no where to be  
(66-258)seen. Nothing could be done during his absence ;  
(66-258)but, actuated by their impatience, the party  
(66-258)scrambled up the rock, and stationed themselves beneath  
(66-258)the wall, at the point where their accomplice kept  
(66-258)sentry. Here they found him ready to perform  
(66-258)his stipulated part of the bargain, by pulling up  
(66-258)the ladder of ropes which was designed to give

[TG66-259]

(66-259)them admittance. He exhorted them, however, to  
(66-259)be speedy, telling them he was to be relieved by  
(66-259)the patrol at twelve o'clock, and if the affair were  
(66-259)not completed before that hour, that he could give  
(66-259)no further assistance. The time was fast flying,  
(66-259)when Bahaldie, the commander of the storming

(66-259)party, persuaded the sentinel to pull up the grapnel,  
(66-259)and make it fast to the battlements, that it  
(66-259)might appear whether or not they had length of  
(66-259)ladder sufficient to make the attempt. But it  
(66-259)proved as indeed they had expected, more than a  
(66-259)fathom too short. At half past eleven o'clock, the  
(66-259)steps of the patrol, who had been sent their rounds  
(66-259)earlier than usual, owing to the message of the  
(66-259)Lord Justice-Clerk, were heard approaching, on  
(66-259)which the sentinel exclaimed, with an oath, " Here  
(66-259)come the rounds I have been telling you of this  
(66-259)half hour ; you have ruined both yourself and me ;  
(66-259)I can serve you no longer." With that he threw  
(66-259)down the grappling-iron and ladders, and in the  
(66-259)hope of covering his own guilt, fired his musket,  
(66-259)and cried " Enemy!" Every man was then compelled  
(66-259)to shift for himself, the patrol firing on them  
(66-259)from the wall. Twelve soldiers of the burgher  
(66-259)guard, who had been directed by the Lord Justice-  
(66-259)Clerk to make the round of the castle on the outside,  
(66-259)took prisoners three youths, who insisted that  
(66-259)they were found there by mere accident, and an old  
(66-259)man, Captain MacLean, an officer of James VII.,  
(66-259)who was much bruised by a fall from the rocks.

[TG66-260]

(66-260)The rest of the party escaped amongst the north bank  
(66-260)of the North Loch, through the fields called Barefoord's  
(66-260)Parks, on which the New Town of Edinburgh  
(66-260)now stands. In their retreat they met their tardy  
(66-260)engineer, Charles Forbes, loaded with the ladders  
(66-260)which were so much wanted a quarter of an hour before.  
(66-260)Had it not been for his want of punctuality,  
(66-260)the information and precautions of the Lord Justice-  
(66-260)Clerk would have been insufficient for the safety of  
(66-260)the place. It does not appear that any of the conspirators

(66-260)were punished, nor would it have been easy  
(66-260)to obtain proof of their guilt. The treacherous  
(66-260)sergeant was hanged by sentence of a  
(66-260)court-martial, and the deputy-governor (whose name of  
(66-260)Stewart might perhaps aggravate the suspicion that  
(66-260)attached to him) was deprived of his office, and  
(66-260)imprisoned for some time.

(66-260)It needed not this open attack on the castle of  
(66-260)Edinburgh, or the general news of Lord Mar's  
(66-260)Highland armament, and the rising of the disaffected  
(66-260)gentlemen in arms throughout most of the  
(66-260)counties of Scotland, to call the attention of King  
(66-260)George's Government to the disturbed state of  
(66-260)that part of his dominions. Measures for defence  
(66-260)were hastily adopted. The small number of regular  
(66-260)troops who were then in Scotland were  
(66-260)concentrated, for the purpose of forming a camp at

[TG66-261]

(66-261)Stirling, in order to prevent the rebels from seizing  
(66-261)the bridge over the Forth, and thereby forcing  
(66-261)their way into the Low country. But four regiments,  
(66-261)on the peace establishment, only mustered  
(66-261)two hundred and fifty-seven men each ; four regiments  
(66-261)of dragoons were considerably under two  
(66-261)hundred to a regiment-a total of only fifteen hundred  
(66-261)men at the utmost.

(66-261)To increase these slender forces, two regiments  
(66-261)of dragoons, belonging to the Earl of Stair, with  
(66-261)two regiments of foot quartered in the north of  
(66-261)England, were ordered to join the camp at Stirling  
(66-261)with all possible despatch. The foot regiments of  
(66-261)Clayton and Wightman, with the dragoons of  
(66-261)Evans, were recalled from Ireland. The six

(66-261)thousand auxiliary forces with whom the Dutch  
(66-261)had engaged, in case of need, to guarantee the  
(66-261)succession of the House of Hanover, were required  
(66-261)of the States, who accordingly ordered the Scotch  
(66-261)regiments in their service to march for the coast,  
(66-261)but excused themselves from actually embarking  
(66-261)them, in consequence of the French ambassador  
(66-261)having disowned, in the strongest manner, any  
(66-261)intent on the part of his court to aid the factions  
(66-261)in England by sending over the Pretender to  
(66-261)Britain, or to assist those who were in arms in his  
(66-261)behalf. The Dutch alleged this as a sufficient  
(66-261)reason for suspending the shipment of these  
(66-261)auxiliaries.

(66-261)Besides these military measures, the Ministers  
(66-261)of George I. were not remiss in taking such others  
(66-261)as might check the prime cause of rebellions in

[TG66-262]

(66-262)Scotland, namely, that feudal influence possessed  
(66-262)by the aristocracy over their vassals, tenants, and  
(66-262)dependents, by which the great men, when disgraced  
(66-262)or disappointed, had the power of calling  
(66-262)to arms, at their pleasure, a number of individuals,  
(66-262)who, however unwilling they might be to rise  
(66-262)against the Government, durst not, and could not,  
(66-262)without great loss and risk of oppression, oppose  
(66-262)themselves to their superior's pleasure.

(66-262)On the 30th of August, therefore, an act was  
(66-262)passed for the purpose of encouraging loyalty in  
(66-262)Scotland, a plant which of late years had not been  
(66-262)found to agree with the climate of that cold and  
(66-262)northern country, or at least, where found to luxuriate,  
(66-262)it was of a nature different from that known

(66-262)by the same name at Westminster.

(66-262)This statute, commonly called the Clan Act,  
(66-262)enacted, 1. That if a feudal superior went into rebellion,  
(66-262)and became liable to the pains of high  
(66-262)treason, all such vassals holding lands under him,  
(66-262)as should continue in their allegiance, should in  
(66-262)future hold these lands of the Crown. 2. If a  
(66-262)tenant should have remained at the King's peace  
(66-262)while his landlord had been engaged in rebellion,  
(66-262)and convicted of treason, the space of two years  
(66-262)gratuitous possession should be added to that  
(66-262)tenant's lease. 3. If the superior should remain  
(66-262)loyal and peaceful while the vassal should engage  
(66-262)in rebellion, and incur conviction of high treason,  
(66-262)then the fief, or lands held by such vassal, shall  
(66-262)revert to the superior as if they had never been  
(66-262)separated from his estate. 4. Another clause

[TG66-263]

(66-263)declared void such settlements of estates and deeds  
(66-263)of entail as might be made on the 1st day of  
(66-263)August, 1714, or at any time thereafter, declaring  
(66-263)that they should be no bar to the forfeiture of the  
(66-263)estates for high treason, seeing that such settlements  
(66-263)had been frequently resorted to for the sole  
(66-263)purpose of evading the punishment of the law.

(66-263)This remarkable act was the first considerable  
(66-263)step towards unloosing the feudal fetters, by which  
(66-263)the command of the superior became in some measure  
(66-263)the law of the vassal. The clause concerning  
(66-263)settlements and entails was also important, and  
(66-263)rendered nugatory the attempts which had been  
(66-263)frequently made to evade the punishment of forfeiture,  
(66-263)by settlements made previous to the time

(66-263)when those who granted the deeds engaged in rebellion.  
(66-263)Such deeds as were executed for onerous,  
(66-263)causes, that is, for value of some kind received,  
(66-263)were justly excepted from the operation of this  
(66-263)law.

(66-263)There was, moreover, another clause, empowering  
(66-263)the crown to call upon any suspected person  
(66-263)or persons in Scotland to appear at, Edinburgh, or  
(66-263)where it should be judged expedient, for the  
(66-263)purpose of finding bail, with certification that their  
(66-263)failure to appear should subject them to be put to  
(66-263)the horn as rebels, and that they should incur the  
(66-263)forfeiture of the liferent escheat. Immediately  
(66-263)afterwards, summonses were issued to all the  
(66-263)noblemen and gentlemen either actually in arms,  
(66-263)or suspected of favouring the Jacobite interest,  
(66-263)from the Earl of Mar and his compeers, down to

[TG66-264]

(66-264)Rob Roy MacGregor, the celebrated outlaw. The  
(66-264)list amounted to about fifty men of note, of which  
(66-264)only two, Sir Patrick Murray, and Sir Alexander  
(66-264)Erskine, thought proper to surrender themselves.

(66-264)Besides these general measures, military resistance  
(66-264)to the expected rebellion was prepared in a  
(66-264)great many places, and particularly in borough-  
(66-264)towns and seaports. It is here to be remarked,  
(66-264)that a great change had taken place among the  
(66-264)bulk of the people of Scotland, from the ill-humour  
(66-264)into which they had been put by the conclusion of  
(66-264)the Union treaty. At that time, such were the  
(66-264)effects of mortified pride, popular apprehension,  
(66-264)and national antipathy, that the populace in every  
(66-264)town and country would have arisen to place the

(66-264)Pretender on the throne, notwithstanding his  
(66-264)professing the Catholic religion, and being the grandson  
(66-264)of James VII., of whose persecutions, as well  
(66-264)as those in the time of his predecessor, Charles II.,  
(66-264)the Presbyterians of the west nourished such horrible  
(66-264)recollections. Accordingly, we have seen that  
(66-264)it was only by bribing their chiefs, and deceiving  
(66-264)them by means of adroit spies, that the Cameronians,  
(66-264)the most zealous of Presbyterians, who disowned  
(66-264)the authority of all magistrates who had  
(66-264)not taken the Solemn League and Covenant, were  
(66-264)prevented from taking arms to dissolve the Union  
(66-264)Parliament, and to declare for the cause of James  
(66-264)III. But it happened with the Union, as with  
(66-264)other political measures, against which strong  
(66-264)prejudices have been excited during their progress:-  
(66-264)the complication of predicted evils were so far

[TG66-265]

(66-265)from being realized, that the opponents of the  
(66-265)treaty began to be ashamed of having entertained  
(66-265)such apprehensions. None of the violent changes  
(66-265)which had been foretold, none of the universal  
(66-265)disgrace and desolation which had been anticipated  
(66-265)in consequence, had arisen from that great measure.  
(66-265)The enforcing of the Malt Tax was the  
(66-265)most unpopular, and that impost had been for the  
(66-265)time politically suspended. The shopkeepers of  
(66-265)Edinburgh, who had supplied the peers of Scotland  
(66-265)with luxuries, had found other customers,  
(66-265)now that the aristocracy were resident in London,  
(66-265)or they had turned their stock into other lines of  
(66-265)commerce. The ideal consequence of a legislature  
(66-265)of their own holding its sittings in the metropolis  
(66-265)of Scotland, was forgotten when it became no  
(66-265)longer visible, and the abolition of the Scottish



(66-265)Privy Council might, on calm reflection, be  
(66-265)considered as a national benefit rather than a privation.  
(66-265)In short, the general resentment excited by the  
(66-265)treaty of Union, once keen enough to suspend all  
(66-265)other motives, was a paroxysm too violent to last  
(66-265)- men recovered from it by slow degrees, and  
(66-265)though it was still predominant in the minds of  
(66-265)some classes, yet the opinions of the lower orders  
(66-265)in general had in a great measure returned to their  
(66-265)usual channel, and men entertained in the south and  
(66-265)west, as well as in many of the boroughs, their  
(66-265)usual wholesome horror for the Devil, the Pope,  
(66-265)and the Pretender, which, for a certain time, had  
(66-265)been overpowered and lost in their apprehensions  
(66-265)for the independence of Scotland.

[TG66-266]

(66-266)In 1715, also, the merchants and better class of  
(66-266)citizens, who began to entertain some distant views  
(66-266)of enriching themselves by engaging in the commerce  
(66-266)of the plantations, and other lucrative  
(66-266)branches of trade, opened up by the Union, were  
(66-266)no longer disposed to see any thing tempting in  
(66-266)the proposal of Mar and his insurgents, to destroy  
(66-266)the treaty by force; and were, together with  
(66-266)the lower classes, much better disposed to listen to  
(66-266)the expostulations of the Presbyterian clergy, who  
(66-266)sensible of what they had to expect from a counter-  
(66-266)revolution, exerted their influence, generally speaking,  
(66-266)with great effect, in support of the present  
(66-266)Government of King George. The fruits of this  
(66-266)change in the temper and feelings of the middling  
(66-266)and lower classes, were soon evident in the metropolis  
(66-266)and throughout Scotland. In Edinburgh,  
(66-266)men of wealth and substance subscribed a bond of  
(66-266)association, in order to raise subscriptions for

(66-266)purchasing arms and maintaining troops ; and a body  
(66-266)of the subscribers themselves formed a regiment,  
(66-266)under the name of the Associate Volunteers of  
(66-266)Edinburgh. They were four hundred strong.  
(66-266)Glasgow, with a prescient consciousness of the  
(66-266)commercial eminence which she was to attain by  
(66-266)means of the treaty of Union, contributed liberally  
(66-266)in money to defend the cause of King George, and  
(66-266)raised a good regiment of volunteers. The western  
(66-266)counties of Renfrew and Ayrshire offered four  
(66-266)thousand men, and the Earl of Glasgow a regiment  
(66-266)of a thousand at his own charge. Along the  
(66-266)Border, the Whig party were no less active. Dumfries

[TG66-267]

(66-267)distinguished itself, by raising among the inhabitants  
(66-267)seven volunteer companies of sixty men each.  
(66-267)This was the more necessary, as an attack was  
(66-267)apprehended from the many Catholics and disaffected  
(66-267)gentlemen who resided in the neighbourhood. The  
(66-267)eastern part of Teviotdale supplied the Duke of  
(66-267)Roxburgh, Sir William Bonnet of Grubet, and  
(66-267)Sir John Pringle of Stichel, with as many men as  
(66-267)they could find arms for, being about four companies.  
(66-267)The upper part of the county, and the  
(66-267)neighbouring shire of Selkirk, were less willing to  
(66-267)take arms. The hatred of the Union still prevailed  
(66-267)amongst them more than elsewhere, inflamed, probably,  
(66-267)by the very circumstance of their vicinity to  
(66-267)England, and the recollection of the long wars  
(66-267)betwixt the kingdoms. The Cameronian preachers,  
(66-267)also, had possessed many speculative shepherds  
(66-267)with their whimsical and chimerical doubts  
(66-267)concerning the right of uncovenanted magistrates to  
(66-267)exercise any authority, even in the most urgent case  
(66-267)of national emergency. This doctrine was as rational

(66-267)as if the same scrupulous persons had discovered  
(66-267)that it was unlawful to use the assistance  
(66-267)of firemen during a conflagration, because they had  
(66-267)not taken the Solemn League and Covenant. These  
(66-267)scruples were not universal, and assumed as many  
(66-267)different hues and shades as there were popular  
(66-267)preachers to urge them ; they tended greatly to  
(66-267)retard and embarrass the exertions of Government  
(66-267)to prepare for defence in these districts. Even the  
(66-267)popularity of the Reverend Thomas Boston, an  
(66-267)eminent divine of the period, could not raise a man

[TG66-268]

(66-268)for the service of Government out of his parish of  
(66-268)Ettrick.

(66-268)Notwithstanding, however, partial exceptions, the  
(66-268)common people of Scotland, who were not overawed  
(66-268)by Jacobite landlords, remained generally  
(66-268)faithful to the Protestant line of succession, and  
(66-268)showed readiness to arm in its behalf.

(66-268)Having thus described the preparations for war,  
(66-268)on both sides, we will, in the next Chapter, relate  
(66-268)the commencement of the campaign.

[TG67-269]

(67-269)ON the 6th September, 1715, the noblemen, chiefs  
(67-269)of clans, gentlemen, and others, with such followers  
(67-269)as they could immediately get in readiness, assembled  
(67-269)at Aboyne ; and the Earl of Mar, acting as  
(67-269)General on the occasion, displayed the royal standard,  
(67-269)at Castletown, in Braemar; and proclaimed,  
(67-269)with such solemnity as the time and place admitted,  
(67-269)James King of Scotland, by the title of James VIII.,  
(67-269)and King of England, Ireland, and their dependencies,

[TG67-270]

(67-270)by that of James III. The day was stormy,  
(67-270)and the gilded ball which was on the top of the  
(67-270)standard spear was blown down, - a circumstance  
(67-270)which the superstitious Highlanders regarded as  
(67-270)ominous of ill fortune ; while others called to mind,  
(67-270)that, by a strange coincidence, something of the  
(67-270)same kind happened in the evil hour when King  
(67-270)Charles I. set up his standard at Nottingham.

(67-270)After this decisive measure, the leaders of the  
(67-270)insurgents separated to proclaim King James in  
(67-270)the towns where they had influence, and to raise as  
(67-270)many followers as each could possibly command, in  
(67-270)order to support the daring defiance which they had  
(67-270)given to the established Government.

(67-270)It was not by the mildest of all possible means  
(67-270)that a Highland following, as it is called, was brought  
(67-270)into the field at that period. Many vassals were,  
(67-270)indeed, prompt and ready for service, for which  
(67-270)their education and habits prepared them. But  
(67-270)there were others who were brought to their chief's  
(67-270)standard by much the same enticing mode of  
(67-270)solicitation used in our own day for recruiting the navy,  
(67-270)and there were many who conceived it prudent not

[TG67-271]

(67-271)to stir without such a degree of compulsion as  
(67-271)might, in case of need, serve as some sort of apology  
(67-271)for having been in arms at all. On this raising  
(67-271)of the clans in the year 1715, the fiery cross was sent  
(67-271)through the districts or countries, as they are termed,  
(67-271)inhabited by the different tribes. This emblem consisted  
(67-271)of two branches of wood, in the form of a

(67-271)cross, one end singed with fire, and the other stained  
(67-271)with blood. The inhabitants transmitted the signal  
(67-271)from house to house with all possible speed, and the  
(67-271)symbol implied, that those who should not appear  
(67-271)at a rendezvous which was named, when the cross  
(67-271)was presented, should suffer the extremities of fire  
(67-271)and sword.<sup>1</sup> There is an intercepted letter of Mar  
(67-271)himself, to John Forbes of Inchrerau, bailie of his  
(67-271)lordship of Kildrummie, which throws considerable  
(67-271)light on the nature of a feudal levy:-  
(67-271)" Inverauld, Sept. 9, at Night, 1715.  
(67-271)" Jocke, - Ye was in the right not to come with  
(67-271)the hundred men you sent up to-night, when I expected  
(67-271)four times their numbers. It is a pretty  
(67-271)thing my own people should be refractory, when  
(67-271)all the Highlands are rising, and all the Lowlands  
(67-271)are expecting us to join them. Is not this the thing  
(67-271)we are now about, which they have been wishing  
(67-271)these 26 years ? And now when it is come, and the  
(67-271)King and country's cause is at stake, will they for  
(67-271)ever sit still and see all perish ? I have used  
(67-271)gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced  
(67-271)to put other orders I have in execution. I send

[TG67-272]

(67-272)you enclosed an order for the Lordship of  
(67-272)Kildrummie, which you will immediately intimate to  
(67-272)all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it  
(67-272)will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell  
(67-272)them from me, that it will not be in my power to  
(67-272)save them (were I willing) from being treated as  
(67-272)enemies by these that are soon to join me ; and they  
(67-272)may depend upon it that I will be the first to propose  
(67-272)and order their being so. Particularly, let my  
(67-272)own tenants in Kildrummie know, that if they come  
(67-272)not forth with their best arms, I will send a party

(67-272)immediately to burn what they shall miss taking  
(67-272)from them. And they may believe This only a  
(67-272)threat,-but by all that's sacred, I'll put it in  
(67-272)execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be  
(67-272)an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen  
(67-272)that I expect them in their best accoutrements  
(67-272)on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of.  
(67-272)Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself,  
(67-272)and let me know your having done so. All  
(67-272)this is not only as ye will be answerable to me,  
(67-272)but to your King and country."

(67-272)This remarkable letter is dated three days after  
(67-272)the displaying of the standard. The system of social  
(67-272)life in the Highlands, when viewed through the  
(67-272)vista of years, has much in it that is interesting and  
(67-272)poetical; but few modern readers would desire to  
(67-272)exchange conditions with a resident within the romantic  
(67-272)bounds of Mar's lordship of Kildrummie,  
(67-272)where such were liable to a peremptory summons  
(67-272)to arms, thus rudely enforced.

(67-272)Proceeding towards the Lowlands by short

[TG67-273]

(67-273)marches, Mar paused at the small town of Kirkmichael,  
(67-273)and afterwards at Mouline in Perthshire,  
(67-273)moving slowly, that his friends might have leisure  
(67-273)to assemble for his support. In the mean time,  
(67-273)King James was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the  
(67-273)Earl Marischal; at Dunkeld by the Marquis of  
(67-273)Tullibardine, contrary to the wishes of his father,  
(67-273)the Duke of Athole ; at Castle Gordon by the Marquis  
(67-273)of Huntly; at Brechin by the Earl of Panmure,  
(67-273)a rich and powerful nobleman, who had acceded to  
(67-273)the cause since the rendezvous at the Braemar

(67-273)hunting. The same ceremony was performed at  
(67-273)Montrose by the Earl of Southesk ; at Dundee by  
(67-273)Graham of Duntroon, of the family of the celebrated  
(67-273)Claverhouse, and to whom King James had  
(67-273)given that memorable person's title of Viscount of  
(67-273)Dundee ; and at Inverness by the Laird of Borlum,  
(67-273)commonly called Brigadier MacIntosh, from his  
(67-273)having held that rank in the service of France.  
(67-273)This officer made a considerable figure during the  
(67-273)Rebellion, in which he had influence to involve his  
(67-273)chief and clan, rather contrary to the political  
(67-273)sentiments of the former; he judged that Inverness  
(67-273)was a station of importance, and therefore left a  
(67-273)garrison to secure it from any attack on the part  
(67-273)of the Grants, Monroes, or other Whig clans in the  
(67-273)vicinity.

(67-273)The possession of the town of Perth now became  
(67-273)a point of great importance, as forming the  
(67-273)communication between the Highlands and the  
(67-273)Lowlands, and being the natural capital of the  
(67-273)fertile countries on the margin of the Tay. The

[TG67-274]

(67-274)citizens were divided into two parties, but the magistrates,  
(67-274)who, at the head of one part of the inhabitants,  
(67-274)had declared for King George, took arms and  
(67-274)applied to the Duke of Athole, who remained in  
(67-274)allegiance to the ruling monarch, for a party to  
(67-274)support them. The Duke sent them three or four  
(67-274)hundred Athole Highlanders, and the inhabitants  
(67-274)conceived themselves secure, especially as the Earl  
(67-274)of Rothes, having assembled about four hundred  
(67-274)militia men, was advancing from Fife to their support.  
(67-274)The honourable Colonel John Hay, brother  
(67-274)to the Earl of Kinnoul, took, however, an opportunity

(67-274)to collect together some fifty or a hundred  
(67-274)horse from the gentlemen of Stirling, Perthshire,  
(67-274)and Fife, and marched towards the town. The  
(67-274)Tory burghers, who were not inferior in numbers,  
(67-274)began to assume courage as these succours appeared,  
(67-274)and the garrison of Highlanders knowing that  
(67-274)although the Duke of Athole remained attached to  
(67-274)the Government, his eldest son was in the Earl of  
(67-274)Mar's army, gave way to their own inclinations,  
(67-274)which were decidedly Jacobitical, and joined Colonel  
(67-274)Hay, for thy purpose of disarming the Whig  
(67-274)burghers, to whose assistance they had been sent.  
(67-274)(18th Sept.) Thus Perth, by a concurrence of accidents,  
(67-274)fell into the hands or the insurgent  
(67-274)Jacobites, and gave them the command of  
(67-274)all the Lowlands in the east part of Scotland.  
(67-274)Still, as the town was but slightly fortified, it  
(67-274)might have been recovered by a sudden attack, if  
(67-274)a detachment had been made for that purpose,  
(67-274)from the regular camp at Stirling. But General

[TG67-275]

(67-275)Whetham, who as yet commanded there, was not  
(67-275)an officer of activity. He was indeed superseded by  
(67-275)the Duke of Argyle, commander-in-chief in Scotland,  
(67-275)who came to Stirling on the 14th September ;  
(67-275)but the opportunity of regaining Perth no longer  
(67-275)existed. The town had been speedily reinforced,  
(67-275)and secured for the Jacobite interest, by about two  
(67-275)hundred men, whom the Earl of Strathmore had  
(67-275)raised to join the Earl of Mar, and a body of Fifeshire  
(67-275)cavalry who had arrayed themselves for the  
(67-275)same service under the Master of Sinclair. Both  
(67-275)these noblemen were remarkable characters.

(67-275)The Earl of Strathmore, doomed to lose his



(67-275)life in this fatal broil, was only about eighteen  
(67-275)years old, but at that early age he exhibited every  
(67-275)symptom of a brave, generous, and modest  
(67-275)disposition, and his premature death disappointed the  
(67-275)most flourishing hopes. He engaged in the Rebellion  
(67-275)with all the zeal of sincerity, raised a strong  
(67-275)regiment of Lowland infantry, and distinguished  
(67-275)himself by his attention to the duties of a military  
(67-275)life.

(67-275)The Master of Sinclair, so called because the  
(67-275)eldest son of Henry seventh Lord Sinclair, had  
(67-275)served in Marlborough's army with good reputation;  
(67-275)but he was especially remarkable for having,  
(67-275)in the prosecution of an affair of honour, slain two  
(67-275)gentlemen of the name of Shaw, brothers to Sir  
(67-275)John Shaw of Greenock, and persons of rank and  
(67-275)consequence. He was tried by a court-martial,  
(67-275)and condemned to death, but escaped from prison,  
(67-275)not without the connivance of the Duke of

[TG67-276]

(67-276)Marlborough himself. As the Master of Sinclair's family  
(67-276)were Tories, he obtained his pardon on the  
(67-276)accession of their party to power in 1712. In  
(67-276)1715, he seems to have taken arms with great  
(67-276)reluctance, deeming the cause desperate, and having  
(67-276)no confidence in the probity or parts of the Earl  
(67-276)of Mar, who assumed the supreme authority. He  
(67-276)was a man of a caustic and severe turn of mind,  
(67-276)suspicious and satirical, but acute and sensible.  
(67-276)He has left Memoirs, curiously illustrative of this  
(67-276)ill-fated enterprise, of which he seems totally to  
(67-276)have despaired long before its termination.

(67-276)That part of the Earl of Mar's forces which lay

(67-276)in the eastern and north-eastern parts of Scotland,  
(67-276)were now assembled at Perth, the most central  
(67-276)place under his authority. They amounted to four  
(67-276)or five thousand men, and although formidable for  
(67-276)courage and numbers, they had few other qualities  
(67-276)necessary to constitute an army. They wanted a  
(67-276)competent general, money, arms, ammunition,  
(67-276)regulation, discipline; and, above all, a settled  
(67-276)purpose and object of the campaign. On each of  
(67-276)these deficiencies, and on the manner and degree  
(67-276)in which they were severally supplied, I will say  
(67-276)a few words, so as to give you some idea of this  
(67-276)tumultuary army, before proceeding to detail what  
(67-276)they did, and what they left undone.

(67-276)There can be no doubt, that from the time he  
(67-276)embarked in this dangerous enterprise, Mar had  
(67-276)secretly determined to put himself at the head of  
(67-276)it, and gratify at once his ambition and his revenge.  
(67-276)But it does not appear that at first he made any

[TG67-277]

(67-277)pretensions to the chief command. On the contrary,  
(67-277)he seemed willing to defer to any person of  
(67-277)higher rank than his own. The Duke of Gordon  
(67-277)would have been a natural choice, from his elevated  
(67-277)rank and great power. But, besides that he had  
(67-277)not come out in person, though it was not doubted  
(67-277)that he approved of his son's doing so, the Duke  
(67-277)was a Catholic, and it was not considered politic  
(67-277)that Papists should hold any considerable rank in  
(67-277)the enterprise, as it would have given rise to doubts  
(67-277)among their own party, and reproaches from their  
(67-277)opponents. Finally, the Duke, being one of the  
(67-277)suspected persons summoned by Government to  
(67-277)surrender himself, obeyed the call, and was

(67-277)appointed to reside at Edinburgh on his parole. The (67-277)Duke of Athole had been a leader of the Jacobites (67-277)during the disputes concerning the Union, and had (67-277)agreed to rise in 1707, had the French descent then (67-277)taken place. Upon him, it is said, the Earl of Mar (67-277)offered to devolve the command of the forces he (67-277)had levied. But the Duke refused the offer at his (67-277)hands. He said, that if the Chevalier de St George (67-277)had chosen to impose such a responsible charge (67-277)upon him, he would have opened a direct communication (67-277)with him personally ; and he complained

[TG67-278]

(67-278)that Mar, before making this proposal to him, had (67-278)intrigued in his family ; having instigated his two (67-278)sons, the Marquis of Tullibardine and Lord Charles (67-278)Murray, as well as his uncle, Lord Nairne, to take (67-278)arms without his consent, and made use of them to (67-278)seduce the Athole men from their allegiance to (67-278)their rightful lord. He therefore declined the (67-278)offer which was made to him of commanding the (67-278)forces now in rebellion, and Mar retained, as if by (67-278)occupancy, the chief command of the army. As (67-278)he was brave, high-born, and possessed of very (67-278)considerable talent, and as his late connexion with (67-278)the chiefs of Highland clans, while distributor of (67-278)Queen Anne's bounty, rendered him highly acceptable (67-278)to them, his authority was generally submitted (67-278)to, especially as it was at first supposed that (67-278)he acted only as a locum tenens for the Duke of (67-278)Berwick, whose speedy arrival had been announced. (67-278)Time passed on, however, the Duke came (67-278)not, and the Earl of Mar continued to act as (67-278)commander-in-chief, until confirmed in it, by an (67-278)express commission from the Chevalier de St George. (67-278)As the Earl was unacquainted with military

(67-278)affairs, he used the experience of Lieutenant-General  
(67-278)Hamilton and Clephane of Carslogie, who had  
(67-278)served during the late war, to supply his deficiencies  
(67-278)in that department. But though these gentlemen  
(67-278)had both courage, zeal, and warlike skill,  
(67-278)they could not assist their principal in what his  
(67-278)own capacity could not attain-the power of forming  
(67-278)and acting upon a decided plan of tactics.

(67-278)Money, also much wanted, was but poorly

[TG67-279]

(67-279)supplied by such sums as the wealthier adherents  
(67-279)of the party could raise among themselves. Some  
(67-279)of them had indeed means of their own, but as  
(67-279)their funds became exhausted, they were under  
(67-279)the necessity of returning home for more; which  
(67-279)was with some the apology for absence from their  
(67-279)corps much longer and more frequently than was  
(67-279)consistent with discipline. But the Highlanders  
(67-279)and Lowlanders of inferior rank, could not subsist,  
(67-279)or be kept within the bounds of discipline,  
(67-279)without regular pay of some kind. Lord Southesk  
(67-279)gave five hundred pounds, and the Earl of  
(67-279)Panmure the same sum, to meet the exigencies  
(67-279)of the moment. Aid was also solicited and obtained  
(67-279)from various individuals, friendly to the  
(67-279)cause, but unequal, from age or infirmity, to take  
(67-279)the field in person ; and there were many prudent  
(67-279)persons, no doubt, who thought it the wisest course  
(67-279)to sacrifice a sum of money, which, if the insurrection  
(67-279)were successful, would give them the merit  
(67-279)of having aided it, while, if it failed, their lives  
(67-279)and estates were secured from the reach of the  
(67-279)law against treason. Above all, the insurgents  
(67-279)took especial care to secure all the public money

(67-279)that was in the hands of collectors of taxes, and  
(67-279)other public officers, and to levy eight months' cess  
(67-279)wherever their presence gave them the authority.  
(67-279)At length, considerable supplies were received  
(67-279)from France, which in a great measure relieved  
(67-279)their wants in that particular. Lord Drummond  
(67-279)was appointed to be treasurer to the army.

(67-279)Arms and ammunition were scarce amongst the

[TG67-280]

(67-280)insurgents. The Highland clans were, indeed,  
(67-280)tolerably armed with their national weapons; but  
(67-280)the guns of the Lowlanders were in wretched order,  
(67-280)and in a great measure unfit for service. The success  
(67-280)of an expedition in some degree remedied this  
(67-280)important deficiency.

(67-280)Among other northern chiefs who remained  
(67-280)faithful to George I., amidst the general defection,  
(67-280)was the powerful Earl of Sutherland, who, on the  
(67-280)news of the insurrection, had immediately proceeded  
(67-280)by sea to his Castle of Dunrobin, to collect his  
(67-280)vassals. In order that they might be supplied with  
(67-280)arms, a vessel at Leith was loaded with firelocks,  
(67-280)and other weapons, and sailed for the Earl's country.  
(67-280)The wind, however, proving contrary, the master  
(67-280)of the ship dropped anchor at Burntisland, on the  
(67-280)Fife shore of the frith of Forth, of which he was a  
(67-280)native, that he might have an opportunity to see  
(67-280)his wife and children before his departure.

(67-280)The Master of Sinclair, formerly mentioned,  
(67-280)whose family estate and interest lay on the shores  
(67-280)of the Frith, got information of this circumstance,  
(67-280)and suggested the seizure of these arms by a scheme

(67-280)which argued talent and activity, and was the first  
(67-280)symptom which the insurgents had given of either  
(67-280)one or other. The Master of Sinclair, with about  
(67-280)fourscore troopers, and carrying with him a number  
(67-280)of baggage-horses, left Perth about night  
(67-280)fall, and, to baffle observation, took a  
(67-280)circuitous road to Burntisland. (2d Oct.) He arrived in that  
(67-280)little seaport town with all the effect of a complete  
(67-280)surprise, and though the bark had hauled out of

[TG67-281]

(67-281)the harbour into the roadstead, he boarded her  
(67-281)by means of boats, and secured possession of all  
(67-281)the arms, which amounted to three hundred. Mar,  
(67-281)as had been agreed upon, protected the return  
(67-281)of the detachment by advancing a body of five  
(67-281)hundred Highlanders as far as Auchtertool, halfway  
(67-281)between Perth and Burntisland. On this  
(67-281)occasion, the Master of Sinclair, an old officer, and  
(67-281)acquainted with the usual discipline of war, was  
(67-281)greatly annoyed by the disorderly conduct of the  
(67-281)volunteer forces under his charge. He could  
(67-281)not prevail on the gentlemen of his squadron to  
(67-281)keep watch with any vigilance, nor prevent them  
(67-281)from crowding into alehouses to drink. In returning  
(67-281)homeward, several of them broke off without  
(67-281)leave, either to visit their own houses which were  
(67-281)near the road, or to indulge themselves in the pleasure  
(67-281)of teasing such Presbyterian ministers as came  
(67-281)in their way. When he arrived at Auchtertool, the  
(67-281)disorder was yet greater. The Highland detachment,  
(67-281)many of them Mar's own men from Dee-side,  
(67-281)had broken their ranks, and were dispersed over  
(67-281)the country, pillaging the farm-houses ; when  
(67-281)Sinclair got a Highland officer to command them to  
(67-281)desist and return, they refused to obey, nor was

(67-281)there any means of bringing them off, save by  
(67-281)spreading a report that the enemy's dragoons were  
(67-281)approaching; then they drew together with wonderful  
(67-281)celerity, and submitted to be led back to Perth  
(67-281)with the arms that had been seized, which went  
(67-281)some length to remedy the scarcity of that most  
(67-281)important article in the insurgent army.

[TG67-282]

(67-282)A greater deficiency even than that of arms, was  
(67-282)the want of a general capable to form the plan of a  
(67-282)campaign, suitable to his situation and the character  
(67-282)of his troops, and then carry it into effect  
(67-282)with firmness, celerity, and decision. Generals  
(67-282)Hamilton and Gordon, both in Mar's army; were  
(67-282)men of some military experience, but totally void  
(67-282)of that comprehensive genius which combines and  
(67-282)executes the manoeuvres of a campaign ; and Mar  
(67-282)himself, as already intimated, seems to have been  
(67-282)unacquainted even with the mere mechanical part  
(67-282)of the profession. He appears to have thought that  
(67-282)the principal part of his work was done when the  
(67-282)insurrection was set on foot, and that once effected,  
(67-282)that it would carry itself on, and the rebels increase  
(67-282)in such numbers, as to render resistance impossible.  
(67-282)The greater part of the Jacobites in East Lothian  
(67-282)were, he knew, ready to take horse ; so were those  
(67-282)of the counties of Dumfries and Lanark ; but they  
(67-282)were separated from his army by the frith of Forth,  
(67-282)and likely to require assistance from him, in order  
(67-282)to secure protection when they assembled. Montrose,  
(67-282)or Dundee, with half the men whom Mar  
(67-282)had already under him, would have marched without  
(67-282)hesitation towards Stirling, and compelled the  
(67-282)Duke of Argyle, who had not as yet quite two  
(67-282)thousand men, either to fight or retreat, which must

(67-282)have opened the Lowlands and the Borders to the  
(67-282)operations of the insurgents. But such was the  
(67-282)reputation of the Duke, that Mar resolved not to  
(67-282)encounter him until he should have received all the  
(67-282)reinforcements from the north and west which he

[TG67-283]

(67-283)could possibly expect, in the hope, by assembling  
(67-283)an immense superiority of force, to counterbalance  
(67-283)the acknowledged military skill of his distinguished  
(67-283)opponent.

(67-283)As it was essential, however, to the Earl of  
(67-283)Mar's purpose, to spread the flame of insurrection  
(67-283)into the Lowlands, he determined not to allow the  
(67-283)check which Argyle's forces and position placed on  
(67-283)his movements, to prevent his attempting a diversion  
(67-283)by passing at all hazards a considerable detachment  
(67-283)of his army into Lothian, to support and  
(67-283)encourage his Jacobite friends there. His proposal  
(67-283)was to collect small vessels and boats on the Fife  
(67-283)side of the frith, and dispatch them across with a  
(67-283)division of his army, who were to land on such  
(67-283)part of the coast of East Lothian as the wind  
(67-283)should permit, and unite themselves with the  
(67-283)malecontents wherever they might find them in strength.  
(67-283)But ere noticing the fate of this expedition, we  
(67-283)must leave Mar and his army, to trace the progress  
(67-283)of the insurrection in the south of Scotland and  
(67-283)the north of England, where it had already broken  
(67-283)out.

[TG68-284]

(68-284)THE reports of invasion from France - of King  
(68-284)James's landing with a foreign force, abundance of  
(68-284)arms, ammunition, and treasure, and the full purpose



(68-284)to reward his friends and chastise his enemies  
(68-284)- the same exaggerated intelligence from England,  
(68-284)concerning general discontent and local insurrection,  
(68-284)which had raised the north of Scotland in  
(68-284)arms - had their effect also on the gentlemen of  
(68-284)Jacobite principles in the south of that country, and  
(68-284)in the contiguous frontiers of England, where a  
(68-284)number of Catholic families, and others devoted to  
(68-284)the exiled family, were still to be found. Ere the  
(68-284)hopes inspired by such favourable rumours had

[TG68-285]

(68-285)passed away, came the more veracious intelligence,  
(68-285)that the Earl of Mar had set up James's standard  
(68-285)in the Highlands, and presently after, that he had  
(68-285)taken possession of Perth-that many noblemen of  
(68-285)distinguished rank and interest had joined his camp,  
(68-285)and that his numbers were still increasing.

(68-285)These reports gave a natural impulse to the zeal  
(68-285)of men, who, having long professed themselves the  
(68-285)liege subjects of the Stewart family, were ashamed  
(68-285)to sit still when a gallant effort was made to effect  
(68-285)their restoration, by what was reported to be, and  
(68-285)in very truth was, a very strong party, and an  
(68-285)army much larger than those commanded by Montrose  
(68-285)or Dundee, and composed chiefly of the same  
(68-285)description of troops at the head of whom they had  
(68-285)gained their victories. The country, therefore,  
(68-285)through most of its districts, was heaving with the  
(68-285)convulsive throes which precede civil war, like those  
(68-285)which announce an earthquake. Events hurried  
(68-285)on to decide the doubtful and embolden the timorous.  
(68-285)The active measures resolved on by government,  
(68-285)in arresting suspected persons throughout England  
(68-285)and the southern parts of Scotland, obliged the

(68-285)professed Jacobites to bring their minds to a  
(68-285)resolution, and either expose their persons to the dangers  
(68-285)of civil war, or their characters to the shame of  
(68-285)being judged wanting in the hour of action, to all  
(68-285)the protestations which they had made in those of  
(68-285)safety and peace.

(68-285)These considerations decided men according to  
(68-285)their characters, some to submit themselves to  
(68-285)imprisonment, for the safety of their lives and

[TG68-286]

(68-286)fortunes-others to draw the sword, and venture their  
(68-286)all in support of their avowed principles. Those  
(68-286)gentlemen who embraced the latter course, more  
(68-286)honourable, or more imprudent perhaps, began to  
(68-286)leave their homes, and drew together in such bodies  
(68-286)as might enable them to resist the efforts of the  
(68-286)magistrates, or troops sent to arrest them. The  
(68-286)civil war began by a very tragical rencounter in a  
(68-286)family, with the descendants of which your  
(68-286)grandfather has long enjoyed peculiar intimacy, and of  
(68-286)which I give the particulars after the account  
(68-286)preserved by them, though it is also mentioned in most  
(68-286)histories of the times.

(68-286)Among other families of distinction in East  
(68-286)Lothian, that of Mr Hepburn of Keith was devotedly  
(68-286)attached to the interests of the House of Stewart,  
(68-286)and he determined to exert himself to the utmost  
(68-286)in the approaching conflict. He had several sons,  
(68-286)with whom, and his servants, he had determined to  
(68-286)join a troop to be raised in East Lothian, and  
(68-286)commanded by the Earl of Winton. This gentleman  
(68-286)being much respected in the county, it was deemed  
(68-286)of importance to prevent his showing an example

(68-286)which was likely to be generally followed. For  
(68-286)this purpose, Mr Hepburn of Humbie and Dr Sinclair  
(68-286)of Hermandston resolved to lay the Laird of  
(68-286)Keith under arrest, and proceeded towards his  
(68-286)house with a party of the horse-militia, on the  
(68-286)morning of the 8th of October, 1715, which happened  
(68-286)to be the very morning that Keith had appointed  
(68-286)to set forth on his campaign, having made all  
(68-286)preparations on the preceding evening. The family

[TG68-287]

(68-287)had assembled fur the last time at the breakfast-  
(68-287)table, when it was observed that one of the young'  
(68-287)ladies looked more sad and disconsolate, than even  
(68-287)the departure of her father and brothers upon a  
(68-287)distant and precarious expedition seemed to warrant  
(68-287)at that period, when the fair sex were as  
(68-287)enthusiastic in politics as the men.

(68-287)Miss Hepburn was easily induced to tell the  
(68-287)cause of her fears. She had dreamed she saw her  
(68-287)youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, and  
(68-287)generally esteemed, shot by a man whose features  
(68-287)were impressed on her recollection, and stretched  
(68-287)dead on the floor of the room in which they were  
(68-287)now assembled. The females of the family listened  
(68-287)and argued - the men laughed, and turned  
(68-287)the visionary into ridicule. The horses were saddled,  
(68-287)and led out into the court-yard, when a mounted  
(68-287)party was discovered advancing along the flat  
(68-287)ground, in front of the mansion-house, called the  
(68-287)Plain of Keith. The gate was shut; and when  
(68-287)Dr Sinclair, who was most active in the matter,  
(68-287)had announced his purpose, and was asked for his  
(68-287)warrant, he handed in at a window the commission  
(68-287)of the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant

(68-287)of the county. This Keith returned with  
(68-287)contempt, and announced that he would stand on  
(68-287)his defence. The party within mounted their  
(68-287)horses, and sallied out, determined to make their  
(68-287)way; and Keith, discharging a pistol in the air,  
(68-287)charged the Doctor sword in hand; the militia then  
(68-287)fired, and the youngest of the Hepburns was killed  
(68-287)on the spot. The sister beheld the catastrophe

[TG68-288]

(68-288)from the window, and to the end of her life persisted  
(68-288)that the homicide had the features of the  
(68-288)person whom she saw in her dream. The corpse  
(68-288)was carried into the room where they had so lately  
(68-288)breakfasted, and Keith, after having paid this heavy  
(68-288)tax to the demon of civil war, rode off with the  
(68-288)rest of his party to join the insurgents. Dr Sinclair  
(68-288)was censured very generally, for letting his  
(68-288)party zeal hurry him into a personal encounter  
(68-288)with so near a neighbour and familiar friend; he  
(68-288)vindicated himself, by asserting that his intentions  
(68-288)were to save Keith from the consequences into  
(68-288)which his rash zeal for the Stewart family was  
(68-288)about to precipitate that gentleman and his family.  
(68-288)But Dr Sinclair ought to have been prepared to  
(68-288)expect, that a high-spirited man, with arms in his  
(68-288)hands, was certain to resist this violent mode of  
(68-288)opening his eyes to the rashness of his conduct;  
(68-288)and he who attempts to make either religious or  
(68-288)political converts by compulsion, must be charged  
(68-288)with the consequences of such violence as is most  
(68-288)likely to ensue.

(68-288)Mr Hepburn and his remaining sons joined the  
(68-288)Jacobite gentry of the neighbourhood, to the number  
(68-288)of fifty or sixty men, and directed their course

(68-288)westward towards the Borders, where a considerable  
(68-288)party were in arms for the same cause. The  
(68-288)leader of the East Lothian troop was the Earl of  
(68-288)Winton, a young nobleman twenty-five years old,  
(68-288)said to be afflicted by a vicissitude of spirits  
(68-288)approaching to lunacy. His life had been marked by some  
(68-288)strange singularities, as that of his living a long

[TG68-289]

(68-289)time as bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith  
(68-289)in France, without holding any communication  
(68-289)with his country or family. But, if we judge  
(68-289)from his conduct in tile rebellion, Lord Winton  
(68-289)appears to have displayed more sense and prudence  
(68-289)than most of those engaged in that unfortunate  
(68-289)affair.

(68-289)This Lothian insurrection soon merged in the  
(68-289)two principal southern risings, which took place in  
(68-289)Dumfries-shire and Galloway in Scotland, and in  
(68-289)Northumberland and Cumberland in England.

(68-289)On the western frontier of Scotland, there were  
(68-289)many families not only Jacobites in politics, but  
(68-289)Roman Catholics in religion; and therefore bound  
(68-289)by a double tie to the heir of James II., who, for  
(68-289)the sake of that form of faith, may be justly thought  
(68-289)to have forfeited his kingdoms. Among the rest,  
(68-289)the Earl of Nithisdale, combining in his person the  
(68-289)representation of two noble families, those of the  
(68-289)Lord Herries and the Lord Maxwell, might be  
(68-289)considered as the natural leader of the party. But  
(68-289)William, Vicount Kenmure, in Galloway, a Protestant,  
(68-289)was preferred as chief of the enterprise, as  
(68-289)It was not thought prudent to bring Catholics too  
(68-289)much forward in the affair, on account of the scandal

(68-289)to which their promotion might give rise. Many  
(68-289)neighbouring gentlemen were willing to throw  
(68-289)themselves and their fortunes into the same adventure  
(68-289)in which Nithisdale and Kenmure stood committed.  
(68-289)The latter was a man of good sense and  
(68-289)resolution, well acquainted with civil affairs, but a  
(68-289)total stranger to the military art.

[TG68-290]

(68-290)In the beginning of October, the plan of  
(68-290)insurrection was so far ripened, that the gentlemen of  
(68-290)Galloway, Nithisdale, and Annandale, proposed by  
(68-290)a sudden effort to possess themselves of the county  
(68-290)town of Dumfries. The town was protected on  
(68-290)the one side by the river Nith; on the others it  
(68-290)might be considered as open. But the zeal of the  
(68-290)inhabitants, and of the "Whig gentlemen of the  
(68-290)neighbourhood,<sup>1</sup> baffled the enterprise, which must  
(68-290)otherwise have been attended with credit to the  
(68-290)arms of the insurgents. The Lord Lieutenant and  
(68-290)his deputies collected the fencible men of the county,  
(68-290)and brought several large parties into Dumfries, to  
(68-290)support, if necessary, the defence of the place.  
(68-290)The provost, Robert Corbett, Esq. mustered the  
(68-290)citizens, and putting himself at their head, harangued  
(68-290)them in a style peculiarly calculated to inspire  
(68-290)confidence. He reminded them that their laws and  
(68-290)religion were at stake, and that their cause resembled  
(68-290)that of the Israelites, when led by Joshua

[TG68-291]

(68-291)against the unbelieving inhabitants of the land of  
(68-291)Canaan.

(68-291)" Nevertheless," said the considerate Provost of  
(68-291)Dumfries; " as I, who am your unworthy leader,

(68-291)cannot pretend to any divine commission like that  
(68-291)of the son of Nun, I do not take upon me to recommend  
(68-291)the extermination of your enemies, as  
(68-291)the judge of Israel was commanded to do by a  
(68-291)special revelation. On the contrary, I earnestly  
(68-291)entreat you to use your assured victory with clemency,  
(68-291)and remember, that the misguided persons  
(68-291)opposed to you are still your countrymen and  
(68-291)brethren." This oration, which, instead of fixing  
(68-291)the minds of his followers on a doubtful contest,  
(68-291)instructed them only how to make use of a certain  
(68-291)victory, had a great effect in encouraging the bands  
(68-291)of the sagacious provost, who, with their auxiliaries  
(68-291)from the country, drew out and took a position to  
(68-291)cover the town of Dumfries.

(68-291)Lord Kenmure marched from Moffat, with  
(68-291)about a hundred and fifty horse, on Wednesday  
(68-291)the 13th of October, with the purpose of occupying  
(68-291)Dumfries. But finding the friends of Government  
(68-291)in such a state of preparation, he became speedily  
(68-291)aware that he could not with a handful of cavalry  
(68-291)propose to storm a town, the citizens of which  
(68-291)were determined on resistance. The Jacobite  
(68-291)gentlemen, therefore, retreated to Moffat, and

[TG68-292]

(68-292)thence to Langholm and Hawick. From thence  
(68-292)they took their departure for the eastward, to join  
(68-292)the Northumberland gentlemen who were in arms  
(68-292)in the same cause, and towards whom we must  
(68-292)now direct our attention.

(68-292)In England, a very dangerous and extensive  
(68-292)purpose of insurrection certainly existed shortly  
(68-292)after the Queen's death; but the exertions of

(68-292)Government had been so great in all quarters, that it  
(68-292)was every where disconcerted or suppressed. The  
(68-292)University of Oxford was supposed to be highly  
(68-292)dissatisfied at the accession of the House of Hanover;  
(68-292)and there, as well as at Bath, and elsewhere  
(68-292)in the west, horses, arms, and ammunition, were  
(68-292)seized in considerable quantities, and most of the  
(68-292)Tory gentlemen who were suspected of harbouring  
(68-292)dangerous intentions, were either arrested, or  
(68-292)delivered themselves up on the summons of Government.  
(68-292)Amongst these was Sir William Wyndham,  
(68-292)one of the principal leaders of the High  
(68-292)Church party.

(68-292)In Northumberland and Cumberland, the Tories,  
(68-292)at a greater distance from the power of the

[TG68-293]

(68-293)Government, were easily inclined to action; they  
(68-293)were, besides, greatly influenced by the news of the  
(68-293)Earl of Mar's army, which, though large enough  
(68-293)to have done more than it ever attempted, was  
(68-293)still much magnified by common fame. The  
(68-293)unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who acted so  
(68-293)prominent a part in this shortlived struggle, was  
(68-293)by birth connected with the exiled royal family;  
(68-293)his lady also was a bigot in their cause; and the  
(68-293)Catholic religion, which he professed, made it  
(68-293)almost a crime in this nobleman to remain peaceful  
(68-293)on the present occasion. Thomas Forster of  
(68-293)Bamborough, member of Parliament for the county  
(68-293)of Northumberland, was equally attached to the  
(68-293)Jacobite cause; being a Church-of-England man,  
(68-293)he was adopted as the commander-in-chief of the  
(68-293)insurrection, for the same reason that the Lord  
(68-293)Kenmure was preferred to the Earl of Nithisdale



(68-293)in the command of the Scottish levies. Warrants  
(68-293)being issued against the Earl of Derwentwater  
(68-293)and Mr Forster, they absconded, and lurked for a  
(68-293)few days among their friends in Northumberland,  
(68-293)till a general consultation could be held of the  
(68-293)principal northern Tories, at the house of Mr Fenwick  
(68-293)of Bywell; when, as they foresaw that, if  
(68-293)they should be arrested, and separately examined,  
(68-293)they could scarce frame such a defence as might  
(68-293)save them from the charge of high treason, they  
(68-293)resolved to unite in a body, and try the chance  
(68-293)that fortune might send them. With this purpose  
(68-293)they held a meeting (6th Oct.)at a place called  
(68-293)Greenrig, where Forster arrived with

[TG68-294]

(68-294)about twenty horse. They went from this to the  
(68-294)top of a hill, called the Waterfalls, where they were  
(68-294)joined by Lord Derwentwater. This reinforcement  
(68-294)made them near sixty horse, with which they proceeded  
(68-294)to the small town of Rothbury, and from  
(68-294)thence to Warkworth, where they proclaimed King  
(68-294)James III. On the 10th of October they marched  
(68-294)to Morpeth, where they received further reinforcements,  
(68-294)which raised them to three hundred horse,  
(68-294)the highest number which they ever attained.  
(68-294)Some of these gentlemen remained undecided till  
(68-294)the last fatal moment, and amongst these was John  
(68-294)Hall of Otterburn. He attended a meeting of the  
(68-294)quarter sessions, which was held at Alnwick, for  
(68-294)the purpose of taking measures for quelling the  
(68-294)rebellion, but left it with such precipitation that he  
(68-294)forgot his hat upon the bench, and joined the fatal  
(68-294)meeting at the Waterfalls.

(68-294)The insurgents could levy no foot soldiers,

(68-294)though many men offered to join them; for they  
(68-294)had neither arms to equip them, nor money to pay  
(68-294)them. This want of infantry was the principal  
(68-294)cause why they did not make an immediate attack  
(68-294)on Newcastle, which had formed part of their  
(68-294)original plan. But the town, though not regularly  
(68-294)fortified, was surrounded with a high stone wall,  
(68-294)with old-fashioned gates. The magistrates, who  
(68-294)were zealous on the side of Government, caused  
(68-294)the gates to be walled up with masonry, and raised  
(68-294)a body of seven hundred volunteers for the defence  
(68-294)of the town, to which the keelmen, or bargemen  
(68-294)employed in the coal-trade upon the Tyne, made

[TG68-295]

(68-295)offer of seven hundred more; and, in the course of  
(68-295)a day or two, General Carpenter arrived with part  
(68-295)of those forces with whom he afterwards attacked  
(68-295)the insurgents. After this last reinforcement, the  
(68-295)gentlemen, as Forster's cavalry were called, lost all  
(68-295)hopes of surprising Newcastle. About the same  
(68-295)time, however, a beam of success which attended  
(68-295)their arms, might be said just to glimmer and  
(68-295)disappear. This was the exploit of a gentleman  
(68-295)named Lancelot Errington, who, by a dexterous  
(68-295)stratagem, contrived to surprise the small castle  
(68-295)or fort, upon Holy Island,<sup>1</sup> which might have been  
(68-295)useful to the insurgents in maintaining their  
(68-295)foreign communication. But before Errington could  
(68-295)receive the necessary supplies of men and provisions,  
(68-295)the governor of Berwick detached a party  
(68-295)of thirty soldiers, and about fifty volunteers, who,  
(68-295)crossing the sands at low water, attacked the little  
(68-295)fort, and carried it sword in hand. Errington was  
(68-295)wounded and taken prisoner, but afterwards made  
(68-295)his escape.

(68-295)This disappointment, with the news that troops  
(68-295)were advancing to succour Newcastle, decided  
(68-295)Forster and his followers to unite themselves with  
(68-295)the Viscount Kenmure and the Scottish gentlemen

[TG68-296]

(68-296)engaged in the same cause. The English express  
(68-296)found Kenmure near Hawick, at a moment when  
(68-296)his little band of about two hundred men had almost  
(68-296)determined to give up the enterprise. Upon  
(68-296)receiving Forster's communication, however, they  
(68-296)resolved to join him at Rothbury.

(68-296)On the 19th of October, the two bodies of  
(68-296)insurgents met at Rothbury, and inspected each  
(68-296)other's military state and equipments, with the  
(68-296)anxiety of mingled hope and apprehension. The  
(68-296)general character of the troops was the same, but  
(68-296)the Scots seemed the best prepared for action,  
(68-296)being mounted on strong hardy horses, fit fur the  
(68-296)charge, and, though but poorly disciplined, were  
(68-296)well armed with the basket-hilted broadswords,  
(68-296)then common throughout Scotland. The English  
(68-296)gentlemen, on the other hand, were mounted on  
(68-296)fleet blood-horses, better adapted for the race-  
(68-296)course and hunting-field than for action. There  
(68-296)was among them a great want of war-saddles, curb-  
(68-296)bridles, and, above all, of swords and pistols; so that  
(68-296)the Scots were inclined to doubt whether men so  
(68-296)well equipped for flight, and so imperfectly prepared  
(68-296)for combat, might not, in case of an encounter, take  
(68-296)the safer course, and leave them in the lurch.  
(68-296)Their want of swords in particular, at least of  
(68-296)cutting swords fit for the cavalry service is proved  
(68-296)by an anecdote. It is said, that as they entered

(68-296)the town of Wooler, their commanding-officer gave  
(68-296)the word-" Gentlemen, you that have got swords,  
(68-296)draw them;" to which a fellow among the crowd  
(68-296)answered, not irrelevantly-" And what shall they

[TG68-297]

(68-297)do who have none? " When Forster, by means of  
(68-297)one of his captains named Douglas, had opened a  
(68-297)direct communication with Mar's army, the  
(68-297)messenger stated that the English were willing to  
(68-297)have given horses worth L.25-then a considerable  
(68-297)price - for such swords as are generally worn  
(68-297)by Highlanders.

(68-297)It may be also here noticed, that out of the four  
(68-297)troops commanded by Forster, the two raised by  
(68-297)Lord Derwentwater and Lord Widrington were,  
(68-297)like those of the Scots, composed of gentlemen, and  
(68-297)their relations and dependents. But the third and  
(68-297)fourth troops differed considerably from the others  
(68-297)in their composition. The one was commanded by  
(68-297)John Hunter, who united the character of a Border  
(68-297)farmer with that of a contraband trader; the  
(68-297)other by the same Douglas whom we have just  
(68-297)mentioned, who was remarkable for his dexterity  
(68-297)and success in searching for arms and horses, a  
(68-297)trade which he is said not to have limited to the  
(68-297)time of the Rebellion. Into the troops of these last-  
(68-297)named officers, many persons of slender reputation  
(68-297)were introduced, who had either lived by smuggling,  
(68-297)or by the ancient Border practice of horse-  
(68-297)lifting, as it was called. These light and  
(68-297)suspicious characters, however, fought with determined  
(68-297)courage at the barricades of Preston.

(68-297)The motions of Kenmure and Forster were

(68-297)now decided by the news, that a detachment from  
(68-297)Mar's army had been sent across the frith of Forth  
(68-297)to join them; and this requires us to return to the  
(68-297)Northern insurrection, which was now endeavouring

[TG68-298]

(68-298)to extend and connect itself with that which  
(68-298)had broke out on the Border. The Earl of Mar,  
(68-298)it must be observed, had, from the first moment of  
(68-298)his arrival at Perth, or at least as soon as he was  
(68-298)joined by a disposable force, designed to send a  
(68-298)party over the frith into Lothian, who should  
(68-298)encourage the Jacobites in that country to rise; and  
(68-298)he proposed to confer this command upon the Master  
(68-298)of Sinclair. As, however, this separation of  
(68-298)his forces must have considerably weakened his own  
(68-298)army, and perhaps exposed him to an unwelcome  
(68-298)visit from the Duke of Argyle, Mar postponed his  
(68-298)purpose until he should be joined by reinforcements.  
(68-298)These were now pouring fast into Perth.

(68-298)From the North, the Marquis of Huntly, one of  
(68-298)the most powerful of the confederacy, joined the  
(68-298)army at Perth with foot and horse, Lowlanders  
(68-298)and Highlanders, to the amount of nearly four  
(68-298)thousand men. The Earl-Marischal had the day  
(68-298)before brought up his own power, consisting of  
(68-298)about eighty horse. The arrival of these noblemen  
(68-298)brought some seeds of dissension into the  
(68-298)camp. Marischal, so unlike the wisdom of his  
(68-298)riper years, with the indiscretion of a very young  
(68-298)man, gave just offence to Huntly, by endeavouring  
(68-298)to deprive him of a part of his following.

(68-298)The occasion was this: The MacPhersons, a  
(68-298)very stout, hardy clan, who are called in Gaelic,

(68-298)MacVourigh, and headed by Cluny MacPherson,  
(68-298)held some possessions of the Gordon family, and  
(68-298)therefore naturally placed themselves under the  
(68-298)Marquis of Huntly's banner on the present occasion,

[TG68-299]

(68-299)although it might be truly said, that in  
(68-299)general they were by no means the most tractable  
(68-299)vassals. Marischal endeavoured to prevail on this  
(68-299)Clan-Vourigh to place themselves under his command  
(68-299)instead of that of Huntly, alleging, that as  
(68-299)the MacPhersons always piqued themselves on  
(68-299)being a distinguished branch of the great confederacy  
(68-299)called Clan-Chattan, so was he, by his name  
(68-299)of Keith, the natural chief of the confederacy afore-  
(68-299)said. Mar is said to have yielded some countenance  
(68-299)to the claim, the singularity of which affords a  
(68-299)curious picture of the matters with which these  
(68-299)insurgents were occupied. The cause of Mar's  
(68-299)taking part in such a debate was alleged to be, the  
(68-299)desire which he had to lower the estimation of  
(68-299)Huntly's power and numbers. The Mac-Phersons,  
(68-299)however, considered the broad lands which  
(68-299)they held of the Gordon as better reason for  
(68-299)rendering him their allegiance, than the etymological  
(68-299)arguments urged by the Earl Marischal, and refused  
(68-299)to desert the banner under which they had  
(68-299)come to the field.

(68-299)Another circumstance early disgusted Huntly  
(68-299)with an enterprise in which he could not hope to  
(68-299)gain any thing, and which placed in peril a princely  
(68-299)estate, and a ducal title. Besides about three  
(68-299)squadrons of gentlemen, chiefly of his own name,  
(68-299)well mounted and well armed, he had brought into  
(68-299)the field a squadron of some fifty men strong, whom

(68-299)he termed Light Horse, though totally unfit for  
(68-299)the service of petite guerre which that name  
(68-299)implies. A satirist describes them as consisting

[TG68-300]

(68-300)of great lubberly fellows, in bonnets, without boots,  
(68-300)and mounted on long-tailed little ponies, with  
(68-300)snaffle bridles, the riders being much the bigger  
(68-300)animals of the two; and instead of pistols, these  
(68-300)horsemen were armed with great rusty muskets,  
(68-300)tied on their backs with ropes. These uncouth  
(68-300)cavaliers excited a degree of mirth and ridicule  
(68-300)among the more civilized southern gentry; which  
(68-300)is not surprising, any more than that both the men,  
(68-300)and Huntly, their commander, felt and resented  
(68-300)such uncivil treatment-a feeling which was gradually  
(68-300)increased into a disinclination to the cause in  
(68-300)which they had received the indignity.

(68-300)Besides these Northern forces, Mar also  
(68-300)expected many powerful succours from the northwest,  
(68-300)which comprehended the tribes termed,  
(68-300)during that insurrection, by way of excellence,  
(68-300)The Clans. The chiefs of these families had  
(68-300)readily agreed to hold the rendezvous which had  
(68-300)been settled at the hunting match of Braemar; but  
(68-300)none of them, save Glengarry, were very hasty in  
(68-300)recollecting their promise. Of This high chief a  
(68-300)contemporary says, it would be hard to say whether  
(68-300)he had more of the lion, the fox, or the bear,  
(68-300)in his disposition; for he was at least as crafty and  
(68-300)rough as he was courageous and gallant. At any  
(68-300)rate, both his faults and virtues were consistent  
(68-300)with his character, which attracted more admiration  
(68-300)than that of any other engaged in Mar's  
(68-300)insurrection. He levied his men, and marched to

(68-300)the braes of Glenorchy, where, after remaining  
(68-300)eight days, he was joined by the Captain of

[TG68-301]

(68-301)Clanranald, and Sir John MacLean; who came, the  
(68-301)one with the MacDonalds of Moidart and Arisaig;  
(68-301)the other with a regiment of his own name, from  
(68-301)the isle of Mull. A detachment of these clans  
(68-301)commenced the war by an attempt to surprise the  
(68-301)garrison at Inverlochy. They succeeded in taking  
(68-301)some outworks, and made the defenders prisoners,  
(68-301)but failed in their attack upon the place, the soldiers  
(68-301)being on their guard.

(68-301)Still, though hostilities were in a manner begun,  
(68-301)these western levies were far from complete.  
(68-301)Stewart of Appin, and Cameron of Lochiel, would  
(68-301)neither of them move; and the Breadalbane men,  
(68-301)whose assistance had been promised by the singular  
(68-301)Earl of that name, were equally tardy. There  
(68-301)was probably little inclination, on the part of those  
(68-301)clans who were near neighbours to the Duke of  
(68-301)Argyle, and some of them Campbells, to displease  
(68-301)that powerful and much-respected nobleman.  
(68-301)Another mighty limb of the conspiracy, lying also  
(68-301)in the north-western extremity of Scotland, was  
(68-301)the Earl of Seaforth, chief of the MacKenzies,  
(68-301)who could bring into the field from two to three  
(68-301)thousand men of his own name, and that of MacRae,  
(68-301)and other clans dependent upon him. But  
(68-301)he also was prevented from taking the field and  
(68-301)joining Mar, by the operations of the Earl of  
(68-301)Sutherland, who, taking the chief command of  
(68-301)some of the northern clans disposed to favour  
(68-301)government - as, the Monroes, under their chief,  
(68-301)Monro of Foulis; the MacKays, under Lord Rae;



(68-301)the numerous and powerful clan of Grant, along

[TG68-302]

(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.

(68-302)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

[TG68-303]

(68-303)on the Duke of Argyle's castle at Inverary, and the  
(68-303)arms understood to be deposited there. There was  
(68-303)afterwards supposed to be some personal spleen, in  
(68-303)the Earl's thus beginning direct hostilities against his  
(68-303)great opponent; but it must be said, to the honour  
(68-303)of the rebel general, that he resolved not to set  
(68-303)the example of beginning with fire and sword;  
(68-303)and therefore directed, that though General Gordon  
(68-303)might threaten to burn the castle at Inverary,  
(68-303)he was on no account to proceed to such extremity  
(68-303)without farther orders. His object probably was,  
(68-303)besides a desire to possess the arms said to be in  
(68-303)the place, to effect a complete breach between the  
(68-303)Duke of Argyle and the clans in his vicinity, which  
(68-303)must have necessarily been attended with great  
(68-303)diminution of the Duke's influence. We shall see  
(68-303)presently how far this line of policy appears to  
(68-303)have succeeded.

(68-303)During the currency of these events, Mar  
(68-303)received information of the partial rising which had  
(68-303)taken place in Northumberland, and the disposition  
(68-303)to similar movements which showed itself in various  
(68-303)parts of Scotland. It might have been thought,  
(68-303)that these tidings would have induced him at length  
(68-303)to burst from the sort of confinement, in which the  
(68-303)small body commanded by Argyle retained so superior  
(68-303)an army. If Mar judged that the troops  
(68-303)under his command, assembled at Perth, were too  
(68-303)few to attack a force which they more than doubled,  
(68-303)there remained a plan of manoeuvring by  
(68-303)which he might encounter Argyle at a yet greater  
(68-303)advantage. He might have commanded General

[TG68-304]

(68-304)Gordon, when he had collected the western clans,  
(68-304)who could not amount to fewer than four thousand  
(68-304)men, instead of amusing himself at Inverary, to  
(68-304)direct their course to the fords of Frew, by which  
(68-304)the river Forth may be crossed above Stirling, and  
(68-304)near to its source. Such a movement would have  
(68-304)menaced the Duke from the westward, while Mar  
(68-304)himself might have advanced against him from  
(68-304)the north, and endeavoured to possess himself of  
(68-304)Stirling bridge, which was not very strongly  
(68-304)guarded. The insurgent cavalry of Lord  
(68-304)Kenmure could also have co-operated in such a plan,  
(68-304)by advancing from Dumfries towards Glasgow,  
(68-304)and threatening the west of Scotland. It is plain  
(68-304)that the Duke of Argyle saw the danger of being  
(68-304)thus cut off from the western counties, where  
(68-304)Government had many zealous adherents; for he  
(68-304)ordered up five hundred men from Glasgow to join  
(68-304)his camp at Stirling; and on the 24th of September,  
(68-304)commanded all the regiments of fencibles and  
(68-304)volunteers in the west of Scotland to repair to  
(68-304)Glasgow, as the most advantageous central point  
(68-304)from which to protect the country, and cover his  
(68-304)own encampment; and established garrisons at  
(68-304)the village of Drymen, and also in several gentlemen's  
(68-304)houses adjacent to the fords of Frew, to  
(68-304)prevent or retard any descent of the Highlanders  
(68-304)into the Low Country by that pass. But the  
(68-304)warlike habits of the Highlanders were greatly  
(68-304)superior to those of the raw Lowland levies, whom  
(68-304)they would probably have treated with little  
(68-304)ceremony.

[TG68-305]

(68-305)Nevertheless, the Earl of Mar, far from adopting

(68-305)a plan so decisive, resolved to afford support  
(68-305)to Kenmure and Forster, by his original plan of  
(68-305)marching a detachment to their assistance, instead  
(68-305)of moving his whole force towards the Lowlands.  
(68-305)This, e conceived, might be sufficient to give them  
(68-305)the aid and protection of a strong body of infantry,  
(68-305)and enable them to strengthen and increase their  
(68-305)numbers, whilst the measure allowed him to  
(68-305)remain undisturbed at Perth, to await the final result  
(68-305)of his intrigues in the Highlands, and those which  
(68-305)he had commenced at the Court of the Chevalier  
(68-305)de St George. There were many and obvious  
(68-305)dangers in making the proposed movement. A  
(68-305)great inlet of the sea was to be crossed; and if the  
(68-305)passage was to be attempted about Dunfermline or  
(68-305)Inverkeithing, where the Forth was less broad, it  
(68-305)was to be feared that the bustle of collecting boats,  
(68-305)and the march of the troops which were to form  
(68-305)the detachment, might give warning to the Duke  
(68-305)of Argyle of what was intended, who was likely  
(68-305)to send a body of his dragoons to surprise and cut  
(68-305)off the detachment on their arrival at the southern  
(68-305)side of the Forth. On the other hand, to  
(68-305)attempt the passage over the lower part of the frith,  
(68-305)where vessels were more numerous, and could he  
(68-305)assembled with less observation, was to expose the  
(68-305)detachment to the uncertainties of a passage of  
(68-305)fifteen or eighteen miles across, which was guarded  
(68-305)by men-of-war, with their boats and launches, to  
(68-305)which the officers of the customs at every seaport  
(68-305)had the most strict orders to transmit intelligence

[TG68-306]

(68-306)of whatever movement might be attempted by the  
(68-306)rebels. Upon a choice of difficulties, however, the  
(68-306)crossing of the frith from Pittenweem, Crail, and

(68-306)other towns situated to the eastward on the Fife  
(68-306)coast, was determined on.

(68-306)The troops destined for the adventure were  
(68-306)Mar's own regiment, as it was called, consisting  
(68-306)of the Farquharsons, and others from the banks of  
(68-306)the Dee-that of the MacIntoshes-those of Lords  
(68-306)Strathmore, Nairne, and Lord Charles Murray, all  
(68-306)Highlanders, excepting Lord Strathmore's Low-  
(68-306)land regiment. They made up in all about two  
(68-306)thousand five hundred men; for in the rebel army  
(68-306)the regiments were weak in numbers, Mar having  
(68-306)gratified the chiefs, by giving each the commission  
(68-306)of colonel, and allowing him the satisfaction to  
(68-306)form a battalion out of his own followers, however  
(68-306)few in number.

(68-306)The intended expedition was arranged with  
(68-306)some address. Considerable parties of horse  
(68-306)traversed Fifeshire in various directions, proclaiming"  
(68-306)James VIII., and levying the cess of the county,  
(68-306)though in very different proportions on those whom  
(68-306)they accounted friends or enemies to their cause,  
(68-306)their demands upon the Litter being both larger,  
(68-306)and more rigorously enforced. These movements  
(68-306)were contrived to distract the attention of the  
(68-306)Whigs, and that of the Duke of Argyle, by various  
(68-306)rumours, tending to conceal Mar's real purpose  
(68-306)of sending a detachment across the frith. For  
(68-306)the same purpose, when their intention could be  
(68-306)no longer concealed, the English men-of-war were

[TG68-307]

(68-307)deceived concerning the place where the attempt  
(68-307)was to be made. Mar threw troops into the castle  
(68-307)of Burntisland, and seemed busy in collecting vessels

(68-307)in that little port. The armed ships were induced  
(68-307)by these appearances to slip their cables,  
(68-307)and, standing over to Burntisland, commenced a  
(68-307)cannonade, which was returned by the rebels from  
(68-307)a battery which they had constructed on the outer  
(68-307)port of the harbour, with little damage on either  
(68-307)side.

(68-307)By these feints Mar was enabled to get the  
(68-307)troops, designed to form the expedition, moved in  
(68-307)secrecy down to Pittenweem, the Ely, Crail, and  
(68-307)other small ports so numerous on that coast. The  
(68-307)were placed under the command of MacIntosh of  
(68-307)Borlum, already mentioned, commonly called  
(68-307)Brigadier MacIntosh, a Highland gentleman, who  
(68-307)was trained to regular war in the French service.  
(68-307)He was a bold, rough soldier, but is stated to have  
(68-307)degraded the character by a love or plunder which  
(68-307)would have better become a lower rank in the  
(68-307)army. But this may have been a false or  
(68-307)exaggerated charge.

(68-307)The English vessels of war received notice of,  
(68-307)the design, or observed the embarkation from their  
(68-307)topmasts, but too late to offer effectual interruption.  
(68-307)They weighed anchor, however, at flood-  
(68-307)tide, and sailed to intercept the flotilla of the  
(68-307)insurgents. Nevertheless, they only captured a single  
(68-307)boat, with about forty Highlanders. Some of the  
(68-307)vessels were, however, forced back to the Fife  
(68-307)coast, from which they came; and the boats which

[TG68-308]

(68-308)bore Lord Strathmore's Lowland regiment, and  
(68-308)others filled with Highlanders, were forced into  
(68-308)the island of May, in the mouth of the Forth,

(68-308)where they were blockaded by the men-of-war.  
(68-308)The gallant young Earl intrenched himself on the  
(68-308)island, and harangued his followers on the fidelity  
(68-308)which they owed to the cause; and undertook to  
(68-308)make his own faith evident, by exposing his person  
(68-308)wherever the peril should prove greatest, and  
(68-308)accounting it an honour to die in the service of the  
(68-308)Prince for whom he had taken arms. Blockaded  
(68-308)in an almost desert island, this young nobleman  
(68-308)had the additional difficulty of subduing quarrels  
(68-308)and jealousies betwixt the Highlanders and his  
(68-308)own followers from Angus. These dissensions ran  
(68-308)so high, that the Lowlanders resolved to embrace  
(68-308)an opportunity to escape from the island with their  
(68-308)small craft, and leave the Highlanders to their  
(68-308)fate. The proposal was rejected by Strathmore  
(68-308)with ineffable disdain, nor would he leave his very  
(68-308)unpleasant situation, till the change of winds and  
(68-308)waves afforded him a fair opportunity of leading  
(68-308)all who had been sharers in his misfortune in safety  
(68-308)back to the coast they sailed from.

(68-308)Mean time the greater part of the detachment  
(68-308)designed for the descent upon Lothian, being about  
(68-308)sixteen hundred men, succeeded in their desperate  
(68-308)attempt, by landing at North Berwick, Aberlady,  
(68-308)Gulan, and other places on the southern shores  
(68-308)of the frith, from whence they marched upon  
(68-308)Haddington, where they again formed a junction,  
(68-308)and refreshed themselves for a night, till they

[TG68-309]

(68-309)should learn the fate of their friends who had not  
(68-309)yet appeared. We have not the means of knowing  
(68-309)whether MacIntosh had any precise orders for  
(68-309)his conduct when he should find himself in Lothian.

(68-309)The despatches of Mar would lead us to infer that  
(68-309)he had instructions, which ought to have directed  
(68-309)his march instantly to the Borders, to unite himself  
(68-309)with Kenmure and Forster. But he must  
(68-309)have had considerable latitude in his orders, since  
(68-309)it was almost impossible to frame them in such a  
(68-309)manner as to meet, with any degree of precision,  
(68-309)the circumstances in which he might be placed, and  
(68-309)much must have, of course, been intrusted to his  
(68-309)own discretion. The surprise, however, was great,  
(68-309)even in the Brigadier's own little army, when,  
(68-309)instead of marching southward, as they had expected,  
(68-309)they were ordered to face about and advance  
(68-309)rapidly on the capital.

(68-309)This movement Mar afterwards termed a mistake  
(68-309)on the Brigadier's part. But it was probably  
(68-309)occasioned by the information which Macintosh  
(68-309)received from friends in Edinburgh, that the capital  
(68-309)might be occupied by a rapid march, before it could  
(68-309)be relieved by the Duke of Argyle, who was lying  
(68-309)thirty miles off. The success of such a surprise  
(68-309)must necessarily have given great eclat to the  
(68-309)arms of the insurgents, with the more solid  
(68-309)advantages of obtaining large supplies both of arms  
(68-309)and money, and of intercepting the communication  
(68-309)between the Duke of Argyle and the south. It is  
(68-309)also probable, that Macintosh might have some  
(68-309)expectation of an insurrection taking place in

[TG68-310]

(68-310)Edinburgh, on the news of his approach.<sup>1</sup> But,  
(68-310)whatever were Ins hopes and motives, he marched with  
(68-310)his small force on the metropolis, 14th October,  
(68-310)1715, and the movement excited the most universal  
(68-310)alarm.



(68-310)The Lord Provost, a gentleman named Campbell,  
(68-310)was a man of sense and activity. The instant  
(68-310)that he heard of the Highlanders having arrived  
(68-310)"at Haddington, he sent information to the Duke of  
(68-310)Argyle, and arming the city guard, trained bands,  
(68-310)and volunteers, took such precautions as he could to  
(68-310)defend the city, which, though surrounded by a high  
(68-310)wall, was far from being tenable even against a coup-  
(68-310)de-main. The Duke of Argyle, foreseeing all the  
(68-310)advantages which the insurgents would gain even  
(68-310)from the temporary possession of the capital, resolved  
(68-310)on this, as on other occasions, to make activity  
(68-310)supply the want of numbers. He mounted two  
(68-310)hundred infantry soldiers on country horses, and  
(68-310)uniting them with three hundred chosen dragoons,  
(68-310)placed himself at their head, and made a forced  
(68-310)march from Stirling to relieve Edinburgh. This he  
(68-310)accomplished with such rapidity, that he entered the  
(68-310)West Port of Edinburgh about ten o'clock at night,  
(68-310)just about the same moment that MacIntosh had  
(68-310)reached the place where Piershill barracks are now

[TG68-311]

(68-311)situated, within a mile of the eastern gate of the  
(68-311)city. Thus the metropolis, which seemed to be a  
(68-311)prey for the first occupant, was saved by the  
(68-311)promptitude of the Duke of Argyle. His arrival spread  
(68-311)universal joy among the friends of Government,  
(68-311)who, from something resembling despair, passed  
(68-311)to the opposite extremity of hope and triumph.  
(68-311)The town had been reinforced during the day by  
(68-311)various parties of horse militia from Berwickshire  
(68-311)and Mid-Lothian, and many volunteers, whom the  
(68-311)news of the Duke of Argyle's arrival greatly  
(68-311)augmented, not so much on account of the number

(68-311)which attended him, as of the general confidence  
(68-311)reposed in his talents and character.

(68-311)The advancing enemy also felt the charm  
(68-311)communicated by the Duke's arrival; but to them it  
(68-311)conveyed apprehension and dismay, and changed  
(68-311)their leader's hopes of success into a desire to  
(68-311)provide for the safety of his small detachment,  
(68-311)respecting which he was probably the more anxious that  
(68-311)the number of the Duke's forces were in all likelihood  
(68-311)exaggerated, and besides consisted chiefly of  
(68-311)cavalry, respecting whom the Highlanders entertained  
(68-311)at that time a superstitious terror. Moved  
(68-311)by such considerations, and turning off the road to  
(68-311)Edinburgh, at the place called Jock's Lodge,  
(68-311)Brigadier MacIntosh directed his march upon Leith,  
(68-311)which he entered without opposition. In the prison  
(68-311)of that place he found the forty men belonging to  
(68-311)his own detachment who had been taken during the  
(68-311)passage, and who were now set at liberty. The  
(68-311)Highlanders next took possession of such money

[TG68-312]

(68-312)and provisions as they found in the Custom House.  
(68-312)After these preliminaries, they marched across the  
(68-312)drawbridge, and occupied the remains of a citadel,  
(68-312)built by Oliver Cromwell during the period of his  
(68-312)usurpation. It was a square fort, with five demi-  
(68-312)bastions and a ditch; the gates were indeed demolished,  
(68-312)but the ramparts were tolerably entire, and  
(68-312)the Brigadier lost no time in barricading all accessible  
(68-312)places with beams, planks, carts, and barrels,  
(68-312)filled with stones and other similar materials. The  
(68-312)vessels in the harbour supplied them with cannon,  
(68-312)which they planted on the ramparts, and prepared  
(68-312)themselves as well as circumstances admitted for a

(68-312)desperate defence.

(68-312)Early next morning, the Duke of Argyle presented  
(68-312)himself before the fortified post of the Highlanders,  
(68-312)with his three hundred dragoons, two  
(68-312)hundred infantry, and about six hundred new-  
(68-312)levied men, militia, and volunteers; among the  
(68-312)latter class were seen several clergymen, who, in a  
(68-312)war of this nature, did not consider their sacred  
(68-312)character inconsistent with assuming arms. The  
(68-312)Duke summoned the troops who occupied the citadel  
(68-312)to surrender, under the penalty of high treason,  
(68-312)and declared, that if they placed him under the  
(68-312)necessity of bringing up cannon, or killed any of  
(68-312)his men in attempting a defence, he would give  
(68-312)them no quarter. A Highland gentleman, named  
(68-312)Kinackin, answered resolutely from the ramparts,  
(68-312)" That they laughed at his summons of surrender  
(68-312)-that they were ready to abide his assault; as for  
(68-312)quarter, they would neither give nor receive it -

[TG68-313]

(68-313)and if he thought he could force their position, he  
(68-313)was welcome to try the experiment."

(68-313)The Duke having received this defiance, carefully  
(68-313)reconnoitred the citadel, and found the most  
(68-313)important difficulties in the way of the proposed  
(68-313)assault. The troops must have advanced two  
(68-313)hundred yards before arriving at the defences, and  
(68-313)during all that time would have been exposed to a  
(68-313)fire from an enemy under cover. Many of those  
(68-313)who must have been assailants were unacquainted  
(68-313)with discipline, and had never seen action; the  
(68-313)Highlanders, though little accustomed to exchange  
(68-313)the fire of musketry in the open field, were excellent

(68-313)marksmen from behind walls, and their swords and  
(68-313)daggers were likely to be formidable in the defence  
(68-313)of a breach or a barricade, where the attack must  
(68-313)be in some degree tumultuary. To this was to be  
(68-313)added the Duke's total want of cannon and mortars,  
(68-313)or artillery-men by whom they could be managed.  
(68-313)All these reasons Induced Argyle to postpone an  
(68-313)attack, of which the result was so uncertain, until  
(68-313)he should be better provided. The volunteers were  
(68-313)very anxious for an attack; but we are merely told,  
(68-313)by the reverend historian of the Rebellion, that when  
(68-313)they were given to understand that the post of  
(68-313)honour, viz. the right of leading the attack, was their  
(68-313)just right as volunteers, it made them heartily  
(68-313)approve of the Duke's measure in deferring the  
(68-313)enterprise. Argyle therefore retreated to  
(68-313)Edinburgh, to make better preparations for an attack  
(68-313)with artillery next day.

(68-313)But as MacIntosh's intention of seizing on the

[TG68-314]

(68-314)capital had failed, it did not suit his purpose to  
(68-314)abide in the vicinity. He left the citadel of Leith  
(68-314)at nine o'clock, and conducted his men in the most  
(68-314)profound silence along the sands to Seaton house,  
(68-314)about ten miles from Edinburgh, a strong castle  
(68-314)belonging to the Earl of Winton, surrounded by a  
(68-314)high wall. Here they made a show of fortifying  
(68-314)themselves, and collecting provisions, as if they  
(68-314)intended to abide for some time. The Duke of  
(68-314)Argyle, with his wonted celerity, made preparations  
(68-314)to attack MacIntosh in his new quarters. He  
(68-314)sent to the camp at Stirling for artillery-men, and

[TG68-315]

(68-315)began to get ready some guns in Edinburgh castle,  
(68-315)with which he proposed to advance to Seaton, and  
(68-315)dislodge its new occupants. But his purpose was  
(68-315)again interrupted by express upon express,  
(68-315)despatched from Stirling by General Whetham, who  
(68-315)commanded in the Duke's absence, acquainting his  
(68-315)superior with the unpleasing information that Mar,  
(68-315)with his whole army, was advancing towards Stirling,  
(68-315)trusting to have an opportunity of destroying  
(68-315)the few troops who were left there, and which did  
(68-315)not exceed a thousand men.

(68-315)Upon these tidings the Duke, leaving two hundred  
(68-315)and fifty men of his small command under the  
(68-315)order of General Wightman, to prosecute the plan  
(68-315)of dislodging the Highlanders from their stronghold  
(68-315)of Seaton, returned in all haste, with the small  
(68-315)remainder of his forces, to Stirling, where his  
(68-315)presence was much called for. But before adverting  
(68-315)to events which took place in that quarter, we shall  
(68-315)conduct MacIntosh and his detachment some days'  
(68-315)journey farther on their progress.

(68-315)On Saturday, the 15th of October, the environs  
(68-315)of Seaton house were reconnoitred by a body of  
(68-315)dragoons and volunteers. But as the Highlanders  
(68-315)boldly marched out to skirmish, the party from  
(68-315)Edinburgh thought themselves too weak to hazard  
(68-315)an action, and retired towards the city, as did the  
(68-315)rebels to their garrison. On Monday the 17th of  
(68-315)October, the demonstration upon Seaton was  
(68-315)renewed in a more serious manner, Lord Rothes,  
(68-315)Lord Torphichen, and other officers, marching  
(68-315)against the house with three hundred volunteers,

(68-316)and the troops which had been left by the Duke of  
(68-316)Argyle, to dislodge MacIntosh. But neither in  
(68-316)this third attempt was it found prudent, without  
(68-316)artillery, to attack the pertinacious mountaineers,  
(68-316)as indeed a repulse, in the neighbourhood of the  
(68-316)capital, must necessarily have been attended with  
(68-316)consequences not to be rashly risked. The troops  
(68-316)of the Government, therefore, returned a third  
(68-316)time to Edinburgh, without having farther engaged  
(68-316)with the enemy than by a few exchanges  
(68-316)of shot.

(68-316)MacIntosh did not consider it prudent to give  
(68-316)his opponent an opportunity of attacking him again  
(68-316)in his present position. He had sent a letter to  
(68-316)General Forster, which, reaching the gentlemen  
(68-316)engaged in that unadvised expedition, while they  
(68-316)were deliberating whether they should not abandon  
(68-316)it, determined them to remain in arms, and unite  
(68-316)themselves with those Highlanders, who had crossed  
(68-316)the frith at such great risk, in order to join  
(68-316)them. Forster and Kenmure, therefore, returned  
(68-316)an answer to MacIntosh's communication, proposing  
(68-316)to meet his forces at Kelso or Coldstream, as  
(68-316)should be most convenient for him.-Such letters  
(68-316)as the Brigadier had received from Mar, since  
(68-316)passing the Forth, as well as the tenor of his  
(68-316)former and original instructions, directed him to form  
(68-316)a junction with the gentlemen engaged on the Borders;  
(68-316)and he accepted accordingly of their invitation,

[TG68-317]

(68-317)and assigned Kelso as the place of meeting.  
(68-317)His first march was to the village of Longformachus,  
(68-317)which he reached on the evening of the 19th  
(68-317)of October. It may be mentioned, that, in the

(68-317)course of their march, they passed Hermandston,  
(68-317)the seat of Dr Sinclair, which MacIntosh, with  
(68-317)some of the old vindictive Highland spirit, was  
(68-317)extremely desirous to have burned, in revenge of  
(68-317)the death of young Hepburn of Keith. He was  
(68-317)dissuaded from this extreme course, but the house  
(68-317)was plundered by Lord Nairne's Highlanders, who  
(68-317)were active agents in this species of punishment.  
(68-317)Sir William Bennet of Grubet, who had occupied  
(68-317)Kelso for the Government, with some few militia  
(68-317)and volunteers, learning that fifteen hundred  
(68-317)Highlanders were advancing against him from the  
(68-317)eastward, while five or six hundred horse, to which  
(68-317)number the united forces of Kenmure and Forster  
(68-317)might amount, were marching downwards from the  
(68-317)Cheviot mountains, relinquished his purpose of  
(68-317)defending Kelso; and, abandoning the barricades,  
(68-317)which he had made for that purpose, retired to  
(68-317)Edinburgh with his followers, carrying with him  
(68-317)the greater part of the arms which he had provided.  
(68-317)The cavalry of Forster and Kenmure, marching

[TG68-318]

(68-318)from Wooler, arrived at Kelso a few hours before  
(68-318)the Highlanders, who set out on the same morning  
(68-318)from Dunse. The Scottish part of the horse  
(68-318)marched through Kelso without halting, to meet  
(68-318)with MacIntosh at Ednam-bridge, a compliment  
(68-318)which they conceived due to the gallantry with  
(68-318)which, through many hazards, the Brigadier and  
(68-318)his Highlanders had advanced to their succour.  
(68-318)The united forces, when mustered at Kelso, were  
(68-318)found to amount to about six hundred horse and  
(68-318)fourteen hundred foot, for MacIntosh had lost some  
(68-318)men by desertion. They then entered the town  
(68-318)in triumph, and possessed themselves of such arms

(68-318)as Sir William Bennet had left behind him. They  
(68-318)proclaimed James VIII. in the market-place of this  
(68-318)beautiful town, and attended service (the officers at  
(68-318)least) in the Old Abbey Church, where a non-juring  
(68-318)clergyman preached a sermon on hereditary  
(68-318)right, the text being, Deut. xxi. 17, The right of  
(68-318)the first-born is his. The chiefs then held a general

[TG68-319]

(68-319)council on the best mode of following out the  
(68-319)purposes of their insurrection. There were two  
(68-319)lines of conduct to choose betwixt, one of which  
(68-319)was advocated by the Scottish gentlemen, the other  
(68-319)by the insurgents from the north of England.

(68-319)According to the first plan of operations, it was  
(68-319)proposed that their united forces should move westward  
(68-319)along the Border, occupying in their way the  
(68-319)towns of Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow itself. They  
(68-319)expected no resistance on either of these points,  
(68-319)which their union with MacIntosh's troops might  
(68-319)not enable them to overcome. Arrived in the west  
(68-319)of Scotland, they proposed to open the passes,  
(68-319)which were defended chiefly by militia and volunteers,  
(68-319)to the very considerable force of the Argyle-shire  
(68-319)clans, which were already assembled under  
(68-319)General Gordon. With the Earl of Mar's far  
(68-319)superior army in front, and with the force of  
(68-319)MacIntosh, Kenmure, and Forster upon his left flank  
(68-319)and in his rear, it was conceived impossible that,  
(68-319)with all his abilities, the Duke of Argyle could  
(68-319)persevere in maintaining his important post at Stirling;

[TG68-320]

(68-320)there was every chance of his being driven  
(68-320)entirely out of the " ancient kingdom," as Scotland



(68-320)was fondly called.

(68-320)This plan of the campaign had two recommendations.  
(68-320)In the first place, it tended to a concentration  
(68-320)of the rebel forces, which, separated as they  
(68-320)were, and divided through the kingdom, had hitherto  
(68-320)been either checked and neutralized like that of  
(68-320)Mar by the Duke of Argyle, or fairly obliged to  
(68-320)retreat and shift for safety from the forces of the  
(68-320)Government, as had been the fate of Forster and  
(68-320)Kenmure. Secondly, the basis on which the scheme  
(68-320)rested was fixed and steady. Mar's army, on the  
(68-320)one hand, and Gordon with the clans, on the other,  
(68-320)were bodies of troops existing and in arms, nor was  
(68-320)there any party in the field for the Government, of  
(68-320)strength adequate to prevent their forming the  
(68-320)proposed junction.

(68-320)Notwithstanding these advantages, the English  
(68-320)insurgents expressed the strongest wish to follow  
(68-320)an opposite course, and carry the war again into  
(68-320)England, from which they had been so lately  
(68-320)obliged to retreat. Their proposal had at first a  
(68-320)bold and spirited appearance, and might, had it  
(68-320)been acted upon with heart and unanimity, have  
(68-320)had a considerable chance of success. The  
(68-320)dragoons and horse which had assembled at Newcastle  
(68-320)under General Carpenter, were only a thousand  
(68-320)strong, and much fatigued with forced marches.  
(68-320)Reinforced as the insurgents were with MacIntosh  
(68-320)and his infantry, they might have succeeded by a  
(68-320)sudden march in attacking Carpenter in his quarters,

[TG68-321]

(68-321)or fighting him in the field; at all events, their  
(68-321)great superiority of numbers would have compelled

(68-321)the English general either to hazard an action at  
(68-321)very great disadvantage, or to retreat. In either  
(68-321)case, the Northumbrian gentlemen would have remained  
(68-321)masters of their native province, and might  
(68-321)have made themselves masters of Newcastle, and  
(68-321)interrupted the coal trade; and, finally, the great  
(68-321)possessions and influence of Lord Derwentwater  
(68-321)and others would have enabled them to add to their  
(68-321)force as many infantry as they might find means of  
(68-321)arming, without which, the gentry who were in arms  
(68-321)could only be considered as a soul without a body,  
(68-321)or a hilt without a blade. But Forster and his  
(68-321)friends would not agree to a measure which had so  
(68-321)much to recommend it, but lost time in empty  
(68-321)debates, remaining at Kelso from the 22d to the 27th  
(68-321)of October, until it became impossible to put the  
(68-321)plan in execution. For they learned, that while  
(68-321)they were deliberating, General Carpenter was acting;  
(68-321)and his little army, being reinforced and refreshed,  
(68-321)was now advanced to Wooler, to seek  
(68-321)them out and give them battle.

(68-321)Forster and the English officers then insisted on  
(68-321)another scheme, which should still make England  
(68-321)the scene of the campaign. They proposed that,  
(68-321)eluding the battle which General Carpenter seemed  
(68-321)willing to offer, they should march westward along  
(68-321)the middle and west Borders of Scotland, till they  
(68-321)could turn southward into Lancashire, where they  
(68-321)assured their Scottish confederates that their friends  
(68-321)were ready to rise in numbers, to the amount of

[TG68-322]

(68-322)twenty thousand men at least, which would be sufficient  
(68-322)to enable them to march to London in defiance  
(68-322)of all opposition.

(68-322)Upon this important occasion the insurgents gave  
(68-322)a decided proof of that species of credulity which  
(68-322)disposes men to receive, upon very slight evidence,  
(68-322)such tidings as flatter their hopes and feelings, and  
(68-322)which induced Addison to term the Jacobites of  
(68-322)that period a race of men who live in a dream,  
(68-322)daily nourished by fiction and delusion, and whom  
(68-322)he compares to the obstinate old knight in Rabelais,  
(68-322)who every morning swallowed a chimera for  
(68-322)breakfast.

(68-322)The Scottish gentlemen, and Lord Winton in  
(68-322)particular, were not convinced by the reasoning of  
(68-322)their Southern friends, nor do they appear to have  
(68-322)been participant of their sanguine hopes of a  
(68-322)general rising in Lancashire; accordingly, they strongly  
(68-322)opposed the movement in that direction. All, therefore,  
(68-322)which the rebels, in their divided counsels, were  
(68-322)able to decide upon with certainty, was to move  
(68-322)westward along the Border, a course which might  
(68-322)advance them equally on their road, whether they  
(68-322)should finally determine to take the route to the  
(68-322)west of Scotland or to Lancashire. We must refer  
(68-322)to a future part of this history for the progress and  
(68-322)ultimate fate of this ill-starred expedition.

[TG69-323]

(69-323)WE must now return to the Earl of Mar's army,  
(69-323)which must be considered as the centre and focus  
(69-323)of the insurrection. Since his occupation of Perth,  
(69-323)Lord Mar had undertaken little which had the  
(69-323)appearance of military enterprise. His possession  
(69-323)even of Fifeshire and Kinross had been in some  
(69-323)degree contested by the supporters of Government.  
(69-323)The Earl of Rothes, with a few dragoons

(69-323)and volunteers, had garrisoned his own house of  
(69-323)Lesly, near Falkland, and was active in harassing  
(69-323)those parties of horse which Mar sent into the  
(69-323)country to proclaim James VIII., and levy the cess  
(69-323)and public taxes. Upon one of these occasions,  
(69-323)(28th September) he surprised Sir Thomas Bruce,  
(69-323)while in the act of making the proclamation in the

[TG69-324]

(69-324)town of Kinross, and carried him off a prisoner.  
(69-324)The Earl of Rothes retained possession of his  
(69-324)garrison till Mar's army became very strong", when he  
(69-324)was obliged to withdraw it. But Mar continued  
(69-324)to experience occasional checks, even in the military  
(69-324)promenades in which he employed the gentlemen  
(69-324)who composed his cavalry. It is true, these  
(69-324)generally arose from nothing worse than the loose  
(69-324)discipline observed by troops of this condition, their  
(69-324)carelessness in mounting guards, or in other similar  
(69-324)duties, to which their rank and habits of life had  
(69-324)not accustomed them.

(69-324)The only important manoeuvre attempted by the  
(69-324)Earl of Mar, was the expedition across the frith  
(69-324)under Brigadier MacIntosh, of which the details  
(69-324)are given in the last chapter. Its consequences  
(69-324)were such as to force the General himself into  
(69-324)measures of immediate activity, by which he had  
(69-324)not hitherto seemed much disposed to distinguish  
(69-324)himself, but which became now inevitable.

(69-324)It happened that, on the second day after  
(69-324)MacIntosh's departure from Fife, a general review of  
(69-324)the troops in Perth was held in the vicinity of that  
(69-324)town, and the Earl Marischal's brother, James  
(69-324)(afterwards the celebrated Field-Marshal Keith),

(69-324)galloped along the line, disseminating some of those  
(69-324)favourable reports which were the growth of the day,  
(69-324)and, as one succeeded as fast as another dropped,  
(69-324)might be termed the fuel which supplied the fire of  
(69-324)the insurrection, or rather, perhaps, the bellows  
(69-324)which kept it in excitation. The apocryphal tidings  
(69-324)of this day were, that Sir William Wyndham had

[TG69-325]

(69-325)surprised Bristol for King James III., and that  
(69-325)Sir William Blacket had taken both Berwick and  
(69-325)Newcastle-intelligence received by the hearers  
(69-325)with acclamations, which, if it had been true, were  
(69-325)no less than it deserved.

(69-325)But from these visions the principal persons in  
(69-325)the insurrection were soon recalled to sad realities.  
(69-325)A meeting of the noblemen, chiefs of clans, and  
(69-325)commanders of corps, was summoned, and particular  
(69-325)care taken to exclude all intruders of inferior  
(69-325)rank. To this species of council of war Mar  
(69-325)announced, with a dejected countenance, that  
(69-325)Brigadier MacIntosh, having, contrary to his orders,  
(69-325)thrown himself into the citadel of Leith, was  
(69-325)invested there by the Duke of Argyle. He laid  
(69-325)before them the letter he had received from the  
(69-325)Brigadier, which stated that a few hours would  
(69-325)determine his fate, but that he was determined to  
(69-325)do his duty to the last. The writer expressed his  
(69-325)apprehension that cannons and mortars were about  
(69-325)to be brought against him. The Earl of Mar said  
(69-325)that he gave the detachment up for lost, but  
(69-325)suggested it might be possible to operate a diversion  
(69-325)in its favour, by making a feint towards Stirling.  
(69-325)The proposal was seconded by General Hamilton,  
(69-325)who said that such a movement might possibly do

(69-325)good, and could produce no harm.

(69-325)The movement being determined upon, Mar  
(69-325)marched with a large body of foot to Auchterarder,  
(69-325)and pushed two squadrons of horse as far forward  
(69-325)as Dunblane, which had the appearance of a  
(69-325)meditated attack upon Stirling. It is said to have been

[TG69-326]

(69-326)the opinion of General Hamilton, that the foot  
(69-326)should have taken possession of a defile which  
(69-326)continues the road from the northern end of Stirling  
(69-326)bridge through some low and marshy ground, and  
(69-326)is called the Long Causeway. The rebels being in  
(69-326)possession of this long and narrow pass, it would  
(69-326)have been as difficult for the Duke of Argyle to  
(69-326)have got at them as it was for them to reach him.  
(69-326)And the necessity of guarding the bridge itself  
(69-326)with the small force he possessed, must have added  
(69-326)to Argyle's difficulties, and afforded General  
(69-326)Gordon, and the western clans who were by This time  
(69-326)expected to be at Dunbarton, full opportunity to  
(69-326)have advanced on Stirling by Drymen and the Loch  
(69-326)of Monteith, keeping possession, during their whole  
(69-326)march, of high and hilly grounds fit for the operations  
(69-326)of Highlanders. In this manner the Duke of  
(69-326)Argyle would have been placed between two fires,  
(69-326)and must have run the greatest risk of being cut  
(69-326)off from the reinforcements which he anxiously  
(69-326)expected from Ireland, as well as from the west of  
(69-326)Scotland.

(69-326)Against this very simple and effective plan of  
(69-326)the campaign. Mar had nothing to object but the  
(69-326)want of provisions; in itself a disgrace to a general  
(69-326)who had been quartered so long in the neighbourhood

(69-326)of the Carse of Gowrie, and at the end  
(69-326)of autumn, when the farm-yards are full, without  
(69-326)having secured a quantity of meal adequate to the  
(69-326)maintenance of his army for a few days. General  
(69-326)Hamilton combated this objection, and even  
(69-326)demonstrated that provisions were to be had; and

[TG69-327]

(69-327)Mar apparently acquiesced in his reasoning. But  
(69-327)having come with the infantry of his army as  
(69-327)far as Ardoch, the Earl stopped short, and refused  
(69-327)to permit the movement on the Long Causeway to  
(69-327)be made, alleging that Marischal and Linlithgow  
(69-327)had decided against the design. It seems probable,  
(69-327)that, as the affair drew to a crisis. Mar, the more  
(69-327)that military science was wanted, felt his own  
(69-327)ignorance the more deeply, and, afraid to attempt  
(69-327)any course by which he might have controlled  
(69-327)circumstances, adopted every mode of postponing a  
(69-327)decision, in the hope they might, of themselves,  
(69-327)become favourable in the long run.

(69-327)In the mean time, the news of Mar's march to  
(69-327)Auchterarder and Dunblane had, as we have  
(69-327)elsewhere noticed, recalled the Duke of Argyle to his  
(69-327)camp at Stirling, leaving a few of his cavalry, with  
(69-327)the militia and volunteers, to deal with MacIntosh  
(69-327)and his nimble Highlanders, who escaped out of  
(69-327)their hands, first by their defence of Seaton, and  
(69-327)then by their march to Kelso. Argyle instantly  
(69-327)took additional defensive measures against Mar, by  
(69-327)barricading the bridge of Stirling, and breaking  
(69-327)down that which crosses the Teith at the village  
(69-327)of Doune. But his presence so near his antagonist  
(69-327)was sufficient to induce the Earl of Mar to  
(69-327)retreat with his whole force to his former quarters

(69-327)at Perth, and wait the progress of events.

(69-327)These were now approaching to a crisis. With  
(69-327)MacIntosh's detachment Mar had now no concern;  
(69-327)they were to pursue their good or evil destiny  
(69-327)apart. The Earl of Mar had also received a

[TG69-328]

(69-328)disagreeable hint, that the excursions by which  
(69-328)he used to supply himself with funds, as well as to  
(69-328)keep up the terror of his arms, were not without  
(69-328)inconvenience. A detachment of about fourscore  
(69-328)horse and three hundred Highland foot, chiefly  
(69-328)followers of the Marquis of Huntly, was sent to  
(69-328)Dunfermline to raise the cess. The direct road  
(69-328)from Perth to Dunfermline is considerably shorter,  
(69-328)but the troops had orders to take the route by  
(69-328)Castle-Campbell, which prolonged the journey  
(69-328)considerably, for no apparent purpose save to  
(69-328)insult the Duke of Argyle's garrison there, by  
(69-328)marching in their view. When the detachment  
(69-328)arrived at Dunfermline, Gordon of Glenbucket,  
(69-328)who commanded the Highlanders, conducted them  
(69-328)into the old abbey, which is strongly situated and  
(69-328)there placed a sentinel. He took up his own quarters  
(69-328)in the town, and placed a sentinel there also.  
(69-328)The commander of the horse, Major Graham, took  
(69-328)the ineffectual precaution of doing the same at the  
(69-328)bridge, but used no farther means to avoid  
(69-328)surprise. The gentlemen of the squadron sought each  
(69-328)his personal accommodation, with their usual  
(69-328)neglect of discipline, neither knowing with accuracy  
(69-328)where they were to find their horses, nor fixing on  
(69-328)any alarm-post where they were to rendezvous.  
(69-328)Their officers sat down to a bottle of wine.  
(69-328)During all this scene of confusion, the Honourable



(69-328)Colonel (afterwards Lord) Cathcart, was lying  
(69-328)without the town, with a strong party of cavalry,  
(69-328)and obtaining regular information from his spies  
(69-328)within it.

[TG69-329]

(69-329)About five in the morning of the 24th of October,  
(69-329)he entered the town with two parties of his  
(69-329)dragoons, one mounted and the other on foot. The  
(69-329)surprisal was complete, and the Jacobite cavaliers  
(69-329)suffered in proportion; several were killed and  
(69-329)wounded, and about twenty made prisoners, whose  
(69-329)loss was the more felt, as they were all gentlemen,  
(69-329)and some of them considerable proprietors. The  
(69-329)assailants lost no time in their enterprise, and  
(69-329)retreated as speedily as they entered. The  
(69-329)neighbourhood of the Highland infantry in the Abbey  
(69-329)was a strong reason for despatch. This slight affair  
(69-329)seemed considerable in a war which had been as  
(69-329)yet so little marked by military incident. The  
(69-329)appearance of the prisoners at Stirling, and the  
(69-329)list of their names, gave eclat to the Duke of  
(69-329)Argyle's tactics, and threw disparagement on those  
(69-329)of Mar. On the other side, stories were circulated  
(69-329)at Perth of the loss which Cathcart had sustained  
(69-329)in the action, with rumours of men buried in the  
(69-329)night, and horses returned to Stirling without their  
(69-329)riders. This account, however fabulous, was  
(69-329)received with credit even by those who were engaged  
(69-329)at Dunfermline; for the confusion having been  
(69-329)general, no one knew what was the fate of his  
(69-329)comrade. But in very deed, the whole return of  
(69-329)casualties on Colonel Cathcart's side amounted to  
(69-329)a dragoon hurt in the cheek, and a horse wounded.  
(69-329)This little affair was made the subject of songs  
(69-329)and pasquils in the army at Perth, which increased

(69-329)the Marquis of Huntly's disgust at the enterprise.

(69-329)By this time three regiments of infantry, and

[TG69-330]

(69-330)Evans's dragoons, had joined the Duke of Argyle,  
(69-330)who now felt himself strong enough to make  
(69-330)detachments, without the fear of weakening his own  
(69-330)position. A battalion of foot was sent to Kilsythe,  
(69-330)along with a detachment of dragoons, who were to  
(69-330)watch the motions of the troops of Forster and  
(69-330)Kenmure, in case the whole, or any part of them, should  
(69-330)resolve to penetrate into the west of Scotland.

(69-330)The Earl of Mar was also on the point of being  
(69-330)joined by the last reinforcements which he could  
(69-330)expect, the non-arrival of which had hitherto been  
(69-330)the cause, or at least the apology, for his inactivity.  
(69-330)The various causes of delay had been at  
(69-330)length removed in the following manner. Seaforth,  
(69-330)it must be remembered, was confronted by Lord  
(69-330)Sutherland with his own following, and the Whig  
(69-330)clans of Grant, Monro, Ross, and others. But  
(69-330)about the same time the Earl of Seaforth was joined  
(69-330)by Sir Donald MacDonald of Skye, with seven  
(69-330)hundred of his own clan, and as many MacKinnons,  
(69-330)Chisholms, and others, as raised the total  
(69-330)number to about four thousand men. The Earl of  
(69-330)Sutherland, finding this force so much stronger  
(69-330)than what he was able to bring against it, retreated  
(69-330)to the Bonar, a strait of the sea dividing  
(69-330)Rossshire from Sutherland, and there passed to his own  
(69-330)side of the ferry. Seaforth, now unopposed,  
(69-330)advanced to Inverness, and after leaving a garrison  
(69-330)there, marched to Perth to join the Earl of Mar,  
(69-330)to whose insurrectionary army his troops made a

(69-330)formidable addition.

(69-330)The clans of the West were the only reinforcements

[TG69-331]

(69-331)which Mar had now to expect; but these  
(69-331)were not only considerable from their numbers,  
(69-331)but claimed a peculiar fame in arms even over the  
(69-331)other Highlanders, both from their zeal for the  
(69-331)Jacobite cause, and their distinguished bravery.  
(69-331)But Mar had clogged General Gordon, who was to  
(69-331)bring up this part of his forces, with a commission  
(69-331)which would detain him some time in Argyleshire.  
(69-331)His instructions directed him especially to take and  
(69-331)garrison the castle of Inverary, the principal seat of  
(69-331)the Duke of Argyle. The clans, particularly those  
(69-331)of Stewart of Appin, and Cameron of Lochiel,  
(69-331)though opposed to the Duke in political principles,  
(69-331)respected his talents, and had a high regard for  
(69-331)his person as an individual, and therefore felt  
(69-331)reluctance at entering upon a personal quarrel with  
(69-331)him by attacking his castle. These chiefs hung  
(69-331)back accordingly, and delayed joining. When  
(69-331)Glengarry and Clanronald had raised their clans,  
(69-331)they had fewer scruples. During this time,  
(69-331)Campbell of Finab was intrusted with the difficult  
(69-331)task of keeping the assailants in play until the  
(69-331)Duke of Argyle should receive his expected  
(69-331)reinforcements from Ireland. He was soon joined by  
(69-331)the Earl of Islay, the Duke's younger brother. By  
(69-331)the assistance of Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck,  
(69-331)about a thousand men were assembled to defend  
(69-331)Inverary, when four or five thousand appeared  
(69-331)in arms before it. A sort of treaty was entered  
(69-331)into, by which the insurgent clans agreed to  
(69-331)withdraw from the country of Argyle; with which

(69-331)purpose, descending Strathfillan, they marched towards

[TG69-332]

(69-332)Castle-Drummond, which is in the vicinity of Perth,  
(69-332)and within an easy march of Mar's headquarters.

(69-332)One important member of the insurrection must  
(69-332)also be mentioned. This was the Earl of Breadalbane,  
(69-332)the same unrelenting statesman who was the  
(69-332)author of the Massacre of Glencoe. He had been  
(69-332)employed by King William in 1689 to achieve, by  
(69-332)dint of money, the settlement and pacification of  
(69-332)the Highlands; and now, in his old age, he  
(69-332)imagined his interest lay in contributing to disturb  
(69-332)them. When cited to appear at Edinburgh as a  
(69-332)suspected person, he procured a pathetic attestation  
(69-332)under the hand of a physician and clergyman,  
(69-332)in which the Earl was described as an infirm man,  
(69-332)overwhelmed with all the evils that wait on old  
(69-332)age. None of his infirmities, however, prevented

[TG69-333]

(69-333)him from attending the Earl of Mar's summons, on  
(69-333)the very day after the certificate is dated. Breadalbane  
(69-333)is supposed to have received considerable sums  
(69-333)of money from the Earl of Mar, who knew the  
(69-333)only terms on which he could hope for his favour.  
(69-333)But for a long time the wily Earl did nothing  
(69-333)decisive, and it was believed that he entertained a  
(69-333)purpose of going to Stirling, and reconciling himself  
(69-333)with the Duke of Argyle, the head of the elder  
(69-333)branch of his house. This, however, Breadalbane  
(69-333)did not do; but, on the contrary, appeared in the  
(69-333)town of Perth, where the singular garb and peculiar  
(69-333)manners of this extraordinary old chief  
(69-333)attracted general attention. He possessed powers

(69-333)of satirical observation in no common degree; and  
(69-333)seemed to laugh internally at whatever he saw  
(69-333)which he considered as ridiculous, but without  
(69-333)suffering his countenance to betray his sentiments,  
(69-333)except to very close observers.<sup>1</sup> Amidst the various  
(69-333)difficulties of the insurgents, his only advice to  
(69-333)them was, to procure a printing press, and lose no  
(69-333)time in issuing gazettes.

(69-333)Mar took the hint, whether given in jest or earnest.  
(69-333)He sent to Aberdeen for a printing press,  
(69-333)in order to lose no time in diffusing intelligence  
(69-333)more widely by that comprehensive organ of  
(69-333)information. It was placed under the management

[TG69-334]

(69-334)of Robert Freebairn, one of the printers for the  
(69-334)late Queen Anne, whose principles had led him to  
(69-334)join the insurgent army. He was chiefly employed  
(69-334)in extending by his art the delusions through means  
(69-334)of which the insurrection had been originally  
(69-334)excited, and was in a great measure kept afloat. It  
(69-334)is a strong example of this, that while Mar actually  
(69-334)knew nothing of the fate of Forster and Kenmure,  
(69-334)with the auxiliary party of Highlanders under  
(69-334)MacIntosh; yet it was boldly published that they  
(69-334)were masters of Newcastle, and carried all before  
(69-334)them, and that the Jacobites around London had  
(69-334)taken arms in such numbers, that King George had  
(69-334)found it necessary to retire from the metropolis.

(69-334)It does not appear that the Earl of Breadalbane  
(69-334)was so frank in affording the rebels his military  
(69-334)support, which was very extensive and powerful,  
(69-334)as in imparting his advice how to make an impression  
(69-334)on the public mind by means of the press.

(69-334)His own age excused him from taking the field;  
(69-334)and it is probable, his experience and sagacious  
(69-334)observation discovered little in their counsels which  
(69-334)promised a favourable result to their enterprise,  
(69-334)though supported certainly by a very considerable  
(69-334)force in arms. A body of his clan, about four or  
(69-334)five hundred strong, commanded by the Earl's  
(69-334)kinsman, Campbell of Glendarule, joined the force  
(69-334)under General Gordon; but about four hundred,  
(69-334)who had apparently engaged in the enterprise  
(69-334)against Inverary, and were embodied for that  
(69-334)purpose, dispersed, and returned to their own homes  
(69-334)afterwards without joining Mar.

[TG69-335]

(69-335)The whole force being now collected on both  
(69-335)sides, it seemed inevitable, that the clouds of civil  
(69-335)war which had been so long lowering on the horizon,  
(69-335)should now burst in storm and tempest on the  
(69-335)devoted realm of Scotland.

[TG70-336]

(70-336)I HAVE delayed till this point in the Scottish  
(70-336)history some attempt to investigate the causes and  
(70-336)conduct of the Rebellion, and to explain, if  
(70-336)possible, the supineness of the insurgent general and  
(70-336)chiefs, who, having engaged in an attempt so  
(70-336)desperate, and raised forces so considerable, should  
(70-336)yet, after the lapse of two months, have advanced  
(70-336)little farther in their enterprise than they had done  
(70-336)in the first week after its commencement.

(70-336)If we review the Earl of Mar's conduct from  
(70-336)beginning to end, we are led to the conclusion, that  
(70-336)the insurrection of 1715 was as hastily as rashly  
(70-336)undertaken. It does not appear that Mar was in

[TG70-337]

(70-337)communication on the subject with the court of the  
(70-337)Chevalier de St George previous to Queen Anne's  
(70-337)death. That event found him at liberty to recommend  
(70-337)himself to the favour of King George, and  
(70-337)show his influence with the Highland chiefs, by  
(70-337)procuring an address of adhesion from them, of a tenor  
(70-337)as loyal as his own. These offers of service being  
(70-337)rejected, as we have already said, in a harsh and  
(70-337)an affronting manner, made the fallen Minister  
(70-337)conclude that his ruin was determined on; and his  
(70-337)private resentment, which, in other circumstances,  
(70-337)would have fallen to the ground ineffectual and  
(70-337)harmless, lighted unhappily amongst those  
(70-337)combustibles, which the general adherence to the  
(70-337)exiled family had prepared in Scotland.

(70-337)When Mar arrived in Fifeshire from London, it  
(70-337)was reported that he was possessed of L.100, 000  
(70-337)in money,-instructions from the Pretender, under  
(70-337)his own hand, and a commission appointing him  
(70-337)lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of his  
(70-337)forces in Scotland. But though these rumours  
(70-337)were scattered in the public ear, better accounts  
(70-337)allege, that in the commencement of the undertaking,  
(70-337)Mar did not pretend to assume any authority  
(70-337)over the other noblemen of his own rank, or  
(70-337)produce any other token from the Chevalier de St  
(70-337)George, than his portrait. A good deal of pains  
(70-337)were taken to parade a strong-box, said to enclose  
(70-337)a considerable sum of money, belonging to the Earl  
(70-337)of Mar; but it was not believed to contain treasure  
(70-337)to the amount of more than L.3000, if, indeed, it  
(70-337)held so much. As to the important point of a

[TG70-338]

(70-338)general to command in chief, the scheme, when  
(70-338)originally contemplated at the Court of St Germain's,  
(70-338)turned upon the Duke of Ormond's landing in  
(70-338)England, and the Duke of Berwick in Scotland,  
(70-338)whose well-known talents were to direct the whole  
(70-338)affair. After commencing his insurrection, there  
(70-338)can be little doubt that Mar did the utmost, by his  
(70-338)agents in Lorraine, to engage the favourable opinion  
(70-338)of the Chevalier; and the unexpected success of  
(70-338)his enterprise, so far as it had gone, and the great  
(70-338)power he had been able to assemble, were well  
(70-338)calculated to recommend him to confidence. In the  
(70-338)mean time, it was necessary there should be a  
(70-338)general to execute the duties of the office ad interim.  
(70-338)Mar offered, as I have told you, the command to  
(70-338)the Duke of Athole, who refused to be connected  
(70-338)with the affair. Huntly, from his power and rank  
(70-338)in possession and expectation, might have claimed  
(70-338)the supreme authority, but his religion was an  
(70-338)obstacle. Seaforth lay distant, and was late in coming  
(70-338)up. The claims of these great nobles being set  
(70-338)aside, there was nothing so natural as that Mar  
(70-338)himself should assume the command of an insurrection,  
(70-338)which would never have existed without  
(70-338)his instigation. He was acceptable to the  
(70-338)Highlanders, as having been the channel through which  
(70-338)the bounty of the late Queen Anne had been transmitted  
(70-338)to them; and had also partisans, from his  
(70-338)liberality to certain of the Lowland nobles who had  
(70-338)joined him, whose estates and revenues were not  
(70-338)adequate to their rank, a circumstance which might  
(70-338)be no small cause for their rushing into so ruinous

[TG70-339]

(70-339)an undertaking. Thus Mar assumed the general's



(70-339)truncheon which chance offered to his hand, because  
(70-339)there was no other who could pretend to it.

(70-339)Like most persons in his situation, he was not  
(70-339)inclined to distrust his own capacity for using to  
(70-339)advantage the power which he had almost fortuitously  
(70-339)become possessed of; or, if he nourished  
(70-339)any doubt upon this subject, he might consider his  
(70-339)military charge to be but temporary, since, from  
(70-339)the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears he  
(70-339)expected from France some person whose trade had  
(70-339)been war, and to whom he might with honour  
(70-339)resign his office. Such an expectation may account  
(70-339)for the care with which the Jacobite commander  
(70-339)abstained from offensive operations, and for his  
(70-339)anxious desire to augment his army to the highest  
(70-339)point, rather than to adventure it upon the most  
(70-339)promising enterprise.

(70-339)It is probable Mar was encouraged to persevere  
(70-339)in his military authority, in which he must have  
(70-339)met with some embarrassment, when he found  
(70-339)himself confirmed in it by Ogilvie of Boyne, an  
(70-339)especial messenger from the Chevalier de St George,  
(70-339)who, greatly flattered by the favourable state of  
(70-339)affairs in Scotland, conferred upon the Earl of Mar  
(70-339)in form, that command, which he had so long exercised  
(70-339)in point of fact, and it was said, brought a  
(70-339)patent, raising him to the dignity of Duke of Mar.  
(70-339)Of the last honour, little was known, but the  
(70-339)commission of Mar as general was read at the head of  
(70-339)every corps engaged in the insurrection.

(70-339)It might be matter of wonder that the vessel

[TG70-340]

(70-340)which brought over Mr Ogilvie, the bearer of this  
(70-340)commission, had not been freighted with men, money,  
(70-340)or provisions. The reason appears to have been,  
(70-340)that the Chevalier de St George had previously  
(70-340)expended all the funds he could himself command,  
(70-340)or which he could borrow from foreign courts  
(70-340)favourable to his title, in equipping a considerable  
(70-340)number of vessels designed to sail from Havre-de-  
(70-340)Grace and Dieppe, with large quantities of arms  
(70-340)and ammunition. But the Earl of Stair, having  
(70-340)speedily discovered the destination of these  
(70-340)supplies, remonstrated with the Court of France upon  
(70-340)proceedings so inconsistent with the treaty of  
(70-340)Utrecht; and Sir George Byng, with a squadron  
(70-340)of men-of-war, blockaded the ports of France, with  
(70-340)the purpose of attacking the vessels if they should  
(70-340)put to sea. The Regent Duke of Orleans immediately  
(70-340)gave orders to the inspectors of naval affairs  
(70-340)to prevent the arming and sailing of the vessels  
(70-340)intended for the service of the Chevalier de St George.  
(70-340)Thus the supplies designed for the insurgents were  
(70-340)intercepted, and the whole expense which had been  
(70-340)laid out upon the projected expedition was entirely  
(70-340)lost. This affords a satisfactory reason why the  
(70-340)exiled Prince could send little to his partisans in  
(70-340)Scotland, unless in the shape of fair words and  
(70-340)commissions.

(70-340)In the mean time, the Earl of Mar, and the  
(70-340)nobles and gentlemen embarked in his enterprise,  
(70-340)although disappointed in these sanguine  
(70-340)expectations under which it had been undertaken, and in  
(70-340)finding that the death of Louis XIV., and the

[TG70-341]

(70-341)prudence of his successor in power, would deprive

(70-341)them of all hopes of foreign assistance, were yet  
(70-341)desirous to receive that species of encouragement  
(70-341)which might be derived from seeing the Chevalier  
(70-341)de St George himself at the head of the army,  
(70-341)which they had drawn together in his name and  
(70-341)quarrel. An address, therefore, was made to King  
(70-341)James VIII., as he was termed, praying him to  
(70-341)repair to Scotland, and to encourage, by his personal  
(70-341)presence, the flame of loyalty, which was represented  
(70-341)as breaking out in every part of that  
(70-341)kingdom, pledging the lives and honour of the  
(70-341)subscribers for his personal security, and insisting on  
(70-341)the favourable effect likely to be produced upon  
(70-341)their undertaking, by his placing himself at its head.  
(70-341)Another address was drawn up to the Regent Duke  
(70-341)of Orleans, praying him, if he was not pleased to  
(70-341)aid the heir of the House of Stewart at this crisis  
(70-341)of his fate, that he would at least permit him to return  
(70-341)to his own country, to share the fate of his  
(70-341)trusty adherents, who were in arms in his behalf.  
(70-341)This paper had rather an extraordinary turn, sounding  
(70-341)as if the Chevalier de St George had been in  
(70-341)prison, and the Regent of France the keeper of the  
(70-341)key. The addresses, however, were subscribed by  
(70-341)all the men of quality at Perth, though great was  
(70-341)the resentment of these proud hidalgos, to find that  
(70-341)the king's printer, Mr Robert Freebairn, was  
(70-341)permitted to sign along with them. The papers were,  
(70-341)after having been signed, intrusted to the care of  
(70-341)the Honourable Major Hay, having as his secretary

[TG70-342]

(70-342)the historian Dr Abercromby, with charge to  
(70-342)wait upon the Chevalier at the Court of Lorraine,  
(70-342)or where he might happen to be, and urge the desire  
(70-342)of the subscribers. The choice of the ambassador,

(70-342)and the secrecy which was observed on the  
(70-342)subject of his commission, were regarded as deserving  
(70-342)censure by those in the army who conceived  
(70-342)that, the general welfare being concerned in the  
(70-342)measures to be adopted, they had some right to be  
(70-342)acquainted with the mode in which the negotiation  
(70-342)was to proceed. Mar afterwards despatched two  
(70-342)additional envoys on the same errand; the first  
(70-342)was Sir Alexander Erskine of Alva, who was  
(70-342)wrecked on his return; the second, an agent of  
(70-342)considerable acuteness, named Charles Forbes.

(70-342)The Earl of Mar had not ascended to the pitch  
(70-342)of power which he now enjoyed, without experiencing  
(70-342)the usual share of ill-will and unfavourable  
(70-342)construction. The Master of Sinclair, a man of a  
(70-342)temper equally shrewd and severe, had from the  
(70-342)beginning shown himself dissatisfied with the  
(70-342)management of the insurrection, and appears, like  
(70-342)many men of the same disposition, to have been  
(70-342)much more ready to remark and censure errors  
(70-342)than to assist in retrieving them. The Earl of  
(70-342)Huntly seems also to have been disobliged by Mar,  
(70-342)and to have looked on him with dislike or suspicion;  
(70-342)nor were the Highlanders entirely disposed  
(70-342)to trust him as their general. When Glengarry,

[TG70-343]

(70-343)one of their ablest chiefs, joined the army at Perth,  
(70-343)separate from those first assembled at Perth, and  
(70-343)act in conjunction with the forces of the Earl of  
(70-343)Huntly; and it was proposed to Sinclair to join  
(70-343)in this sort of association, by which the army would  
(70-343)in fact have been effectually separated into two  
(70-343)parts. Glengarry, however, was dissuaded from  
(70-343)this secession; and although it is intimated, that in

(70-343)order to induce him to abandon his design, the  
(70-343)arguments arising from good cheer and good fellowship  
(70-343)were freely resorted to, it is not the less  
(70-343>true, that his returning to the duty of a soldier was  
(70-343)an act of sober reason.

(70-343)The Earl of Mar, amidst his other duties, having  
(70-343)a wish to prepare a place of arms for the residence  
(70-343)of the Chevalier de St George on his expected  
(70-343)arrival, made an attempt to cover Perth by fortifications,  
(70-343)so as to place it out of danger from a coup-  
(70-343)de-main. General Hamilton attended to this duty  
(70-343)for a short time; butt afterwards it was almost  
(70-343)entirely given up to the direction of a Frenchman,  
(70-343)who had been a dancing and fencing-master, and  
(70-343)whose lines of defence furnished much amusement  
(70-343)to the English engineers, who afterwards became  
(70-343)possessed of them.

(70-343)Before resuming the narrative, I may tell you,  
(70-343)that in this same eventful month of October, when  
(70-343)there were so many military movements in Scotland,  
(70-343)the Duke of Ormond was despatched by the  
(70-343)Chevalier de St George, with arms and ammunition,  
(70-343)and directions to land on the coast of England.

[TG70-344]

(70-344)Three cannon were fired as a signal to the  
(70-344)Jacobites, who were expected to flock in numbers  
(70-344)to the shore, the name of Ormond being then most  
(70-344)popular among them. But the signals not being  
(70-344)answered, the vessel bore off, and returned to France.  
(70-344)Had the Duke landed, the Jacobite party would  
(70-344)have been in the singular predicament of having a  
(70-344)general in England, without an army, and an army  
(70-344)in Scotland without an effective general.

(70-344)We now approach the catastrophe of these  
(70-344)intestine commotions; for the Earl of Mar had by  
(70-344)the beginning of November received all the  
(70-344)reinforcements which he had to expect, though it may  
(70-344)be doubted whether he had rendered his task of  
(70-344)forcing or turning the Duke of Argyle's position  
(70-344)more easy, or his own army much stronger, by the  
(70-344)time he had spent in inactivity. His numbers were  
(70-344)indeed augmented, but so were those of the Duke  
(70-344)so that the armies bore the same proportion to each  
(70-344)other as before. This was a disadvantage to the  
(70-344)Highlanders; for where a contest is to take place  
(70-344)betwixt undisciplined energy and the steadiness of  
(70-344)regular troops, the latter must always attain  
(70-344)superiority in proportion as their numbers in the field  
(70-344)increase, and render the day likely to be decided  
(70-344)by manoeuvres. Besides this, the army of Mar  
(70-344)sustained a very great loss by desertion during the  
(70-344)time he lay at Perth. The Highlanders, with the  
(70-344)impatience and indolence of a half-civilized people,  
(70-344)grew weary alike of remaining idle, and of being  
(70-344)employed in the labour of fortification, or the dull  
(70-344)details of ordinary parade exercise. Many also

[TG70-345]

(70-345)went home for the purpose of placing in safety their  
(70-345)accumulation of pay, and what booty they had been  
(70-345)able to find in the Lowlands. Such desertions were  
(70-345)deemed by the clans to be perfectly in rule, and  
(70-345)even the authority of the chiefs was inadequate to  
(70-345)prevent them.

(70-345)Neither do the plans of the Earl of Mar seem to  
(70-345)have been more distinctly settled, when he finally  
(70-345)determined on the important step of making a movement

(70-345)in advance. It seems to have been given out,  
(70-345)that he was to make three feigned attacks upon the  
(70-345)Duke's army at one and the same time-namely,  
(70-345)one upon the Long Causeway and Stirling bridge;  
(70-345)another at the Abbey ford, a mile below Stirling;  
(70-345)and a third at the Drip-coble, a ford a mile and a  
(70-345)half above that town. By appearing on so many  
(70-345)points at once, Mar might hope to occupy the  
(70-345)Duke's attention so effectually, as to cross the river  
(70-345)with his main body at the fords of Forth. But, as  
(70-345)the Duke of Argyle did not give his opponent time  
(70-345)to make these movements, it cannot be known  
(70-345)whether Mar actually contemplated them.

(70-345)It is, however, certain that the Earl of Mar  
(70-345)entertained the general purpose of reaching, if  
(70-345)possible, the fords of Forth, where that river issues  
(70-345)out of Lochard, and thus passing over to the southern  
(70-345)side. To reach this part of the river, required  
(70-345)a march of two days through a hilly and barren  
(70-345)country. Nor were Mar and his advisers well  
(70-345)acquainted with the road, and they had no other  
(70-345)guide but the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy  
(70-345)MacGregor, who they themselves said was not to

[TG70-346]

(70-346)be trusted, and who, in point of fact, was in  
(70-346)constant communication with his patron, the Duke of  
(70-346)Argyle, to whom he sent intelligence of Mar's  
(70-346)motions.<sup>1</sup> It was said, too, that this outlaw only  
(70-346)knew the fords from having passed them with  
(70-346)Highland cattle-a different thing, certainly, from  
(70-346)being acquainted with them in a military point of  
(70-346)view. It was probably, however, with a view to  
(70-346)the information which Rob Roy could give on this  
(70-346)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

[TG70-347]

(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 Aberfoil. 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



(70-347)in force, adopted the soldier-like resolution of  
(70-347)drawing out such strength as he had, and interrupting  
(70-347)the march of the insurgents by fighting  
(70-347)them, before they should have an opportunity of  
(70-347)descending upon the Forth. For this purpose, he  
(70-347)called in all his garrisons and outposts, and having  
(70-347)mustered a main body of not quite four thousand  
(70-347)men, he marched from Stirling towards Dunblane,  
(70-347)on the morning of Saturday, the 12th of  
(70-347)November.

(70-347)On the 10th of November, the Earl of Mar had  
(70-347)broken up from his quarters at Perth, and advanced  
(70-347)to Auchterarder, where the infantry were quartered,  
(70-347)while the cavalry found accommodation in  
(70-347)the vicinity.

[TG70-348]

(70-348)But, during that night, the Highland army  
(70-348)suffered in its nominal strength by two considerable  
(70-348)desertions. The one was that of the whole clan of  
(70-348)Fraser, amounting to four hundred men. They  
(70-348)had joined Mar's army very recently, under Fraser  
(70-348)of Fraserdale, who had married the heiress of their  
(70-348)late chieftain. Just at this crisis, however, the  
(70-348)heir-male of the family, the celebrated Fraser of  
(70-348)Lovat, arrived in the north, and recalled by his  
(70-348)mandate the clan of Fraser from the standards of  
(70-348)King James VIII. to transfer them to those of  
(70-348)George I. The Frasers, deeming their duty to  
(70-348)their chief paramount to that which they owed to  
(70-348)either monarch, and recognising the right of the  
(70-348)male-heir to command them in preference to that  
(70-348)of the husband of the heir-female, unanimously  
(70-348)obeyed the summons of the former, and left the  
(70-348)camp, army, and cause in which they were engaged.

(70-348)There will be occasion to mention more of the  
(70-348)Erasers hereafter.

(70-348)The other desertion was that of two hundred of  
(70-348)the Earl of Huntly's Highland followers, who  
(70-348)complained of having been unjustly overburdened with  
(70-348)what is called fatigue-duty. Thus diminished, the  
(70-348)army, after having been reviewed by their general,  
(70-348)marched off their ground in the following order.  
(70-348)The Master of Sinclair with the Fifeshire squadron,  
(70-348)and two squadrons of Huntly's cavalry, formed  
(70-348)the advance of the whole. The western clans  
(70-348)followed, being, first, the MacDonalds, under their  
(70-348)different chiefs of Clan Ranald, Glengarry, Sir  
(70-348)Donald MacDonald, Keppoch, and Glencoe. The

[TG70-349]

(70-349)next were Breadalbane's men, with five regiments,  
(70-349)consisting of the following clans: the MacLeans,  
(70-349)under Sir John MacLean, their chief; the Camerons,  
(70-349)under Lochiel; the Stewarts, commanded by  
(70-349)Appin; and those who remained of Huntly's  
(70-349)followers from Strathdon and Glenlivet, under Gordon  
(70-349)of Glenbucket. This chosen body of Highlanders  
(70-349)were in high spirits, and so confident of  
(70-349)success, that they boasted that their division of  
(70-349)Mar's army only would be more than enough to  
(70-349)deal with the Duke of Argyle and all the force he  
(70-349)commanded. General Gordon was commander of  
(70-349)the whole Highland vanguard.

(70-349)The rest of the army, commanded by Mar in  
(70-349)person, with the assistance of General Hamilton,  
(70-349)followed the advanced division; and it was settled  
(70-349)that the rearguard should march only as far as  
(70-349)Ardoch, while the vanguard should push forward as

(70-349)far as the town of Dunblane, where they had quartered  
(70-349)on their former march from Perth, eight  
(70-349)miles to the west of Ardoch, where the rear was  
(70-349)to halt.

(70-349)The horse, at the head of the first column, were  
(70-349)advancing according to their orders, when a lame  
(70-349)boy, running as fast as his infirmity would permit  
(70-349)him, stated to the Master of Sinclair, who  
(70-349)commanded the advance, that he was sent by the wife  
(70-349)of the Laird of Kippendavie, whose husband was  
(70-349)in the Jacobite army, to tell the Earl of Mar that  
(70-349)the Duke of Argyle was in the act of marching  
(70-349)through Dunblane. The news, though the  
(70-349)appearance of the messenger excited some doubt, was

[TG70-350]

(70-350)entitled to be treated with respect. A reconnoitring  
(70-350)party was sent forward, an express was  
(70-350)despatched to Mar, who was six or seven miles in  
(70-350)the rear, and General Gordon anxiously looked  
(70-350)around him to find some strong ground on which  
(70-350)to post the men. The river Allan lay in their  
(70-350)front, and the Master of Sinclair proposed pushing  
(70-350)across, and taking possession of some farm-houses,  
(70-350)visible on the opposite side, where the gentlemen  
(70-350)might find refreshment, and the horses forage.  
(70-350)But General Gordon justly thought that the passing  
(70-350)a river at nightfall was a bad preparation for a  
(70-350)body of infantry, who were to lie out till morning  
(70-350)in the open air, in a hard frost, in the middle of  
(70-350)November. At length the dispute was terminated,  
(70-350)on two farm-houses being discovered on the left  
(70-350)side of the river, where the horse obtained some  
(70-350)accommodation, though in a situation in which they  
(70-350)might have been destroyed by a sudden attack,

(70-350)before they could have got out of the enclosures,  
(70-350)among which they were penned up like cattle,  
(70-350)rather than quartered like soldiers. To guard  
(70-350)against such a catastrophe, General Gordon posted  
(70-350)advanced guards and videttes, and sent out patrols  
(70-350)with the usual military precautions. Soon after  
(70-350)they had taken their quarters for the night. Lord  
(70-350)Southesk and the Angus-shire cavalry came up,  
(70-350)with the intelligence that Mar and the whole main  
(70-350)body were following, and the Earl accordingly  
(70-350)appeared at the bivouac of the vanguard about nine  
(70-350)o'clock at night.

(70-350)Fresh intelligence came to them from Lady

[TG70-351]

(70-351)Kippendavie, who seems to have been as correct in her  
(70-351)intelligence, and accurate in communicating with  
(70-351)the insurgent army, as she was singular in her  
(70-351)choice of messengers, this last being an old woman,  
(70-351)who confirmed the tidings of the enemy's approach.  
(70-351)The reconnoitring parties, sent forward by  
(70-351)Sinclair, came in with news to the same purpose.

(70-351)The whole of Mar's army being now collected  
(70-351)together within a very narrow circumference, slept  
(70-351)on their arms, and wrapped in their plaids, feeling  
(70-351)less inconvenience from the weather, which was a  
(70-351)severe frost, than would probably have been  
(70-351)experienced by any other forces in Europe.

(70-351)By daybreak, on Sunday, 13th November, the  
(70-351)insurgent army drew up in two lines of battle, on  
(70-351)the plain above the place where they had spent the  
(70-351)night. They had not long assumed this posture,  
(70-351)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 sunk, 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

(70-352)military auditors of the injustice done to the royal

[TG70-353]

(70-353)English yoke, and conjured them not to let slip the  
(70-353)opportunity which they had so long languished for,  
(70-353)but instantly attack the enemy, with that spirit which  
(70-353)their cause and their wrongs were calculated to  
(70-353)inspire, his words awakened a corresponding energy in  
(70-353)the hearers. The Earl of Huntly only asked,  
(70-353)whether a battle won would, in their present  
(70-353)circumstances, place their rights, and those of their country,  
(70-353)within their reach? or, whether there was any hope  
(70-353)of foreign aid, to enable them to withstand the arms  
(70-353)of England and her allies? " All this," he said,  
(70-353)" my Lord of Mar could doubtless inform them of,  
(70-353)since he had lately received a letter from Lord  
(70-353)Bolingbroke, which he desired might be laid before  
(70-353)the council."

(70-353)The critical circumstances of the moment, and  
(70-353)the enthusiasm which had been excited in the  
(70-353)assembly, enabled Mar to dispense with attending to  
(70-353)questions which he might have found it difficult to  
(70-353)answer. Gliding over the interruption given by  
(70-353)Huntly, he stated to the council the question, in  
(70-353)the words, " Fight or not? " The chiefs, nobles,  
(70-353)and officers, answered, with an universal shout of  
(70-353)" Fight," and their resolution reaching the two  
(70-353)lines, as they stood drawn up in order of battle,  
(70-353)was welcomed with loud huzzas, tossing up of  
(70-353)hats and bonnets, and a cheerfulness, which seemed,  
(70-353)even to those who had been before uncertain and  
(70-353)doubtful of the issue, a sure presage of speedy  
(70-353)victory.

(70-353)In this state of excited feeling, the army of Mar

[TG70-354]

(70-354)advanced towards the enemy. The two lines in  
(70-354)which they stood upon the moor were broken up  
(70-354)each into two columns, so that it was in four  
(70-354)columns that they pursued the order of their march,  
(70-354)descending the hill which they had first occupied,  
(70-354)crossing a morass, which the hard frost of the night  
(70-354)before had rendered passable for cavalry as well as  
(70-354)infantry, and ascending the opposite height, from  
(70-354)which the Duke of Argyle was observing their  
(70-354)movements. The Duke, on his part, as soon as he  
(70-354)saw the extremity of Mar's wing wheel to the  
(70-354)right, in order to make the movement we have  
(70-354)described, immediately comprehended that their  
(70-354)purpose was to avail themselves of their superiority  
(70-354)of numbers, and attack his small force at once  
(70-354)on the left flank, and in front. He rode hastily  
(70-354)down the eminence, at the foot of which his force  
(70-354)was drawn up, in order at once to get them into  
(70-354)such a disposition as might disappoint the object of  
(70-354)the enemy, and to lead his troops up the hill. He  
(70-354)drew up his little army of about four thousand men,  
(70-354)extending his disposition considerably to the right,  
(70-354)placing three squadrons of horse on that wing, and  
(70-354)as many on the left of his front line; the centre  
(70-354)being composed of six battalions of foot. Each  
(70-354)wing of horse was supported by a squadron of  
(70-354)dragoons. The second line was composed of two  
(70-354)battalions in the centre, with a squadron of  
(70-354)dragoons on either wing. In this order, and having  
(70-354)his right considerably advanced against the enemy's  
(70-354)left, so as to admit of his withdrawing his own left

[TG70-355]

(70-355)wing from a flank attack, the Duke ascended the

(70-355)hill, seeing nothing of the enemy, who had left the  
(70-355)high grounds, and were advancing to meet him on  
(70-355)the other side of the same height, which he was in  
(70-355)the act of mounting. The Highlanders, as has  
(70-355)been already stated, advanced in four columns,  
(70-355)marching by their right.

(70-355)Each column of infantry, four in number, was  
(70-355)closed by a body of cavalry, which, when the column  
(70-355)should deploy into line, were to take up their ground  
(70-355)on the flank. The Highlanders marched, or rather  
(70-355)ran, with such eagerness towards the enemy, that  
(70-355)the horse were kept at the gallop in the rear. Both  
(70-355)armies were thus ascending the hill in column, and  
(70-355)met, as it were unexpectedly, upon the top, being  
(70-355)in some points within pistol-shot before they were  
(70-355)aware of each others presence. Both, therefore,  
(70-355)endeavoured at the same time to form line-of-battle,  
(70-355)and some confusion occurred on either side. In  
(70-355)particular, two squadrons of the insurgent cavalry  
(70-355)were placed in the centre of the right wing, instead  
(70-355)of being stationed on the flank, as had been intended,  
(70-355)and as the rules of war required. This discovery,  
(70-355)however, was of much less consequence to the  
(70-355)Highlanders, whose terrors consisted in the head-  
(70-355)long fury of the onset, whilst the strength of the  
(70-355)regulars depended on the steadiness of their  
(70-355)discipline.

(70-355)It was at this moment that an old chief, impatient  
(70-355)for the command to charge, and seeing the English  
(70-355)soldiers getting into order, became enraged at seeing

[TG70-356]

(70-356)the favourable minute pass away, and made the  
(70-356)memorable exclamation, " Oh, for one hour of



(70-356)Dundee!"

(70-356)The Duke's left wing was commanded by General  
(70-356)Whitham, who does not appear to have been  
(70-356)distinguished either for courage or conduct. The  
(70-356)right of Mar's line was hastily formed, consisting  
(70-356)of the western clans, MacDonalds, MacLeans, and  
(70-356)the followers of Breadalbane, when old Captain  
(70-356)Livingstone rode up, a veteran soldier, who had  
(70-356)served in King James's army before the Revolution,  
(70-356)and with several oaths called to General Gordon,  
(70-356)who commanded the right wing, instantly to attack.  
(70-356)The General hesitated, but the chiefs and clans  
(70-356)caught the enthusiasm of the moment. A gentleman,  
(70-356)named MacLean, who lived to a great age,  
(70-356)thus described the attack of his own tribe; and  
(70-356)there can be no doubt that the general onset was  
(70-356)made under similar circumstances. When his clan  
(70-356)was drawn up in deep order, the best born, bravest,  
(70-356)and best armed of the warriors in front, Sir John  
(70-356)MacLean placed himself at their head, and said,  
(70-356)with a loud voice, " Gentlemen, this is a day we  
(70-356)have long wished to see. Yonder stands MacCallanmore  
(70-356)for King George-Here stands MacLean

[TG70-357]

(70-357)for King James.-God bless MacLean and  
(70-357)King James!-Charge, gentlemen!"

(70-357)The clan then muttered a very brief prayer, fixed  
(70-357)the bonnet firm on the head, stripped off their  
(70-357)plaids, which then comprehended the philabeg also,  
(70-357)and rushed on the enemy, firing their fusees  
(70-357)irregularly, then dropping them, and drawing their  
(70-357)swords, and uniting in one wild yell, when they  
(70-357)mingled among the bayonets. The regular troops

(70-357)on the left received this fierce onset of the  
(70-357)mountaineers with a heavy fire, which did considerable  
(70-357)execution. Among others who dropped was the  
(70-357)gallant young chief of Clan Ranald, mortally  
(70-357)wounded. His fall checked for an instant the  
(70-357)impetuosity of his followers, when Glengarry, so often  
(70-357)mentioned, started from the ranks, waved his bonnet  
(70-357)around his head, exclaiming, " Revenge,  
(70-357)revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for  
(70-357)mourning!" The Highlanders, resuming the fury  
(70-357)of their attack, mingled with the regulars, forced  
(70-357)their line in every direction, broke through them  
(70-357)and dispersed them, making great slaughter among  
(70-357)men less active than themselves, and loaded with  
(70-357)an unwieldy musket, which in individual or  
(70-357)irregular strife, has scarce ever been found a match for  
(70-357)the broadsword. The extreme left of Argyle's  
(70-357)army was thus routed with considerable slaughter,  
(70-357)for the Highlanders gave no quarter; but the troops  
(70-357)of the centre, under General Wightman, remained

[TG70-358]

(70-358)unbroken; and it would seem to have been the  
(70-358)business of the rebel cavalry to have charged them  
(70-358)in the flank or rear, exposed as they must have  
(70-358)been by the flight of Whitham and the left wing.  
(70-358)Of their cavalry, however, two squadrons,  
(70-358)commanded by Drummond and Marischal, went off in  
(70-358)pursuit of those whom the Highlanders had scattered;  
(70-358)while Lord Huntly's, and that of Fife, under  
(70-358)the Master of Sinclair, remained inactive on the  
(70-358)field of battle, without engaging at all. It would  
(70-358)seem that they were kept in check by the dragoons  
(70-358)of Argyle's second line, who did not fly like the  
(70-358)first, but made an orderly retreat in the face of the  
(70-358)enemy.

(70-358)On the right wing and centre, the event of the  
(70-358)battle was very different. The attack of the  
(70-358)Highlanders was as furious as on their right.  
(70-358)But their opponents, though a little staggered,  
(70-358)stood their ground with admirable resolution, and  
(70-358)the Duke of Argyle detached Colonel Cathcart,  
(70-358)with a body of horse, to cross a morass, which the  
(70-358)frost had rendered passable, and attack the  
(70-358)Highlanders on the flank as they advanced to the  
(70-358)charge. In this manner their rapid assault was  
(70-358)checked and baffled; and although the Camerons,  
(70-358)Stewarts, and other clans of high reputation,  
(70-358)formed the left wing of Mar's army, yet that, and  
(70-358)his whole second line, were put to flight by the  
(70-358)masterly movement of the Duke of Argyle, and  
(70-358)the steadiness of the troops he commanded. But  
(70-358)his situation was very perilous; for as the

[TG70-359]

(70-359)fugitives consisted of five thousand men, there was  
(70-359)every prospect of their rallying and destroying  
(70-359)the Duke's small body, consisting only of five  
(70-359)squadrons of horse, supported by Wightman,  
(70-359)with three battalions of infantry, who had lately  
(70-359)composed the centre of the army. Argyle took  
(70-359)the bold determination to press on the fugitives  
(70-359)with his utmost vigour, and succeeded in driving  
(70-359)them back to the river Allan, where they had  
(70-359)quartered the night before. The fugitives made  
(70-359)frequent halts, and were as often again attacked  
(70-359)and broken. This was particularly remarked of  
(70-359)the body of horse who carried James's standard,  
(70-359)and was called the Restoration Squadron. The  
(70-359)gentlemen composing it made repeated and vigorous  
(70-359)attacks, in which they were only broken and

(70-359)borne down by the superior weight of the English  
(70-359)cavalry. It was in one of these reiterated  
(70-359)charges that the gallant young Earl of Strathmore  
(70-359)lost his life, while in vain attempting to rally his  
(70-359)Angus-shire regiment. He was slain by a private  
(70-359)dragoon, after having had quarter given to him.  
(70-359)The Earl of Panmure was also wounded and  
(70-359)made prisoner by the royalists, but was rescued  
(70-359)by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.

(70-359)The field of battle now presented a singular  
(70-359)appearance, for the left of both armies were broken  
(70-359)and flying, the right of both victorious and in pursuit.  
(70-359)But the events of war are of less consequence  
(70-359)than the use which is made of them. It does not  
(70-359)appear than any attempt was made on the part of  
(70-359)Mar to avail himself of his success on the right.

[TG70-360]

(70-360)General Whitham had indeed resigned the field of  
(70-360)battle to his opponents, and from thence fled almost  
(70-360)to Stirling bridge. The victorious Highlanders  
(70-360)did not take the trouble to pursue them, but having  
(70-360)marched across the scene of action, drew up on an  
(70-360)eminence, called the Stony Hill of Kippendavie,  
(70-360)where they stood in groups with their drawn  
(70-360)swords in their hands. One cause of their inactivity  
(70-360)at this critical moment may be attributed to  
(70-360)having dropped their fire-arms, according to their  
(70-360)fashion when about to charge; another, certainly,  
(70-360)was the want of active aides-de-camp to transmit  
(70-360)orders; and a third, the character of the Highlanders,  
(70-360)who are not always disposed to obedience.  
(70-360)This much is certain, that had their victorious right  
(70-360)wing pursued in the Duke of Argyle's rear when  
(70-360)he advanced towards the river Allan, they must

(70-360)have placed him in the greatest danger, since his  
(70-360)utmost exertion was scarce equal to keep the  
(70-360)multipitude before him in full retreat. It is also stated,  
(70-360)that some of the Highlanders showed an unwilling-ness  
(70-360)to fight. This is alleged to have been particularly  
(70-360)the case with the celebrated Rob Roy, a  
(70-360)dependent, it will be observed, of the Duke of  
(70-360)Argyle's, and in the habit, during the whole  
(70-360)insurrection, of furnishing him with intelligence from  
(70-360)the enemy's camp. A strong party of MacGregors  
(70-360)and MacPhersons were under the command  
(70-360)of this outlaw, who, when ordered to charge,  
(70-360)answered coolly, " If they cannot do it without me,  
(70-360)they cannot do it with me." It is said, that a bold  
(70-360)man of the Clan Vourigh, called Alister

[TG70-361]

(70-361)MacPherson, who followed Rob Roy's original  
(70-361)profession of a drover, impatient at the inactivity in  
(70-361)which they were detained, threw off his plaid,  
(70-361)drew his sword, and called on the MacPhersons to  
(70-361)follow. " Hold, Sandie," said Rob Roy; " were  
(70-361)the question about a drove of sheep, you might  
(70-361)know something; but as it concerns the leading of  
(70-361)men, it is for me to decide."-" Were the question  
(70-361)about a drove of Glen-Angus wethers," retorted  
(70-361)the MacPherson, " the question with you, Rob,  
(70-361)would not be who should be last, but who should  
(70-361)be first." This had almost produced a battle  
(70-361)betwixt the two champions; but in the mean time,  
(70-361)the opportunity of advancing was lost.

(70-361)The Duke of Argyle having returned back from  
(70-361)his pursuit of the enemy's left wing, came in  
(70-361)contact with their right, which, victorious as we have  
(70-361)intimated, was drawn up on the hill of Kippendavie.

(70-361)Mutual menaces of attack took place, but the combat  
(70-361)was renewed on neither side. Both armies  
(70-361)showed a disposition to retreat, and Mar, abandoning  
(70-361)a part of his artillery, drew back to Auchterarder,

[TG70-362]

(70-362)and from thence retired to Perth. Both  
(70-362)generals claimed the victory, but as Mar abandoned  
(70-362)from that day all thoughts of a movement to the  
(70-362)westward, his object must be considered as having  
(70-362)been completely defeated; while Argyle attained  
(70-362)the fruits of victory in retaining the position by  
(70-362)which he defended the Lowlands, and barred  
(70-362)against the insurgents every avenue by which they  
(70-362)could enter them.

(70-362)The numbers slain in the battle of Sheriffmuir  
(70-362)were considerable. Seven or eight hundred were  
(70-362)killed on the side of the rebels, and the royalists  
(70-362)must have lost five or six hundred. Much noble  
(70-362)and gentle blood was mixed with that of the vulgar.  
(70-362)A troop of volunteers, about sixty in number,  
(70-362)comprehending the Dukes of Douglas and  
(70-362)Roxburghe, the Earls of Haddington, Lauderdale,  
(70-362)Loudon, Belhaven, and Rothes, fought bravely,  
(70-362)though the policy of risking such a troupe doree  
(70-362)might be questionable. At all events, it marked  
(70-362)a great change of times, when the Duke of Douglas,  
(70-362)whose ancestors could have raised an army as  
(70-362)numerous as those of both sides in the field of  
(70-362)Sheriffmuir, fought as a private trooper, assisted  
(70-362)only by two or three servants. This body of  
(70-362)volunteers behaved in a manner becoming their rank.  
(70-362)Many of them were wounded, and the Earl of  
(70-362)Forfar was slain.

(70-362)The loss of the Earl of Strathmore and of the  
(70-362)young Clan Ranald, was a severe blow to the  
(70-362)Insurrection. The last was a complete soldier,  
(70-362)trained in the French Guards, and full of zeal for

[TG70-363]

(70-363)the cause of James. " My family," he replied to  
(70-363)Mar's summons to join him, " have been on such  
(70-363)occasions ever wont to be the first on the field, and  
(70-363)the last to leave it." When he fell out of the  
(70-363)ranks, mortally wounded, Mar met him, and, ignorant  
(70-363)of what had happened, demanded why he was  
(70-363)not in the front. " I have had my share," said the  
(70-363)dying chief, and fell dead before his commander.  
(70-363)Many of his men retired from the army in  
(70-363)consequence of his death.

(70-363)Thus began and thus ended a confused affray, of  
(70-363)which a contemporary ballad-maker truly says,  
(70-363)" there is nothing certain, except that there was  
(70-363)actually a battle, which he witnessed."

[TG71-364]

(71-364)THE confused battle of Sheriffmuir being ended  
(71-364)by the approach of night, both parties had time to  
(71-364)count what they had lost and won in the course of  
(71-364)the day. That of the insurgents was easily summed  
(71-364)up. The Highlanders, on their right, had  
(71-364)behaved with their usual courage, and maintained the  
(71-364)reputation which they had acquired of old times  
(71-364)under Montrose, and more lately when commanded  
(71-364)by Dundee. But in every other particular the  
(71-364)events of the battle were unfavourable to the  
(71-364)insurgents. A great many of their best men had  
(71-364)retired without leave, as was their invariable  
(71-364)practice, to see their families, or to secure their small

[TG71-365]

(71-365)stock of booty, which some of them had augmented  
(71-365)by plundering the baggage of their own army.  
(71-365)This desertion thinned the ranks even of those  
(71-365)clans who had been victorious, and the Highlanders  
(71-365)of the vanquished division of the army had much  
(71-365)better reasons for following the example thus set.  
(71-365)Their numbers that morning had been from eight  
(71-365)to ten thousand men; and at the close of the day,  
(71-365)about four thousand of them were missing. Some  
(71-365)leaders, too, of high rank and quality, had graced  
(71-365)the retreat by their example; and it was said of  
(71-365)Huntly and Seaforth in particular, that they were  
(71-365)the first fugitives of any rank or condition who  
(71-365)reached Perth, and discouraged their numerous  
(71-365)followers, by their retreat from the field of action.  
(71-365)It was therefore in vain for the insurgents, under  
(71-365)this state of diminution and discouragement, to  
(71-365)abide a second battle, or endeavour to renew the  
(71-365)attempt to pass the Forth, which they had not been

[TG71-366]

(71-366)able to accomplish with double their now reduced  
(71-366)numbers.

(71-366)But besides the effects of desertion, the insurgent  
(71-366)army had other difficulties to contend with.  
(71-366)The improvidence of their leaders had been so  
(71-366)unpardonably great, that they had set out from one  
(71-366)of the most fertile to a comparatively barren  
(71-366)district of Scotland, with provisions for two or three  
(71-366)days only, and their ammunition was proportionally  
(71-366)scanty. It was therefore evident, that they  
(71-366)were in no condition to renew the attempt in which  
(71-366)they had that morning miscarried; nor had Mar



(71-366)any alternative, save that of leading back his army  
(71-366)to their old quarters at Perth, to wait until some  
(71-366)unexpected event should give them spirits for a  
(71-366)fresh effort. Accordingly, as already mentioned,  
(71-366)having passed the night after the action among the  
(71-366)enclosures of Auchterarder, he returned towards  
(71-366)Perth the next morning. The Duke of Argyle,  
(71-366)on the other hand, having fallen back on Dunblane,  
(71-366)with the troops he himself commanded, and,  
(71-366)rejoined by such of the fugitives of the left wing as  
(71-366)could be collected, he lay on his arms all night,  
(71-366)expecting to renew the action on the succeeding day.

(71-366)On approaching the field of battle on Monday,  
(71-366)the 14th of November, at break of day, the Duke  
(71-366)of Argyle found it abandoned by the enemy, who  
(71-366)had left their dead and wounded at his disposal,  
(71-366)together with the honours of the field, amongst  
(71-366)which the principal trophies were fourteen colours,  
(71-366)or standards, and six pieces of field cannon, which  
(71-366)Mar had brought to the field in an useless bravado,

[TG71-367]

(71-367)since he had neither ammunition nor men to serve  
(71-367)them, and which he had found himself unable to  
(71-367)remove. Amongst the gentlemen who fell on this  
(71-367)occasion, were several on both sides alike eminent  
(71-367)for birth and character. The body of the gallant  
(71-367)young Earl of Strathmore was found on the field,  
(71-367)watched by a faithful old domestic, who, being  
(71-367)asked the name of the person whose body he waited  
(71-367)upon with so much care, made this striking reply,  
(71-367)" He was a man yesterday."

(71-367)The Earl of Mar had endeavoured to pave the  
(71-367)way for a triumphant return to Perth, by a species

(71-367)of Gazette, in which he claimed the victory on the  
(71-367)right and centre, and affirmed, that had the left  
(71-367)wing and the second line behaved as his right  
(71-367)and the rest of the first line did, the victory had  
(71-367)been complete. But he could not again excite the  
(71-367)enthusiasm of his followers, many of whom began  
(71-367)now in earnest to despair of their situation, the  
(71-367)large odds of numbers which they possessed in the  
(71-367)field of Sheriffmuir having been unable to secure  
(71-367)them a decided victory.

(71-367)Many rumours were in the mean time spread  
(71-367)among the insurgents, concerning successes which  
(71-367)were reported to have been obtained by Forster  
(71-367)and his troops over General Carpenter in England,  
(71-367)and bonfires and rejoicings were made for these

[TG71-368]

(71-368)supposed victories, at a time when, in fact, Forster  
(71-368)and Kenmure were totally defeated, their soldiers  
(71-368)dispersed, and themselves prisoners.

(71-368)You must not forget that the force of General  
(71-368)Forster consisted of the troops of horse levied on  
(71-368)the Northumberland frontier by the Earl of  
(71-368)Derwentwater and others, joined with the gentlemen  
(71-368)of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, under Lord Kenmure,  
(71-368)and the Lothian Jacobites, under the Earl of  
(71-368)Winton, composing altogether a body of five or six  
(71-368)hundred horse, to whom must be added about fourteen  
(71-368)hundred Highlanders, being those sent across  
(71-368)the frith by the Earl of Mar, under command of  
(71-368)MacIntosh of Borlum. You must also recollect,  
(71-368)that in this little army there were great differences  
(71-368)of opinion as to the route which they were to pursue.  
(71-368)The English gentlemen persisted in the delusion,

(71-368)that they had only to show themselves in  
(71-368)the west of England, in order to draw the whole  
(71-368)country to their standard, while the Scots, both the  
(71-368)Lowland gentlemen and Highlanders, desired to  
(71-368)march upon Dumfries, and, after taking possession  
(71-368)of that town, proceed to the west of Scotland, and  
(71-368)force open a communication betwixt their force and  
(71-368)the main army under Mar, by which they reasonably  
(71-368)hoped to dislodge Argyle from his post at  
(71-368)Stirling.

(71-368)Unfixed which course to pursue, and threatened  
(71-368)by General Carpenter, who moved against them  
(71-368)from Newcastle towards Kelso, at the head of a  
(71-368)thousand horse, the insurgents left the latter town,  
(71-368)where they had been joined by the Brigadier

[TG71-369]

(71-369)MacIntosh, and marched to Jedburgh, not without one  
(71-369)or two false alarms. They had, however, the  
(71-369)advantage of outstripping General Carpenter, and the  
(71-369)English gentlemen became still more impatient to  
(71-369)return into their own country, and raise the  
(71-369)Jacobites of the west. The Highlanders, learning that  
(71-369)such a plan was at last adopted, separated themselves  
(71-369)from the horse as soon as the march began, and  
(71-369)drawing up on a moor above the town of Hawick,  
(71-369)declared, that if the insurgents proposed to march  
(71-369)against the enemy, they would fight it out to the  
(71-369)last; but that they would not go into England to  
(71-369)be kidnapped and made slaves of, as their ancestors  
(71-369)were in Cromwell's time. And when the  
(71-369)horse drew up, as if for the purpose of attack, the  
(71-369)Highlanders cocked their pieces, and prepared for  
(71-369)action, saying, That if they must needs be made a  
(71-369)sacrifice, they would prefer their own country

(71-369)as the scene of their death. The discontented  
(71-369)mountaineers would listen to no one save the Earl  
(71-369)of Winton, who joined them in desiring to march  
(71-369)westward to the assistance of the Earl of Mar; to  
(71-369)whom, indeed, by preventing Argyle from  
(71-369)concentrating his forces, they might have done excellent  
(71-369)service, for the Duke could never have recalled a  
(71-369)regiment of horse which he had at Kilsythe, had  
(71-369)the southern insurgents threatened that post. The  
(71-369)Highlanders were at length put in motion, under  
(71-369)a declaration that they would abide with the army  
(71-369)while they remained in Scotland, but should they  
(71-369)enter England they would return back.

(71-369)In the mean time the citizens of the town of

[TG71-370]

(71-370)Dumfries saw themselves again threatened by the rebel  
(71-370)forces, and assuming an attitude of resistance,  
(71-370)marched out to occupy a position in front of the  
(71-370)place, on which they threw up some hasty fortifications.  
(71-370)At the same time they received intelligence  
(71-370)from General Carpenter, who had now reached  
(71-370)Jedburgh, that if they could but defend  
(71-370)themselves for six hours, he would within that time  
(71-370)attack the rear of the enemy.

(71-370)The news, that the Dumfries citizens intended  
(71-370)to defend their town, which lay in front, while  
(71-370)Carpenter was prepared to operate in the rear of the  
(71-370)rebels, induced Mr Forster and his friends to  
(71-370)renew with great urgency their proposal of entering  
(71-370)England, affirming to their northern associates that  
(71-370)they were possessed of letters of advice, assuring  
(71-370)them of a general insurrection. The Scots, worn  
(71-370)out with the perseverance of their English associates,

(71-370)and unable to believe that men would have  
(71-370)deceived themselves or others by illusory hopes,  
(71-370)when engaged in such a momentous undertaking,  
(71-370)at length yielded to their remonstrances. Accordingly,  
(71-370)having reached Ecclefechan on their way  
(71-370)to Dumfries, the English counsels prevailed, and  
(71-370)the insurgents halted at the former village, turned

[TG71-371]

(71-371)south, and directed their march on Langholm, with  
(71-371)the design of making for the west of England.

(71-371)The Earl of Winton dissented so widely from  
(71-371)the general resolution, that he left the army with a  
(71-371)considerable part of his troop, and it seemed for a  
(71-371)time as if he had renounced the undertaking  
(71-371)entirely. Ashamed, however, to break off abruptly  
(71-371)from a cause which he had embraced from motives  
(71-371)of duty and conscience, he changed his purpose,  
(71-371)and again joined the main body. But though this  
(71-371)unfortunate young nobleman returned to the fatal  
(71-371)standard, it was remarked that from this time he  
(71-371)ceased to take any interest in the debates or  
(71-371)deliberations of his party, but seized with a kind of  
(71-371)reckless levity upon such idle opportunities of  
(71-371)amusement as chance threw in his way, in a manner  
(71-371)scarce resembling one engaged in an important and  
(71-371)perilous enterprise.

(71-371)The Highlanders were again divided from their  
(71-371)confederates in their opinion respecting the alteration

[TG71-372]

(71-372)of the line of march, and the object of their  
(71-372)expedition. Many agreed to march into England.  
(71-372)Others, to the number of four hundred, broke away

(71-372)entirely from their companions, with the purpose  
(71-372)of returning to their mountains through the  
(71-372)western districts and by the heads of the Forth. They  
(71-372)might have accomplished tills, but for the difficulty  
(71-372)of finding provisions, which obliged them to separate  
(71-372)into small parties, several of which were made  
(71-372)prisoners by the peasantry, who in that country  
(71-372)were chiefly Cameronians, and accustomed to the  
(71-372)use of arms.

(71-372)The rest of the army, diminished by this desertion,  
(71-372)proceeded to Brampton, near Carlisle, where  
(71-372)Mr Forster, producing his commission to that effect,  
(71-372)was recognised as General of King James's forces  
(71-372)in England. It is possible, that the desire to  
(71-372)obtain the supreme command of the army might have  
(71-372)made this gentleman the more anxious for having  
(71-372)the march directed on his native country; and his  
(71-372)first exploit in his new capacity seemed to give a  
(71-372)lustre to his undertaking, although the success  
(71-372)was more owing to the fears of the opposite party,  
(71-372)than to any particular display of courage on the  
(71-372)part of the Jacobite General and his little army.

(71-372)It must be observed, that the horse-militia of  
(71-372)Westmoreland, and of the northern parts of Lancashire,  
(71-372)had been drawn out to oppose the rebels; and  
(71-372)now the posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting  
(71-372)to twelve thousand men, were assembled along with  
(71-372)them at Penrith, by summons from Lord Lonsdale,  
(71-372)sheriff of the county. But being a mere

[TG71-373]

(71-373)undisciplined mob, ill-armed, and worse arrayed, they  
(71-373)did not wait for an attack either from the cavalry,  
(71-373)or the Highlanders, but dispersed in every direction,

(71-373)leaving to the victors the field of battle, covered  
(71-373)with arms and a considerable number of  
(71-373)horses. Lonsdale, deserted by every one save  
(71-373)about twenty of his own servants, was obliged to  
(71-373)make his escape, and found shelter in the old castle  
(71-373)of Appleby.

(71-373)In marching through Cumberland and Westmoreland,  
(71-373)there was little seen of that enthusiasm  
(71-373)in the Jacobite cause which the English officers  
(71-373)had taught their associates to expect. Manchester  
(71-373)was on this, as upon a later occasion, the first  
(71-373)town where the inhabitants seemed disposed to  
(71-373)embark in the insurrection, and form a company  
(71-373)for that purpose. Intimation of their friendly  
(71-373)disposition reached the insurgents at Lancaster, and  
(71-373)encouraged them to advance.<sup>2</sup> It was, indeed,  
(71-373)time That their friends should join them, for they

[TG71-374]

(71-374)had daily news of troops marching to oppose and  
(71-374)surround them. On their side they resolved to  
(71-374)extend themselves, the more easily to gather fresh  
(71-374)forces; and having moved from Lancaster to  
(71-374)Preston, they resolved to possess themselves of  
(71-374)Warrington bridge, with a view to securing  
(71-374)Liverpool.

(71-374)While they were scheming an attack on this  
(71-374)celebrated seaport, which its citizens were  
(71-374)preparing to defend with much vigour, the Government  
(71-374)forces, which had assembled around them,  
(71-374)were advancing towards them on several quarters.

(71-374)It seems strange, that while possessing a strong  
(71-374)party of friends in the country, being a very large

(71-374)proportion of the landed gentry, with a considerable  
(71-374)proportion of the populace, the insurgents

[TG71-375]

(71-375)should nevertheless have suffered themselves to be  
(71-375)so completely surprised. But the spirit of delusion  
(71-375)which possessed the whole party, and pervaded; all  
(71-375)their proceedings, was as remarkable here as on  
(71-375)other occasions. While Forster and his companions  
(71-375)were thinking of extending the fire of insurrection  
(71-375)to Manchester and Liverpool, General Willis, who  
(71-375)commanded in Cheshire for King George, had  
(71-375)taken measures for extinguishing it entirely. This  
(71-375)active general issued orders to several regiments,  
(71-375)chiefly of horse and dragoons, quartered in the  
(71-375)neighbouring counties, appointing them to rendez-  
(71-375)vous at Warrington bridge on the 10th of November,  
(71-375)on which day he proposed to place himself at  
(71-375)their head, and dispute with the rebels their  
(71-375)approach to Manchester. At the same time, Willis  
(71-375)entered into communication with General Carpenter,  
(71-375)whose unwearied exertions had dogged the  
(71-375)insurgents from Northumberland, and was now  
(71-375)advancing upon them.

(71-375)These tidings came like a thunderbolt on Forster's  
(71-375)army. Forster had but a choice of difficulties,  
(71-375)namely, either to march out and dispute with Major-  
(71-375)General Willis the passage of the river Ribble,  
(71-375)by which Preston is covered, or abide within an  
(71-375)open town, and defend it by such assistance from  
(71-375)fortifications, barricades, and batteries, as could be  
(71-375)erected within a few hours.

(71-375)The first of these courses had its advantages.  
(71-375)The bridge across the Ribble was long, narrow, and



(71-375)might have been easily defended, especially as there  
(71-375)was a party of one hundred chosen Highlanders

[TG71-376]

(71-376)stationed there, under the command of John  
(71-376)Farquharson of Invercauld, a chief of great character  
(71-376)for courage and judgment; and who, though General  
(71-376)Willis was approaching very near to the bridge,  
(71-376)might have been relied on as secure of maintaining  
(71-376)his ground till succours were despatched from the  
(71-376)town. Beyond the bridge there extended a long  
(71-376)and deep lane, bordered with hedges, well situated  
(71-376)for defence, especially against cavalry. All this  
(71-376)was in favour of the defence of the bridge; but, on  
(71-376)the other hand, if Forster had drawn his squadrons  
(71-376)of gentlemen out of Preston, he must have exposed  
(71-376)them to the rough shock of ordinary troopers,  
(71-376)which they were neither mounted nor armed so as  
(71-376)to sustain. It was probably this which determined  
(71-376)the Jacobite leader to maintain his defence in the  
(71-376)town of Preston itself, rather than in front of it.  
(71-376)The insurgents took judicious measures for this  
(71-376)purpose, and pursued them with zeal and spirit.  
(71-376)Four barricades were hastily erected. The Earl  
(71-376)of Derwentwater, stripping to the waistcoat,  
(71-376)encouraged the men to labour as well by his own  
(71-376)example as his liberality, and the works were speedily  
(71-376)completed.

(71-376)One of these barriers was situated a little below  
(71-376)the church, and was supported by the gentlemen  
(71-376)volunteers, who mustered in the churchyard. The  
(71-376)defence was commanded by Brigadier MacIntosh.  
(71-376)The second was formed at the end of a lane, which  
(71-376)was defended by Lord Charles Murray; the third  
(71-376)was called the Windmill barricade-it was held

(71-376)out by the Laird of MacIntosh, chief of the name;

[TG71-377]

(71-377)the fourth barricade was drawn across the street  
(71-377)leading towards Liverpool, and was stoutly manned  
(71-377)by Hunter, the Northumbrian freebooter, and his  
(71-377)moss-troopers. Each barricade was protected by  
(71-377)two pieces of cannon; and the houses on both sides  
(71-377)of the street were occupied by defenders, so as to  
(71-377)pour a destructive flanking fire on any assailant.  
(71-377)General Willis, having accurately surveyed the  
(71-377)defences, resolved upon attacking them.

(71-377)On Saturday, the 12th of November, being the  
(71-377)day previous to that on which the battle of  
(71-377)Sheriffmuir was fought, General Willis commenced  
(71-377)his operations upon the town of Preston by a double  
(71-377)attack. The barricade on the street below  
(71-377)the church was assaulted with great fury; but so  
(71-377)insupportable a fire was opened from the defences  
(71-377)and the houses adjacent, that the assailants were  
(71-377)beat off with considerable loss. It would seem,  
(71-377)that to aid him in the defence of his post, Brigadier  
(71-377)MacIntosh had called in some soldiers who  
(71-377)had been posted in the street leading to Wigan.  
(71-377)Preston's regiment (well known as the Old Cameronian,  
(71-377)and forming part of Willis's attacking  
(71-377)force) were therefore enabled to penetrate through  
(71-377)that avenue, and seizing two houses which  
(71-377)overlooked the town, did the defendants more injury  
(71-377)than they sustained from any other attack. The  
(71-377)barricade commanded by Lord Charles Murray,  
(71-377)was, in like manner, stoutly attacked, and fiercely  
(71-377)defended; but the Jacobite officer receiving a  
(71-377)reinforcement of fifty volunteers, his resistance was  
(71-377)ultimately successful. Captains Hunter and Douglas

[TG71-378]

(71-378)likewise made a desperate defence at the barrier  
(71-378)intrusted to them, and the assault upon the post  
(71-378)defended by the Chief of MacIntosh, was equally  
(71-378)fatal to the assailants.

(71-378)When the soldiers of Willis retired from their  
(71-378)various points of attack, they set fire, according to  
(71-378)their orders, to the houses betwixt them and the  
(71-378)barricades. By the light afforded by this conflagration,  
(71-378)the skirmish was carried on during the  
(71-378)night; and had not the weather been uncommonly  
(71-378)still, Preston, which was the scene of contest, must  
(71-378)have been burned to the ground.

(71-378)Although the insurgents had preserved the  
(71-378)advantage in every attack, it was evident, that, cut  
(71-378)off from all assistance, and cooped up in the streets  
(71-378)of a burning town, where they had but few men  
(71-378)to maintain an extended circle of defence, nothing  
(71-378)short of a miracle could relieve them. General  
(71-378)Willis, whilst directing the attack on the barricades,  
(71-378)had, at the same time, guarded every pass by which  
(71-378)the devoted band could escape. Of those who  
(71-378)desperately attempted to sally, several were cut to  
(71-378)pieces; and it was but very few who escaped by  
(71-378)hewing their way through the enemy.

(71-378)On the morning of the 13th, being the day after  
(71-378)the attack, the situation of Forster and his army  
(71-378)became yet more desperate. General Carpenter,  
(71-378)so long their pursuer, now came up with so many  
(71-378)additional forces, chiefly cavalry, as completed the  
(71-378)blockade of the place, and left the besieged no hope  
(71-378)of escape or relief. Willis, as inferior in rank,

(71-378)offered to resign, of course, the charge of the siege

[TG71-379]

(71-379)to his superior officer; but General Carpenter  
(71-379)generously refused to take the command, observing,  
(71-379)that Willis deserved the honour of finishing the  
(71-379)affair which he had begun so auspiciously. The  
(71-379)dispositions of the latter general were therefore so  
(71-379)actively followed up, that the blockade of the town  
(71-379)was effectually completed, and the fate of the rebels  
(71-379)became inevitable.

(71-379)The scene of unavoidable destruction had different  
(71-379)effects upon the different characters of the  
(71-379)unfortunate insurgents in Preston, in like manner as  
(71-379)the approach of imminent peril has upon domesticated  
(71-379)and savage animals when they are brought to  
(71-379)extremity,-the former are cowed into submission,  
(71-379)while the latter, brought to bay, become more  
(71-379)desperately ferocious in their resistance. The English  
(71-379)gentlemen began to think upon the possibility of  
(71-379)saving their lives, and entertained the hope of  
(71-379)returning once more to the domestic enjoyments of  
(71-379)their homes and their estates; while the Highlanders,  
(71-379)and most of the Scottish Insurgents, even of  
(71-379)the higher classes, declared for sallying out and  
(71-379)dying like men of honour, with sword in hand,  
(71-379)rather than holding their lives on the base tenure  
(71-379)of submission.

(71-379)Such being their different views of the measures  
(71-379)to be adopted, the English determined to accomplish  
(71-379)a capitulation at all events; and Oxburgh, an  
(71-379)Irish Catholic, who had been Forster's tutor in  
(71-379)military matters, went out to propose a surrender to  
(71-379)the English generals.<sup>1</sup> The mission was coldly

[TG71-380]

(71-380)received, and he was distinctly given to understand,  
(71-380)that no terms would be granted excepting  
(71-380)those of unconditional surrender, with the sole  
(71-380)provision that they should be secured from immediate  
(71-380)execution. He returned to the town, and the errand  
(71-380)on which he had visited the enemy's position being  
(71-380)understood, General Forster was nearly pistolled  
(71-380)by a Scottish gentleman, named Murray, and his  
(71-380)life only saved by a friendly hand, which struck the  
(71-380)weapon upwards in the act of its being discharged.

(71-380)Captain Dalzell, brother of the Earl of Carnwath,  
(71-380)then went out in the name of the Scots, but  
(71-380)could obtain no more favourable terms. Some  
(71-380)time, however, was gained, in which the principal  
(71-380)leaders had time to consider that Government  
(71-380)might be satisfied with a few examples, while the  
(71-380)greater part of the insurgents, in which every one's  
(71-380)confidence in his individual good luck led him to  
(71-380)hope he would be included, would escape at least  
(71-380)the extremity of punishment. After the Scots,  
(71-380)and especially the Highlanders, had persisted for  
(71-380)some time in their determination of resistance, they  
(71-380)at length found themselves obliged to surrender on  
(71-380)no better terms than the English, which amounted  
(71-380)only to this, that they should not be instantly put

[TG71-381]

(71-381)to the sword. Their leaders<sup>1</sup> were surrendered  
(71-381)as hostages; and at length, after manifesting the  
(71-381)greatest unwillingness to give up their arms, they  
(71-381)accepted the capitulation, if such it could be called.  
(71-381)It certainly appears, that by surrendering at  
(71-381)discretion, the greater part of them expected at least

(71-381)to save their lives.

(71-381)On laying down their arms, the unhappy garrison  
(71-381)were enclosed in one of the churches, and  
(71-381)treated with considerable rigour, being stripped  
(71-381)and ill-used by the soldiery. About fourteen

[TG71-382]

(71-382)hundred men, of all sorts, were included in the  
(71-382)surrender; amongst whom there were about two  
(71-382)hundred domestic servants, followers of the gentlemen  
(71-382)who had assumed arms, about three hundred  
(71-382)gentlemen volunteers, the rest consisting of Brigadier  
(71-382)MacIntosh's command of Highlanders. Six  
(71-382)of the prisoners were condemned to be shot by  
(71-382)martial law, as holding commissions under the  
(71-382)Government against which they had borne arms.  
(71-382)Lord Charles Murray obtained a reprieve with  
(71-382)difficulty, through the interest of his friends. Little  
(71-382)mercy was shown to the misguided private men,  
(71-382)whose sole offence was having complied with what  
(71-382)was in their eyes a paramount duty, the obedience  
(71-382)to their chiefs.<sup>2</sup> Very many underwent the fate  
(71-382)which made them so unwilling to enter England,  
(71-382)namely, that of banishment to the plantations in  
(71-382)America.

[TG71-383]

(71-383)The prisoners of most note were sent up to  
(71-383)London, into which they were introduced in a kind  
(71-383)of procession, which did less dishonour to the  
(71-383)sufferers than to the mean minds who planned and  
(71-383)enjoyed such an ignoble triumph. By way of balancing  
(71-383)the influence of the Tory mob, whose violences  
(71-383)in burning chapels, &c., had been of a formidable  
(71-383)and highly criminal character, plans had been

(71-383)adopted by Government to excite and maintain a  
(71-383)rival spirit of tumult among such of the vulgar as  
(71-383)were called, or called themselves, the Low Church  
(71-383)party. Party factions often turn upon the most  
(71-383)frivolous badges of distinction. As the Tories had  
(71-383)affected a particular passion for ale, as a national  
(71-383)and truly English potation, their parliamentary  
(71-383)associations taking the title of the October and  
(71-383)the March Clubs; so, in the spirit of opposition, the

[TG71-384]

(71-384)Whigs of the lower rank patronised beer (distinguished,  
(71-384)according to Dr Johnson, from ale, by  
(71-384)being either older or smaller), and mug-houses  
(71-384)were established, held by landlords of orthodox  
(71-384)Whig principles, where this protestant and  
(71-384)revolutionary liquor was distributed in liberal quantities,  
(71-384)and they speedily were thronged by a set of  
(71-384)customers, whose fists and sticks were as prompt to  
(71-384)assault the admirers of High Church and Ormond,  
(71-384)as the Tories were ready to defend them. It was  
(71-384)for the gratification of the frequenters of these mug-  
(71-384)houses, as they were called, That the entrance of the  
(71-384)Preston prisoners into London was graced with the  
(71-384)mock honours of a triumphal procession.

(71-384)The prisoners, most of them men of birth and  
(71-384)education, were, on approaching the capital, all  
(71-384)pinioned with cords like the vilest criminals. This  
(71-384)ceremony they underwent at Barnet. At Highgate  
(71-384)they were met by a large detachment of horse  
(71-384)grenadiers and foot guards, preceded by a body of  
(71-384)citizens decently dressed, who shouted to give  
(71-384)example to the mob. Halters were put upon the  
(71-384)horses ridden by the prisoners, and each man's  
(71-384)horse was led by a private soldier. Forster, a man

(71-384)of high family, and still Member of Parliament for  
(71-384)Northumberland, was exposed in the same manner  
(71-384)as the rest. A large mob of the patrons of the mug-  
(71-384)houses attended upon the occasion, beating upon  
(71-384)warming-pans (in allusion to the vulgar account of  
(71-384)the birth of the Chevalier de St George), and the  
(71-384)prisoners, with all sorts of scurrilous abuse and  
(71-384)insult, were led through the streets of the city in this

[TG71-385]

(71-385)species of unworthy triumph, and deposited in the  
(71-385)jails of Newgate, the Marshalsea, and other prisons  
(71-385)in the metropolis.

(71-385)In consequence of this sudden increase of  
(71-385)tenants, a most extraordinary change took place in  
(71-385)the discipline of these melancholy abodes. When  
(71-385)the High Church party in London began to  
(71-385)recover from the astonishment with which they had  
(71-385)witnessed the suppression of the insurrection, they  
(71-385)could not look back with much satisfaction on their  
(71-385)own passive behaviour during the contest, if it  
(71-385)could be called one, and now endeavoured to make  
(71-385)up for it by liberally supplying the prisoners, whom  
(71-385)they regarded as martyrs in their cause, with  
(71-385)money and provisions, in which wine was not forgotten.  
(71-385)The fair sex are always disposed to be  
(71-385)compassionate, and certainly were not least so in  
(71-385)this case, where the objects of pity were many of  
(71-385)them gallant young cavaliers, sufferers in a cause  
(71-385)which they had been taught to consider as sacred.  
(71-385)The consequence was, that the prisons overflowed  
(71-385)with wine and good cheer, and the younger and  
(71-385)more thoughtless part of the inmates turned to  
(71-385)revelling and drowning in liquor all more serious  
(71-385)thoughts of their situation; so that even Lord



(71-385)Derwentwater himself said of his followers, that  
(71-385)they were fitter inhabitants for Bridewell than a  
(71-385)state prison. Money, it is said, circulated so  
(71-385)plentifully among them, that when it was difficult to  
(71-385)obtain silver for a guinea in the streets, nothing  
(71-385)was so easy as to find change, whether of gold or  
(71-385)silver, in the jail. A handsome, high spirited

[TG71-386]

(71-386)young Highland gentleman, whom the pamphlets  
(71-386)of the day call Bottair (one of the family of  
(71-386)Butter in Athole), made such an impression on the  
(71-386)fair visitors who came to minister to the wants of  
(71-386)the Jacobite captives, that some reputations were  
(71-386)put in peril by the excess of their attentions to this  
(71-386)favourite object of compassion.

(71-386)When such a golden shower descends on a prison,  
(71-386)the jailor generally secures to himself the  
(71-386)largest share of it; and those prisoners who  
(71-386)desired separate beds, or the slightest accommodation  
(71-386)in point of lodging, had to purchase them at a rate  
(71-386)which would have paid for many years the rent of  
(71-386)the best houses in St James's Square or Piccadilly.  
(71-386)Dungeons, the names of which indicate their gloomy  
(71-386)character, as the Lion's Den, the Middle Dark, and  
(71-386)the like, were rented at the same extravagant  
(71-386)prices, and were not only filled with prisoners, but  
(71-386)abounded with good cheer.

(71-386)These riotous scenes went on the more gaily  
(71-386)that almost all had nursed a hope, that their having  
(71-386)surrendered at discretion would be admitted as a  
(71-386)protection for their lives. But when numerous  
(71-386)bills of high treason were found against them,  
(71-386)escape from prison began to be thought of, which

(71-386)the command of money, and the countenance of  
(71-386)friends without doors, as well as the general structure  
(71-386)of the jails, rendered more easy than could  
(71-386)have been expected. Thus, on the 10th of April,  
(71-386)1716, Thomas Forster escaped from Newgate, by  
(71-386)means of false keys, and having all things prepared,  
(71-386)got safely to France. On the 10th of May,  
(71-386)Brigadier MacIntosh, whom we have so often

[TG71-387]

(71-387)mentioned, with fourteen other gentlemen, chiefly  
(71-387)Scottish, took an opportunity to escape in the  
(71-387)following manner. The Brigadier having found means  
(71-387)to rid himself of his irons, and coming down stairs  
(71-387)about eleven at night, he placed himself close by  
(71-387)the door of the jail; and as it was opened to admit  
(71-387)a servant at That time of night (no favourable  
(71-387)example of prison discipline),<sup>1</sup> he knocked down the  
(71-387)jailor, and made his escape with his companions,  
(71-387)some of whom were retaken in the streets, from  
(71-387)not knowing whither to fly.

(71-387)Among the fugitives who broke prison with  
(71-387)MacIntosh, was Robert Hepburn of Keith, the  
(71-387)same person in whose family befell the lamentable  
(71-387)occurrence mentioned in a former chapter of this  
(71-387)volume (at pages 286-8).

(71-387)This gentleman had pinioned the arms of the  
(71-387)turnkey by an effort of strength, and effected his  
(71-387)escape into the open street without pursuit. But  
(71-387)he was at a loss whither to fly, or where to find a  
(71-387)friendly place of refuge. His wife and family were,  
(71-387)he knew, in London; but how, in that great city,  
(71-387)was he to discover them, especially as they most  
(71-387)probably were residing there under feigned names?

(71-387)While he was agitated by this uncertainty, and  
(71-387)fearful of making the least enquiry, even had he  
(71-387)known in what words to express it, he saw at a  
(71-387>window in the street an ancient piece of plate,  
(71-387)called the Keith Tankard, which had long belonged

[TG71-388]

(71-388)to his family. He immediately conceived that his  
(71-388)wife and children must be inhabitants of the lodging's,  
(71-388)and entering, without asking questions, was  
(71-388)received in their arms. They knew of his purpose  
(71-388)of escape, and took lodgings as near the jail as they  
(71-388)could, that they might afford him immediate  
(71-388)refuge; but dared not give him any hint where they  
(71-388)were, otherwise than by setting the well-known  
(71-388)flagon where it might by good fortune catch his  
(71-388)eye. He escaped to France.

(71-388)The noblemen who had placed themselves at the  
(71-388)head of the rebellion were now called to answer  
(71-388)for their guilt; and articles of impeachment of  
(71-388)high treason were exhibited by the House of  
(71-388)Commons against the Earl of Derwentwater, and the  
(71-388)Lord Widdrington, in England; and the Earls of  
(71-388)Nithisdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Lord Viscount  
(71-388)Kenmure, and Lord Nairne, in Scotland. They  
(71-388)severally pleaded Guilty to the articles, excepting  
(71-388)the Earl of Winton, who pleaded Not Guilty.

(71-388)Lord Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure suffered  
(71-388)death on the 24th February, 1715-16. The Earl  
(71-388)of Derwentwater, who was an amiable private  
(71-388)character, Hospitable and generous, brave and humane,  
(71-388)revoked on the scaffold his plea of guilty, and died  
(71-388)firmly avowing the political creed for which he  
(71-388)suffered. Lord Kenmure, a quiet, modest gentleman,

(71-388)shared Derwentwater's fate; and he showed  
(71-388)the same firmness. There is a tradition that the  
(71-388)body of Lord Derwentwater was carried down to  
(71-388)Westmoreland in great pomp, the procession, however,  
(71-388)moving only by night, and resting by day in

[TG71-389]

(71-389)chapels dedicated to the exercise of the Catholic  
(71-389)religion, where the funeral services of that church  
(71-389)were performed over the body during the day;  
(71-389)until the approach of night permitted them to  
(71-389)resume their progress northward; and that the  
(71-389)remains of this unfortunate nobleman were finally  
(71-389)deposited in his ancestors' burial place at Dilston  
(71-389)hall. His large estates were confiscated to the  
(71-389)crown, and now form the valuable property of  
(71-389)Greenwich Hospital.

(71-389)Charles Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater,  
(71-389)and doomed to share his fate, after a long  
(71-389)interval of years, saved himself for the time by  
(71-389)breaking prison.  
(71-389)  
(71-389)But what chiefly attracted the attention of the  
(71-389)public, was the escape of the Earl of Nithisdale,  
(71-389)who was destined to have shared the fate of  
(71-389)Derwentwater and Kenmure.

(71-389)The utmost intercession had been made, in every  
(71-389)possible shape, to save the lives of these unfortunate  
(71-389)noblemen and their companions in misfortune,  
(71-389)but it had been found unavailing. Lady Nithisdale,  
(71-389)the bold and affectionate wife of the  
(71-389)condemned Earl, having in vain thrown herself at the  
(71-389)feet of the reigning monarch, to implore mercy for  
(71-389)her husband, devised a plan for his escape of the

[TG71-390]

(71-390)same kind with that since practised by Madame  
(71-390)Lavalette. She was admitted to see her husband  
(71-390)in the Tower upon the last day which, according  
(71-390)to his sentence, he had to live. She had with her  
(71-390)two female confidants. One brought on her person  
(71-390)a double suit of female clothes. This individual  
(71-390)was instantly dismissed, when relieved of her  
(71-390)second dress. The other person gave her own  
(71-390)clothes to the Earl, attiring herself in those which  
(71-390)had been provided. Muffled in a riding-hood and  
(71-390)cloak, the Earl, in the character of lady's maid,  
(71-390)holding a handkerchief to his eyes, as one  
(71-390)overwhelmed with deep affliction, passed the sentinels,  
(71-390)and being safely conveyed out of the Tower, made  
(71-390)his escape to France. We are startled to find,

[TG71-391]

(71-391)that, according to the rigour of the law, the life of  
(71-391)the heroic Countess was considered as responsible  
(71-391)for That of the husband whom she had saved; but  
(71-391)she contrived to conceal herself.

(71-391)Lord Winton received sentence of death after  
(71-391)trial, but also made his escape from the Tower,  
(71-391)4th August, 1716.<sup>1</sup> As Charles Ratcliff had already  
(71-391)broke prison about the same time, we may conclude  
(71-391)either That the jailors and marshals did not exhibit  
(71-391)much vigilance on this occasion, or that the prisoners  
(71-391)found means of lulling it to sleep. The Earl of  
(71-391)Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were,  
(71-391)after a long imprisonment, pardoned as far as their  
(71-391)lives were concerned, in consequence of a general  
(71-391)bill of indemnity.

(71-391)Of inferior persons, about twenty of the most  
(71-391)resolute of the Preston prisoners were executed at  
(71-391)that place and at Manchester, and four or five  
(71-391)suffered at Tyburn. Amongst these the execution of  
(71-391)William Paul, a clergyman, a true friend, as he

[TG71-392]

(71-392)boasted himself, of the anti-revolutionary church of  
(71-392)England, made a strong impression on those of his  
(71-392)party.

(71-392)Thus closed the Rebellion and its consequences,  
(71-392)as far as England was concerned. We must now  
(71-392)take a view of its last scenes as exhibited in  
(71-392)Scotland.

[TG72-393]

(72-393)WE left the insurgents when the melancholy  
(72-393)news of the termination of the campaign of Forster,  
(72-393)with his Highland auxiliaries, at the barricades of  
(72-393)Preston, had not yet reached them; the moment  
(72-393)it did, all hopes of a general insurrection in  
(72-393)England, or any advantage being obtained there, were  
(72-393)for ever ended.

(72-393)The regular troops which had been detained in  
(72-393)England to suppress the northern insurgents, were  
(72-393)now set at liberty, and Mar could no longer rely  
(72-393)upon Argyle's remaining inactive for want of men.  
(72-393)Besides, the Estates of the United Provinces had  
(72-393)now, upon the remonstrance of General Cadogan,  
(72-393)despatched for Britain the auxiliary forces which

[TG72-394]

(72-394)they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of  
(72-394)invasion, and three thousand of them had landed at

(72-394)Deptford. The other three thousand Dutch troops.  
(72-394)designed for ports in the north, had been dispersed  
(72-394)by a storm, and driven into Harwich, Yarmouth,  
(72-394)and elsewhere, which induced the Government to  
(72-394)order those at Deptford, as the most disposable  
(72-394)part of this auxiliary force, to move instantly down  
(72-394)to Scotland.

(72-394)Events equally unfavourable to the rebels were  
(72-394)taking place in the North of Scotland; and, in order  
(72-394)to ascertain the progress of these, it is necessary to  
(72-394)trace some passages of the life of Simon Fraser,  
(72-394)one of the most remarkable characters of his time.

(72-394)He was by birth the nearest male heir to (he  
(72-394)estate of Lovat, and to the dignity of Chief of the  
(72-394)Fraser's-no empty honour, since the clan contained  
(72-394)a following of from seven hundred to a thousand  
(72-394)men. The chief last deceased, however, had left A  
(72-394)daughter, and Simon was desirous, by marriage with  
(72-394)this young lady, to unite her pretensions to the  
(72-394)chieftainship and estate with his own. As his character  
(72-394)was bad, and his circumstances accounted desperate,  
(72-394)the widowed mother of the young heiress, a lady of  
(72-394)the house of Athole, was averse to this match, and  
(72-394)her powerful family countenanced her repugnance.

[TG72-395]

(72-395)Being a man of a daring character, deep powers of  
(72-395)dissimulation, and master of the tempers of the  
(72-395)lower class of Highlanders, Simon found it no  
(72-395)difficult matter to obtain the assistance of a strong  
(72-395)party of Fraser's, chiefly desperate men, to assist  
(72-395)in a scheme of seizing on the person of the young  
(72-395)heiress. She escaped his grasp, but her mother,  
(72-395)the widow of the late Lord Lovat, fell into his

(72-395)power. Equally short-sighted as unprincipled,  
(72-395)Fraser imagined that by marrying this lady, instead  
(72-395)of her daughter, he would secure, through her  
(72-395)large jointure, some legal interest in the estate.  
(72-395)With this view he accomplished a forced marriage  
(72-395)betwixt the Dowager Lady Lovat and himself, and  
(72-395)enforced his rights as her pretended husband with  
(72-395)the most brutal violence.<sup>1</sup> For this abominable and  
(72-395)atrocious outrage against a matron widow of his own  
(72-395)near connexion, and a sister of the powerful  
(72-395)Marquis of Athole, letters of fire and sword were  
(72-395)granted against Fraser and his adherents, and being

[TG72-396]

(72-396)outlawed by the High Court of Justiciary, he was  
(72-396)forced to fly to France. Here he endeavoured to  
(72-396)recommend himself at the court of St Germain's,  
(72-396)by affecting much zeal for the Jacobite cause, and  
(72-396)pretending to great interest with the Highland  
(72-396)chiefs, and the power of rendering effectual service  
(72-396)amongst them. The Chevalier de St George and  
(72-396)the French King were aware of the infamy of the  
(72-396)man's character, and distrusted the proposal which  
(72-396)he laid before them, for raising an insurrection in  
(72-396)the Highlands. Mary of Este, more credulous,  
(72-396)was disposed to trust him; and he was detached on  
(72-396)a Jacobite mission, which he instantly betrayed to  
(72-396)the Duke of Queensberry, and which created much  
(72-396)disturbance in the year 1703, as we have noticed in  
(72-396)its place.<sup>1</sup> His double treachery being discovered,  
(72-396)Simon Fraser was, on his return to France, thrown  
(72-396)into the Bastille, where he remained for a considerable  
(72-396)time. Dismissed from this imprisonment, he  
(72-396)waited for an opportunity where he might serve  
(72-396)his own interest and advance his claims upon the  
(72-396)chieftainship of the clan Fraser and the estate of



(72-396)Lovat, by adopting the political side betwixt the  
(72-396)contending parties which should bid fairest to serve  
(72-396)his purpose.

(72-396)The time seemed now arrived, when, by the  
(72-396)insurrection of Mar, open war was declared betwixt  
(72-396)the parties. His cousin, the heiress of Lovat, had  
(72-396)been married to Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who,  
(72-396)acting as chief of his wife's clan, had summoned the  
(72-396)Fraseres to arms, and led a body of five hundred

[TG72-397]

(72-397)clansmen to join the standard of the Chevalier de  
(72-397)St George. They marched to Perth accordingly.  
(72-397)In the mean time, Simon Fraser arrived in Scotland,  
(72-397)and made his appearance, like one of those  
(72-397)portentous sea monsters whose gambols announce  
(72-397)the storm. He was first seen at Dumfries, where  
(72-397)he offered his personal services to join the citizens,  
(72-397)who were in arms to repel an attack from Kenmure,  
(72-397)Nithisdale, and their followers. The Dumfriesians,  
(72-397)however, trusted him not, nay were disposed to  
(72-397)detain him a prisoner; and only permitted him to  
(72-397)march northward on the assurance of the Marquis  
(72-397)of Annandale, that his presence there would be  
(72-397)favourable to King George and his cause. It proved  
(72-397)so accordingly.

(72-397)Simon Fraser arrived in Inverness-shire, and  
(72-397)hastened to form an intimate alliance with Duncan  
(72-397)Forbes, brother of John Forbes of Culloden, and  
(72-397)a determined friend to Government. Forbes was an  
(72-397)excellent lawyer, and a just and religious man.  
(72-397)At another time, he would probably have despised  
(72-397)associating himself with a desperate outlaw to his  
(72-397)country, black with the charges of rape, murder,

(72-397)and double treachery. But the case was an extreme  
(72-397)one, in which no assistance that promised to be  
(72-397)available was to be rejected.<sup>1</sup> Simon Fraser  
(72-397)obtained pardon and favour, and the influence of the

[TG72-398]

(72-398)patriarchal system was never more remarkably  
(72-398)illustrated than in his person. His character was, as  
(72-398)we have seen, completely infamous, and his state  
(72-398)and condition that of an adventurer of the very  
(72-398)worst description. But by far the greater number  
(72-398)of the clan were disposed to think that the chiefship  
(72-398)descended to the male heir, and therefore  
(72-398)preferred Simon's title to that of Fraserdale, who only  
(72-398)commanded them as husband of the heiress. The  
(72-398)mandates of Fraser, now terming himself Lovat,  
(72-398)reached the clan in the town of Perth. They were  
(72-398)respected as those of the rightful chief; and the  
(72-398)Fraseres did not hesitate to withdraw from the cause  
(72-398)of the Chevalier de St George, and march northwards,  
(72-398)to place themselves under the command of  
(72-398)their restored patriarch by male descent, who had  
(72-398)embraced the other side. This change of sides  
(72-398)was the more remarkable, as most of the Frasers  
(72-398)were in personal opinion Jacobites. We have  
(72-398)already noticed that the desertion of the Frasers  
(72-398)took place the very morning when Mar broke up  
(72-398)to march on Dumblane; and, as a bold and warlike  
(72-398)clan, their absence, on the 12th November, was of  
(72-398)no small disadvantage to the party from whom they  
(72-398)had retired.

(72-398)Shortly after this, the operations of this clan,  
(72-398)under their new leader, became directly hostile to  
(72-398)the Jacobite cause. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul  
(72-398)had, at the period of the Earl of Seaforth's march

(72-398)to Perth, been left with four hundred MacKenzies,  
(72-398)to garrison Inverness, which may be termed the  
(72-398)capital of the North Highlands. Hitherto his task

[TG72-399]

(72-399)had been an easy one, but it was now likely to become  
(72-399)more difficult. Acting upon a plan concerted betwixt  
(72-399)him and Duncan Forbes, Lovat assembled his clan,  
(72-399)and with those of the Monroes, Rosses, and Grants,  
(72-399)who had always maintained the Whig interest,  
(72-399)attacked Inverness, with such success, that they  
(72-399)made themselves masters of the place, which Sir  
(72-399)John MacKenzie found himself compelled to  
(72-399)evacuate without serious resistance. The Earl of  
(72-399)Sutherland also, who was still in arms, now advanced  
(72-399)across the Murray frith, and a considerable  
(72-399)force was collecting in the rear of the rebels, and  
(72-399)in a position which threatened the territories of  
(72-399)Huntly, Seaforth, and several other chief leaders  
(72-399)in Mar's army.

(72-399)These various events tended more and more to  
(72-399)depress the spirits of the noblemen and heads of  
(72-399)clans who were in the Jacobite army. The indefinite,  
(72-399)or rather unfavourable, issue of the affair of  
(72-399)Sheriffmuir, had discouraged those who expected,  
(72-399)by a decisive victory, if not to carry their principal  
(72-399)and original purpose, at least to render themselves  
(72-399)a foe to whom the Government might think it  
(72-399)worth while to grant honourable terms of  
(72-399)accommodation.

(72-399)Most men of reflection, therefore, now foresaw  
(72-399)the inevitable ruin of the undertaking; but the  
(72-399)General, Mar, having formally invited the Chevalier  
(72-399)de St George to come over and put himself at

(72-399)the head of the insurrectionary army, was under  
(72-399)the necessity, for his own honour, and to secure the  
(72-399)chance which such an impulse might have given to

[TG72-400]

(72-400)his affairs, of keeping his troops together to  
(72-400)protect the person of the Prince, in case of his accepting  
(72-400)this perilous invitation, which, given before the  
(72-400)battle of Sheriffmuir, was likely to be complied  
(72-400)with. In this dilemma he became desirous, by  
(72-400)every species of engagement, to bind those who  
(72-400)had enrolled themselves under the fatal standard,  
(72-400)not to quit it.

(72-400)For this purpose, a military oath was proposed,  
(72-400)in name of King James VIII.; an engagement,  
(72-400)which, however solemn, has been seldom found  
(72-400)stronger than the severe compulsion of necessity  
(72-400)operating against it. Many of the gentlemen  
(72-400)engaged, not willing to preclude themselves from  
(72-400)endeavouring to procure terms, in case of need,  
(72-400)refused to come under this additional obligation.  
(72-400)The expedient of an association was next resorted  
(72-400)to, and Mar summoned a general council of the  
(72-400)principal persons in the army. This was the fourth  
(72-400)time such a meeting had been convoked since the  
(72-400)commencement of the insurrection; the first had  
(72-400)taken place when MacIntosh's detachment was in  
(72-400)peril; the second for the purpose of subscribing an  
(72-400)invitation to the Chevalier de St George to join  
(72-400)them, and the third on the field of battle at  
(72-400)Sheriffmuir.

(72-400)The Marquis of Huntly, who had already wellnigh  
(72-400)determined on taking separate measures, refused  
(72-400)to attend the meeting, but sent a draught of

(72-400)an association to which he was willing to subscribe,  
(72-400)and seemed to admit that the insurgents might  
(72-400)make their peace separately. Mar flung it

[TG72-401]

(72-401)scornfully aside, and said it might be a very proper  
(72-401)form, providing it had either sense or grammar.  
(72-401)He then recommended his own draught, by which  
(72-401)the subscribers agreed to continue in arms, and  
(72-401)accept no conditions unless under the royal authority,  
(72-401)and by the consent of the majority of the  
(72-401)gentlemen then in arms. The proposed measure  
(72-401)was opposed by the Master of Sinclair and many  
(72-401)of the Lowland gentlemen. They complained, that  
(72-401)by using the phrase " Royal authority," they might  
(72-401)be considered as throwing the free power of deciding  
(72-401)for themselves into the hands of Mar, as the  
(72-401)royal General, with whose management hitherto  
(72-401)they had little reason to be satisfied. The Master  
(72-401)of Sinclair demanded to know what persons were  
(72-401)to vote, as constituting the majority of gentlemen  
(72-401)in arms, and whether voices must be allowed to all  
(72-401)who went by that general name, or whether the  
(72-401)decision was to be remitted to those whom the  
(72-401)General might select. Sir John MacLean haughtily  
(72-401)answered, that unless some such power of selection  
(72-401)were lodged in the commander-in-chief, all his  
(72-401)regiment of eight hundred men must be admitted to  
(72-401)vote, since every MacLean was a gentlemen. Mar  
(72-401)endeavoured to soothe the disaffected. He admitted  
(72-401)the King's affairs were not in such a state as  
(72-401)he could have desired; but contended that they  
(72-401)were far from desperate, intimated that he still  
(72-401)entertained hopes, and in the same breath  
(72-401)deprecated answering the questions put to him on the  
(72-401)nature of his expectations. He was, however,

(72-401)borne down with queries; and being reminded that

[TG72-402]

(72-402)he could not propose remaining at Perth, when the  
(72-402)Duke of Argyle, reinforced by six thousand Dutch,  
(72-402)should move against him on one side, and Sutherland,  
(72-402)with all the northern clans in the Government  
(72-402)interest, should advance on the other, it was  
(72-402)demanding, where he proposed to make a stand.  
(72-402)Inverness was named; and the shire of Murray was  
(72-402)pointed out as sufficient to find subsistence for a  
(72-402)considerable army. But Inverness, if not already  
(72-402)fallen, was in imminent danger; Murray, though  
(72-402)a fertile country, was a narrow district, which  
(72-402)would be soon exhausted; and it seemed to be the  
(72-402)general opinion, that if pressed by the Government  
(72-402)forces, there would be no resource save falling  
(72-402)back into the barren regions of the Highlands.  
(72-402)The Master of Sinclair asked, at what season of  
(72-402)the year forage and oilier necessities for cavalry  
(72-402)were to be found in the hills? Glengarry made a  
(72-402)bizarre but very intelligible reply, " that such  
(72-402)accommodations were to be found in the Highlands  
(72-402)at every season-by those who were provident  
(72-402)enough to bring them with them."

(72-402)The main argument of Mar was, to press upon  
(72-402)the dissentients the dishonour of deserting the  
(72-402)King, when he was on the point of throwing himself  
(72-402)on their loyalty. They replied, he alone knew  
(72-402)the King's motions; of which they had no such  
(72-402)assurances as could induce them to refuse any  
(72-402)opportunity of saving themselves, their families, and  
(72-402)estates from perdition, merely to preserve some  
(72-402)punctilious scruples of loyalty, by which the King  
(72-402)could gain no real advantage. They complained

[TG72-403]

(72-403)that they had been lured into the field, by promises  
(72-403)of troops, arms, ammunition, treasure, and a general  
(72-403)of military talent-all to be sent by France;  
(72-403)and that, these reports proving totally false, they  
(72-403)did not incline to be detained there upon rumours  
(72-403)of the King's motions, which might be equally  
(72-403)fallacious, as they came from the same quarter. In  
(72-403)a word, the council of war broke up without  
(72-403)coming to a resolution; and there was, from that  
(72-403)time, established in the army a party who were  
(72-403)opposed to Mar's conduct of affairs, who declared  
(72-403)for opening a negotiation with the Duke of Argyle,  
(72-403)and were distinguished at headquarters as grumblers  
(72-403)and mutineers.

(72-403)These gentlemen held a meeting at the Master  
(72-403)of Sinclair's quarters, and opened a communication  
(72-403)with Mar, in which they urged the total inadequacy  
(72-403)of any resistance which they could now offer  
(72-403)-the exhaustion of their supplies of ammunition,  
(72-403)provision, and money-the impossibility of their  
(72-403)making a stand until they reached the Highland  
(72-403)mountains-and the equal impossibility of subsisting  
(72-403)their cavalry, if they plunged into these  
(72-403>wildernesses. They declared, that they did not desire to  
(72-403)separate themselves from the army; all they wished  
(72-403)to know was, whether an honourable capitulation  
(72-403)could be obtained for all who were engaged; and  
(72-403)if dishonourable terms were offered, they expressed  
(72-403)themselves determined to fight to the death rather  
(72-403)than accept them.

(72-403)While such were the sentiments of the Low-  
(72-403)country gentlemen, dejected at their total want of

[TG72-404]

(72-404)success, and the prospect of misery and ruin which  
(72-404)they saw fast approaching, the Highland chiefs and  
(72-404)clans were totally disinclined to any terms of  
(72-404)accommodation. Their warlike disposition made the  
(72-404)campaign an enjoyment to them; the pay, which  
(72-404)Mar dispensed liberally, was, while it lasted, an  
(72-404)object with people so poor; and, finally, they  
(72-404)entertained the general opinion, founded upon the  
(72-404)convention made with their ancestors after the war  
(72-404)of 1688-9, that they might at worst retreat into  
(72-404)their hills, where, rather than incur the loss of men  
(72-404)and charges necessary for suppressing them, the  
(72-404)Government would be glad to grant them peace  
(72-404)upon their own terms, and, perhaps, not averse to  
(72-404)pay them for accepting it. Another class of men  
(72-404)having influence in such a singular camp, were the  
(72-404)nobility, or men of quality, who had joined the  
(72-404)cause. Most of these were men of high titles but  
(72-404)broken fortunes, whose patrimony was overburdened  
(72-404)with debt. They had been early treated by  
(72-404)Mar with distinction and preference, for their rank  
(72-404)gave credit to the cause which their personal  
(72-404)influence could not greatly have advanced. They  
(72-404)enjoyed posts of nominal rank in the insurrectionary  
(72-404)army; and the pay conforming to these was not  
(72-404)less acceptable to them than to the Highlanders.  
(72-404)It may be also supposed, that they were more  
(72-404)particularly acquainted than others with the reasons  
(72-404)Mar had for actually expecting the King; and  
(72-404)might, with spirit worthy of their birth, be willing  
(72-404)to incur the worst extremities of war, rather than  
(72-404)desert their monarch at the moment when, by their

[TG72-405]



(72-405)own invitation, he came to throw himself on their  
(72-405)fidelity. These noblemen, therefore, supported the  
(72-405)measures and authority of the commander, and  
(72-405)discountenanced any proposals to treat.

(72-405)Notwithstanding the aid of the nobles and the  
(72-405)Highland chiefs, Mar found himself compelled so  
(72-405)far to listen to the representations of the  
(72-405)discontented party, as to consent that application should  
(72-405)be made to the Duke of Argyle to learn whether  
(72-405)any capitulation could be allowed. There was so  
(72-405)little faith betwixt the officers and their general,  
(72-405)that the former insisted on naming one of the delegates  
(72-405)who were to be sent to Stirling about the  
(72-405)proposed negotiation. The offer of submission upon  
(72-405)terms was finally intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel  
(72-405)Lawrence, the officer of highest rank who had been  
(72-405)made prisoner at Sheriffmuir. The Colonel, agreeably  
(72-405)to a previous engagement, returned with an  
(72-405)answer to the proposal of submission, that the Duke  
(72-405)of Argyle had no commission from Court to treat  
(72-405)with the insurgents as a body, but only with such  
(72-405)individuals as might submit themselves; but his  
(72-405)Grace promised that he would send the Duke of  
(72-405)Roxburgh to court, for the purpose of soliciting  
(72-405)such powers for a general pacification. A more  
(72-405)private negotiation, instituted by the Countess of  
(72-405)Murray, whose second son, Francis Stewart, was  
(72-405)engaged in the rebellion, received the same answer,  
(72-405)with this addition, that the Duke of Argyle would  
(72-405)not hear her pronounce the name of Mar, in whose  
(72-405)favour she had attempted to make some  
(72-405)intercession.

[TG72-406]

(72-406)Upon this unfavourable reception of the proposal

(72-406)of submission, it was not difficult to excite the  
(72-406)resentment of those who had declared for war, against  
(72-406)that smaller party which advocated peace. The  
(72-406)Highlanders, whose fierce temper was easily  
(72-406)awakened to fury, were encouraged to insult and  
(72-406)misuse several of the Low-country gentry, particularly  
(72-406)the followers of Huntly, tearing the cockades  
(72-406)out of their hats, and upbraiding them as cowards  
(72-406)and traitors. The Master of Sinclair was publicly  
(72-406)threatened by Farquharson of Inverey, a Highland  
(72-406)vassal of the Earl of Mar; but his well-known  
(72-406)ferocity of temper, with his habit of going continually  
(72-406)armed, seem to have protected him.

(72-406)About this time, there were others among Mar's  
(72-406)principal associates who became desirous of leaving  
(72-406)his camp at Perth. Huntly, much disgusted with  
(72-406)the insults offered to his vassals, and the desperate  
(72-406)state of things at Perth, was now preparing to  
(72-406)withdraw to his own country, alleging that his  
(72-406)presence was necessary to defend it against the Earl  
(72-406)of Sutherland, whose march southward must be destructive  
(72-406)to the estates of his family. The movements  
(72-406)of the same Earl with the clans of Rosses,

[TG72-407]

(72-407)MacKays, Frasers, Grants, and others, alarmed  
(72-407)Seaforth also for the security of his dominions in  
(72-407)Kintail; and he left Perth, to march northward,  
(72-407)for the defence of his property, and the wives,  
(72-407)families, and houses of his vassals in arms. Thus  
(72-407)were two great limbs lopped off from Mar's army,  
(72-407)at the time when it was about to be assailed by  
(72-407)Government with collected strength. Individuals also  
(72-407)became dispirited, and deserted the enterprise.  
(72-407)There was at least one man of consideration who

(72-407)went home from the field of battle at Sheriffmuir--  
(72-407)sat down by his own hearth, and trusting to the  
(72-407)clemency of the Government, renounced the trade  
(72-407)of king-making. Others, in parties or separately,  
(72-407)had already adopted the same course; and those  
(72-407)who, better known, or more active, dared not remain  
(72-407)at home, were seeking passages to foreign  
(72-407)parts from the eastern ports of Scotland. The  
(72-407)Master of Sinclair, after exchanging mutual threats  
(72-407)and defiances with Mar and his friends, left the  
(72-407)camp at Perth, went north and visited the Marquis  
(72-407)of Huntly. He afterwards escaped abroad from  
(72-407)the Orkney islands.

(72-407)Amidst this gradual but increasing defection,  
(72-407)Mar, by the course of his policy, saw himself at all  
(72-407)rates obliged to keep his ground at Perth, since he  
(72-407)knew, what others refused to take upon his authority,

[TG72-408]

(72-408)that the Chevalier de St George was very  
(72-408)shortly to be expected in his camp.

(72-408)This Prince, unfortunate from his very infancy,  
(72-408)found himself, at the time of this struggle in his  
(72-408)behalf, altogether unable to assist his partisans. He  
(72-408)had been expelled from France by the Regent  
(72-408)Duke of Orleans, and even the provision of arms  
(72-408)and ammunition, which he was able to collect from  
(72-408)his own slender funds, and those of his followers,  
(72-408)or by the munificence of his allies, was intercepted  
(72-408)in the ports of France. Having, therefore, no more  
(72-408)effectual mode of rendering them assistance, he  
(72-408)generously, or desperately, resolved to put his own  
(72-408)person in the hazard, and live and die along with  
(72-408)them. As a soldier, the Chevalier de St George

(72-408)had shown courage upon several other occasions;  
(72-408)that is, he had approached the verge of battle as  
(72-408)near as persons of his importance are usually  
(72-408)suffered to do. He was handsome in person, and  
(72-408)courteous and pleasing in his manners; but his talents  
(72-408)were not otherwise conspicuous, nor did he differ  
(72-408)from the ordinary class of great persons, whose  
(72-408)wishes, hopes, and feelings, are uniformly under the  
(72-408)influence and management of some favourite minister,  
(72-408)who relieves his master of the inconvenient  
(72-408)trouble of thinking for himself upon subjects of  
(72-408)importance. The arrival of a chief, graced with such  
(72-408)showy qualities as James possessed, might have  
(72-408)given general enthusiasm to the insurrection at its  
(72-408)commencement, but could not redeem it when it  
(72-408)was gone to ruin; any more than the unexpected

[TG72-409]

(72-409)presence of the captain on board a half-wrecked  
(72-409)vessel can, of itself, restore the torn rigging which  
(72-409)cannot resist the storm, or mend the shattered  
(72-409)planks which are yawning to admit the waves.

(72-409)The Chevalier thus performed his romantic  
(72-409)adventure:-Having traversed Normandy, disguised  
(72-409)in a mariner's habit, he embarked at Dunkirk  
(72-409)aboard a small vessel, formerly a privateer, as well  
(72-409)armed and manned as time would admit, and laden  
(72-409)with a cargo of brandy. On the 22d December,  
(72-409)1715, he landed at Peterhead, having with him a  
(72-409)retinue of only six gentlemen; the rest of his train  
(72-409)and equipage being to follow him in two other  
(72-409)small vessels. Of these, one reached Scotland, but  
(72-409)the other was shipwrecked. The Earl of Mar,  
(72-409)with the Earl Marischal, and a chosen train of  
(72-409)persons of quality, to the number of thirty, went from

(72-409)Perth to kiss the hands of the Prince for whose  
(72-409)cause they were in arms. They found him at  
(72-409)Fetteresso, discomposed with the ague,- a bad disorder  
(72-409)to bring to a field of battle. The deputation  
(72-409)was received with the courtesy and marks of  
(72-409)favour which could not be refused, although their  
(72-409)news scarce deserved a welcome. While the Episcopal  
(72-409)clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen congratulated  
(72-409)themselves and James on the arrival of a  
(72-409)Prince, trained like Moses, Joseph, and David, in  
(72-409)the school of adversity, his general had to apprise  
(72-409)his Sovereign of the cold tidings, that his  
(72-409)education in that severe academy had not yet ended.  
(72-409)The Chevalier de St George now for the first time  
(72-409)received the melancholy intelligence, that for a

[TG72-410]

(72-410)month before his arrival it had been determined to  
(72-410)abandon Perth, which had hitherto been their  
(72-410)headquarters, and that, as soon as the enemy began to  
(72-410)advance, they would be under the necessity of  
(72-410)retreating into the wild Highlands.

(72-410)This was a reception very different from what  
(72-410)the Prince anticipated. Some hopes were still  
(72-410)entertained, that the news of the Chevalier's actual  
(72-410)arrival might put new life into their sinking cause,  
(72-410)bring back the friends who had left their standard,  
(72-410)and encourage new ones to repair thither, and the  
(72-410)experiment was judged worth trying. For giving  
(72-410)the greater effect to his presence, he appeared in  
(72-410)royal state as he passed through Brechin and Dundee,  
(72-410)and entered Perth itself with an affectation of  
(72-410)Majesty.

(72-410)James proceeded to name a privy council, to

(72-410)whom he made a speech, which had little in it that  
(72-410)was encouraging to his followers. In spite of a

[TG72-411]

(72-411)forced air of hope and confidence, it was too obvious  
(72-411)that the language of the Prince was rather that  
(72-411)of despair. There was no rational expectation of  
(72-411)assistance in men, money, or arms, from abroad,  
(72-411)nor did his speech hold out any such. He was  
(72-411)come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who  
(72-411)did not choose to discharge their own duty, might  
(72-411)not have it in their power to make his absence an  
(72-411)apology; and the ominous words escaped him,  
(72-411)" that for him it was no new thing to be unfortunate,  
(72-411)since his whole life, from his cradle, had been  
(72-411)a constant series of misfortune, and he was prepared,  
(72-411)if it so pleased God, to suffer the extent of  
(72-411)the threats which his enemies threw out against  
(72-411)him." These were not encouraging words, but  
(72-411)they were the real sentiments of a spirit broken  
(72-411)with disappointment. The Grand Council, to whom  
(72-411)this royal speech was addressed, answered it by a  
(72-411)declaration of their purpose of fighting the Duke  
(72-411)of Argyle; and it is incredible how popular this  
(72-411)determination was in the army, though reduced to  
(72-411)one-fourth of their original numbers. The intelligence  
(72-411)of the arrival of the Chevalier de St George  
(72-411)was communicated to Seaforth, Lord Huntly, and  
(72-411)other persons of consequence who had formerly  
(72-411)joined his standard, but they took no notice of his  
(72-411)summons to return thither. He continued,  
(72-411)notwithstanding, to act the sovereign. Six proclamations  
(72-411)were issued in the name of James the Eighth  
(72-411)of Scotland, and Third of England: The first  
(72-411)appointed a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival  
(72-411)in the British kingdoms-a second, commanded

[TG72-412]

(72-412)prayers to be offered up for him in all churches -  
(72-412)a third, enjoined the currency of foreign coins,- a  
(72-412)fourth, directed the summoning together the Scottish  
(72-412)Convention of Estates-a fifth, commanded all  
(72-412)the fencible men to join his standard-and a sixth,  
(72-412)appointed the 23d of January for the ceremony of  
(72-412)his coronation. A letter from the Earl of Mar  
(72-412)was also published respecting the King, as he is  
(72-412)called, in which, with no happy selection of phrase,  
(72-412)he is termed the finest gentleman in person and  
(72-412)manners, with the finest parts and capacity for  
(72-412)business, and the finest writer whom Lord Mar ever  
(72-412)saw; in a word, every way fitted to make the Scots  
(72-412)a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him.

(72-412)But with these flattering annunciations came  
(72-412)forth one of a different character. The village of  
(72-412)Auchterarder, and other hamlets lying between  
(72-412)Stirling and Perth, with the houses, corn, and  
(72-412)forage, were ordered by James's edict to be destroyed,  
(72-412)lest they should afford quarters to the  
(72-412)enemy in their advance. In consequence of this,  
(72-412)the town above named and several villages were  
(72-412)burned to the ground, while their inhabitants, with  
(72-412)old men and women, children and infirm persons,  
(72-412)were driven from their houses in the extremity of  
(72-412)one of the hardest winters which had for a long  
(72-412)time been experienced even in these cold regions.  
(72-412)There is every reason to believe, that the alarm  
(72-412)attending this violent measure greatly overbalanced  
(72-412)any hopes of better times, excited by the  
(72-412)flourishing proclamations of the newly-arrived candidate  
(72-412)for royalty.

[TG72-413]

(72-413)While the insurgents at Perth were trying the  
(72-413)effect of adulatory proclamations, active measures  
(72-413)of a very different kind were in progress. The  
(72-413)Duke of Argyle had been in Stirling since the  
(72-413)battle of 12th November, collecting gradually the  
(72-413)means of totally extinguishing the rebellion. His  
(72-413)secret wish probably was, that it might be ended  
(72-413)without farther bloodshed of his misguided  
(72-413)countrymen, by dissolving of itself. But the want of a  
(72-413)battering train, and the extreme severity of the  
(72-413)weather, served as excuses for refraining from  
(72-413)active operations. The Duke, however, seems to  
(72-413)have been suspected by Government of being tardy  
(72-413)in his operations; and perhaps of having entertained  
(72-413)some idea of extending his own power and  
(72-413)interest in Scotland, by treating the rebels with  
(72-413)clemency, and allowing them time for submission.  
(72-413)This was the rather believed, as Argyle had been  
(72-413)the ardent opponent of Marlborough, now Captain-  
(72-413)General, and could not hope that his measures  
(72-413)would be favourably judged by a political and  
(72-413)personal enemy. The intercession of a part of the  
(72-413)English ministry, who declared against the  
(72-413)impeachment of the rebel lords, had procured them  
(72-413)punishment in the loss of their places; and,  
(72-413)notwithstanding the services he had performed, in  
(72-413)arresting with three thousand men the progress  
(72-413)of four times that number, Argyle's slow and  
(72-413)temporizing measures subjected him to a shade of  
(72-413)malevolent suspicion, which his message to  
(72-413)Government, through the Duke of Roxburghe,  
(72-413)recommending an amnesty, perhaps tended to increase.

[TG72-414]

(72-414)Yet he had not neglected any opportunity to



(72-414)narrow the occupation of the country by the rebels,  
(72-414)or to prepare for their final suppression. The  
(72-414)English ships of war in the frith, acting under the  
(72-414)Duke's orders, had driven Mar's forces from the  
(72-414)castle of Burntisland, and the royal troops had  
(72-414)established themselves throughout a great part of  
(72-414)Fife, formerly held exclusively by the rebel army.

(72-414)The Dutch auxiliaries now, however, began to  
(72-414)join the camp at Stirling; and as the artillery  
(72-414)designed for the siege of Perth lay wind-bound in  
(72-414)the Thames, a field-train was sent from Berwick  
(72-414)to Stirling, that no farther time might be lost.  
(72-414)General Cadogan also, the intimate friend of  
(72-414)Marlborough, was despatched from London to press the  
(72-414)most active operations; and Argyle, if he had  
(72-414)hitherto used any delay, in pity to the insurgents,  
(72-414)was now forced on the most energetic measures.

(72-414)On the 24th of January, the advance from Stirling  
(72-414)and the march on Perth were commenced,  
(72-414)though the late hard frost, followed by a great fall  
(72-414)of snow, rendered the operations of the army slow  
(72-414)and difficult. On the last day of January the  
(72-414)troops of Argyle crossed the Earn without opposition,  
(72-414)and advanced to Tullibardine, within eight  
(72-414)miles of Perth.

(72-414)On the other hand, all was confusion at the  
(72-414)headquarters of the rebels. The Chevalier de St  
(72-414)George had expressed the greatest desire to see  
(72-414)the little kings, as he called the Highland chiefs,  
(72-414)and their clans; but, though professing to admire  
(72-414)their singular dress and martial appearance,

[TG72-415]

(72-415)he was astonished to perceive their number so  
(72-415)greatly inferior to what he had been led to  
(72-415)expect, and expressed an apprehension that he had  
(72-415)been deceived and betrayed. Nor did the  
(72-415)appearance of this Prince excite much enthusiasm on  
(72-415)the part of his followers. His person was tall and  
(72-415)thin; his look and eye dejected by his late bodily  
(72-415)illness; and his whole bearing lacking the  
(72-415)animation and fire which ought to characterise the leader  
(72-415)of an adventurous, or rather desperate cause. He  
(72-415)was slow of speech and difficult of access, and  
(72-415)seemed little interested in reviews of his men, or  
(72-415)martial displays of any kind. The Highlanders,  
(72-415)struck with his resemblance to an automaton, asked  
(72-415)if he could speak; and there was a general disappointment,  
(72-415)arising rather, perhaps, from the state  
(72-415)of anxiety and depression in which they saw him,  
(72-415)than from any natural want of courage in the  
(72-415)unhappy Prince himself. His extreme attachment to  
(72-415)the Catholic religion, also reminded such of his  
(72-415)adherents as acknowledged the reformed church, of  
(72-415)the family bigotry on account of which his father  
(72-415)had lost his kingdom; and they were much disappointed  
(72-415)at his refusal to join in their prayers and  
(72-415)acts of worship, and at the formal precision with  
(72-415)which he adhered to his Popish devotions.

[TG72-416]

(72-416)Yet the Highlanders, though few In numbers,  
(72-416)still looked forward with the utmost spirit, and  
(72-416)something approaching to delight, to the desperate  
(72-416)conflict which they conceived to be just approaching;  
(72-416)and when, on the 28th January, they learned  
(72-416)that Argyle was actually on his march towards  
(72-416)Perth, it seemed rather to announce a jubilee than  
(72-416)a battle with fearful odds. The chiefs embraced,

(72-416)drank to each other, and to the good day which  
(72-416)was drawing near; the pipes played, and the men  
(72-416)prepared for action with that air of alacrity which  
(72-416)a warlike people express at the approach of battle.

(72-416)When, however, a rumour, first slowly whispered,  
(72-416)then rapidly spreading among the clans,  
(72-416)informed them, that notwithstanding all the  
(72-416)preparations in which they had been engaged, it was  
(72-416)the general's purpose to retire before the enemy  
(72-416)without fighting, the grief and indignation of these  
(72-416)men, taught to think so highly of their ancestors'  
(72-416)prowess, and feeling no inferiority in themselves,  
(72-416)rose to a formidable pitch of fury, and they assailed  
(72-416)their principal officers in the streets with every  
(72-416)species of reproach. " What can we do?" was the  
(72-416)helpless answer of one of these gentlemen, a  
(72-416)confident of Mar. " Do? " answered an indignant  
(72-416)Highlander; " Let us do that which we were called  
(72-416)to arms for, which certainly was not to run away.

[TG72-417]

(72-417)Why did the King come hither?-was it to see  
(72-417)his subjects butchered like dogs, without striking a  
(72-417)blow for their lives and honour?" When the  
(72-417)safety of the King's person was urged as a reason  
(72-417)for retreat, they answered-" Trust his safety to  
(72-417)us; and if he is willing to die like a prince, he  
(72-417)shall see there are ten thousand men in Scotland  
(72-417)willing to die with him."

(72-417)Such were the general exclamations without  
(72-417)doors, and those in the councils of the Chevalier  
(72-417)were equally violent. Many military men of skill  
(72-417)gave it as their opinion, that though Perth was an  
(72-417)open town, yet it was so far a safe post, that an

(72-417)army could not, by a coup-de-main, take it out of  
(72-417)the hands of a garrison determined on its defence.  
(72-417)The severity of the snow-storm and of the frost,  
(72-417)precluded the opening of breaches; the country  
(72-417)around Perth was laid desolate; the Duke of  
(72-417)Argyle's army consisted in a great measure of  
(72-417)Englishmen and foreigners, unaccustomed to the  
(72-417)severe climate of Scotland; and vague hopes were  
(72-417)expressed, that, if the general of Government should  
(72-417)press an attack upon the town, he might receive  
(72-417)such a check as would restore the balance between  
(72-417)the parties. To this it was replied, that not only  
(72-417)the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of  
(72-417)discipline, were on the side of the royal army, but  
(72-417)that the garrison at Perth was destitute of the  
(72-417)necessary provisions and ammunition; and that the  
(72-417)Duke of Argyle had men enough at once to form  
(72-417)the blockade of that town, and take possession of  
(72-417)Dundee, Aberdeen, and all the counties to the

[TG72-418]

(72-418)northward of the Tay, which they lately occupied;  
(72-418)while the Chevalier, cooped up in Perth, might be  
(72-418)permitted for some time to see all the surrounding  
(72-418)country in his enemy's possession, until it would  
(72-418)finally become impossible for him to escape. In  
(72-418)the end it was resolved in the councils of the  
(72-418)Chevalier de St George, that to attempt the defence  
(72-418)of Perth would be an act of desperate chivalry.  
(72-418)To reconcile the body of the army to the retreat,  
(72-418)reports were spread that they were to make a halt  
(72-418)at Aberdeen, there to be joined by a considerable  
(72-418)body of troops which were expected to arrive from  
(72-418)abroad, and advance again southwards under better  
(72-418)auspices. But it was secretly understood that the  
(72-418)purpose was to desert the enterprise, to which the

(72-418)contrivers might apply the lines of the poet --

(72-418)" In an ill hour did we these arms commence,  
(72-418)Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hence."

[TG73-419]

(73-419)WHATEVER reports were spread among the  
(73-419)soldiers, the principal leaders had determined to  
(73-419)commence a retreat, at the head of a discontented  
(73-419)army, degraded in their own opinion, distrustful  
(73-419)of their officers, and capable, should these  
(73-419)suspensions ripen into a fit of fury, of carrying off both  
(73-419)king and general into the Highlands, and there  
(73-419)waging an irregular war after their own manner.

(73-419)On the 28th of January, an alarm was given in  
(73-419)Perth of the Duke of Argyle's approach ; and it is  
(73-419)remarkable, that, although in the confusion, the  
(73-419)general officers had issued no orders what measures

[TG73-420]

(73-420)were to be taken in case of this probable event, yet  
(73-420)the clans themselves, with intuitive sagacity, took  
(73-420)the strongest posts for checking any attack; and,  
(73-420)notwithstanding a momentary disorder, were heard  
(73-420)to cheer each other with the expression, " they  
(73-420)should do well enough." The unhappy Prince  
(73-420)himself was far from displaying the spirit of his  
(73-420)partisans. He was observed to look dejected, and  
(73-420)to shed tears, and heard to say, that instead of  
(73-420)bringing him to a crown, they had led him to his  
(73-420)grave. " Weeping," said Prince Eugene, when he  
(73-420)heard this incident, " is not the way to conquer  
(73-420)kingdoms."

(73-420)The retreat commenced under all these various

(73-420)feelings. On the 30th of January, the anniversary  
(73-420)of Charles the First's decapitation, and  
(73-420)ominous therefore to his grandson, the Highland army  
(73-420)filed off upon the ice which then covered the Tay,  
(73-420)though a rapid and deep stream. The town was  
(73-420)shortly afterwards taken possession of by a body of  
(73-420)the Duke of Argyle's dragoons; but the weather  
(73-420)was so severe, and the march of the rebels so  
(73-420)regular, that it was impossible to push forward any  
(73-420)vanguard of strength sufficient to annoy their  
(73-420)retreat.

(73-420)On the arrival of the rebels at the seaport of  
(73-420)Montrose, a rumour arose among the Highlanders,  
(73-420)that the King, as he was termed, the Earl of Mar,  
(73-420)and some of their other principal leaders, were  
(73-420)about to abandon them, and take their flight by  
(73-420)sea. To pacify the troops, orders were given to  
(73-420)continue the route towards Aberdeen; the equipage

[TG73-421]

(73-421)and horses of the Chevalier de St George  
(73-421)were brought out before the gate of his lodgings,  
(73-421)and his guards were mounted as if to proceed on  
(73-421)the journey. But before the hour appointed for  
(73-421)the march, James left his apartments privately for  
(73-421)those of the Earl of Mar, and both took a by-road to  
(73-421)the water's edge,(4th February) where a boat waited  
(73-421)to carry them in safety on board a small  
(73-421)vessel prepared for their reception. The safety of  
(73-421)these two personages being assured, boats were  
(73-421)sent to bring off Lord Drummond, and a few other  
(73-421)gentlemen, most of them belonging to the Chevalier's  
(73-421)household; and thus the son of James II. once  
(73-421)more retreated from the shores of his native country,  
(73-421)which, on this last occasion, he seemed to have

(73-421)visited for no other purpose than to bring away his  
(73-421)general in safety.

(73-421)General Gordon performed the melancholy and  
(73-421)irksome duty of leading to Aberdeen the disheartened  
(73-421)remains of the Highland army, in which the  
(73-421)Lord Marischal lent him assistance, and brought  
(73-421)up the rear. It is probable, that the rage of the  
(73-421)men, on finding themselves deserted, might have  
(73-421)shown itself in some acts of violence and  
(73-421)insubordination; but the approach of the Duke of Argyle's  
(73-421)forces, which menaced them in different columns,  
(73-421)prevented this catastrophe. A sealed letter, to be  
(73-421)opened at Aberdeen, contained the secret orders of  
(73-421)the Chevalier for General Gordon and his army.  
(73-421)When opened, it was found to contain thanks for  
(73-421)their faithful services; an intimation, that  
(73-421)disappointments had obliged him to retire abroad; and

[TG73-422]

(73-422)a full permission to his adherents either to remain  
(73-422)in a body and treat with the enemy, or disperse, as  
(73-422)should best appear to suit the exigency of the time.  
(73-422)The soldiers were at the same time apprised that  
(73-422)they would cease to receive pay.

(73-422)A general burst of grief and indignation attended  
(73-422)these communications. Many of the insurgents  
(73-422)threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that  
(73-422)they had been deserted and betrayed, and were  
(73-422)now left without either king or general. The clans  
(73-422)broke up into different bodies, and marched to the  
(73-422)mountains, where they dispersed, each to its own  
(73-422)hereditary glen. The gentlemen and Lowlanders  
(73-422)who had been engaged, either skulked among the  
(73-422)mountains, or gained the more northerly shires of

(73-422)the country, where vessels sent from France to  
(73-422)receive them, carried a great part of them to the  
(73-422)continent.

(73-422)Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, without even  
(73-422)the usual sad eclat of a defeat. It proved fatal to  
(73-422)many ancient and illustrious families in Scotland,  
(73-422)and appears to have been an undertaking too  
(73-422)weighty for the talents of the person whom chance,  
(73-422)or his own presumption, placed at the head of it.  
(73-422)It would be unjust to the memory of the unfortunate  
(73-422)Mar, not to acquit him of cowardice or treachery,  
(73-422)but his genius lay for the intrigues of a court,  
(73-422)not the labours of a campaign. He seems to have  
(73-422)fully shared the chimerical hopes which he inspired  
(73-422)amongst his followers, and to have relied upon the  
(73-422)foreign assistance which the Regent Duke of  
(73-422)Orleans wanted both power and inclination to afford.

[TG73-423]

(73-423)He believed, also, the kingdom was so ripe for  
(73-423)rebellion, that nothing was necessary save to kindle  
(73-423)a spark in order to produce a general conflagration.  
(73-423)In a word, his trust was reposed in what is called  
(73-423)the chapter of accidents. Before the battle of  
(73-423)Sheriffmuir, his inactivity seems to have been  
(73-423)unpardonable, since he suffered the Duke of Argyle,  
(73-423)by assuming a firm attitude, to neutralize and  
(73-423)control a force of four times his numbers; but after  
(73-423)that event, to continue the enterprise was insanity,  
(73-423)since each moment he lingered brought him nearer  
(73-423)the edge of the precipice. Yet even the Chevalier  
(73-423)was invited over to share the dangers and disgrace  
(73-423)of an inevitable retreat. In short, the whole  
(73-423)history of the insurrection shows that no combination  
(73-423)can be more unfortunate than that of a bold



(73-423)undertaking with an irresolute leader.

(73-423)The Earl of Mar for several years afterwards  
(73-423)managed the state affairs of the Chevalier de St  
(73-423)George, the mock minister of a mock cabinet, until  
(73-423)the beginning of the year 1721, when he became  
(73-423)deprived of his master's confidence. He spent the  
(73-423)rest of his life abroad, and in retirement. This  
(73-423)unfortunate Earl was a man of fine taste; and in  
(73-423)devising modes of improving Edinburgh, the capital  
(73-423)of Scotland, was more fortunate than he had  
(73-423)been in schemes for the alteration of her government.  
(73-423)He gave the first hints for several of the  
(73-423)modern improvements of the city.

(73-423)The Duke of Argyle having taken the most  
(73-423)active measures for extinguishing the embers of the  
(73-423)rebellion, by dispersing the bodies of men who were

[TG73-424]

(73-424)still in arms, directed movable columns to traverse  
(73-424)the Highlands in every direction, for receiving the  
(73-424)submission of such as were humbled, or exercising  
(73-424)force on those who might resist. He arrived at  
(73-424)Edinburgh on the 27th of February, when the  
(73-424)magistrates, who had not forgot his bold march to  
(73-424)rescue the city, when menaced by Brigadier  
(73-424)MacIntosh, entertained him with magnificence. From  
(73-424)thence he proceeded to London, where he was  
(73-424)received with distinction by George I.

(73-424)And now you are doubtless desirous of knowing  
(73-424)with what new honours, augmented power, or  
(73-424)increased wealth, the King of England rewarded the  
(73-424)man, whose genius had supplied the place of four-  
(73-424)fold numbers, and who had secured to his Majesty

(73-424)the crown of one at least of his kingdoms, at a  
(73-424)moment when it was tottering on his head. I will  
(73-424)answer you in a word. In a very short while after  
(73-424)the conclusion of the war, the Duke of Argyle was  
(73-424)deprived of all his employments. The cause of this  
(73-424)extraordinary act of court ingratitude must be  
(73-424)sought in the personal hatred of the Duke of  
(73-424)Marlborough, in the high spirit of the Duke of Argyle,  
(73-424)which rendered him a troublesome and unmanageable  
(73-424)member of a ministerial cabinet, and probably  
(73-424)in some apprehension of this great man's increasing  
(73-424)personal influence in his native country of Scotland,  
(73-424)where he was universally respected, and beloved  
(73-424)by many even of the party which he had  
(73-424)opposed in the field.

(73-424)It is imagined, moreover, that the Duke's  
(73-424)disgrace at Court was, in some degree, connected with

[TG73-425]

(73-425)a legislative enactment of a very doubtful tendency,  
(73-425)which was used for the trial of the rebel prisoners.  
(73-425)We have already mentioned the criminal proceedings  
(73-425)under which the Preston prisoners suffered.  
(73-425)Those who had been taken in arms at Sheriffmuir  
(73-425)and elsewhere in Scotland, ought, according to the  
(73-425)laws, both of Scotland and England, to have been  
(73-425)tried in the country where the treason was  
(73-425)committed. But the English lawyers had in recollection  
(73-425)the proceedings in the year 1707, when it was  
(73-425)impossible to obtain from Grand Juries in Scotland  
(73-425)the verdict of a true bill, on which the prisoners  
(73-425)could be sent to trial. The close connexion, by  
(73-425)friendship and alliance, even of those families which  
(73-425)were most opposed as Whigs and Tories, made the  
(73-425)victorious party in Scotland unwilling to be the

(73-425)means of distressing the vanquished, and disposed  
(73-425)them to afford a loop-hole for escape, even at the  
(73-425)expense of strict justice. To obviate the difficulties  
(73-425)of conviction, which might have been an encouragement  
(73-425)to future acts of high treason, it was resolved,  
(73-425)that the Scottish offenders against the treason-laws  
(73-425)should be tried in England, though the offence had  
(73-425)been committed in their own country. This was  
(73-425)no doubt extremely convenient for the prosecution,  
(73-425)but it remains a question, where such innovations  
(73-425)are to stop, when a government takes on itself to  
(73-425)alter the formal proceedings of law, in order to  
(73-425)render the conviction of criminals more easy. The  
(73-425)Court of Oyer and Terminer sat, notwithstanding,  
(73-425)at Carlisle, and might have been held by the same  
(73-425)parity of reason at the Land's End in Cornwall, or

[TG73-426]

(73-426)in the isles of Scilly. But there was a studied  
(73-426)moderation towards the accused, which seemed to  
(73-426)intimate, that if the prisoners abstained from  
(73-426)challenging the irregularity of the court, they would  
(73-426)be favourably dealt with. Many were set at liberty,  
(73-426)and though twenty-four were tried and condemned,  
(73-426)not one was ever brought to execution. It is  
(73-426)asserted, that the Duke of Argyle, as a Scottish man,  
(73-426)and one of the framers of the Union, had in his  
(73-426)Majesty's councils declared against an innovation  
(73-426)which seemed to infringe upon that measure, and  
(73-426)that the offence thus given contributed to the fall  
(73-426)of his power at Court.

(73-426)Free pardons were liberally distributed to all  
(73-426)who had seceded from the Rebellion, before its final  
(73-426)close. The Highland chiefs and clans were in  
(73-426)general forgiven, upon submission, and a surrender

(73-426)of the arms of their people. This was with the  
(73-426)disaffected chiefs a simulated transaction, no arms  
(73-426)being given up but such as were of no value, while  
(73-426)all that were serviceable were concealed and carefully  
(73-426)preserved. The loyal clans, on the other  
(73-426)hand, made an absolute surrender, and were  
(73-426)afterwards found unarmed when the Government desired  
(73-426)their assistance.

(73-426)Mean time the principles of Jacobitism continued  
(73-426)to ferment in the interior of the country, and were  
(73-426)inflamed by the numerous exiles, men of rank and  
(73-426)influence, who were fugitives from Britain in  
(73-426)consequence of attainder. To check these, and to  
(73-426)intimidate others, the estates of the attainted  
(73-426)persons were declared forfeited to the crown, and

[TG73-427]

(73-427)vested in trustees, to be sold for the benefit of the  
(73-427)public. The revenue of the whole, though  
(73-427)comprising that of about forty families of rank and  
(73-427)consideration, did not amount to L.30, 000 yearly.  
(73-427)These forfeited estates were afterwards purchased  
(73-427)from Government by a great mercantile company  
(73-427)in London, originally instituted for supplying the  
(73-427)city with water by raising it from the Thames, but  
(73-427)which having fallen under the management of  
(73-427)speculative persons, its funds, and the facilities vested  
(73-427)in it by charter, had been applied to very different  
(73-427)purposes. Among others, that of purchasing the  
(73-427)forfeited estates, was one of the boldest, and, could  
(73-427)the company have maintained their credit, would  
(73-427)have been one of the most lucrative transactions  
(73-427)ever entered into. But the immediate return  
(73-427)arising from this immense extent of wood and  
(73-427)wilderness, inhabited by tenants who were disposed

(73-427)to acknowledge no landlords but the heirs of the  
(73-427)ancient families, and lying in remote districts,  
(73-427)where law was trammelled by feudal privileges,  
(73-427)and affording little protection to the intruders, was  
(73-427)quite unequal to meet the interest of the debt which  
(73-427)that company had incurred. The purchasers were,  
(73-427)therefore, obliged to let the land in many cases to  
(73-427)friends and connexions of the forfeited proprietors,  
(73-427)through whom the exiled owners usually derived  
(73-427)the means of subsisting in the foreign land to which  
(73-427)their errors and misfortunes had driven them.  
(73-427)The affairs of the York Building Company, who  
(73-427)had in this singular manner become Scottish  
(73-427)proprietors to an immense extent, afterwards became

[TG73-428]

(73-428)totally deranged, owing to the infidelity and  
(73-428)extravagance of their managers. Attempts were,  
(73-428)from time to time, made to sell their Scottish  
(73-428)estates, but very inefficiently, and at great  
(73-428)disadvantage. Men of capital showed an un willingness  
(73-428)to purchase the forfeited property; and in two or  
(73-428)three instances the dispossessed families were able  
(73-428)to repurchase them at low rates. But after the  
(73-428)middle of the eighteenth century, when the value  
(73-428)of this species of property began to be better  
(73-428)understood, rival purchasers came forward, without  
(73-428)being deterred by the scruples which, in earlier  
(73-428)days, prevented men from bidding against the heirs  
(73-428)of the original possessor. Every new property as  
(73-428)exposed to sale brought a higher price, sometimes  
(73-428)in a tenfold proportion, than those which had been  
(73-428)at first disposed of, and after more than a century  
(73-428)of insolvency, the debts of the bankrupt company  
(73-428)were completely discharged. Could they have  
(73-428)retained their landed property, or, as was once

(73-428)attempted, could any other persons have been  
(73-428)placed in the company's right to it, the emolument  
(73-428)would have been immense.

(73-428)Before proceeding to less interesting matter, I  
(73-428)must here notice two plans originating abroad,  
(73-428)which were founded upon an expectation of again  
(73-428)reviving in Scotland the intestine war of 1715.  
(73-428)Two years after that busy period, Baron Gorz,  
(73-428)minister of Charles XII. of Sweden, a man whose  
(73-428)politics were as chimerical as his master's schemes  
(73-428)of conquest, devised a confederacy for dethroning  
(73-428)George I. and replacing on the throne the heir of

[TG73-429]

(73-429)the House of Stewart. His fiery master was burning  
(73-429)with indignation at George for having possessed  
(73-429)himself of the towns of Bremen and Verden.  
(73-429)Charles's ancient enemy, the Czar Peter, was also  
(73-429)disposed to countenance the scheme, and Cardinal  
(73-429)Alberoni, then the all-powerful minister of the  
(73-429)King of Spain, afforded it his warm support. The  
(73-429)plan was, that a descent of ten thousand troops  
(73-429)should be effected in Scotland, under the command  
(73-429)of Charles XII. himself, to whose redoubted  
(73-429)character for courage and determination the success of  
(73-429)the enterprise was to be intrusted. It might be  
(73-429)amusing to consider the probable consequences  
(73-429)which might have arisen from the iron-headed  
(73-429)Swede placing himself at the head of an army of  
(73-429)Highland enthusiasts, with courage as romantic as  
(73-429)his own. In following the speculation, it might be  
(73-429)doubted whether this leader and his troops would  
(73-429)be more endeared to each other by a congenial  
(73-429)audacity of mind, or alienated by Charles's habits of  
(73-429)despotic authority, which the mountaineers would

(73-429)probably have found themselves unable to endure.  
(73-429)But such a speculation would lead us far from our

[TG73-430]

(73-430)proper path. The conspiracy was discovered by the  
(73-430)spies of the French Government, then in strict  
(73-430)alliance with England, and all possibility of the  
(73-430)proposed scheme being put into execution was  
(73-430)destroyed by the death of Charles XII. before  
(73-430)Frederick shall, in 1718.

(73-430)But although this undertaking had failed, the  
(73-430)enterprising Alberoni continued to nourish hopes  
(73-430)of being able to effect a counter-revolution in Great  
(73-430)Britain, by the aid of the Spanish forces. The  
(73-430)Chevalier de St George was, in 1719, invited to  
(73-430)Madrid, and received there with the honours due  
(73-430)to the King of England. Six thousand troops,  
(73-430)with twelve thousand stand of arms, were put on  
(73-430)board of ten ships of war, and the whole armada  
(73-430)was placed under the command of the Duke of  
(73-430)Ormond. But all efforts to assist the unlucky House of  
(73-430)Stewart were frowned on by fortune and the  
(73-430)elements. The fleet was encountered by a severe  
(73-430)tempest off Cape Finisterre, which lasted two days,  
(73-430)drove them back to Spain, and disconcerted their  
(73-430)whole enterprise. An inconsiderable part of the  
(73-430)expedition, being two frigates from St Sebastian, arrived  
(73-430)with three hundred men, some arms, ammunition,  
(73-430)and money, at their place of destination in the  
(73-430)island of Lewis. (16th April) The exiled leaders on  
(73-430)board were the Marquis of Tullibardine,  
(73-430)the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth.

(73-430)We have not had occasion to mention Seaforth  
(73-430)since he separated from the army of Mar at the

(73-430)same time with the Marquis of Huntly, in order to  
(73-430)oppose the Earl of Sutherland, whom the success

[TG73-431]

(73-431)of Lovat at Inverness had again brought into the  
(73-431)field on the part of the Government. When the  
(73-431)two Jacobite leaders reached their own territories,  
(73-431)they found the Earl of Sutherland so strong, and  
(73-431)the prospects of their own party had assumed so  
(73-431)desperate an aspect, that they were induced to  
(73-431)enter into an engagement with Sutherland to submit  
(73-431)themselves to Government. Huntly kept his  
(73-431)promise, and never again joined the rebels, for  
(73-431)which submission he received a free pardon. But  
(73-431)the Earl of Seaforth again assumed arms in his  
(73-431)island of Lewis, about the end of February,  
(73-431)1715-16. A detachment of regular troops was sent  
(73-431)against the refractory chief, commanded by Colonel  
(73-431)Cholmondely, who reduced those who were in  
(73-431)arms. Seaforth had escaped to France, and from  
(73-431)thence to Spain, where he had resided for some  
(73-431)time, and was now, in 1719, despatched to his  
(73-431)native country, with a view to the assistance so powerful  
(73-431)a chief could give to the projected invasion.

(73-431)On his arrival at his own island of Lewis,  
(73-431)Seaforth speedily raised a few hundred Highlanders,  
(73-431)and crossed over to Kintail, with the purpose of  
(73-431)giving a new impulse to the insurrection. Here  
(73-431)he made some additions to his clan levies; but, ere  
(73-431)he could gather any considerable force, General  
(73-431)Wightman marched against him with a body of  
(73-431)regular troops from Inverness, aided by the Monros,  
(73-431)Rosses, and other loyal or whig clans of the  
(73-431)northern Highlands.



(73-431)They found Seaforth in possession of a pass  
(73-431)called Strachells, near the great valley of

[TG73-432]

(73-432)Glenshiel. A desultory combat took place, in which  
(73-432)there was much skirmishing and sharp-shooting,  
(73-432)the Spaniards and Seaforth's men keeping the pass.  
(73-432)George Monro, younger of Culcairn, engaged on  
(73-432)the side of Government, received during this action  
(73-432)a severe wound, by which he was disabled for the  
(73-432)time. As the enemy continued to fire on him, the  
(73-432)wounded chief commanded his servant, who had  
(73-432)waited by him, to retire, and, leaving him to his  
(73-432)fate, to acquaint his father and friends that he had  
(73-432)died honourably. The poor fellow burst into tears,  
(73-432)and, asking his master how he could suppose he  
(73-432)would forsake him in that condition, he spread  
(73-432)himself over his body, so as to intercept the balls of  
(73-432)the enemy, and actually received several wounds  
(73-432)designed for his master. They were both rescued  
(73-432)from the most imminent peril by a sergeant of  
(73-432)Culcairn's company, who had sworn an oath on his dirk  
(73-432)that he would accomplish his chief's deliverance.

(73-432)The battle was but slightly contested; but the  
(73-432)advantage was on the side of the MacKenzies, who  
(73-432)lost only one man, while the Government troops  
(73-432)had several killed and wounded. They were  
(73-432)compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy, and  
(73-432)to leave their own wounded on the field, many of  
(73-432)whom the victors are said to have despatched with  
(73-432)their dirks. But though the MacKenzies obtained  
(73-432)a partial success, it was not such as to encourage  
(73-432)perseverance in the undertaking, especially as their  
(73-432)chief, Lord Seaforth, being badly wounded, could  
(73-432)no longer direct their enterprise. They determined,

(73-432)therefore, to disperse as soon as night fell, the

[TG73-433]

(73-433)rather that several of their allies were not disposed  
(73-433)to renew the contest. One clan, for example, had  
(73-433)been lent to Seaforth for the service of the day,  
(73-433)under the special paction on the part of the chief,  
(73-433)that however the battle went, they should return  
(73-433)before next morning; this occasional assistance  
(73-433)being only regarded in the light of a neighbourly  
(73-433)accommodation to Lord Seaforth.

(73-433)The wounded Earl, with Tullibardine and  
(73-433)Marischal, escaped to the continent. The three  
(73-433)hundred Spaniards next day laid down their arms, and  
(73-433)surrendered themselves prisoners. The affair of  
(73-433)Glenshiel might be called the last faint sparkle of  
(73-433)the great Rebellion of 1715, which was fortunately  
(73-433)extinguished for want of fuel. A vague rumour  
(73-433)of Earl Marischal's having re-landed had, however,  
(73-433)wellnigh excited a number of the most zealous  
(73-433)Jacobites once more to take the field, but it was  
(73-433)contradicted before they adopted so rash a step.